HAWAIIAN RESILIENCE: SOCIAL MOVEMENTS, SOCIAL WORK, AND THE

NONPROFIT INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

By

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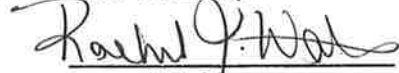
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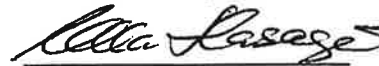
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ABSTRACT

Hawaiʻi's political transformation from a sovereign nation to its American statehood represents controversial political, economic, and social phenomena. This research explores the ongoing ramifications of these controversies reflected in Hawaiʻi's social movements and social work framed within the economic boundaries of the nonprofit industrial complex.

Following statehood, the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement formed to challenge the dominant sociopolitical environment. Components of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement contributed to changes in language, laws, land entitlements, and obtaining federal recognition that Hawaiian sovereignty had been unjustly overthrown. By the turn of the twenty-first century, Hawaiian Renaissance Movement began to lose its saliency. Simultaneously, the nonprofit industrial complex became a dominant political economic force homogenizing organizations through tax coding and legal articles of incorporation.

Those who have been most marginalized by the changes in Hawaiʻi are Hawaiians themselves. Higher mortality, poor health, economic and educational status brought social welfare organizations that could address such concerns. The welfare organizations established to help Hawaiians remain and flourish, while the political organizations established to change the conditions for Hawaiians have not fared as well. The Hawaiian Renaissance Movement has

become factionalized in part due to the State's selective relationship with particular groups and economic conditions. The nonprofit industrial complex institutionalizes these conditions to favor organizations that do not challenge the status quo in Hawaiʻi.

Notwithstanding the process of activist marginalization, the Hawaiian people and their society remain resilient. The inclusion of Hawaiian linguistic and cultural elements is prevalent in most of the public, private, political, and institutional spheres — including the State and agencies operating within the nonprofit industrial complex. Additionally, there is a notable ethnic marking of whites across Hawaiʻi, differing from other American settings. Whiteness warrants attention as a demonstration of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement's influence on racial-identity politics in Hawaiʻi's cultural milieu and decolonization.

Outcomes of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement have been the integration of Hawaiian values into American political economic systems, a re-telling of Hawaiian history to one of American colonization and, in effect, an anti-hegemonic discourse about American involvement in the region. Meanwhile, the nonprofit industrial complex has diluted this movement's solidarity and effectiveness through a framework that hinders organizations' capacity to facilitate structural change. As nonprofit organizations grow in size (and power) their resources and activities become more closely scrutinized by the IRS, the State and the general public. Having a mission to change social injustice has become more difficult to fund than a mission of assisting people who endure the consequences structural inequity.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In June of 2006, I came to Honolulu, Hawaiʻi. My research agenda, at that point, was to document the epistemology of homeless youth living there. I hoped to build upon Jerry Fest's training manual, *Street Culture: An Epistemology of Street-dependent Youth* (1998)[1], based upon his Master's thesis. Ambitiously, I imagined the work I would conduct would result in a practical tool kit for social workers and applied anthropologists, combining the crafts of ethnographic methodology and social work. This tool kit might change attitudes about and practices with those interacting with homeless youth. Having been a homeless youth worker and advocate for nearly ten years, I was deeply interested in improving interventions that lead to youth liberation.

As I prepared for the fieldwork, I discovered a more complicated political economy in Hawaiʻi than I expected. Mapping how youth in Hawaiʻi understood their world required a contextual analysis that drew my attention beyond the initial objective. Years of negotiating with outside influences has transformed Hawaiians' social, political, and economic realities. Hawaiians express their experience both tacitly and explicitly. Thus, the logical first step in understanding a local perspective in Hawaiʻi was to learn *Pidgin*—the language spoken by the people with whom I was interacting.

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[1] My first exposure to this text was as training guide for conducting street outreach with youth in Minneapolis. JT Fest was a bit of a celebrity with youth workers. The literature I referenced here was an unpublished adaptation of Festʻs Masters thesis in Social Work distributed as a training manual in an agency I worked in. In January 2014 Fest found a (self) publishing service with Amazon making the text more available. I have added this published iteration in the References cited page along with the unpublished version used.

Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), informally known as *Pidgin,* marks Hawaiians' local identity. Pidgin reflects an ongoing history of both struggle and resilience in Hawaiʻi. It is a commoner's variety of communication overshadowed by the prestige of English and, more recently, Hawaiian. It evolved from the descendants of the immigrant plantation workers who spoke Pidgin English. Linguistically, HCE is not a pidgin; it is a creole. However, it is called Pidgin, perhaps to intentionally delegitimize its status. Using Pidgin transmits multiple meanings. Most practically, the language represents local Hawaiian identity or fluency in contemporary Hawaiian culture, but it also marks low economic and educational status. Curiously, Pidgin can also signal active resistance to the status quo. In the past 25 years, attempts have been made to codify Pidgin (Sakoda 2003; Simonson 1992; Tonouchi 2005), but the language remains an oral tradition, which results in multiple varieties, lexicons, and geographical nuances. Linguists disagree about whether HCE is a bona fide language. Regardless, Pidgin does not register as standard American English (SAE). Either way, as a variety of SAE or as an independent language, the use of Pidgin is discouraged in most formal, public, and educational settings.

The Hawaiian Islands experienced colonization by American powers. The Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown, in part, by the United States in 1893. A formal apology for this act was passed into law in 1993 by President Clinton, informally called the "Apology Resolution" (U.S. Congress 1993). The consequences of the controversial American–Hawaiian interactions create a complexity of ethnic, political, economic, and social tensions. It is difficult to characterize what has happened—or is happening—in Hawaiʻi without encountering an oppositional narrative. Hawaiian versus American perspectives offer generalized political positions, but do not capture the tension. In 1959, after American Statehood, a social movement

that I will refer to as the "Hawaiian Renaissance Movement" (HRM) developed that challenged the status quo. I have deliberately selected the terminology, Hawaiian Renaissance Movement, in an effort to include various aspects of a large, diverse, and historically rich set of actors and activities. This term has been used by others to describe the social movement as well. For example, when describing a benchmark of time frequently used in Hawai'i following American statehood Coffman noted,

> Many years passed before I realized that for Native Hawaiians to survive as a people, they needed a definition of time that spanned something more than eleven years. The demand for a changed understanding of time was always implicit in what became known as the Hawaiian movement or the Hawaiian Renaissance because Hawaiians so systematically turned to the past whenever the subject of Hawaiian life was glimpsed. (Coffman 1973, 1)

Renaissance, then, becomes an intentional signal of a past worth recalling – a tool used to reject the status quo. The HRM includes a revival of Hawaiian culture and language as well as political and economic revitalization agendas. Hawaiian Sovereignty may lead the way as an obvious anti-hegemonic narrative about American intervention, but there are other Pro-Hawaiian manifestations that have contributed to this social movement. There are various demonstrations of political activism, language advocacy, and the less controversial Hawaiian cultural appreciation that began to achieve credibility and economic investment. This Renaissance influenced other aspects of Island life ranging from how the tourism industry represented Hawaiians, how local businesses represent themselves, and how residents perceive the military. Therefore, the "Hawaiian Renaissance Movement" is an intentional term for this dissertation aimed at (1) inclusivity of all the actors within the social movement and an acknowledgement of the movements effort to (2) deepen the perspective of Hawai'i's history.

Hawai'i is home to a significant military presence due to its position on the globe. It is of strategic importance in America's geopolitical positioning in Asia. All of the U.S. Armed

Services have bases of operation on the Island of Oʻahu. Military personnel make up 3 percent of the total population and 10 percent of the Gross State Product. Civilian employees of the military make up the highest percentage of any state's workforce. Twenty-one percent of Oʻahu's land is under military control. The U.S. military is an integral component of the political economic infrastructure in Hawaiʻi, and its veterans constitute 18 percent of the total homeless population here, according to HUD's Annual Homeless Assessment Report (AHAR) to Congress (2013). In short, the military and its personnel are vital to understanding the sociocultural landscape of Hawaiʻi.

Distinguishing *local* identity is both complicated and racialized. Of course, Native Hawaiians have the most legitimate claim as indigenous, but Hawaiʻi's history includes waves of migrant labor forces from China, Japan, Portugal, Korea, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Samoa that have established generations of residency. There were also American and European immigrants, but relatively fewer. Today, Hawaiʻi has the highest concentration of those who identify with Asian descent in an American state (57%) and a significantly small representation of those who identify as white (26%; U.S. Census Bureau 2014). As a result, whites, or *haoles,* occupy a more visible ethnicity than they might in other American states. Native Hawaiians and Hawaiians sometimes experience an unfortunate reality, despite the fact that Hawaiʻi' is their ancestral home. The poverty rate is high for Native Hawaiians, and lifespan, birth rates, and levels of education and income are the lowest in the state (Blaisdell 2004), an outcome of the structural racism inherent in the political economy ushered in by American occupation. The narratives of homeless youth became the entrance for my discovery of the contested milieu of social workers, program directors, politicians, activists, Native Hawaiians, locals, and Hawaiian sovereignty advocates. The milieu is polyvocal. I discovered how the social work and social

movements in Hawaiʻi were both nurtured and thwarted by the economic realities of the nonprofit system—a system that has grown into an industrial complex in its own right, mirroring the growth of the corporate world. Nonprofits compete for public and private contracts just as any for-profit corporation competes for market share. Fundraisers for nonprofits ask, "Whom and how do we serve?" compared to marketers in a corporate setting, who ask, "To whom and how do we sell?" Economic resources are the cornerstones for any organization that hopes to "make a difference." Nonprofits are essential in serving Hawaiians who are among the most marginalized economically, medically, educationally, and in life expectancy. For activists, this condition signals a failed *haole* system. For nonprofits, the reason for inequality is less important than helping those in need. Activists and nonprofits both need resources to effect change. Political will or service delivery in Hawaiian society must be supported with economic means.

Whiteness is factored into this analysis. It is threaded throughout the discussion. *Haoles*, or a "*haole* system" are common terms of reference found within activist discourse. *Haole* tends to communicate, in a single term, the systemic conflicts between Hawaiian and American worldviews. The expression, in context, can communicate the vast ramifications of colonization, racism, and structural inequality. The term is used frequently in scholarly literature that is critical about American intervention. *Haole* can be simple descriptive category of individuals, but in the final analysis one cannot avoid the racial component from the cultural, political and economic context of Hawaiʻi.

In this project, I explore how social work and social movements are affected, transformed and modified by an economic system of structural inequality. Social work primarily addresses the consequences of economic injustice rather than addressing the causes; this is the point where initiators of social movements intervene. Yet both social workers and social activists are

(meagerly) funded through the same nonprofit economic complex. Social welfare's "do–good" legacy protects it from much scrutiny. Nonprofits operate as self-sacrificing "charitable" organizations essential to maintaining the status quo. The illusion of equal opportunity is generated, in part, by the success stories of the helping profession. Hundreds of thousands of professional helpers cooperate with millions of volunteers to "make a difference" for an ever-growing population of disenfranchised people. Nonprofit organizations keep the elite and extremely wealthy beneficiaries of our system of inequity insulated from the growing gap between the socioeconomic classes. In addition, nonprofits serve as tax shelters and political engines for the wealthy. Given the necessity of nonprofits and the types of services they deliver critiquing them is yoked to political positioning. It is complicated dynamic tethered to ideology, politics and money.

In this dissertation, I discuss how social work as an institution functions as a component of systemic inequality in a growing complexity of economic conditions. Indeed, this claim counters the intentions and perceptions of social work practice. Nonprofit organizations are hedged in by powerful political economic forces, yet shielded by the ideology of altruism. As a social worker, I found this situation professionally disappointing and disheartening, but as a social scientist, I recognize it is clear, even obvious. The intended result of this project is to increase awareness and encourage political action by those in the helping profession toward social change rather than toward continued participation in the status quo.

Like most Americans, I thought Hawai'i was what I saw represented by the tourism industry and in American history textbooks: a tropical island paradise with friendly natives who had been gratefully incorporated into the United Sates. In other words, a place of *aloha*. I knew very little about Hawai'i's unique historical, political, and economic realities. Unfortunately,

spending more than ten days in Hawai'i deconstructed that fantasy. Native Americans and Native Hawaiians have a dramatically similar experience regarding American intervention, as other indigenous populations have had with the hindsight of how colonization affected local populations. However, Hawai'i stands out from other indigenous groups in its challenge to American control given its recognized sovereign status. The process of the United State's acquisitions of Native American lands under the ideology of manifest destiny extended across the Pacific Ocean to Hawai'i. The Hawaiian experience of American expansionism was problematized by the isolation and organization of its people. Hawaiian sovereignty was more clearly articulated than that of the Native tribes of the continental U.S. and American occupation was not as geographically sensible.

Hawai'i offers a unique context of indigenous resistance to American political, economic, social, and cultural hegemony. This dynamic is tightly woven within its institutions (e.g., Hawaiian Homestead Act, Hawaiian blood quantum criteria, Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Hawaiian language immersion curriculum, The 1993 Apology Resolution, Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2007, Kamehameha Schools, etc.). Tension lies beneath the surface of social, political, and economic interactions in Hawai'i. This tension results from an unresolved struggle for self-determination, independence, and political control. In this project, I asked, How do social service providers address this tension? How do social service providers, as institutions, align themselves, explicitly and implicitly, with this struggle? What are social services' roles, responsibilities, and functions in the struggle? How do their service delivery and other practices address this reality? How do the advocates for those living in poverty make sense of the struggle for self-determination, independence, and political control? How can social service provision improve and cooperate most effectively with the populations they claim to

serve? In this investigation, I compare and contrast the perspectives and roles in which social workers and social activists are engaged. This study generates vital feedback for social service providers, Hawaiian Revivalists, and the ethnographic record of Hawai'i.

Seeking insight from those who survive poverty in Hawai'i, as well as from their advocates, provides an understanding of the sociopolitical and economic environment they inhabit. The project had three aims: First, investigate the ongoing manifestations of Hawaiian resistance to American political, economic, and social intervention. Second, explore if/how social service organizations engage in this ideological conflict. Finally, offer recommendations on how to strengthen the ability of social service organizations to address social injustice in Hawai'i.

The Developmental Phases of Research

This project went through several phases of inquiry, unfolding over seven years of engagement and immersion on the Island of O'ahu. The first phase of the inquiry focused on the Hawaiian sovereignty activists—politically assertive individuals who had a voice, but were economically marginalized (i.e., homeless). One spirited argument adopted by the sovereignty activists was that homelessness offered a statement—a position of resistance—to *haoles* (whites) and the American way. This phase of inquiry was informed in part by my work in Waianae. Waianae was a community on the west end of the island of O'ahu with high numbers of Native Hawaiian residents and squatters renowned for an alarming presentation of visible poverty. People camped (i.e., lived) on the beach and surrounding areas, many times in plain view, and shared the most affordable housing, doubling and tripling the usual number of people per household. Waianae was the starting point for this project.

Next, the focus of the inquiry moved to the social workers serving homeless populations who cited the loss of Hawaiian sovereignty as a direct cause of their clients' (and their own) dilemmas. The overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani and Hawaiian sovereignty by Sanford B. Dole and the U.S. Marines in 1893 led to a loss of cultural knowledge, resulting in the political and economic disenfranchisement of the native population. One informant for this project described his responsibilities beyond provision of immediate needs of food and shelter as transmitting cultural information about the history of Hawai'i. I started to understand that discourse about the 1893 overthrow functioned as a component of bonding and motivated many of the individuals I encountered, especially in Waianae. Thus, my informants in this project shifted from the individuals receiving services to those who provided them—the social workers.

The welfare system itself and the field of social work that trained, educated, and certified individuals to help others took center stage in this project. I sought to understand how the institution of social work manifested in the context of Hawai'i. The influence of Geertz (1973) led me to believe the social workers' narratives and behaviors could help interpret the "webs of meaning" that resonate within altruism, but are halted by political economy. For example, individual social workers are not characterized as greedy or self-seeking. It is common knowledge that social work is not a lucrative career. This is commonly stated in social work training programs (P. Tran, personal communication, September 2012) and something I heard frequently throughout my own journey as a social worker. Social work and social workers are necessary activities carried out by those who wish to "make a difference." Curiously, volunteers constitute the majority of the people needed to get the work done. Paid positions are increasingly competitive based on the compensation received. But, a feeling of usefulness ought to be payment enough for the altruistic few who toil in their efforts to help others.

At a broader level, the institution of social work is constrained, and even controlled, by structural forces. Much like the salaries of the individuals they employ, organizations are expected to do their work with extremely limited resources – resources they are often competing for. Despite the seemingly altruistic context, this dynamic is no different than any other industrial marketplace – individuals competing for the best compensation and organizations bidding for the best funding. Ironically, the best funding tends to be State and Federal grants.

This discovery became the thesis of the project: The institution of social work plays an active role in maintaining social inequalities while fostering the need to negotiate the neoliberal economic reality of the nonprofit industrial complex. Neoliberalism's aim, in the ideological and practical sense, is to reduce economic regulations allowing the privatization of a market that can then liberate the economy. This model, and the growing need for services, has enlarged the nonprofit sector into an industrial complex with billions of dollars that must be tracked, taxed, coded and justified.

Social service agencies, also known as nonprofits, participate in the same economic system as other corporations in a capitalist marketplace; the rhetoric and threat of competition keeps all participants sharp. Competition for money among nonprofit organizations seems like a contradiction, but it is a stark reality. Nonprofits, also known as social services, must "sell" their mission to consumers (i.e., clients) and funders. The State and private sources of funding (interestingly, also nonprofit) are limited, and whoever writes the checks has significant authority to determine what the money will buy. It is capitalism, without profit.

The HRM began to coalesce in the late 1970s, inspired by examples of the civil rights and American Indian movements on the American Continent. Consequently, interest in Hawaiian cultural and linguistic preservation began to grow. A new version of history began to circulate,

challenging the status quo and American hegemony. Hawaiian statehood was publicly criticized in this revised history. From this criticism, institutional manifestations emerged that empowered Hawaiian identity. The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), Hawaiian language immersion schools, Hawaiian Studies program at the University of Hawaiʻi, and an anti-*haole* sentiment became legitimatized. The Hawaiian Renaissance Movement effectively brought American intervention and Hawaiian marginalization into the consciousness of Hawaiʻi's citizens.

Undoing Hawaiian statehood is one of the bolder (re) articulations of the Renaissance Movement. Referred to as the Sovereignty Movement, this undertaking has its own complexities. Fragmentation into factions with vastly different perspectives and recommendations has led to the movement's inertia. In 1993, the U.S Congress under President Clinton's administration validated Hawaiian Sovereignty advocate's efforts in United Sates Public Law 103-150, which acknowledged nefarious American involvement in the overthrow of the Hawaiian government. This law is commonly referred to as the "Apology Resolution." Although the law did nothing more than offer formal apology to the once-sovereign nation of Hawaiʻi, it provided legal and federal legitimacy to the sovereignty advocates. The related tension surrounding this issue is a crucial component to consider when analyzing Hawaiʻi's current social and political environment. Underneath the surface (and sometimes on the surface), many of the activists I interacted with expressed an anti-*haole* ideology that structured their discourse. Other examples of enculturation polarize *haoles* and *locals* (comprising non-white ethnicities, including Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Korean, Hawaiian, non-Hawaiian Polynesians immigrants, and *hapa* or mixed ethnicity). From a Hawaiian perspective, *haoles* are often perceived as outsiders, linked to the historical and institutionalized elites (Trask 1985; 1991; 1993). *Haoles* are connected to an ongoing process of structural racism even if born and raised in Hawaiʻi (N. Fiearo, personal

communication, August 15, 2009). This cultural marking of *haole* amidst Native Hawaiian claims for reparation has experienced a political and legal backlash of evidence of "reverse racism". Color-Blind ideology is utilized to naturalize *haole* and neutralize Hawaiian's access to resources. Judy Rohrer reminds us that "Haole are never asked to document their identities in order to claim space in Hawai'i and have never experienced the structural violence of racialization (this is substantially different than being culturally marked as haole, even when this marking leads to violence) (2006, 16). Conducting this research I was challenged with an increasing sensitivity to my own whiteness and affiliation as *haole*. Admittedly, this experience motivated my curiosity and inquiries into when, why, and how whiteness fits into the narratives. Not unlike other oppressed groups identifying where power is embodied is a useful step in liberation.

The cost of living and access to real estate in Hawai'i is noteworthy. An average single-family home costs more here than anywhere in the nation. A majority of Hawai'i's residents live in rental properties where the rent continually rises (unregulated) to meet the economic demands of property owners. The tropical climate allows for camping or sleeping in vehicles as a reasonable alternative when housing becomes unattainable. The visibly poor are often "swept" from park to park to keep out of the public's (i.e., visitors') view, but remain ever-present on O'ahu.

This situation marks the focal point for this project. My research was conducted with the temporary state-funded shelter established by the Governor of Hawai'i in response to a public crisis of the Ala Moana Beach Park "cleanup" that displaced two hundred homeless people who resided there. The park is just outside of Waikiki. The cleanup generated a political pushback in which many of the homeless and their advocates protested on state property demanding an

alternative place to live. The protest was front-page news. The activists picketed at Honolulu Hale (Honolulu's Municipal Building, the doorstep of the state of Hawai'i's political establishment) and also near the entrance to the Hawaiian Palace, a tourist hot spot and iconic symbol of Hawai'i's sovereign past. The governor acted swiftly to establish a temporary shelter called "Next Step" at nearby at Kakaako Park.

A distinguishing ethnic characterization of poverty in Hawai'i is a rejection of the term "homeless." Advocates and Hawaiians without housing prefer "houseless" to "homeless" as a referent demographic. Hawaiians claim they lack a house not a home, as they believe the Island is their home. This helps connect their economic dilemma to a larger political and historic claim. The claim also ties to nonprofits' solution sound bite of "affordable housing." There are two areas on the island of O'ahu that warrant further discussion in this regard: Waianae and Waimanalo. These cities are geographically, socially, and politically significant because they represent a concentration of Native Hawaiian residency.

In 1920, the Hawaiian Homestead Act was passed in an effort to help Hawaiians who were disenfranchised by American involvement on the Islands. The Hawaiian Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole Pi'ikoi established the Act, which set plots of land aside exclusively for Hawaiians. Eligibility became a contentious point during the establishment of the Act. Who could qualify as Hawaiian? The much-deliberated answer was that eligible residents were those who could prove 50 percent blood quantum of Hawaiian ancestry. This continues to be a controversial element in Hawaiian-identity politics today. The Act allocates small family plots of agricultural or residential land. The two largest concentrations of houseless Hawaiians on O'ahu today are in Waimanalo and Waianae. These areas contain the largest amount of land reserved by the Hawaiian Homestead Act. Native Hawaiian demographics and housing conditions are

geographically, politically, and economically connected through the Hawaiian Homestead Act.

In 1980, the state established an Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), a controversial

manifestation of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. Its mission:

> To mālama (protect) Hawai'i's people and environmental resources and OHA's assets,
> toward ensuring the perpetuation of the culture, the enhancement of lifestyle and the
> protection of entitlements of Native Hawaiians, while enabling the building of a strong
> and healthy Hawaiian people and nation, recognized nationally and internationally. OHA
> Website, Accessed December 28, 2014

The majority of resources enabling OHA do accomplish this mission are derived from revenue

earned on the ceded lands they administer – discussed further in chapter 6. Land in Hawai'i

remains central to political and economic power. Recently, OHA and the State have battled in

the courts over who controls this land and how it should be used. Ironically, shelters and

affordable housing developments are often placed on Public Lands controlled by OHA.

My initial interviewing and research began in Waianae. I compared Waianae to the Ala

Moana Beach Park site in Honolulu. A useful nomenclature in Hawai'i involves the terms *town*

and *country*. These geographic referents have a rich historical and sociocultural significance.

Waimanalo and Waianae are considered *country*. As such, they are symbolically linked with

Hawaiians, and therefore the implication is that they are unsafe for *haoles* and marked as

impoverished "local" space. It is similar to the way contemporary "ghettos" are mapped and

understood in urban settings. *Town* also refers to ethnically and economically marked

communities, but they are less likely to be affiliated with Native Hawaiians than *country* space.

The Next Step Shelter in Honolulu was established because of a displacement of the Ala

Moana Beach Park homeless population. It is a temporary shelter in an area called Kakaako

Park. When I was conducting my research, the shelter was managed by a small faith-based

nonprofit organization. Now the shelter is managed by a larger secular nonprofit organization as

an exclusively state-funded shelter. Although it was established as a temporary aid to be in place for one year, the shelter has been open for nearly a decade.

There is another state-funded shelter on the Waianae coast. Oʻahu is small. It is visited by a tremendous number of people. According to the Hawaii Tourism Authority, a state agency funded by a tax on hotel rooms and other short-term accommodations, nearly 8 million travelers visit Hawaiʻi annually (HTA Website. Accessed December 28, 2014).

This tourism industry is the primary economic resource for the state. Maintaining the flow of visitors is top priority for corporate and state authorities. Visible poverty is a perceived threat to the visitor industry . When people are living on the sidewalks or parks where tourists are forced to interact with the poor, laws and "cleanups" are enacted. Visible poverty, evidenced by houselessness, generates notable public and economic concern and consumes significant political effort as well.

Reflexivity & Bias

I am a social worker first and a social scientist second. I practiced social work for ten years before pursuing graduate training in anthropology. Therefore, social work is a primary the lens though which I perceive and make sense of the world, especially the parts that seem broken. This experience represents an undeniable epistemological framework and serves as motivation for this project. My experience as a social worker is my bias.

Perhaps I've been influenced by an American ethos; enculturated with the unbelievable triumph of out gunned American Revolutionaries fighting, and defeating, the tyrannical British and establishing a nation of the "free." Cheering for the underdog who however, I have always been fascinated by the underdog. I even fancied myself an underdog at one time. This was delusional, a fiction of sorts. Perhaps it helped to ease "white-man's guilt." However, I am not an

underdog. My ethnic, social, and economic station has insulated me from the perils of inequality in America. The unearned "white privilege" available to me has become more apparent through the social and anthropological work I have engaged in over the years. My professional (and personal) life has centered on how to identify and neutralize social stratification.

Hawai'i may be a step ahead of other places in the United Sates in undoing racism. Racism is still prevalent, but the milieu of Hawai'i has no U.S. mainland counterpart. Hawai'i is an American colony that became the last state in the union. Merchants and entrepreneurs conspired with the United Sates to "take" Hawai'i. This fact has not been eliminated from history text books. The U.S. Congress has acknowledged this incident and most of the residents in Hawai'i are taught this controversial history. Consequently, Hawai'i provides whites the experience of being ethnically marked. For some, this can be uncomfortable. The number of Asians, Pacific Islanders, and mixed ethnicities helps to galvanize the other aspects of marking whites. The military, tourism, wealth, real estate, and the retold history of disenfranchisement of Hawaiian (and Asian immigrants) work together to illuminate white foreigners' alarming entitlements. These negative characteristics are sometimes reduced into the Hawaiian term *haole*. The members of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement asserted the voice of discontent for things *haoles* did, and continue to do, in Hawai'i. Consequently, whiteness is marked in Hawai'i, unlike other places in the United States.

In 1990, I was asked to work at an alternative high school in rural Minnesota. Many of the students were "at-risk" youth, living in an economically depressed agricultural community. I was twenty years old. The school social worker, my first mentor, believed that I could help facilitate a group she was operating. I was paid twenty dollars per group and reimbursed for mileage. In hindsight, my youth was the only skill I had in working in this context. I was their

peer, but a bit better off than the students we worked with—I served as an example. Nonetheless, the job was enriching and challenging. I liked what I was doing. I appreciated those with whom and for whom I worked. Because of this experience, I went to the local community college for a degree and certification in Human Services.

The last phase the degree program was a full time internship with a social service organization. This took me out of the rural school setting and into an urban emergency shelter for runaway, homeless, and throwaway youth. After completing my internship, I was hired to work at the shelter. The agency was founded by Catholic nuns in the 1970s as a safe "crash pad" for teenagers, but had evolved into a secular organization with secure funding. From its inception, the organization's mission was family reunification. When I came to the agency in 1992, it was a million-dollar-a-year nonprofit organization, funded by state and federal grants and many other contributors. The agency had real estate, a full time administrative staff, including an accountant, "development staff" (i.e., fund raisers), licensed marriage and family therapists, outreach counselors, emergency shelter staff, a property manager, and a robust volunteer program.

It was here I learned the craft of relationship building. Through the context of crises counseling; immersion and interaction in multicultural environments (i.e., non-white); abuse reporting to Child Protection Services; occupational, group, and family counseling; and public outreach, I became quite familiar with building rapport. Moreover, I received extensive training on multicultural and GLBT sensitivity, racism, domestic and sexual violence, chemical dependency, and mental health. After several years as shelter staff, I moved into specialized roles at the agency in their outreach and aftercare programs, including serving as Chemical Health Coordinator and Street Outreach Worker.

As a Street Outreach Worker, I partnered with other agencies to connect youth with a "continuum" of services. Streetworks is the name of the collaborative. It was federally funded by Housing and Urban Development (HUD). The HUD grant had rigorous demographic measurements of documentation. We had to count the number of people contacted, along with noting their sex, race, times contacted and the service provided (whenever possible). These statistical measurements were placed in the hands of the Outreach Workers that, in many cases, only briefly interacted with those contacted on the street. It was a clear demonstration of placing the funders' requirements ahead of (or in line with) the task of relationship building. Tracking these figures were a low priority for the Street Outreach Workers, which made the mandate more apparent. These positions granted me access to a larger community of clients, social workers, and most importantly, agencies. After five years, I took a position as the supervisor for Homeless Youth Programming at Lutheran Social Services. I supervised a shelter, transitional living services, and a street outreach program that was funded, in part, by federal monies from Housing and Urban Development (HUD). Although the organization was associated with a faith-based constituency, our program and services were undoubtedly secular. One economic advantage to faith-based nonprofits is their access to the volunteerism and gifting of their congregations. This role shifted my attention away from direct service with clients and toward interacting with social workers and administrators, as well as toward learning how funding directed our work. It provided further insight on the fiscal insecurity and political interworkings that nonprofit organizations negotiate.

At the recommendation of the LSS Program Director, who had earned her Bachelor's degree in anthropology, I followed in her footsteps. I was 28 and had been doing social work for nine years. I had been working in Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota, with Somalian, Hmong,

African American, Native American, GLBT, rural, urban, and white communities. Despite my lack of training in anthropology, my introduction to the discipline resonated with what I had learned in my career as a social worker. Anthropology offered a detachment I had been longing for after years of poverty work. I continued to practice social work while completing my Bachelor's degree and graduate coursework.

Social work and public anthropology borrow from each other's theoretical models and methodological techniques, including such methods as rapport building and centering on the client or key informant as the "expert." Postmodernism (like other well known theories) has a place in both disciplines. The theoretical influence of postmodernism has arguably become embedded in my analytical efforts. In fact, connections between the fields of social work and public anthropology are synergistic. Beyond the more obvious links in the academic specializations of psychological anthropology and social psychology, there is a lack of literature exploring how to apply the practice of social work with methods of anthropology and vice versa.

Working directly with homeless populations demonstrated that some were victims of a system that needs to be changed. Some homeless folks are active agents of resistance. They refuse to participate in a system that demeans and oppresses them, and they declare this candidly. The streets provide power, freedom, and a certain kind of independence (all foundational American values). Homelessness can be a way for some to reject what the system has to offer. In the case of youth, the rebelliousness of adolescence combines with their unfortunate situation and empowers them to simply refuse to conform. Indeed, this is a noble and positive way to narrate the reality of anyone's homelessness. In a less idealistic light, homelessness has nothing to do with political resistance or expressing nonconformity, but rather a pragmatic manifestation of the lack of necessary resources. As a politicized issue homelessness can be framed as the

result of systemic (for the political Left) or personal (for the political Right) inadequacies. Whatever the political position, social workers help those who are marginalized, be they "troubled" youth, veterans, single mothers, mentally ill, or unemployed endure or improve their situation. The social workers' goal is to help get these people back into society.

The work of reducing homelessness can be summarized as (1) help the client get off the street, (2) help the client return home to family if possible, (3) help the client find employment, and (4) help the client find housing. Many of our clients preferred not stay in a shelter as it limited their autonomy (freedom). They preferred life on the street to the structure of a shelter. The clients faced alarming safety risks, but were seduced by the seeming freedom of life on the street. In addition, there were sometimes situations of abuse and mental illness, and instances where clients' families rejected or could not provide for them. These clients, too, found themselves on the street by preference or necessity. Sex work and prostitution, crime, drug use, and alcohol use are all part of street life. For some, this is exciting. For others, these activities represent a tool for survival. Jerry Fest (1992) wrote an epistemology of street-dependent youth in which he argued these youth see the world differently—in fact, they have a different cultural reality. This text was part of our street outreach training, intended to contextualize the fact that the youth we interacted with were seeing the world differently than we were. Beyond the microcultural implications, street youth must find ways to survive while maintaining their dominant cultural values of independence, freedom, and autonomy.

During an in-service training on racism, our agency was presented with concepts of institutional racism, white privilege, and the idea that the whole system is rigged to benefit white people. The main points of the training (for me) were how we can (1) become aware of the institutional or structural advantages racism provides, (2) identify the advantages of racism, and

(3) reject them whenever possible. The training project has been part of an ongoing effort by public anthropologists and social workers to mitigate institutional racism. Something, I believe, cannot be withdrawn from a discussion of sociopolitical experience.

As mentioned earlier being *haole* is an ethnic marker in Hawai'i, but it is also linked to geography – to the spaces people inhabit. There are places designated as unsafe to go if one is white. These geographic, racialized, and economic boundaries differ from other U.S. contexts in that political and social power can be obtained through claims of *local* identity. This was not the case one hundred years ago, but since the 1970s, being Hawaiian and/or *local* brings a significant amount of social capital (Bourdieu 2008), unlike being *haole*. Identity politics has a unique anti-American flair. Hawaiian and Asian cultural worldviews have significant influence in Hawai'i. This influence amplified my interest in the Hawaiian context. In Hawai'i, there is more discourse, alternative practice, and latitude to analyze the *haole* system. Social movements such as American Indian Movement (AIM), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement (HRM) were motivated by grassroots efforts to address social injustice. Once again, in this context, the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement facilitated a more open criticism of American intervention in Hawai'i. And with Native Hawaiians presenting with the highest poverty rates and the lowest lifespan and birth rates along with the poorest education and income levels (Blaisdell 2004) the demand for action was easily justified statistically. Therefore, helping Hawaiians improve their circumstances has taken a central role in HRM.

Unfortunately, social work is also caught within the system of structural racism and economic marginalization with the rest of us. Social work primarily addresses the consequences of economic injustice rather than addressing the causes, a situation that creates an opening for

social movements to organize and grow. Yet both social workers and social activists are (meagerly) funded through the same nonprofit economic complex. I argue that despite nonprofits perceived operations as self-sacrificing "charitable" organizations, they are just as susceptible to maintaining the inequality as other institutions. They inadvertently bolster the illusion of equal opportunity, in part, by the generating success stories of the help they provide. Hundreds of thousands of professional helpers cooperate with millions of volunteers to "make a difference" for an ever-growing population of people marginalized by systems of inequality. Nonprofit organizations keep the elite and extremely wealthy beneficiaries of this system insulated from the growing gap between the socioeconomic classes. In addition, nonprofits serve as tax shelters and political engines for the wealthy. Nonprofits are seen as necessary and charitable, a view that diverts us from linking them to systemic racism and classism.

This dissertation focuses on how social work as an institution functions as a component of systemic inequality in a growing complexity of economic mayhem. Indeed, this claim counters the intentions and perceptions of social work practice. Powerful political economic forces hedge in nonprofit organizations, yet are shielded by the ideology of altruism. As a social worker, I find this situation professionally disappointing and disheartening; however, as a social scientist, I find the purpose of the thesis as clear, even obvious. The intended result of this project is to increase awareness and encourage political action by those in the helping profession toward social change rather than toward continued participation in the status quo.

Contents Summary

In Chapter 1, I introduced the topic of structural racism and economic marginalization in Hawai'i. The discussion in Chapter 2 provides further detail on the setting of Hawai'i. I offer a historical overview with particular attention paid toward the colonization process, followed by an

outline of the emerging Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. I also review key literature from area specialists who have guided this inquiry. In Chapter 3, I describe the ethnographic and ethnohistoric methodology utilized for this project. Chapter 4 is a review of the history and development of social work in America and Hawaiʻi. The chapter includes reflexive considerations and provides the groundwork for a discussion of the nonprofit industrial complex. An emblematic analysis of transcript excerpt from a social worker in Hawaiʻi is presented, highlighting the theme that social workers can and do play a vital role in social activism, but are hindered by the political economy of the helping profession at large.

Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement and the Nonprofit Industrial Complex (NPIC), respectively. In the chapters, I discuss the development and consequences of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and the state's involvement in funding and establishing shelters for the homeless on the controversial ceded lands. The discussion incorporates the experiences of Utu Langi, an activist advocate for the homeless and executive director for a small nonprofit. I conclude by demonstrating the unsettling political economic linkages between social movements, social work, and the nonprofit industrial complex in Hawaiʻi.

CHAPTER 2

SETTING

This chapter provides a brief history of Hawai'i for contextualization. I outline Hawai'i's economic and political transformations. I explain the Hawaiian sovereignty issue to characterize the nature of the particular social movement under examination. The history of the Islands, as well as the history of those who challenge this social movement, shows that an American Hawai'i is a problematic and controversial assumption. This assumption is at the core of the project.

Polynesia has a rather lengthy record of anthropological investigation by established scholars. Notably, Margaret Mead published her work about adolescence in Samoa catapulting her, and the discipline of anthropology, into the public spotlight in the early the 20th century (Mead 1928). Inspired by Sir James Frazer, A.R. Radcliffe-Brown 1939 and Franz Steiner 1956 helped to export *tabu*—a rather curious pattern of behavior for Westerners who first encountered it—into the Western corpus of knowledge and popular culture. Taboo, long disassociated from its Polynesian origins, continues to represent social prohibitions in Western cultural contexts. Additionally, Marshall Sahlins published material for nearly 40 years centered on Hawai'i beginning in the 1970's.

For introductory students in anthropology, traditional Polynesia society is the exemplar of ranked chiefdoms that utilized the economic exchange of redistribution[1]. Arguably, traditional Hawaiian and other Polynesian societies are commonly presented as historical, perhaps as a consequence of Euro–American colonization in the region.

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[1] See any introduction to cultural anthropology text book on political organization and economic systems published after 1970.

The next section addresses the scope and literature of the study. The literature that addresses Polynesian contexts with scientific explanations of social, political, and economic organization has given way to the more nuanced complexities of anthropological reflexivity and role in "othering." The controversy between Sahlins (1989; 1995) and Obeyesekere (1992; 1993) reminds us to consider from which vantage point any narrative of Hawai'i is being told—in other words, is the story from the "ship or the shore"? This postmodern turn gave way to more voices from "the shore." Hawaiian writers, scholars, and cultural practitioners emerged as a powerful force and perspective.

The social work and nonprofit literature presented here exemplify criticisms of the systemic role that institutions play in continuing the marginalization of particular groups. The researchers examine how economics and discourse combine to maintain the status quo. This condition occurs in social work and nonprofit settings just as in other institutions. Of course, we are all implicated within these social systems of disenfranchisement, some disturbingly more so than others. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate where I fit within this discussion. As a social worker, I must be keenly aware of the "do–good" shield with which I have been armed to fend off such critiques.

History

There is archaeological evidence to indicate that the first people arrived in the Hawaiian Islands around or before 400 CE (Kirch 1985). Some thirteen hundred years later, when Captain Cook landed on Hawai'i's shores, he and his men brought new ideas, microorganisms, and metals crafted into tools and weapons. This influx resulted in a decline of traditional Hawaiian culture, which coincided with a decline in the native Hawaiian population due to the catastrophic biological diseases transmitted during this initial contact. By 1920, one hundred forty-two years

after the first European contact, those with 100 percent Native Hawaiian bloodlines (known as *kanaka maoli* in Hawaiian) had a life expectancy of thirty-five years (OHA Website) and numbered 23,723, reduced from an estimated population of between four hundred thousand to one million in 1778 (Stannard 1989).

Economically, the globalization process in Hawai'i mirrored the catastrophe of the biological scourge (Trask 1993). Industry by industry, through sandalwood, whaling, and eventually sugar, the natural resources of the archipelago were divided, privatized, and commoditized by entrepreneurs working together with the Hawaiian *ali'i* (noble rank) to enter the global market (Kelly 2003). The overexploitation of the Islands' limited resources left a political and economic scar not only on the *'āina* (land), but also on the *all'i* who became fiscally indebted to the *haoles* (foreigners, Americans, whites) at home and abroad. This dynamic continues today: Tourism, along with foreign investments and construction, are the core of Hawai'i's current economy (State of Hawaii, DBEDT, 2013). The ideologies that supported the notion that Hawai'i was could, or ought to be, self-sufficient have been effectively suppressed through the process of European and eventually American intervention in Hawaiian society.

In 1820, missionaries were received by a society destabilized and disjointed by the dismantled *kapu* (restrictions, privileges—the Hawaiian equivalent of the Tahitian word *tabu* recorded and defined by Capt. Cook as "mysterious significance" (Steiner 1956)) system that carried the traditional political, social, economic, and gendered codes of ethics in Hawaiian society. Hawaiians were shepherded by Boston's Calvinists and soon countless other Christian missionaries working to convert people they saw as savage Hawaiians. These missionaries and their descendants became intricately woven into the fabric of Hawaiian society, including the entrepreneurial class among the Hawaiian elite.

In 1893, Queen Liliʻuokalani, unhappy with the direction in which Hawaiʻi was moving, proposed a declaration of a new constitution. *Haoles* saw her proposal as threatening the wealth of the sugar planters and others who benefited from the disempowered monarchy. A "Reform Party of the Hawaiian Kingdom" consisting of U.S. residents, politicians, and business owners, with the controversial assistance of the U.S. Foreign Minister and troops from a U.S. warship, overthrew the Queen and subsequently the Hawaiian monarchy (Kameʻeleihiwa 1995; Kinzer 2006).

The Polynesian Hawaiian archipelago has given way to a dynamic multicultural environment while retaining a memory of a treasured, but overthrown sovereign. The illegal ousting of Queen Liliʻuokalani in 1893 placed American entrepreneurs in the seat of Hawaiʻi's government (Kinzer 2006). The "Provisional Government" established by the coup placed Sanford B. Dole as president and quickly proclaimed a new constitution for the Republic of Hawaiʻi (Kinzer 2006). This particular event, etched into the collective memory, led to Hawaiʻi's transition from a sovereign nation to American statehood, occurring just sixty-six years later. For many Hawaiian residents, this historical moment is emblematic of the wounds administered through an ongoing process of America's colonization of the Hawaiian Islands.

Sovereignty

Hawaiʻi provides an unparalleled environment to study the consequences of colonization by the United Sates for several reasons. In 1993, the U.S. Congress acknowledged and apologized to the people of Hawaiʻi for its involvement in overthrowing the nation's sovereignty and has continued to focus on the issue in Acts such as the 2007 "Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization." Excluding military personnel, the white minority of the Islands' residents has remained unchanged (38 percent Asian, 10 percent Hawaiian, and 24 percent white, according to

the 2010 U.S. Census Bureau). Native Hawaiian resistance to American hegemony is evident in academic writings as well (Cruz 2004; Silva 2005; Kameʻeleihiwa 1992, 1995; Trask 1993). This Hawaiian resistance to American political, economic, and cultural control continues despite statehood and the incorporation of the former nation into the United States. The resistance can be found in contemporary discourse, in institutions, and in legal as well as in social contexts. A striking institutional example is the establishment of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in 1980. This organization continues to assert its legitimacy amidst the ongoing controversial ideology about its role in helping Hawaiians and Hawaiʻi. In 1990, OHA issued supplements in its monthly publication, *Kai Wai Ola o OHA*, to document the need, history, and development of the organization. In the first supplementary article "OHA: The Beginning—Part One," Curt Sanburn offered this summarizing chronology:

Key Dates in Changing Hawaiʻi

- 1964: John Dominis Holt publishes "On Being Hawaiian," a book that proudly counts Hawaiian achievements and refutes stereotypes.

- 1970: Tenant farmers resist eviction from Bishop Estate land at Kalama Valley on Oʻahu, sparking protests and acts of civil disobedience.

- 1971: U.S. Senate passes Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.

- 1972: A.L.O.H.A. (Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry) is formed to focus on reparations for the overthrow of Hawaiʻi.

- 1974: Farmers' protests force the state of Hawaiʻi to act to protect Waiahole Valley from suburban development.

- 1975: Alu Like Inc., a private non-profit service agency to serve the social and economic need of Hawaiians is founded.

- 1975: Activists trespass on the government-owned island of Kohoʻolawe to protest the use of the sacred land as a practice bombing target.

- 1977: The Puwalo sessions bring together diverse Hawaiian groups to share manaʻo [thoughts, ideas, beliefs] and find a common plan of action. Puwalo

means "in the spirit of cooperation."

- 1978: The State Constitutional Convention proposes the establishment of an "Office of Hawaiian Affairs" to better the conditions of all Hawaiians. The proposals are ratified by Hawai'i's voters, thus creating the Office. At the same time, Hawaiian becomes the state of Hawai'i's second official language.

- 1979: The State legislature determines that OHA will receive and administer funds equal to 20 percent of the revenue from the ceded lands trust.

- 1980: Nine trustees of OHA, elected by fifty-four thousand Hawaiians, are sworn into office by State Supreme Court Justice by William Richardson (Sandburn 1991, 12).

OHA was not the only law passed to help Hawaiians. Other examples include The

Hawaiian Homestead Act of 1921 – a federal law, which guarantees land to those with Native

Hawaiian ancestry; Kamehameha Schools elementary and secondary education for the "Children

of Hawai'i;" and more recently the establishment of Hawai'inuiākea, the "School of Hawaiian

Knowledge" at the University of Hawai'i and several Hawaiian language immersion schools

throughout the state. There are also less formal, but equally effective methods of delegitimizing

haole (White) status. Hearing the idiom, "freakin' *haole*(s)" is not uncommon when non-white

residents complain about infrastructure, tourism, historic and contemporary injustice, corruption,

and economic conditions. Geographical claims to public and private space, such as, "*haoles no

stay dea*" ("don't go there if you're white," or "white people don't live there") and even a "Kill

Haole Day," a high-school activity where local-identified youth threaten (and sometimes assault)

youth identified as nonlocal (*haoles*).

The recent status of American control of the Hawaiian nation has not faded from the

memory of Hawaiian residents. The loss of national sovereignty in 1893 and the conditions

under which that loss unfolded guided my inquiry, which is designed to identify specifically how

social service provision, as an institution, fits into the dynamics of assimilation, colonization, and

postcolonialism. The ethnographic research is directed toward understanding the ongoing

transformation of Hawaiian–American affairs as evidenced in the social services administered to Hawai'i's population.

Scope & Literature

This project is guided by literature on Hawai'i, social work practice, and a current critique of U.S. nonprofit organizations. Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928) and the invigorating challenges of her findings by Derek Freeman (1983) kept anthropological discourse about Polynesian culture (among other debates) relevant for a significant period. Nonetheless, Mead's conclusion that the so-called civilized can learn from the so-called primitives remains a useful thread. Marshall Sahlins' (1977, 1981, 1990, 1992a, 1999, 2000, 2001) interest in cultural change, symbolism, a structuralist approach to history, and concern with individuals' agency in cultural construction advanced the idea that Hawaiian culture was alive and well while amplifying the call for Native Hawaiian scholars to weigh in. Obeyesekere (1992, 1993, 1994, 1995) brought Sahlins to task, but also questioned other researchers in the discipline about whose perspective was being told in anthropological histories of Hawai'i. This debate enriched academic discussions on the region by reminding ethnographers to acknowledge potential ethnocentrism and to consider the authors' cultural contexts. Sahlins' (1985, 1988, 1989, 1992b, 1995) work on Hawai'i provides an example of how the telling of particular histories demonstrates the way in which a culture may "shape processes of change and therefore retain its own integrity for a longer time than expected" (Robins 2005, 7).

Beyond the debate between Sahlins and Obeyesekere, see Borofsky 1997 for amplification on Obeyesekere and Sahlins debate, some of the recent indigenous contemporaries, including Kame'eleihiwa (1992,1994,1995), Trask (1991,1993), Cruz (2004), and Silva (2005), were offering a chorus of *kanaka* (literally human; intended meaning is "of Hawaiian lineage")

voicing its history. Trask was rankled by the history of Hawai'i and its people as told by *haoles*.
Like many sovereignty advocates, Trask's attention on the loss of Hawaiian *'āina* occupies much
of her argument and critique. Of the *haole* historians she wrote: "They had said that the
American's 'liberated' the Hawaiians from an oppressive 'feudal' system. By inventing a false
feudal past, the historians justify—and become complicitous in—massive American theft"
(Trask 1993, 116). She is not alone: Kame'eleihiwa (1992), used Hawaiian language itself to
extract a new *mo'o'ōlelo* (narrative) about how important the *'āina* was to the cultural, political,
and moral constitution of Hawaiians and that *haole* courts have no jurisdiction over the stolen
land. Hawaiian scholar–activists retold events such as the 1848 *Mahele* (division) that led to the
privatization of land, the Bayonet Constitution that Kalakaua signed at gunpoint, and the 1893
overthrow of Lili'okualani. An alternative perspective emerged and invited investigation. The
initial history told by white historians characterized a transition from savagery (Hawaiian) to
civilization (Euro–American) as the Hawaiians were shepherded by the paternalistic Westerners.
Recent Hawaiian scholars, however, describe a deliberate and hostile land grab that robbed the
kanaka maoli (full-blooded Hawaiian people) of their land, culture, and sovereignty. These
descriptions motivated scholars to reexamine the setting and its implications. Rohrer (2006)
linked *haole* to current trends in critical whiteness theory. She argued that *haole* is "a colonial
form of whiteness—as a dynamic social assemblage. Haole was forged and re-forged in over two
centuries of colonization, and it must be understood through that history" (2006, 1). The critical
rethinking of Hawaiian history offered by *kanaka* scholar–activists and others influences this
project. In this project, I seek to understand how performing social work, as a *haole* (white,
foreign, American) institution, operates in this context.

In regard to social work, I am influenced by Ong's (2003) analytical agenda taken from Foucault's argument on the modern liberal state's use of biopower to "invest bodies and populations with properties that make them amenable to various technologies of control…with the purpose of producing subjects who are healthy and productive" (8). Her work demonstrates how the "sociocultural process of 'subjectification'…[involves] professionals—doctors, teachers, social workers, church workers, [and] probation officers" (16). Ong (2003) examined how Cambodian refugees struggled in America to avoid the rationalizing gaze of nongovernmental and governmental agents of mental and behavioral modification. She built on the "hidden transcript" notion that informs the refugees' negotiation of welfare dependency among other difficulties in the American context (Scott 1990). Another guide was Lyon-Callo's (2004) ethnographic work (as activism) in the sheltering industry in Massachusetts. His focus on the processes by which policies and professional expertise were developed on homelessness addresses the institutional ramifications that I wish to highlight in the Hawaiian context.

Lastly, Incite! Women of Color Against Violence (2009) published an edited anthology that focused on the dilemma of undoing patriarchy, white supremacy, environmental injustice, U.S. hegemony, and imperialism when once-progressive social movements have become dependent on a nonprofit status for their continued work. This text was my first reading of the term "nonprofit industrial complex" (Incite! 2009). The essays provide a the necessary examples of rethinking how Hawaiian social movements have evolved into multimillion-dollar state and federally funded nonprofit organizations (i.e., OHA, Alu Like Inc.). The authors also helped to bring forward the larger problem I wish to explore: how Hawai'i's social service organizations—advocating for impoverished Hawaiians—do or do not address the claims of injustice occurring as a result of American control of the region. Of particular interest is how current "emergency"

sheltering in Honolulu funded directly by the state and still operating nearly a decade after its establishment exemplifies the economic, political, ideological, and practical implications of the nonprofit industrial complex.

Immediately adjacent to Waikiki, Ala Moana Park was closed, where some 200 houseless people were living. Closing the park without tackling the larger social problem of where these individuals would go created a troublesome political and public problem. After an outcry from those displaced from the park and their supporters, the State stepped in and opened a temporary shelter at a former storage facility in Kakaʻako. It was initially funded for one year. This shelter and its staff constitute the heart of this study. Many researchers have explored the topic of poverty. The explanations and respective solutions articulated by social theorists for undoing poverty are widespread. This discussion is inherently political, but no doubt has practical implications. Without my conscious knowledge, this ethnographic work began as I became trained, educated, and credentialed as a human service practitioner. It has been a journey of discovery and inquiry. The journey is informed through the context of social work practice and theory as well as through ethnographic methodology, initiated by my work in the helping profession and transformed through an anthropological analysis.

This project's investigational process transformed over time. It began as a study of impoverished youth in Hawaiʻi but shifted over the years. The change toward understanding how today's nonprofit industry of social work operates within the dynamic and controversial context of Hawaiʻi's assimilation into America necessitated a more careful examination of the political and economic implications. Social service organizations are often understood within a liberal framework. Their nonprofit status, advocacy practices, and human rights discourse shape perceptions of these organizations as independent from blatant political treachery, social

injustice, or responsibility for the hardships of those they serve. In fact, social service organizations can be perceived as victims of recent neoliberal trends that privatize public welfare systems. Consequently, these organizations are often safe from criticisms that they perpetuate disempowering or dehumanizing practices. Arguably, the common "do–good-nonprofit" perception shields social service organizations from careful analysis into their potential role in the institutional mechanisms of colonialism, postcolonialism, and neoliberalism.

Foundational to the understanding of Hawai'i as a site of socio-cultural investigation is its controversial history as a state in the American union. Residential life in Hawai'i has nuanced geographical, ethnic, economic, and political implications with significant cultural markers. Hawai'i's isolation and visitor industry intensify claims of a local identity that are augmented by Hawai'i's political history and struggle. At times, such claims carry significant socioeconomic and political meaning. Other times, they are sidestepped or disregarded as irrelevant. Those who advocate for Hawaiian sovereignty at times openly fight for control and other times silently witness what they claim is the assimilation of culture, geography, and institutions within Hawai'i. For this project, I sought out the contemporary claims and implications of *Hawaiian-ness* particularly within the context of social work.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that Hawai'i is particularly useful as a research context because it is unlike other American settings. It has a historical and contemporary relevance for understanding self-determinism in light of its resistance to Euro–American influence. The review of the literature highlighted the contested "us versus them" narratives that anthropologists have engaged in for quite some time in Hawai'i. Moreover, the inclusion of Native Hawaiian scholars adds complexity, in a postmodern sense, to the discussion.

The history, literature, and focus of this paper are couched within controversy. The conclusions about the social movement, social work, and the nonprofit sector in Hawaiʻi can be distilled down to these two assertions: Hawaiʻi does not belong to America, and social work is not helpful. Both are somewhat disappointing realities to accept.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This discussion falls within a humanistic approach to anthropological research. It is not shaped under the scientific method with an objective of explaining some underlying law or solvable problem. Rather, this project is a qualitative attempt to increase our understanding of the social, political, and economic dynamics unfolding in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, and is limited to the scope of social work practiced amidst the social movements unfolding there.

In 2005, I conducted a brief field study in West Oʻahu for an AAA presentation on homelessness and squatting. This field study was the gateway to the present inquiry. Research began shortly thereafter, in January 2006, and continues today. The project utilizes ethnographic and ethnohistoric methodology and includes the linguistic context of Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), or Pidgin. A Socratic approach is utilized throughout the project.

Ethnographic

Intensive participant–observation was the chief methodology utilized in this study. My initial outlook was shaped by my early employment as a social worker. My outlook was further refined when I became an active observer in my employment as an instructor in anthropology. My immersion into the city of Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, and into the issue studied in this project, required the acquisition and competence in Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), referred to as *Pidgin* by residents. I gained fluency from residential immersion and employment, particularly as a busboy. The integration of teaching throughout the fieldwork provided a broader context for discovery and analysis. Gathering, compiling, and transcribing structured and unstructured interviews provided additional data for evaluation and insight.

In the tradition of ethnographic fieldwork, this project was carried out through years of engagement in the community, living, working, and interacting with those from whom I wished to learn. I interacted with Hawaiian sovereignty activists, social workers, and scholars. Outside of the academic setting I've worked as valet, bus boy and tour guide, and adjunct instructor[1]. The College of Social Sciences Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa coordinates a civic engagement program called Adopt an Ahupua'a[2] at the time of my involvement as a student. This program, its faculty, and community partners provided me with initial access to the activist and Native Hawaiian community. My involvement with this programming and its partners continued as an instructor which facilitated ongoing access to Native Hawaiian cultural sites and their advocates. Exploring these sites prompted deeper connections into the community and provided ongoing insight into how locals perceived contemporary events. These activities created relationships that guided me through an organic and unstructured course of discovery. I participated in acts of protest, fundraising, and awareness on behalf of those living in poverty. At the time of this project, I was an active participant in the Adopt an Ahupua'a program with *kumu* (teachers) who transmit indigenous Hawaiian worldviews.

Additionally, I developed a course that examined Honolulu's homeless as part of Hawai'i Pacific University's general education curriculum, bringing a weekly seminar directly into the Next Step shelter. This course was possible because of the long partnerships I developed with

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[1] Roles as an employee in the service industry brought excellent insight on the lives and attitudes and language spoken in the "back of the house." Informally, unintentionally and serendipitously collected data that added depth and perspective of a local worldview. Moreover, when employed as an adjunct instructor I applied for unemployment insurance during the summers. This initiated direct access to the welfare system as a bona fide "client". As a Type I diabetic, I required medical assistance to cover the costs of my prescription medications. This provided first hand experience of navigating through the demanding process of accessing welfare services in the State of Hawai'i – worth a seperate chapter itself (not included).

[2] Later renamed Mālama i nā Aupua'a (MINA)

anthropologists at University of Hawai'i and Hawai'i Pacific University before as my study unfolded. Working with Next Step and its managing director facilitated valuable opportunities for rapport with the social work community. This interaction developed further into research collaboration with the undergraduate students who enrolled in the Poverty and Culture general education course, in which students collected life histories from the staff, members, and clients of Next Step. The data collected in collaboration with students created a richer source with less bias. The student projects were flexible in their design. Students were asked to collect and electronically record life histories of the staff at the shelter. This provided 15 voice recordings of social workers, staff and administrators affiliated with the program.

Fluency in *Pidgin* or Hawaiian Creole English (HCE) constitutes a primary tool of research. Despite having over six years of residency in Hawai'i, I remained an outsider. Having a *haole* designation effectively marked me as nonlocal. Language can reduce, but not eliminate this designation. HCE, or Pidgin, functions as an ethnic marker for local Hawaiian identity. Local *haoles* (whites born and raised in Hawai'i) can use HCE to minimize exclusion. Nonetheless, whiteness is distinct and can prevent one from being considered local unlike other ethnicities (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Samoan) that might be categorized as such. The use of Pidgin quickly identifies locals – enhancing solidarity and excluding nonlocals. Fluency in Pidgin, therefore, constitutes a tool of research. However, HCE competence did not grant me unrestricted access. The language is ultimately a spoken form of culture with a limited body of written publications. When spoken, code switching based on context is frequently used. In many ways, this terrain highlights an ever-present "us versus them" dynamic in Hawai'i that is both racialized and linguistically manifested . Claims of a local identity for *haoles* in Hawai'i are possible after generations of residence, but even these claims are contested by some. Despite

American statehood and the marketing images of Hawaiians eagerly awaiting tourists with messages of "*aloha* in paradise," whites who venture beyond Oʻahu's industrialized, visitor-centered spheres[3] find themselves engaging with members of a diverse nonwhite context in which Asian and Pacific worldviews are expressed in the spoken language of Hawaiʻi—Pidgin.

The larger context of data collection through ethnographic engagement and extensive participant observation within (1) educational, (2) activist, (3) Native Hawaiian, and (4) social service settings was focused into specific electronically recorded and transcribed interviews used for critical discourse analysis. The interviews I collected were supplemented by electronically recorded and transcribed interviews conducted by undergraduate students, under my supervision, collected from coursework with Hawaiʻi Pacific University. The interviews collected by students were used as raw data separate from my research agenda. All participants in the research in which recordings and transcriptions were made were presented with an informed consent document.

The transcribed participants of this work consisted of twenty-five individuals (1) working, (2) managing (3) directing, or (4) involved in funding nonprofit organizations related to education or social service. Structured and unstructured interviews were conducted. The structured interviews were open-ended, in a life history format, with the objective of learning how and why the informants found themselves working, funding, or receiving services from a nonprofit social service organizations in Hawaiʻi. In addition, participants were asked what they thought about Hawaiian culture and sovereignty. The theme of activism was explored with those identified as social workers; the theme of welfare was explored with identified activists. Interviews with Hawaiian sovereignty advocates focused on their opinion of the connections

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[3] Omitting, of course, the cotext of locals who work within the tourism and service industires and/or live in Waikiki.

between social service organizations, the Hawaiian nation, and its people. The social work practitioners interviewed included front-line staff, program managers, and executive directors. Many unstructured interviews recorded in an ongoing field journal also were used to inform the project. Data obtained through cultural immersion, participant observation, and community-engaged education (i.e., service-learning contexts) are incorporated throughout the analysis and ethnohistorical review.

The primary consultants in this study were individuals associated with institutions that are closely connected to economically marginalized groups. Poor people, particularly those without employment or housing, do not hold enough social status to effect change. Their advocates—social workers—tend to have clear voices about their clients' situations, but may be stymied by the current neoliberal privatization and funding dilemma characterizing nonprofit organizations. Their personal economic welfare was often lower middle class and their job security – with a nonprofit – was in jeopardy of funding. For example, the Next Step shelter precariously operated with annual funding only. It was established as a 1-year emergency shelter by the state of Hawai'i making its staff quite insecure about thier future. Nonetheless, the individuals who experience poverty have insight into the unjust, unfair, inequitable, dysfunctional, and harmful practices of the institutions with which they are expected to align (Fest 1998; Lyon-Callo 2004; Ong 2003). The stories of those in poverty are a reminder of the problem explored in this study. As such, perspectives presented by "clients" are a source of data for the project. The narratives voiced by these informants shaped a recognizable theme valuing Hawaiian custom and knowledge. These informants also directed further inquiry: How do social workers and their clients characterize and contextualize their access to resources and status? Do these perceptions link to our academic understandings of American political, cultural, and

economic hegemony? The qualitative ethnographic data were analyzed as manifestations and components of the larger political and ideological struggle between Hawaiian and American control of the region and its institutions.

The integration of community engagement (i.e., service-learning coursework) with undergraduate students played a key role. This community interaction took two forms. In one form, a field trip program (referred to here as *Hawaiian Connections*) was administered by the anthropology program at Hawai'i Pacific University. This program included the Adopt an Ahupua'a program administered by the University of Hawai'i, as part of a collaboration with Hawai'i Pacific University. The program connects students to Native Hawaiian "community partners" in field activities related to cultural practices, indigenous geography, and horticulture, and is best characterized as nonacademic Hawaiian history and cultural education. The second form of community interaction took the form of a service-learning undergraduate course taught inside Next Step, a state-funded homeless shelter. The course, *Poverty & Culture*, was a weekly three-hour seminar taught for three semesters, for a total of twelve months. Through the course, students and I were able to access the shelter environment and to engage directly with staff and clients. Additionally, I participated in Hawaiian Sovereignty events, characterized as activism, over the course of several years.

Ethnohistoric

The ethnohistoric and historic research conducted for this study places the study within the historical and political struggle of Hawaiian sovereignty. Particular attention was paid to evidence of Hawaiian cultural resistance, acquiescence, or cooperation in the ever-changing political struggle that unfolds in Hawai'i. Simplifying the positions to "pro-America" versus

"pro- Hawaiʻi" frames the focus. These positions do not neatly contain the dynamics or problem. Instead, they establish the boundaries of review.

The ethnohistoric effort centered on descriptions of Hawaiian resistance to or advocacy of American intervention in literature, culture, discourse, and practice. Those opposed to the American presence in Hawaiʻi are, arguably, a minority. Sovereignty advocates comprise both tightly knit and factionalized grassroots organizations. Both local and *haole* groups portray sovereignty advocates negatively. Yet, sovereignty advocates remain an important feature of the cultural landscape. Several organized sovereignty groups have emerged over the decades, although they have become factionalized and at odds with each other. Some have remained grassroots in character while state appointments have legitimated others. ALOHA (Aboriginal Lands of Hawaiian Ancestry), DHHL (Department of Hawaiian Homelands), Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Ka Lahui, Nation of Hawaiʻi, Ka Pakaukau, Hawaiian Kingdom, Poka Laenui, Hawaiian Kingdom Government, Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, and The Polynesian Kingdom of Atooi are only a few of the established Hawaiian sovereignty advocates. There are other less organized groups and individuals as well. What the groups want and how they conduct their resistance manifests in various ways, but their criticisms of American intervention and their impassioned claims about the damage American intervention has done to Hawaiian society is a common denominator.

Again, reducing the issue into simply pro-Hawaiian versus pro-American did not aptly characterize the context of the problem, but allowed me to confine the scope of investigation. Do social service organizations play a role within the context of American ideological hegemony in Hawaiʻi? If so, what is this role? Do social service organizations passively or actively (through legal, cultural, or political protest) resist American hegemony? Do they incorporate Hawaiian ways of doing, thinking, and talking, and, if so, how and why? In this inquiry, I attempt to build

on existing research to link Hawaiian colonization and its resistance with social work practice and its effectiveness (Fest 1998; Lyon-Callo 2004; Ong 2003; Reed 1996; Scott-Myer 1997; Shipler 2004).

Throughout all methods of investigation in this study, a Socratic method was used, involving questions such as, How have social services providers functioned in the colonial and/or postcolonial process in Hawai'i? Are social service providers actively involved in advocating for those disempowered by and though colonial and postcolonial practices? If not, why? Have social service organizations inadvertently (or intentionally) aided the incumbent power holders? Do social welfare organizations facilitate the assimilation? How do social service organizations advocate, mediate within, and serve people in this complex postcolonial environment? I also considered if, how, and when social work practice correlates to the injustices inherent in colonization, institutional racism, the struggle for Hawaiian sovereignty, and poverty in Hawai'i. The results of the study provide insight into the institutional contours of the "helping profession."

Conclusion

My acquisition and fluency in HCE, or Pidgin, along with several years of immersion in the "field" of Honolulu, Hawai'i, provided the context for my ethnohistoric and ethnographic efforts, which I combined with critical discourse analyses. Data addressing social work and the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement were collected in educational and community settings ranging from homeless shelters to *lo'is* (taro patches) and political rallies. Students collaborated with me by gathering life histories of social workers and social activists. Narratives from Hawaiian community members who had long-standing partnerships in service-learning programming with the University of Hawai'i and Hawai'i Pacific University were included and evaluated as

evidence of the continuation of Hawaiian cultural knowledge. My personal bias as a social worker was acknowledged, accounted for, and included in the analysis. The investigational methods used in this study were aimed at increasing our understanding of social work practice in general through increasing our understanding of the unique social, political, and economic reality of the Hawaiian setting, a setting that offers researchers and practitioners considerable insight into paternalistic ideology.

CHAPTER 4

SOCIAL WORK

This chapter focuses on the relationship between social work and capitalism with a particular focus on Hawaiʻi and Minneapolis, and is based on ethnographic data I collected over the past twenty years. Linking social work with industrialization is not a new idea. Social workers in training commonly learn about the relationship between social work and capitalism. Ironically, this "training" is often bolstered with tongue in cheek remarks about how poorly the profession pays. Still, there is something deeper to understand about how social work, as an institution, operates within our society. Obviously, any analysis is couched within a political position. For example, proponents of a liberal approach search for evidence that demonstrates the usefulness of social work. In one interview I was asked rhetorically, "Who did I think would advocate for homeless youth" (J. Villa Senior, personal communication, December 8, 2009). Most of my interactions with and transcripts of social workers signal *advocacy* for the marginalized as a key component in warranting the work they do. This narrative helps justify the necessity for rendering services to society's needy. In contrast, those with a conservative approach might look to demonstrate how social work enables its constituents and therefore contributes to their despair. This position was not evident within my transcribed data, but did present itself in informal interviews and field notes. "Anyone can get a job and find a place to stay here if they work hard enough – the hotels are always hiring or landscaping for cash" (Anonymous, personal communication, May 15, 2008). The broader context here is ascribing responsibility for unequal economic status. Rather than camouflaging this political position, I place politics in the forefront of this discussion. This dissertation focuses on understanding social

work's role and place—as an institution—in the ever-expanding gap between upper and lower class status and how the nonprofit industrial complex contributes to this dynamic.

Indeed, sociopolitical interests complicate discussions about social welfare. Researchers and their participants quickly locate themselves within broad ideological positions governed by liberal–conservative ideological boundaries. Unfortunately, this oversimplification hinders any investigation on social work, particularly when one is searching for how social work may *perpetuate* the need for welfare rather than improve the structural conditions. Thus, questioning the effectiveness of social work is quickly collated and co-opted into a conservative critique. It would be easy to misconstrue and reduce this research into a conservative talking point, such as "social work is (a part of) the problem." When describing the project's inquiry to a friend, a social worker, she was offended by a project that would question the function and legitimacy of social work as anything else by necessary (J. Fondell, personal communication, June 23, 2012). More concerning, for her, was the potential that such findings might embolden the neoliberal agenda with evidence that social work was part of the problem and should be revised through privatization. As a result, long-term rapport, careful interviewing, and candid self-disclosure were required to avoid defensive ideological posturing from informants.

Drawing on years of experience as a social work practitioner, as well as from the collected narratives of social workers, the mission statements of social work organizations, and the curriculum for the training of social workers, I argue that the struggle for social change has been cleverly usurped by the neoliberal economic reality in which social work organizations find themselves. Despite the dominant rationale of advocacy for the marginalized, this noble mission is tethered to an economic reality that disables its political influence to effectively change the societies in which they operate.

Social work is seen as both charitable and necessary. The more obvious beneficiaries are the many individuals helped through hardships by the services offered. Perhaps a lesser-known fact is that social work is an ever-growing field of professional employment, apparently serving both the helper and the helped. Becoming a social worker is not a lucrative vocation by any means, but it may be the best option for employment for those who take up the work. 15 social workers I interviewed had received some type of social/economic service in their own lives. Although employment ebbs and flows with economic conditions and governmental policies on funding, the overall trend for receiving credentialing and employment as a social worker continues to increase. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics the projected percent change in employment for social workers in 19 percent by 2022. The average growth rate for all occupations in that same time frame is 11 percent (2014-15).

> Real output in the health care and social assistance sector is projected to grow at the same rate as the overall rate of the economy, 2.9 percent, to reach $2.0 trillion in 2020. This growth rate is the same as that seen in the previous decade. However, employment in the health care and social assistance sector is projected to generate the largest number of jobs, 5.6 million, at an annual rate of 3.0 percent. This increase is the largest and fastest among all major sectors. (Henderson 2012, 68)

The field is protected from scrutiny given its charitable nature and its social-economic necessity. Yet, social work is directly involved in maintaining systemic inequalities. It also functions as insulation and protection for the elite, serving as a "buffer" (Kivel 2009) between the haves and the have-nots. Those in charge of the training and professionalization of helpers have turned away from asking why society is unjust or from attempting to change society's growing stratification. Rather, helpers are being equipped with practical skills on how to assist "approved" marginalized populations (i.e., the "deserving poor," the mentally ill, battered women, children, etc.). The social workers and agencies this project addresses are those working

with vulnerable clients – the homeless. Several of social workers interviewed indicated that they were themselves a few paychecks away from poverty, had experienced mental health issues or a survived a domestically violent home with their salaries rarely reaching $30,000. According to a job search engine the average social worker salaries in Hawai'i are 38 percent lower than the national average for social worker salaries (http://www.indeed.com/salary/q-Social-Worker-l-Hawaii.html, Accessed October 9, 2014). In fact, most of the practitioners were trained through unofficial apprenticeships. As recipients of services themselves, they found a window of opportunity to become like their helpers. A study conducted by the National Association of Social Workers and the Center for Health Workforce Studies in 2004 surveyed nearly 50,000 licensed social workers to explore the factors associated with the highest and lowest salaries of the profession. Its conclusion stated:

> Of particular concern is the relationship between low salaries and agencies that are likely to provide services to the most vulnerable clients— underscoring a long-held belief that social workers' salaries are closely linked to the societal value placed on their clients. Competitive and fair salaries are the first step to assuring that a competent social work workforce is going to be available to meet the needs of agencies and their clients in the coming decades. (Whitaker, T. 2006, 25)

However, this solution is quite troublesome when social work agencies, entrenched in their own economic crises of payroll, rent, and overhead, must procure funding as well as justify their work.

In the end, economic sustainability becomes a complex craft for agency administrators requiring multivoiced narratives. They must develop mission statements that address both clients and funders needs. In this context the ability to address systemic problems slips in priority to their own survival.

Susan

Susan Phillips, Program Director of Lutheran Social Services Metro Homeless Youth

Programs in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and a trained anthropologist, provided insight into the

requirements of federal and state funding contracts. This insight is an important lens, as it shows

how funding is linked to evidence. Organizations are expected to show they are delivering the

services the funding is intended to support. Some grantors are less diligent about checking

program effectiveness; others are more invested in seeing such evidence. Curiously, the potential

for "mission drifting" (S. Phillips, personal interview, July 19, 2013) occurs when funding is

secure and stable. Mission drifting refers to the tendency of an agency to conduct (or claim to

conduct) activities based upon funding requirements rather than upon its mission.

Federal and state funding streams are typically the most stable and the most rigorously

monitored. Housing and Urban Development (HUD) and Department of Health and Human

Services (DHHS) provide grants to nonprofits engaged in a variety of activities. Many

administrators expressed contempt for the red tape associated with federal and state funding; yet,

these resources provide credibility in the nonprofit sector. Having a HUD grant demonstrates an

agency's competency in fundraising, data tracking, and service delivery. The following is an e-

mail from Susan:

> So HUD requires us to track:
> 1. the % of clients whose total income and earned income increases over
>   participation
> 2. the % of clients who exit Rezek House into permanent housing
>   AND, because we added them in our proposal a bazillion years ago:
> 3. % that completed a goal on their case plan
> 4. % that enrolled in an educational program
> 5. % that "master" independent living skills
>   Other state funders of ours require the same increased income and exit into
> permanent housing. One of them requires staff to use the attached "Arizona self
> sufficiency matrix" to assess each 3 months whether or not clients still need
> services ?!?!?!?! (S. Phillips, e-mail message to author, August 5, 1013)

The data required by HUD, DHHS, and a few other private funders prompted the

formulation of a Data Action Group (DAG) in Minneapolis. The members of the group were

concerned about coordinating services for homeless youth and funding programs across the Twin

Cities Metro Area. DAG members wanted to work together and, in effect, articulate what *they*

believed were important outcomes to measure for services rendered. Susan worked with this

group to revitalize and restore institutions experiencing mission drift driven by funding streams.

DAG, which consisted of over thirty stakeholders, adopted a report entitled "Measuring Shared

Outcomes of the Homeless Youth Response System in the Twin Cities Metro Area." The report

was helpful in consolidating and unifying agencies voices, but funders were less interested.

> Here I have attached the document re outcomes, indicators, & data for the Metro
> Youth System Redesign process (this is the process that resulted from McKnight
> pulling away from funding homeless youth programs). So while there is no funder
> requiring that we track these, DHS [Minnesota's state Department of Human
> Services] did ask us to refer to this in our application last month for Homeless
> Youth Act $$. (S. Phillips, e-mail message to author, August 5, 3013)

Susan presented me with a "Youth Contact" form used by StreetWorks[1]. The contact

form serves primarily as a data tracking device for HUD and DHHS. The form is quick and easy

to complete by design, but does not measure the outcomes DAG wants its agencies to address.

The youth contact form functions more as proof of the delivery of service for funders. It is

unlikely that a street outreach worker will be able to obtain all of the information requested on

such a form, but they are expected to do the best they can to complete and submit it when a

service is delivered. "We see this as the 'paperwork' part of the job. It's something we've got to

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[1] A collaborative group of 10 -12 youth serving agencies that conducted street based outreach. Much of the funding
came from HUD. Unfortunately, they recently disbanded the collaborative after 20 years – due, in part, to the lack of
funding from HUD.

do for funding" (J. Villa Senior, personal communication, December 8, 2009). There are other forms, too, that are used to track the times, locations, and number of contacts outreach workers make, as well as the distribution of cards, brochures, candy, condoms, clothing, and hygiene products, etc., which make up a substantial portion of any street outreach program's budget. Such things must be paid for. Interestingly, funding has influenced what is important to track when working with homeless youth. This type of influence is inherent whenever money is exchanged.

For Susan, conducting youth work is that of "relationship building" - this is at the core of what she expects the youth workers and programs under her charge to be focused on (S. Phillips, personal interview, July 19, 2013). Additionally, "changing attitudes" about whom and why youth are homeless represents what she describes as the most important aspect of her work (S. Phillips, personal interview, July 19, 2013).

Obviously, relationships and attitudes are difficult, if not impossible, to track. Sadly, if Susan and other programs like hers wish to be funded they must count and measure what the funders want. Over the past 10 years Susan has been actively collaborating with other agencies in the community to create mission-focused outcomes that address the concerns of the agencies and the funders. Unfortunately, these efforts are often unsuccessful. Moreover, the collaborative is in competition for the same monies creating tensions based on the limited economic resources.

For many years Susan operated the Homeless Youth Programs with a fair degree of autonomy. She described the programs as a "step child" of LSS able to survive, in part, due to congregational support (churches) and otherwise effective fundraising she had done. LSS began to limit Susan's decision making power and tether the programs to the larger entity of LSS. She was literally brought into the LSS infrastructure when told, for the first time, to forfeit her office

in the Transition Living Program – several miles away from LSS. She explained that the end was near and re-officing was symbolic of the leash being drawn in. A few months later, after nearly 20 years of service Susan left LSS under contentious circumstances. She had successfully raised funds for a host of services for homeless youth that are proudly trademarked by LSS.

Background

Social work, as we know it "…first emerged as a more-or-less conscious effort to…stabilize American industrial society" (Ehrenreich 1985, 19). Within a fifty-year timespan, the industrialization that followed the Civil War transformed America. Beginning in 1877 and extending until World War I, American society was in an ever-deepening economic, social, and political crisis due to industrial development. The Progressive Era (c. 1890s–1920s) ushered in industrialization, which required a remedy for its damaging social effects. During this time, the United States transitioned from an agricultural-based society with little global influence into a world-leading industrial power.

The industrial growth of America is dramatic during this period. The growth represents the benchmark for "progress," the establishment of a "progressive" political movement, and the historically framed "Progressive Era." However, industrialization and progress produced negative consequences for American society. Within the span of a lifetime, predominately small-town, agrarian-based communities transformed into overcrowded, urban, industrialized settings. New cities emerged. Larger cities grew, absorbing the surrounding rural areas. New York grew from just over one million people in 1860 to five and a half million by 1920 (Bettman 1974). Since this transformation, today's cities have remained largely the same. In fact, the forces of globalization have motivated international corporations to move into undeveloped regions. As

part of this process, immigrants are lured into countries with more developed economies, looking for employment.

In the 1920s, problems emerged, including increased transportation and housing needs, increased infant mortality rates (higher than most undeveloped countries today), health epidemics, and environmental pollution (Foner 1964, 11-31). High immigration rates heightened tensions (Gutman 1976; Higham 1971). "Issues of class and ethnicity were inextricably linked in the United states from the mid-nineteenth century on" (Ehrenreich 1985, 19). Further complicating the socioeconomic landscape was the extraordinary wealth of monopolists like Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Vanderbilt. The wretched poverty of most city dwellers, be they immigrants, native born, or migrated southern blacks, highlighted the disparity between the rich and the poor. Class, ethnicity, and race became etched into the sociopolitical landscape. The gap between rich and poor inspired early social activism aimed at helping those who were not benefiting from the "progress" of industrialization. Unfortunately, this activism has gained little ground in reversing the consequences of economic development. Instead, social service rather than activism became the principal aim of social work.

Social work was the proactive institutional tool designed to address the troublesome consequences of industrialization (Ehrenreich 1985). Driven by middle-class compassion and sympathy for those needing their help, social workers promoted a benevolent yet paternalistic altruism. In fact, from its inception, social work benefited from a "we're trying to help" identity. Despite an authentically held altruistic intention, the function of social work was and still focuses on comforting those negatively affected by systemic inequality and minimizing the effects they experience.

Social work and social movements share history. Because of the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s, a "proliferation of community-based and state-sponsored programs" emerged (Morgan 2001, 156). A sector of community-based nonprofits flourished in the 1970s. Morgan (2001) explored how the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), a large public-sector work program that served millions with jobs and training for Public Service Employment (PSE) between 1974 and 1983, was connected to state funding.

> Because CETA provided funds for job creation, it enabled a wide variety of community-based organizations to survive and provided needed social and human services within low-income communities or to staff nonprofit organizations that came to improve the lives of women, people of color, gays and lesbians, the poor, another disenfranchise groups. (Morgan 2001, 157)

Hawai'i, too, reflects this trend, as grassroots organizations aimed at helping Native Hawaiians began to be funded, some with federal monies. Alu Like, funded with monies set aside for Native Americans, was a key organization in the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement and continues to be a premier nonprofit with a mission to serve Native Hawaiians. Morgan (2001) argued that the connections between CETA and community-based agendas are what rallied conservative scholars and politicians to oppose and dismantle state welfare programs.

Social work reveals and, at times, conceals marginalization in our society. As a practice, social work ebbs and flows with the political economic system. Put more pessimistically, the profession of social work requires social disparity to stay relevant. Once again, the idea and practice of social work does have benefits, but poor and marginalized populations remain constant. In fact, these disenfranchised populations are growing. Clearly, social work cannot end poverty or inequality without institutional and structural change. Unfortunately, social work and capitalism are entangled. I argue that even without conservatism, grassroots and community-based efforts confined by a capitalist structure are transformed by and into nonprofit agencies

that, in an effort to survive economically, engage in "mission drifting" (A. Anderson, personal

communication, March 11, 2014). The drifting is toward funding. In other words, an agency

drifts away from what their mission states in order to acquire funding. Another, more recent

trend is to minimize the details of a mission statement enabling more diverse funding efforts.

Accusing nonprofits of this infidelity is unpopular, and indeed, the infidelity is not easily

quantifiable. However, what if this accusation were true? In other words, what if nonprofits

themselves are struggling to survive? What if they feel an obligation to their clients and staff to

stay "in business," no matter what it takes? What if they believe they need money in order to

help—that without money they are useless? What if this is the reality for most nonprofit

administrators? If this is the case, then, the ascribed "do–good" mission may camouflage the

social work endeavor and its contributions to solving the problem of inequality.

The consequences for Hawaiians of a changing economic reality unfolded quickly. Some

social work organizations operating today are funded, in part, by a state agency with activist

grassroots: OHA, an agency which represents a complicated sociopolitical mix of history, self-

determination, economics, and culture in Hawai'i.

The voices of people involved in the helping profession correlate with the discourse for

social change, a discourse that is constrained by the economic realities of both the agencies and

their staff. Through what could be described as fundable narratives, social work organizations

and their staff are limited in how they discuss their work. Social work fluency and jargon encode

the discourse; peering behind this rhetoric is not easy. The necessity and nobility of helping

conceals a grim reality for most of those involved in social service delivery: a concern for their

own financial well-being (as individuals and as agencies). Occasionally, individual social

workers and agencies venture beyond this limitation, risking funding, credibility, and even employment.

In Hawai'i, substantial financial resources are available for Native Hawaiians. Therefore, there is a chorus of missions centered upon the needs of Native Hawaiians. Often, this will be rearticulated institutionally in an agency's use (or claim) of specific Hawaiian values (e.g., *aloha*, *kuleana*, *pono*). The political struggle for Hawaiian self-determination has been won; there is no more questioning the fact that Native Hawaiians have been treated unjustly. Consequently, funders, the polity, and the community at large support Native Hawaiian advocacy in the nonprofit sector in Hawai'i. However, support for this narrative is dubious on both sides of the debate. Being too anti-American can jeopardize an agency's legitimacy for funding streams, especially state and federal. In one interview, a practicing social worker went to significant lengths to convey the consequences and challenges of living in a *haole* system, not only for his clients, but for himself as well. Funding for Native Hawaiians and the agencies that serve them is carefully scrutinized and politically entrenched. This situation has led to well-crafted, non-revolutionary, diplomatically designed narratives that display pro-Hawaiian signals without threatening the establishment.

Language in Hawai'i is a salient topic. English became the dominant language through colonization and language planning (Day 1987; Huebner 1985; Sato 1989; Trask 1949, 1985). Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), or Pidgin, remains a prevalent but contested linguistic practice. Sato (1989) argued that HCE occupies a place in public consciousness that enables a better understanding of how "English variation reflects different dimensions of social identity (ethnicity, class, localness) as the larger economic and political context changes over time" (209-

210). Teaching Standard American English in schools and refraining from speaking Pidgin in formal settings reflects the ongoing assimilation of local culture.

Speaking Pidgin as a political form of resistance or demonstration of self-determination has had some support. HCE has taken a place, with the help of linguists, as a legitimate and distinct language (Booth 2009; Da Pidgin Coup 1999; Sakoda 2003). However, some linguists contest Pidgin's place as a legitimate language. Some think it ought to be characterized as a variety of English, a local Hawaiian vernacular (H. Nguyen, personal communication, April 26, 2012). Either way, speaking Standard American English remains in force.

Fairlclough (2001) suggests that standardization is part of a wider process of economic, political, and cultural unification (41). Fairclough's concern is about viewing British Received Pronunciation as "correct" English. Wardhaugh's (2010) review of pidgins and creoles (53-83) and African American English (363-376) reiterates the social implications that emerge when examining varieties of language against a standard. Speaking "properly" presents a tension in classification and stratification, both linguistically and socially. Standardization then operates as "cultural capital" (Bourdieu 2008). The way one speaks signals the kind of knowledge, skills, and education one has acquired. The codified standard occupies a level of perceived cultural, economic, and political prestige. There have been scholarly efforts towards neutralizing the power of linguistic standards by categorizing them as varieties and demonstrating the full functionality of their nonstandard counterparts (Booth 2009; Da Pidgin Coup 1999; Labov 1980; Sakoda 2003), but these efforts are bounded by an ideological power structure.

Fairclough (2001) suggested that critical conversational and discourse analysis, or what he calls "critical language study or CLS for short" (4), can assist us in deepening the exploration of the social and ideological word we inhabit (192). A key factor in Fairclough's CLS is what he

calls "members' resources or MR for short" (9). MR mediates the process of decoding what is meant through what is said.

> It includes a diverse collection of things – the shape of words, the grammatical forms of sentences, the structure of the narrative, the properties of the types of object and person, the expected sequence of events in a particular situation type and so forth. Some of these are linguistic, and some of them are not. (Fairclough 2001, 9)

CLS is used for understanding how power and ideology is presented in the language process— the discourse. This means that context plays a vital role when using CLS. Analyzing linguistic components in relation to a social context demonstrates how social structures of power are enacted and resisted. CLS may help to illuminate the context of those who claim Hawaiian identity, culture, and ideology as vital. The paradox of this effort is my status as *haole*; however, if Fairclough is correct, my role in the discourse will elicit valuable ideological content.

Dana & Wai'anae Neighborhood Place

The following interview excerpt exemplifies how social work in Hawai'i – in this case Wai'anae – is actively asserting a social-political struggle between Hawaiian and *Haole* systems. This interview stood out amongst others because of its attention to structural forces. It represents an assertive Hawaiian resilience at its heart. The interview occurred early in the research process and was unparalleled by other social workers I interviewed. The interview reflected social activists' narratives much more closely those of social workers. Undoubtedly it was shaped, in part, by the geographical location, the speaker's experience and the nature of my inquiry. At the time I was canvasing social workers that might help me connect with homeless youth willing to participate in my research. I introduced myself as a former street outreach worker turned ethnographer interested to learn about homelessness in his community. In hind sight, it is

possible the interviewee intuited (or assumed) my unfamiliarity with Hawaiian history and worked to incorporate that into the narrative.

The speaker, sensitive to my *haole*-ness, spoke predominately in Standard American English (SAE) with minor code switching to Pidgin. He also defined many of the non-English words he used. Technically, Pidgin is not codified. Although some linguists and advocates have attempted to publish and document its lexicon and grammar, there is no singular authority, much less agreement about its form. Speaking Pidgin operates on a call-and-response basis: If one cannot respond appropriately to the calls, SAE (or another language) will be used.

Dana is a street outreach worker at *Ka Wahi Kaiaulu*—Waiʻanae Neighborhood Place— on the west side of Oʻahu, operates in a similar call-and-response fashion with language. In his interview, he boldly articulated a history, a worldview, and a struggle that Native Hawaiians continue to endure. Dana's disapproval of the *haole* system was clear. This blatant anti-*haole* discourse may be understood, in part, geographically.

Waiʻanae is located at the far western end of Oʻahu and is one of the largest regions of land allocated to Hawaiians from the Department of Hawaiian Homelands, populated by many living in or close to poverty. Waiʻanae is "country," not "town." It is seen as Hawaiian space. Specific areas in Hawaiʻi transmit the history of colonization through their infrastructural changes to the *āina* (land). Urbanization and the proliferation of hotel and resort complexes represent the ongoing transformation of Hawaiʻi. Yet, in Waiʻanae, development and resorts simply do not take hold. Like racialized ghettoes in America's mainland, non-whites are cautioned about venturing into Waiʻanae. Makua, a completely undeveloped valley currently controlled by the U.S. military, reflects the precontact landscape of Hawaiʻi, but also the reality of U.S. military occupation.

Dana's work with the homeless in Waiʻanae put him face to face with the challenges so many have living in "paradise." The agency he worked for played a role in addressing the disenfranchisement of Hawaiians during the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. The agency is a social service organization with a social activist past. Dana carried that activism with him. His passion and discourse about the injustice done to local Hawaiian residents took center stage in our interactions.

Ka Wahi Kaiaulu is at the forefront of Hawaiian social activism. The organization is a descendant of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. The organization's mission, history, and staff align with local identity and anti-establishment discourse. One would think doing so would jeopardize fundability. The following is an excerpt from the *Ka Wahi Kaiaulu* website.

> Our history and the design of our programs are rooted in the activist nature of this community. In the mid-1970's the Waiʻanae Community rallied together to take control of the State's Community Mental Health Center (CMHC) in Waiʻanae. The Community felt that mental health services should be grounded in local values and provided by the people familiar with Waiʻanae's culture. In 1978, the State heard the Community's pleas, and began to transition the CMHC to the Waiʻanae Community.
>
> We began a transition program with the State, first, by separating our community service from the Leeward District by designating Waiʻanae as a separate "catchment" area. We were called a "demonstration model" and formed our own advisory board. This board set the path for spinning off completely from the State, forming a community owned and governed not-for-profit mental health center. We incorporated in the State of Hawaiʻi in 1987. By January 1995, we became the first mental health center in Hawaiʻi to receive national accreditation by CARF (Commission on Accreditation of Rehabilitation Facilities) for mental health case management and out patient therapy. We received the maximum three-year accreditation. We were re-accredited in 1998 again for the maximum three years. We also became associated with the Hawaiʻi ʻOhana Project—a Federal demonstration program to design a comprehensive system of care for families and youths with emphasis on a cultural basis for care.
>
> In 1996, we moved out of very cramped quarters at the Satellite City Hall in Waiʻanae into our current home - office. We began doing business as "Hale Naʻau Pono," a Hawaiian name interpreted as "The Center for Inner Balance." From 1995 to 1998, we have more than doubled our staff and tripled our clients. (Waiʻanae Coast Community Mental Health Center 2013)

Hale Naʻau Pono's "split from the state" exemplifies the trajectory away from social activism towards social service framed within nonprofit incorporation. The most reliable funding streams for nonprofit organizations come from state and federal coffers. This is no different for *Hale Naʻau Pono.* "This board set the path for spinning off completely from the State, forming a community owned and governed not-for-profit mental health center" (Waiʻanae Coast Community Mental Health Center 2013). The organization sought and received national accreditation for mental health case management and outpatient therapy. This accreditation legitimized their work within the realm of social service and opened them to funding as a mental health resource. They "became associated with … a Federal demonstration program to design a comprehensive system of care for families and youths with emphasis on a cultural basis for care" (Waiʻanae Coast Community Mental Health Center 2013). After careful examination, it can be seen that the "separating" process of becoming a self-governed nonprofit offered a paradoxical outcome: autonomy, but with fiscal reliance upon state and federal resources.

Amidst the poverty, struggles, and disenfranchisement of his clients, Dana's vantage point centered on offering a Hawaiian cultural worldview as a solution to the consequences of a *haole* system of inequity. There was no questioning Dana's commitment and the usefulness of incorporating this anti-*haole* narrative when delivering services to folks grappling with hopelessness: His approach manifested as hope. Nonetheless, the implications of how Dana's narrative could change the social conditions in Hawaiʻi were grimmer. His primary audience consisted of impoverished, homeless, and mentally ill clients. His agency, *Hale Naʻau Pono* (formerly *Ka Wahi Kaiaulu*—Waiʻanae Neighborhood Place), lacked the political and fiscal wherewithal to make the structural changes necessary to improve the lives of those living in Waiʻanae. In fact, *Hale Naʻau Pono's* website had donation buttons, an indication of the tenuous

nature of their financial situation. Dana's reminders about what Hawaiians' have endured serves

as a comparison to the ongoing reality for *Hale Naʻau Pono's* own story of survival.

Dana Talks Story

The interview was conducted in 2008 at the informant's place of employment, the

Waiʻanae Neighborhood Place (later renamed *Hale Naʻau Pono*). The excerpts are the unedited

transcripts from the first moments of the interview. For analytical clarity, I created two excerpts

as points of discussion. They are not taken out of context or out of the timeline of the original

discourse.

For additional clarity, the codified definitions of the Hawaiian words used in the excerpts

below are taken from Puki's 1986 Hawaiian dictionary:

Haole:	White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin, as plants, pigs, chickens; entirely white, of pigs.
Kupuna:	1. Grandparent, ancestor, relative, or close friend of the grandparent's generation, grandaunt, granduncle.
	2. Starting point, source; growing
Ohana:	Family, relative, kin group; related (Puki 1986).

Excerpt I

1 (T):	So, start maybe with who you are, what you do. Sort of your
2	qualifications.
3 (D):	Ok. Um. My name is Dana Neuman. Although I have a haole last
4	name, my mother is Hawaiian and my dad is Caucasian-Puerto Rican,
5	so. I'm mixed heritage. Um. I'm from the Waianae Coast although my
6	kupuna or my grandparents come from the island of Hawaiʻi. We've
7	been on the coast for four generations now. And dis boat my mom
8	and my dad. Um. [three second pause]. I work at Waianae

9		Neighborhood Place which is a program dat assists families um
10		basically we do family strengthening. Um. I graduated from the
11		University of Hawaiʻi West Oahu and I have a BA in political science.
12 (T):		All right. And how did you get into this particular line of work?
13 (D):		How did I get into this particular work dat...? Um. Kind of it's always
14		been something that I wanted to do in terms of assisting our
15		community and just seeing that there are opportunities within this
16		Western framework. That has been a great challenge in terms of uh
17		understanding who we are. For myself I consider myself Hawaiian.
18		Um even though my dad is Caucasian-Puerto Rican, we have been
19		raised as Hawaiians and nothing less of that, so. And for me, being
20		Hawaiian, it tells me to work with my community, my ohana, and fix
21		some of the problems that might be—that might exist—within our
22		families and so it's just an extension of trying to fix my ohana and our
23		community as an extension of that ohana.

This excerpt has non-English words that stand out as analytically valuable. When answering the question, *Who are you and what* [do] *you do?* (1T), the participant offered in lines 3-5D, *My name is Dana Neuman. Although I have a* haole *last name, my mother is Hawaiian and my dad is Caucasian-Puerto Rican. So, I'm mixed heritage*. He further developed identity geographically: *I'm from the Waianae Coast* (5D). This serves as an explanative marker regarding social and economic context. He traces his ethnicity through his parents and uses the word *kupuna* (6D) to signal his Hawaiian knowledge and claim. The word choice of *kupuna,* combined with his description that his mother is Hawaiian (4D), is an example of code switching and contextual functions. The word *kupuna* has both expressive and relational value for the text. Similarly *ohana* (20D, 22D, 23D) is used interchangeably with *Hawaiian*, *community,* and

family. These features have textual and contextual value leading to useful analytical deductions of how ethnicity and language signal authority and knowledge.

A grammatical feature in this excerpt occurred when the speaker vacillated his pronoun usage between *I*, *me*, *we,* and *our* (14D, 17D, 22D). In lines 14-15D, he moved from *I* to *our community* (14-15D) and then placed this community (i.e., us) within *the Western framework* (16D) (i.e., them). In the following lines, the relational modality continued to vacillate. For example, *The Western framework* became *a great challenge in terms of uh understanding who we are* (16-17D). Next, in line 18D the speaker acknowledged his ethnicity as *Caucasian-Puerto Rican* as it related to his Hawaiian-ness: *For myself, I consider myself Hawaiian* (17D).

Speech acts such as code switching between SAE to HCE—*And dis is boat my mom and my dad* (7-8D)—as well as the pause, represent examples of the speaker's practiced social identity (Fairclough 2001, 129). To say *I consider myself Hawaiian* (17D) has augmented credibility when evidence of the local vernacular or HCE is found in the discourse. The text of this excerpt fixes subjects and relationships. We learn that Hawaiian and *haole* identities are contrasted, contradicted. The speaker made a clear effort to identify as Hawaiian. He also characterized *haole* as harmful. Dana demonstrated a tension between Hawaiian and *haole* in the context of an outreach worker. Moreover, from this excerpt, we learn that *ohana*, family, and community are correlated. The impact of an interview conducted by an outsider (me) must also be factored into the analysis of the text and context.

The ideological framework of Hawaiian struggle and solidarity is mediated by its members' resources. Both interview participants were aware of the socioeconomic marginalization of Hawaiians. The location, *Waianae Neighborhood Place* (8-9D), and the purpose of the interview were designed to extract information about the clients and services

delivered by a social service agency in Waiʻanae Oʻahu. Dana (D) is positioned as an expert in the context of the interview. Still, I (T) am *haole* and not Hawaiian or savvy to west side Oʻahu culture. My competence, briefly disclosed before the interview, is in social work with homeless youth populations. Moreover, I communicated to him that the purpose of my interview was tied to ethnographic research about poverty in Hawaiʻi.

What becomes clear in Excerpt I is Dana's ascribed role in a struggle against *Western* and/or *haole* power in Waiʻanae. His affiliation with Hawaiian ancestry (*kupuna, ohana*) and use of Pidgin is paramount in authenticating this role. Next, Dana reproduced ideological solidarity in his word selection, code switching, and topical point making. In lines 19-23D, he explained that his responsibility as a Hawaiian was to help his *ohana*, which is an extension of his community. At this point in the discourse, it is not explicit what his *ohana* need help with. What is known is that *the Western framework* and its affiliated *haoles* have something to do with it. Dana explains that *who* [they] *are* (17D) has been hindered by *the Western framework* (16D).

Excerpt II

24 (T):	So for you, ohana extends beyond immediate family and the whole
25	West Coast becomes ohana for you?
26 (D):	Yes. Well, I look at ohana as the Hawaiian people. Um. It could also
27	extend to.. to my dads family which most of them live on this coast,
28	although they aren't of the indigenous blood they are family members
29	and we treat them as the same.
30 (T):	There are a couple things that I heard that I think are particular to
31	Hawaiʻi in terms of talking about people that are homeless and one of
32	those things is 'houseless' versus 'homeless'. What are your
33	comments, thoughts, ideas about that distinction? Why am I hearing
34	that here?
35 (D):	Well, the concept of houselessness versus homelessness yeah you, you

36	make the home wherever you are at. It can be with our kupuna. Our
37	ancestors have lived on the beach and it wasn't a problem then. Dey
38	live in the structures dat dey created at the time because that's the
39	knowledge that they had. Um. So when you have Western law that
40	says you have building codes then therefore you must have certain,
41	have certain places that you can build housing or not build housing.
42	There is a certain way that you have do it and it might cause a lot of
43	problems and so *wit* that a house is built and a home is created.

The vocabulary and code switching found here are consistent with Excerpt I. In line 36D, *kupuna* is used with HCE grammar: *It can be with our kupuna*. Dana was explaining the term *houseless* (32T). Advocates for Hawaiians living in poverty often use "houseless" to linguistically focus the nature of the problem onto the lack of housing. The problem is effectively fashioned into the "affordable housing" argument. Yet, the interview presents another code: Oʻahu is home. Of particular interest is how such discourse fares in the realm of funding. A frequently heard strategic phrase used by individuals across the continuum of my informant's experience is "affordable housing." The words work like a sound bite, a brief yet effective catch phrase that functions as (1) an explanation for individuals' lack of shelter, (2) a legitimate request for infrastructural resources, and (3) an effective humanitarian beacon of equity. "Affordable housing" is not limited to Hawaiian discourse on poverty. In fact, for anyone advocating for and experienced with funding social welfare programs, this phrase has become a cliché. While its discursive predecessor "deinstitutionalization" worked to explain the problem of homelessness during the Reagan Administration, it does not have the same multifunctionality as "affordable housing."

During the Reagan Administration, extensive budget cuts were made in federally funded mental hospitals, i.e., institutions. Consequently, many individuals who were institutionalized were released without the resources to manage their housing and employment, much less their mental health. They were "deinstitutionalized." This term worked as an oversimplified explanation for fundraisers and social workers. The term was not practical for self-reference. "Affordable housing," on the other hand, provides a linguistic article with more versatility. Anyone connected to the problem—i.e., those without housing and their advocates—can use the phrase. Its use builds solidarity quickly.

"Houselessness" linguistically links the Hawaiian claim of the Island as home with the effective nonprofit rhetoric of "affordable housing." For Hawaiians, being *houseless* has a more complex symbolic reference. *You make the home wherever you are at. It can be with our Kupuna. Our ancestors have lived on the beach and it wasn't a problem then. Dey live in the structures dat dey created…* (35-38D). These lines of text describe a history while building solidarity through vocabulary, local grammar, and vernacular.

Once again, this excerpt juxtaposes a Hawaiian description and worldview against a Western one, as expressed in lines 39-40D: *So when you have Western law that says you have building codes*. The use of *dey* (they) and *you* pronouns articulate the us/them binary. When speaking of Hawaiians, *dey* is used; when speaking of laws, *you* (i.e., *haole*) is used.

These two excerpts show the first stage of the recorded interview. Dana continued to utilize these linguistic strategies throughout the interview (see Appendix B) to frame the ideological struggle between *haole*, or Western power, and Hawaiians. Dana was particularly skilled at communicating between and within this syntax, given his degree from University of Hawai'i in political science. He was trained in Western academic discursive practices of

persuasion, critical thinking, and the like. This competence enabled Dana to periodically encode the speech act with an academic register (e.g., *Western framework, Western law, building codes* in these excerpts). Dana also utilized vocabulary, Hawaiian vernacular, HCE, and point making to reify the social, political, and economic struggles Hawaiians face. This transcript shows the dialectic of power and social structures operating in Hawaiʻi as seen from a social worker's vantage point. Sociolinguistics in general and CLS in particular are mechanisms to identify, interpret, and analyze power and ideology. The things we say work to construct identities and maintain ideology. Speech events are encoded with social, cultural, political, and economic markers (Fairclough 2001; Labov 1980). Amidst much else, the markers signal power or lack thereof.

The intersection of Hawaiian and Western society on the Islands of Hawaiʻi has been examined in many ways. This intersection unfolds through the provision of social service programs with the same level of consequence for Hawaiians as there has been for legal, religious, and medical institutions. Similar to the situation faced by Native American groups, Hawaiʻi was a sovereign nation engulfed by American military, economic, political, and cultural hegemony. Admittedly, I am more likely to "hear" discourse that aligns with a critique of American hegemony, but the fact that colonization was the main topic in an interview with a social worker about poverty is a clear indication of significance. The challenge is recognizing how the mechanisms of social work fit into the systemic perpetuation of the situation. Dana's agency continued to be funded even though he was critical of the "Western framework." Dana had access to a limited audience. It is unlikely he spoke this way to all funders. Practically speaking, he would need to tell some funders how necessary his organization was, based on how many people they provided assistance to, how many got into housing, etc. He would share

"success stories" of clients who used the agency's services to gain employment or receive mental and medical health treatment. He would tell of the people they had fed and clothed. He would assert the agency's need to continue to conduct this work. Dana would work to save his own job security and reserve the anti-*haole* talk for the most appropriate audiences.

The interview with Dana demonstrates that a social worker tasked with the caring for and providing of resources to marginalized individuals in Hawai'i is framed within a broader struggle than simply that of affordable housing. His narrative helps to legitimize and defend Hawaiian-ness from an encroaching *haole*-ness. The struggle of this encroachment has socioeconomic and political ramifications. The story was told not only by a social worker, but also by Hawaiian sovereignty advocates. How Dana actively engaged in changing this reality was unclear. Telling the story and raising awareness is indeed a part of any solution. Yet, he was employed and working for an agency that relied on external funding. Unless all of their monies came from the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, in the future, Dana must be strategic about who hears his story.

Brudda Joe

My interviews with Bruddah Joe had a dramatically different tone and style than those with Dana and at Next Step Shelter[2]. Like Dana, Bruddah Joe offers hope that a Hawaiian Way of seeing the world will help those he works with. Joe's effort is spent in communicating details about historical Hawaiian figures, Native Hawaiian language, and cultural descriptions of Hawaiian worldview.

Brudda Joe is Hawaiian. At the time of the interviews, he spoke Hawaiian fluently and worked as a Hawaiian cultural practitioner with a nonprofit organization called Partners in

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[2] I recorded and transcribed three interviews with Joe. All of them over two hours in length. The first was his life history and the following two explored the work he does with Partners in Development. I shared my early conclusions with Joe. He offered invaluable insight and reflections for my final analysis.

Development Foundation (PDF), which was engaged in advocacy for low-income or "at risk" children and families. Most of these families identified as Hawaiian or part Hawaiian. PDF provided a variety of programs that delivered social services. Its mission was couched within the context of practicing and teaching Hawaiian values. Bruddah Joe presented himself as an expert in things Hawaiian, although, true to his humble nature, he would not have described himself as such. He interacted directly with clients, but his role in the organization was more closely linked to the provision of in-services for the staff on Hawaiian values, social structures, history, and the like. He was also involved in grant writing and other administrative functions.

When I was discussing social roles in Hawai'i with Bruddah Joe, he told how the *kahuna* (high priests) and the *ali'i* (high chiefs) were involved in all the activities that enabled their society to work. Bruddah Joe cited the roles these priests and chiefs played, such as scholar, professor, and doctor. He listed activities they practiced, including *kālai wa'a* (canoe carving), deep sea fishing, home building, and *la'au lapa'au* (herbal medicine), characterizing all of these roles as "social work." Bruddah Joe and his organization represent an example of the resiliency of Hawaiian culture. They also reflect the strong hold that the nonprofit industrial complex has on program development and community collaboration. Despite Bruddah Joe's attempts to reframe our interviews within a Hawaiian context, PDF was still situated within a nonprofit world struggling for funding.

Bruddah Joe went to great lengths to incorporate Hawaiian history in all that he did. Every encounter I had with him or watched him have with others was converted into an opportunity to explore and re-tell moments of Hawai'i's past. The nuanced details of his re-telling illustrated his passion, knowledge, and restoration of Hawaiian culture. More importantly, he was diplomatic and unassuming in his presence. Bruddah Joe's declared histories describe

savvy Hawaiian leaders with effective decision-making and compassionate caretaking of their kingdom. This discourse, offered in a time when Hawaiians were dramatically marginalized, operates as a mechanism for hope and relief despite the current circumstances. Bruddah Joe's narratives provide reflections and alternatives, allowing a view into what was and, therefore, what is.

As a former social work practitioner I, like so many others, relied on the common sense understanding that social work is a positive and necessary element in our society. Reconsidering this "common sense" is both difficult and disappointing. Through their connection with groups of economically, racially, politically, and socially marginalized people, charitable agencies have first-hand knowledge about the challenges faced by those they are helping. The agencies are, by proxy and ideology, the advocates for the disenfranchised. However, they are also struggling for their own survival in a fiscal landscape that mirrors its capitalistic environment: the nonprofit industrial complex. The economic reality of today's nonprofit organization influenced by neoliberal privatization heightens the funding dilemma they must negotiate. Internal Revenue Code (IRC) dictates an organization's nonprofit status. Officially, there are 29 different types of federal tax-exempt organizations. They range from 501(c)(1) through 501(c)(29). 501(c)(3)s are the focus of this paper. 501(c)(3)s are religious, educational, charitable, scientific, literary, testing for public safety, to foster national of international amateur sports competition, or prevention of cruelty to children organizations. 501(c)(4)s is civic leagues, social welfare organizations, and local associations of employees. The IRS makes a distinction between a social welfare organizations or 501(c)(4) and a charitable organization or 501(c)(3) that the general public may not. For clarity, when discussing particular organizations, I will use their nonprofit tax status for identification. A nonprofit organization has a multidimensional identity. Beyond

their formal tax status, nonprofit organizations experience social, ideological, moral, and political implications.

As a social worker turned social anthropologist, I have been trained and educated to see people as experts in their own lives. Postmodernism abounds. Homeless individuals have insight regarding the unjust, unfair, inequitable, dysfunctional, and harmful practices of the institutions they are expected to align themselves with (Fest 1998; Lyon-Callo 2004; Ong 2003). Unfortunately, the socioeconomic position of the homeless marginalizes the expertise of the very people who possess the expert knowledge. Correlating income brackets with political power is not a novel criticism. Nonetheless, chronic poverty indicates something is not right. The silenced struggles of homeless youth, houseless Hawaiians (and non-Hawaiians), Hawaiian Independence advocates, Hawaiian cultural educators, and social workers themselves provide insight into the complexity of this problem.

Postmodernism reached the field of social work in the early 1990s. The movement addressed issues of relative knowledge and power in the theory and the craft of counseling. In the agency for which I worked, our clinical direction was realigned to a postmodern stance. Our trainings encouraged us relocate our expertise. We were no longer to see ourselves as experts in clients' lives, although I am sure many still did. Instead, we were (re) trained to encourage clients to articulate what they needed and to trust that they knew better than we did. They were the resilient survivors; we were not. For example, before this realignment, social workers had charged clients with "being in denial." If the helper believed a client was in denial, they had essentially appointed themselves the expert in the other's life. The special "ability" to know something about a client that they do not know about themselves (because they are in denial) is a manifestation of power in social relationships. For the postmodern counselor, denial and "reality

checks" position clients as helpless individuals who must be told the truth about themselves, which is a disempowering strategy. This paternalism is found between helper and client, but also between funders and agencies. The funding organization requires a demonstration of the achievement of certain outcomes before the money can be disbursed. These outcomes are often difficult to measure and may not be outcomes the agency's mission ever intended to accomplish. Yet, if the agency wants the monies, it must act as the grantors expect. Those with the power of the purse strings determine what is worth spending money to fix.

The argument that social work, as an institution, plays an active role in the continuation of inequality despite its virtues is bittersweet. This feeling is based on the fact that nonprofit organizations are at the mercy of funders who can change the rules without notice. Of course, there are benefits to social services. Notwithstanding these benefits, I argue that one significant function of the "helping profession" is to act as a cog in the wheel of institutional injustice. Logically, if social work functioned properly, it would bring an end to its need. However, the professions itself, the scope of the field, and the number of practitioners and agencies have only increased over time, along with the demand for their existence. How did this happen? Why is society's need for social work growing when it should be shrinking?

Kivel (2007) wrote that social workers are a buffer between the haves and the have-nots. He argued that, in addition to providing the needed services, social workers and social work itself provide a distraction from the vast economic inequality of American capitalism. As poverty increases, so does the need for serving the poor. Social workers tend to come from the same socioeconomic constituency of their clients or "consumers." Therefore, Kivel (2007) argued, social workers are examples of responsible living through gainful employment to those they serve. The bitter reality is that if social workers lose their employment, they are likely to become

consumers of the same welfare services they deliver. The salary of a social worker is often joked about in training: "If you want to do this job for the money—don't!" my instructors in community college frequently declared. Making money is considered ancillary to the proper motive—being helpful. The feminine attributes of helpfulness, service, and self-sacrifice for the greater good are the basis for social workers' careers and ideology. This situation reflects the reality that most social workers are women. Gender is a signifcant aspect to this disussion that deseves full consideration outside the scope of this work.

If they are single mothers employed in the helping profession, they are unlikely to move beyond the lower middle class. Yet, they provide an excellent example to those less fortunate of how one responsibly rises up the ladder of success. According to the National Association of Social Workers (NASW), white women make up the majority of their association's demographic. The survey found 79 percent of their regular members were female, and 87 percent identified as white. NASW represents a particular academic and professional aspect of social workers, but these statistics show that women are the lead demographic in the field. This corresponds with the characterization and feminine ideology associated with the profession.

"Social work" includes "any […] services designed to aid the poor and aged and to increase the welfare of children" (dictionary.com). In other words, social work helps people in need. Sadly, in America, deciding who will perform social work and how they will be compensated required years of legislation and tax coding. The Internal Revenue tax code (IRC) states if an organization's activities are "charitable," it will be exempt from federal taxation. This gives organizations a "501(c)(3)" tax status, named after the section of tax code with the same name. Social work is an institutional assistance program addressing social and/or economic inequality. It amounts to an altruistic effort that acknowledges some people do not have enough

and need help. Social work is an institution that has grown with formalized education, certification, and credentialed professionals trained to help those in need.

However, establishing *who* is in need and *why* is inherently political and therefore controversial. True, social workers today do not have to justify their necessity. Their predecessors won that fight. Poverty is clearly a problem immersed in ideological explanations couched in a range of political positions. Perhaps it is easiest to look at the "deserving" candidates who need help. For example, the developmentally disabled and children are free from the scrutiny that the poor endure. As such, they are perceived as vulnerable with little opposition. They are seen as victims of unfortunate biological circumstances (e.g., developmentally disabled) or not culpable for their situation due to their biological stage of development (e.g., children). Moreover, if such individuals live in a family without the economic means (i.e., below the poverty threshold) or are physically, sexually, or emotionally abused, social service is tasked with helping. How such services are paid for is an ongoing political–economic dilemma; the argument that such services should exist has been accepted.

Being a poor adult, however, is much more problematic than being a disabled child. Poverty has functional race, class, gender, and geographic implications. What services should be delivered to whom and why is the core of the discussion. In addition, and most importantly, who will pay for social services to these adults? The underlying question is, "Who is responsible for poverty: the individual or the society?" Answering this question reveals ideological and practical ramifications regarding social theory, political economy, social policy, and, of course, service delivery (see Ehrenreich 2008; Marx and Peet 1976; Ong 2003; Shipler 2005). An important clarification must be made between social work and social workers. This work is aimed at the institutional and socioeconomic role of the entire field and not necessarily focused on individual

workers. Yet, it is through the workers narratives that the field is criticized. It is intended to challenge and motivate individual social workers to investigate the role their field has in maintaining the problem and their responsibility within it. Regardless of identifying individual versus institutional culpability, the reality is that people need social, cultural, and economic assistance.

The demand for professional helpers is escalating in our society, and training them takes a practical track. According to the U.S. Department of Labor's Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), social work is one of the fastest growing careers in the United States. The profession has steadily grown. Nearly one million people hold social work degrees. Learning the art and science of "helping" consists of gaining concrete skills such as active listening and intentional interviewing, multicultural sensitivity, and ethical competence. Social, racial, and economic injustice occupy the arena that social workers enter. Social workers are not encouraged to question the underlying causes or sources of social inequality, but rather to assist those who grapple with it. In my degree/certification program in human services at Minneapolis Community College, the origin of social work was characterized as the "haves helping the have-nots." The curriculum did not address the underlying reasons why there were poor people (or others) that required our help. We did not read literature that examined issues such as capitalism, meritocracy, and racism. We accepted inequality as a fact of life for certain populations in America. Exploring the causes for these conditions was trumped by the more urgent training in how we were to help. I am curious how these foundational questions were absent in my training as a social worker (e.g., Why is there poverty? Why are children and the elderly in need of help?). To be fair, students, practitioners, and educators adhere to a tacit code of politeness, which includes such unspoken admonitions as, "Don't discuss politics or religion in a guest's home." Ultimately, it matters little

why people need help. Further, because of the political and ideological volatility of such a discussion, the topic may have seemed better left unaddressed. Justifying the need to address the *symptoms* of poverty is simpler and more pragmatic. Thus, addressing symptoms is polite, necessary, and the norm in training social workers. In other words, addressing the *symptoms* of poverty is indispensable when trying to fund an organization, but funding an organization to address changes relating to the causes of poverty is impractical, if not impossible (Incite! 2009).

When one is training for a career in the helping profession or forming an organization to serve others, there must be a "population" of "clients" to help. After receiving a certification in human services, I was employed by three different 501(c)(3) organizations. All were youth-serving organizations, dealing with "runaway, throwaway, and homeless youth" between the ages of sixteen and twenty. This then became the client population I advocated for: runaway and homeless youth. I helped them acquire the limited resources made available to them in Minneapolis, Minnesota. This task could be recorded on a funder's chart as economic and employment assistance. Curiously, none of the agency mission statements or day-to-day practices included activities that addressed changing the structural components of poverty, abuse, or homophobia that fostered the client population's condition. I found this to be true with the 501(c)(3) agencies in Hawai'i as well. For example, The Bridge for Youth's mission stated in 2012 that it was:

> the premier resource for youth and families in crisis. We ensure a continuum of care to provide shelter and support, to reunite families whenever possible, and when it is not, to build independent living skills in young people. The Bridge for Youth is a community leader in the development of approaches for youth and their families to resolve problems and develop healthier relationships. (www.bridgeforyouth.org, accessed July 11, 2013)

This was later revised to the much more flexible, "We help youth in crisis"

(www.bridgeforyouth.org, accessed October 6, 2014). Lutheran Social Services Metro Homeless

Youth Programs mission is to:

> offer a continuum of holistic services to runaway, homeless, and street-dependent
> youth in the Twin Cities Metro Area. These services are committed to helping
> youth build on assets and strengths, and connecting them with caring, supportive
> adults. (www.lss.org, accessed July 11, 2013)

StreetWorks a collaborative of agencies that serves homeless youth that includes LSS and The

Bridge has also changed their mission statement from,

> fosters a diverse collaboration of youth, communities, and youth-servicing
> agencies that coordinates street-based outreach and assures access to a broad
> range of resources and opportunities for homeless youth and youth at risk of
> becoming homeless. (www.streetworksmn.org, accessed July 11, 2013)

to a reduced and more flexible iteration of, "Our mission is to foster a diverse collaboration of

youth, communities, and youth-serving agencies that coordinate street-based outreach

(www.streetworksmn.org, accessed October 6, 2013).

The social work organizations for which I have worked and researched rarely participated

in direct actions to address the infrastructural context of the "haves and have-nots." The

exceptions are in Minneapolis, the StreetWorks collaborative - a HUD funded initiative - and

some of its member agencies participated in the annual National Youth Symposium held in

Washington DC. A component of this conference is meeting with state representatives in a

loosely organized lobbying effort. Here in Hawaii the Next Step Shelter, a temporary state-

sponsored shelter administered by Executive Director Utu Langi along with his faith-based

501(c)(3) Hawaii Helping the Hungry Have Hope (H5) was funded in 2006 after Langi's bold

participation in a Sit In protest at city hall advocating for the 200 homeless who were removed

from a Waikiki park. He and two others were arrested (U. Langi, personal communication,

October 17, 2010). Instead, these organizations prioritized the more urgent crises of their

clients' needs. While these agencies and their directors understood what ought to change, they admitted the task was too daunting to address. Tax status and funding were driving factors in how the organizations conducted their activities. Fundraising itself had become an integral aspect of effective social work. Indeed, an organization's fundraising can create politically related conflicts of interest, which may actually result in the oppression of its clients. A secure funding source for many 501(c)(3)s comes from state and federal budgets. The peculiar dynamic can be aptly characterized by the metaphor, "Don't bite the hand that feeds you." This dilemma is masterfully covered in *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded* (Incite! 2009)

The discourse used by 501(c)(3)s to keep funding streams flowing consists of euphemisms or clever sound bites created to appease both the "haves" (funders) and the "have-nots" (clients). These euphemisms include, for example, catch phrases such as "deinstitutionalization" or "affordable housing." Both of these terms get results in the world of poverty advocacy, rhetorically speaking. The issues involve concrete and measurable data, but leave responsibility and actionable items opaque, and because of their opaqueness, the use of these terms can be flexible. The terms can be declared to a funder, a critic, or a person living on the street to justify the need of an organization without addressing accountability or the root cause of the problem. Further, providing "affordable housing" is a legitimate step in addressing the immediate needs of the have-nots, but it does not solve the core of the problem of economic disparity in Honolulu or elsewhere. The complexity of the problem, wrapped within political, legal, and fiscal implications, prohibits candor and action by the organizations that deal directly with its symptoms. Leaving the problem unaddressed is disappointing for any nonprofit organization pledging to "make a difference." The difference is not to change the system, but to help the individual. The current ideology and practice of contemporary social work in America

has been embedded within organizations' self-descriptions or agency-described aspirations over the past twenty years (Ehrenreich 1985, 19).

Hawai'i's demographics do not reflect the same ethnic landscape as does the American Continent, but a familiar paternalistic whiteness is still mediated there through social work. The Hawaiian context offers a controversial transformation of political, economic, cultural, and ethnic diversity not seen on the U.S. mainland. The most destitute recipients of social services in Hawai'i are Hawaiians. The host population of the region faces a grim situation. Native Hawaiians experience lower standing in education, health, and economic conditions, compared to their non-Hawaiian counterparts. According to the Hawai'i State Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism (DBEBT; 2010), Hawaiian and other Pacific Islanders constitute the majority of people accessing the state's homeless shelters. Statewide, twelve to fifteen thousand people are homeless at some point of the year, with at least six thousand homeless on any given day. Thirty-seven percent of the homeless are of Native Hawaiian ethnicity. Seventeen to 42 percent of Hawai'i's homeless are employed full-time (Hawaii H.O.M.E. Project 2012). This reality signals the harmful consequences of globalization to the native Hawaiian people. The situation also signals the need to "help," providing a well-suited climate for the nonprofit seed to bear fruit. Thus, social work is the salve applied to those injured by any socioeconomic system. Its forms have proliferated from nonprofit and nongovernmental organizations assisting individuals to large-scale governmental aid packages given to less developed populations. In other words, social work is perceived as a necessary service.

Building on Bradshaw's (2006) argument that an agency acts based on its theory of poverty reminds us that actions are linked to larger ideological paradigms. Social service organizations do not operate autonomously from the status quo. They produce and reproduce the

notion that their services are necessary. Indeed, social work is protected by its necessity. Unfortunately, the status quo is producing an increasing number of disenfranchised people, requiring even more social workers. Anyone, regardless of class, race, gender, sexual orientation, or religious affiliation is "cared for" by this arm of society. Many agencies' missions directly involve helping individuals oppressed by such categorizations (e.g., African, Asian, native, women, GLBT, etc.). Much of my training as a social worker addressed issues such as inclusivity, multiculturalism, white privilege, and unearned power. The individual motivations of social workers and the noble mission statements of their agencies lead one to believe that they are not the problem but the solution. The rationale, which can be summed up as, "We're not oppressive because we help the oppressed," needs a closer look. In most circumstances, nonprofit service organizations are helping address the symptoms of inequality, but that is not the complete picture. An agency must also address the systemic causes of its clients' situations, as well as examine the potential role played by the organization in perpetuating the situations. Unfortunately, if these organizations hope to be funded, to keep their staff employed, and to increase their own budgets, they are not likely to change their operations. Instead, if they are operating effectively, they will grow into well-funded helping entities distributing the limited resources to those enduring the consequences of systemic inequality, themselves included. Again, the rise in need for social service organizations worldwide is evidence of a failure to change the conditions for those they serve. If social service organizations were successfully achieving their missions of reducing or ending people's poverty, they would no longer be needed. "Helping" those who are disempowered has become a multibillion dollar industry, but little progress has been made toward improving conditions for those in need.

I am skeptical that unbiased objectivity is possible. One may attempt to conceal biases, but they are always present. On the other hand, ideology may be explicitly expressed and promoted. Claims of objectivity ought to be scrutinized, and political bias in both researcher and analysis can (and should) be identified whenever possible.

In the interactions and interviews undertaken for this study, Hawai'i's history was told from two reduced perspectives: the "the ship" or "the shore" (Ortner 1984)—in other words, from a local or nonlocal perspective, *kanaka* versus *haole* point of view. A treatise on the vitality and success of Hawai'i's "melting pot" made from a conservative vantage point should include comparisons with criticisms of colonization made from a liberal standpoint. Admittedly, these differences between viewpoints are difficult to disentangle and, in practice, are woven together in social work, in social movements, and in nonprofits in Hawai'i. This project falls into the latter perspective, emerging from the data offered by the informants and from critical literature on the *haole* system.

Different actors throughout Hawai'i's history have been criticized for their roles in transforming this Polynesian paradise for the worse. Similar to the consequences experienced by other colonized populations, the consequence of European contact has negatively affected Native Hawaiians. In addition, as in many other industrialized societies, a robust nonprofit sector tasked with social welfare has been instituted in Hawai'i. This study focuses upon relationships between the State of Hawai'i, its citizenry, and the institution of social work to illuminate social injustice in Hawai'i.

Conclusion

Social work is an unfortunate byproduct of industrialization. With the ever-growing push toward economic development has come the need to assist those who are unable to negotiate the

system. Social work plays an indispensible role in our society. The state and its citizenry depend on social workers to provide food, shelter, medical and mental health services, job training, transitional housing, educational assistance, family, individual, and group counseling services to those in need. Why such services are necessary has been effectively diverted by ideology and an economic reality we all face. In this economic reality, social work provides employment for thousands of people. It is a strong professional field that has experienced steady growth despite radical upheavals in other employment fields.

The training of social workers does not focus upon tools for facilitating social change. Rather, the training produces skilled helpers trained to assist or convert those who "have not" into those who "have." Most of the social workers I worked with are themselves on the precipice of misfortune. As a group, social workers in Hawai'i are economic straits. The profession itself is associated with traditionally feminine attributes such as self-sacrificing, consideration, and kindness (with a few exceptions, e.g., prison guards) – which links it to similar trends found in gender stratification. Social workers act as translators and buffers between the wealthy and the poor, the powerful and the powerless, the haves and the have-nots.

Helping in Hawai'i requires a heightened cultural and linguistic sensitivity, especially when dealing directly with Native Hawaiian (or part Hawaiian) people. Dana and Bruddah Joe demonstrate this tact and savvy in different ways and exemplify themselves as anti-hegemonic actors of Hawaiian resilience. In order to be effective they must present an awareness of the political history of Euro–American intervention in the region juxtaposed to an alternative narrative with Hawaiian deference. Hawai'i represents an American postcolonial context, which is itself contested and confounding. Despite the fact that funding earmarked for Native Hawaiians exists, most social workers must also synchronize their discourse with services based

upon what the funding sources prioritize. In Hawai'i, this is tightly tied to the Hawaiian

Renaissance Movement, which, at its core, was a social justice movement. Sadly, as this social

justice movement became funded by social welfare nonprofits, it lost its political traction and

activist orientation. The narratives of the social workers interviewed at Next Step were

disconnected from this discourse. The nonprofits continue to deliver services and gently delink

themselves from discussion of Hawaiian sovereignty that might jeopardize their funding. Lastly,

nonprofit organizations are encoding their identity and mission statements with Native Hawaiian

terminology and "values" that, for some, represents the epitome of disrespect and continued

marginalization of native Hawaiian people and culture (Anonymous, personal communication,

August 11, 2013).

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

In this chapter, I discuss the development, contestation, outcomes, and significance of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. The chapter focuses on the various cultural, linguistic, political, and economic spheres the HRM has occupied. Attention is drawn to the "invention of tradition" literature that generated tension between anthropologists and Native Hawaiian writers and advocates. I argue that any analysis of social work in Hawai'i must include this vital social movement. In 1993 – the 100th anniversary of the overthrown Kingdom of Hawai'i publications, media coverage, and state and federal recoginition of Hawaiians percpetive was at zenith of visibility for the HRM. Although the media pop-cultural prevalence of the HRM has waned over the past decade, it left a real sociopolitical reality in its wake. Hawaiian advocacy has become a more complex political, legal and economic undertaking as a result. Further, the HRM influence was instrumental in integrating Hawaiian culture and language into Hawai'i's education system. In fact, the State adopted Hawaiian as one of its two official languages[1].

The HRM provided opportunities to reframe the history of Hawai'i. The HRM created a functional ethnic mark for whites while galvanizing a local identity. It opened up an opportunity for discussions about American hegemony. The HRM participated in the successful establishment of state and private agencies tasked with protecting Hawaiian peoples. It helped to legitimize Pidgin, the Hawaiian Creole English spoken by many residents. It forged a path for the establishment of Hawaiian culture and language within formal public and private education

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[1] In 1978, Hawaiian was re-established as an official language of the State of Hawaii and, in 1990, the federal Government of the United States adopted a policy to recognize the right of Hawai'i to preserve, use, and support its indigenous language.

systems. Yet, some of these institutional accomplishments are not seen as examples of self-determination for all those affiliated with the Movement. The integration of the HRM into the State's governmental operations (Office of Hawaiian Affairs) has generated irreconcilable factions. Consequently, the already precarious solidarity of the HRM has diminished.

Any social analysis of Hawai'i necessitates inclusion of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. Today, the HRM has softer edges. The organization is not nearly as threatening to the status quo as it was twenty years ago. In fact, the HRM has been incorporated into the status quo and become symbolically invested in the nonprofit industrial complex. Nonetheless, the people and organizations that inform this project address the issue of sovereignty in various ways. The focus of sovereignty within HRM best highlights the consequences of the nonprofit industrial complex. Given the political intensity of the sovereignty issue, individuals engaged in fund raising or other public engagement often employ "diplomatic skirting." I too was discouraged from exploring the sovereignty element of the Movement. I was provided with several rationales for doing so, but the most troublesome rationale was that the issue was no longer relevant. The controversial dynamics and historical underpinnings of the Hawaiian sovereignty issue constitute a proverbial "can of worms." The aim of this discussion is to analyze how the HRM and social work have become unexpected partners in weakening the impact of the political activist arm of the movement in Hawai'i. Therefore, Hawaiian sovereignty is addressed first in this discussion.

Most residents have a position on the sovereignty issue, which is expressed tacitly (unless probed directly). When asked, "What do you think about Hawaiian sovereignty?" in interviews, participants' nonverbal language and careful word choice resemble other politically charged race-based questions and tend to generate a wide spectrum of responses. Despite the clear

violation of Hawaiian's self-determination, the issue remains deeply controversial and political. As a researcher, and as an outsider, I explicitly asserted my support of Hawaiian sovereignty. Integrity and postmodernism guided this disclosure. Perhaps I adopted an over-simplified position: Hawai'i's Kingdom was illegally overthrown with help from the United States and, therefore, its sovereignty ought to be restored. This position is a logical and reasonable mission for the HRM as well. Surprisingly, some of the activists I interviewed described full restoration of Hawai'i's sovereignty as "improbable."(Anonymous, personal communications, June 16, 2007). Sovereignty, then, represents the claws of the HRM, and the nonprofit industrial complex has, in part, declawed it.

Teaching in the anthropology program at Hawai'i Pacific University over the past eight years has provided me with direct contact with activists, scholars, and activist-scholars, whose views are woven into the fabric of the HRM and this study. Drs. Lynette Cruz and Ulla Hasager, both anthropologists, work diligently to bring students to Hawaiian sites of interest. These two mentors influenced much of my understanding of the struggle and resilience of the HRM. The locations provide Hawaiian-centered narratives to help visitors understand place and history. With the employment of a civic engagement model, students are educated by hosts or "community partners" who deliver information about the history, preservation, restoration, and vision of the sites. Many of the sites link directly to HRM influence, including Kaniakapupu, King Kamehameha III's Summer Palace, Kukaniloko birthing stones, Ulupo and Likeke Heiaus, Halawa, Haiku, and Makua Valleys. These sites provide a context for transmitting alternative narratives of Hawai'i's (and Hawaiians') ongoing social, political, economic, religious, and environmental transformations.

Development

In 1964, John Dominis Holt published "On Being Hawaiian," an essay that refuted Hawaiian stereotypes—which are often negative—about Hawaiians as resourceful people with noteworthy accomplishments. "I am, in depth, a product of Hawaii—an American, yes, who is a citizen of the fiftieth State, but I am also a Hawaiian; somewhat by blood, and in large measure by sentiment. Of this, I am proud" (Holt 1964). Holt was a member of the privileged *hapa-haole* (ethnic/genealogical mix of Hawaiian and white), which had been eroding over the twentieth century. He was formally educated*,* with prestigious Hawaiian genealogy. Well-traveled and positioned, Holt was at home in both Hawaiian and Euro–American cultures. As a Trustee for the Bishop Museum, he had prestige, access, and awareness in the accumulation of Hawaiian artifacts. As a member of the Hawaiian elite, he also possessed a proud cultural memory. His eloquent English writing was laden with Hawaiian reverence and advocacy. In the following excerpt from *Recollections: Memoirs of John Dominis Holt*, *1919-1935*, he reflected upon the intrinsic essence of the Hawaiian spirit that later spurred the renaissance of Hawaiian language, culture, and art.

> Our family identity was created and nurtured in part by those hapa-haole house odors, creating a greenhouse effect that flowed through the rooms.
>   But the air itself was Hawaiian. The smells of the land, trees, shrubs and flowers, the appearance of rocks covered with lichen and the various smells of the seashore were all unmistakably Hawaiian. The enormous reality of our having been people with Hawaiian ancestors who had lived for eons separated and distinct culturally and spiritually from the other people of the world was a powerful, silent determinant in our emotional attachment to the idea of being natives of Hawaiʻi. Like it or not, somewhere in the complex regions of psyche, we kept this realization alive. It set us apart, linking us physically to the brilliant culture that existed here before Captain Cook, and later others, arrived to see for the first time this group of islands, its people, and their way of life. (Holt 1993, 355)

Holt's voice was one of the first of the Hawaiian Renaissance. He wrote positively about a unique Hawaiian worldview that encouraged readers, particularly those with Hawaiian ancestry, to reconsider the consequences of American intervention. Six years later, the considerations manifested in civil disobedience.

In 1970, a group of tenant farmers resisted eviction from their lands (held by the Bishop estate) as the ever-growing pressure for land development swept through Oʻahu. The economic conversion from agriculture to tourism brought grim consequences for land-poor locals renting property in and around Honolulu. Three dozen nonviolent protesters were arrested for trespassing on May 11, 1970, in rural Kalama Valley (Trask 1987, 126). "The activists held a banner that read *Kōkua Hawiʻi* (Help Hawaiʻi) while sitting atop the last home scheduled to be bulldozed for the development" (Trask 1987, 126). The event marks the first of many land struggles launched by Native Hawaiian activists.

The short-term outcome did not bode well for the activists in Kalama. The development proceeded, and they were all found guilty and given reduced sentences (Trask 1987, 150). Sadly, a few of the elders died shortly after the affair. The long-term outcome of the Kalama Valley incident led to the political makeup, resolve, and style of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement. University students who had been actively protesting the Vietnam War and watching the American Indian Movement and other civil rights movements were drawn to action in support of the Hawaiian farmers. The University had recently created an Ethnic Studies department to address the consequences of the marginalization of indigenous people, whether in Asia or Kalama (Trask 1987, 31). This intellectual element brought with it Marxist theory and class concerns. Yet, having *haoles* involved was problematic for some who wanted to highlight the Hawaiian elements of the movement (as opposed to local or class-related aspects). This dynamic

grew to encompass troubling elements of racialization and other symbolic implications for the

Hawaiian Renaissance Movement's political identity as "Hawaiian Nationalists." Nonetheless,

the incident instilled a sense of community, understanding and sympathy for the horrific

consequences for Hawaiian people of the imminent development of Hawai'i.

In 1971, Congress passed the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act under which the

United States returned forty million acres of land to Alaska's Natives and paid one billion dollars

in cash for land titles they did not return. This enabled an association between Native Hawaiians,

Native Americans, and other ethnic minorities who were victims of domination and colonization

by Europe and the United Sates (HawaiianKingdom.org Accessed December 31, 2014). This

Congressional act provided the HRM with political and symbolic hope that seeking sovereignty

may produce beneficial results. The Act galvanized the political manifestation of the HRM as a

Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. Shortly thereafter, in 1972, A.L.O.H.A. (Aboriginal Lands of

Hawaiian Ancestry) was founded. This organization was created to seek reparations from the

United States for its involvement in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893

(HawaiianKingdom.org Accessed December 31, 2014). Other grassroots organizations were

aligning themselves to address the lack of action (or lack of results) from the United States to

address the injustice.

The Hawaiian activist community had become a strong voice of opposition to the

urbanization and westernization of Hawai'i. As international capitalism became the hope for the

fiftieth state's economy, the United Sates, the U.S. military, and a majority of residents in

Hawai'i supported the transformation of Hawai'i to make way for a new role in a global

economy. Modernizing the airport for private and commercial jet travel, industrializing the ports,

building hotels and resorts, and developing an infrastructure to accommodate it all became

necessary. This process meant the suburbanization of communities that immediately surrounded Honolulu and Waikiki. The southeastern side of Oʻahu is the logical center for such transformations, but more resistance was met as this process expanded into regions beyond Honolulu. When plans for a third tunnel through the Koʻolau Mountains—a symbolic and practical boundary between north and south Oʻahu—were underway, the suburbanization process, once again, garnered angry responses by the disenfranchised Hawaiian farmers and Native Hawaiian activists. Not even the Koʻolau Mountains could keep Honolulu's sprawl at bay. Kailua and Kaneʻohe were already developing suburbs of Honolulu, building two tunnels just over a decade earlier (the Pali Tunnel in 1957 and the Wilson Tunnel in 1960). However, Waiāhole was not affected until the third tunnel's plans inspired landowners to rethink their holdings (Kawaharada 2007)

By 1973, when the initial development phases of a Federal Interstate Highway "H-3" linking Peal Harbor and Kaneohe military basses was beginning, the farming *ahupuaʻa* of Waiāhole and Waikāne were in jeopardy of eviction from land owners who were eager to transform their land into new suburban developments (Kawaharada 2007). The H3 Highway and tunnel project were criticized by the HRM in ways the two previous tunnel projects were not, first, because the HRM had not yet been created, and second, because the HRM was a federally funded project that served the military, as any interstate highway system does. The farmers and community activists resisted through various protests for four years and gained significant amounts of support and visibility (Kawaharada 2007). Eventually, the State stepped in and bought Waiāhole in 1977 for $6.1 million to preserve it as farmland. Counted as a win for the HRM, twenty years later (1998), ground was lost as the City and County of Honolulu purchased five hundred acres for a golf course and nature park (Kawaharada 2007).

Meanwhile, in 1975, A.L.O.H.A. and Hui Ala Loa (Long Road Organization) collaborated in a project called Protect Kahoʻolawe ʻOhana, or P.K.O. Its mission was to stop the U.S. Navy's use of a small island called Kahoʻolawe off the southern coast of Maui as a target for Naval gunfire. P.K.O.'s members repeatedly, courageously, and successfully occupied (and were removed from) Kahoʻolawe over a nineteen-year period, resulting in the termination of the Navy's use of the Island in 1994 (HawaiianKingdom.org Accessed December 31, 2014). A collection of organizations was influential in bringing Native Hawaiian concerns about inequities in politics, culture, self-determination, health and healthcare, education, and life expectancy, as well as environmental consequences, to the "front page" of current affairs. A few organizations were dismissed as too radical, sometimes hurting the HRM by affiliation. One such group, ʻOhana O Hawaiʻi (Family of Hawaiʻi), actually declared war against the United States (HawaiianKingdom.org Accessed December 31, 2014).

Also, in 1975, a private nonprofit service agency was founded called Alu Like with a mission to help the social and economic needs of Hawaiians. A year after its founding, Alu Like received a $125,000 grant from the Administration for Native Americans, opening a now-robust category for nonprofit funding. In 1977, A council of Hawaiian Organizations and Alu Like sponsored what became known as the Puwala Sessions, the first organized forums devoted to the discussion of Hawaiian issues by the Hawaiian community since Liliʻuokalani's loyalists had been forced to disband in the early 1900s (Sanburn 1991a, 12). In the Puwalu Sessions, the idea for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs was born; OHA was subsequently included in the 1978 Constitutional Convention. Alu Like was an active participant in the Puwalu Sessions. In fact, the agency compensated several staff in the Hawaiian Affairs Committee as they came together to conceptualize OHA.

OHA was the primary—and perhaps the most surprising—outcome of the 1978 Constitutional Convention. OHA, a state government office, is an integral and unique element to Hawaiian sociopolitical and nonprofit affairs. Its inception and mission include the health and welfare of Hawaiians, but also economic resource management and a distinctly political objective in establishing Hawaiian people and nation recognition.

> OHA's mission is to mālama (protect) Hawai'i's people and environmental resources and OHA's assets, toward ensuring the perpetuation of the culture, the enhancement of lifestyle and the protection of entitlements of Native Hawaiians, while enabling the building of a strong and healthy Hawaiian people and nation, recognized nationally and internationally. (Crabbe 2012, 1)

In 1980, fifty-four thousand Hawaiians elected nine trustees to sit on the Board of OHA and were sworn into that office by the State's Supreme Court. These seats are four-year terms, and each Island must have a trustee. The election of OHA trustees has gone through recent changes that allow non-Hawaiians to both vote and sit on the board. These changes were argued in the U.S. Supreme Court Rice v. Cayetano (2000). The Court ruled the State could not restrict eligibility to vote to persons of Native Hawaiian descent. Only one non-Native Hawaiian has been a trustee since its inception, but participation in elections of the OHA Board and Chair members is now available to all State residents.

A development in language revitalization in Hawai'i prompted similar tensions. As the Hawaiian language was revitalized, linguists began to document the history of the pidginization and the subsequent creolization of the language spoken in Hawai'i. Locally referring to the language as Pidgin, speakers have asserted its linguistic autonomy from English and its grammatical distinction and (mostly unwritten) lexicon. Advocates of Pidgin documented that, like any pidgin turned creole, it was necessitated by the arrival of large numbers of immigrants, who became plantation labor. English was the lexifier used along with Hawaiian, Chinese,

Japanese, Portuguese, Filipino, and other immigrant tongues used to communicate for economic reasons. The immigrants' descendants developed the pidgin used on the plantations into a creole for use in widening circles of social interaction. Dubbed Hawaiian Creole English (HCE) by linguists and confusingly referred to locally as Pidgin, it became the "voice of Hawai'i" (Booth 2009). As Hawaiian became a more spoken, revered, and officially acknowledged language, Pidgin began to appear. The HRM facilitated the social political environment for Pidgin to be explored and discussed.

Contestations

The most prevalent criticism of the HRM surfaces against claims for Hawaiian sovereignty. This aspect of the HRM garners most of the attention and discourse about the Hawaiian renaissance, given the controversial and profound changes that will occur if the sovereignty movement is successful. Some contestations have surfaced about language, particularly Pidgin usage, but the implications of economic reparations, returning title to ceded lands, and removing American political control of Hawai'i tend to take up far more "air time" than any other issue. As sovereignty advocates urge for a return of control to Hawai'i, a critical question is, "To whom shall this control be returned?" The answer to this question requires a citizenship reckoning of sorts.

Over the years, Hawai'i's political and ethnic demographics have shifted. At the time of the overthrow, whites (the demographic minority) had an oligarchy backed by the plantation businesses and governmental control. By the 1960s, Hawai'i's second- and third-generation immigrants, mostly Japanese, became the constituents of the Democratic Party, the major political party in 1962. The party's rise to power included affiliations with the Communist Party, the labor movement, Native Hawaiians, and other non-white ethnic groups. The party provided

an alternative to the Republican elites who had been in control since the overthrow. Members of the Democratic Party saw tourism as the new economic future for Hawaiʻi. Whiteness was yoked to political and economic power through most of the twentieth century in Hawaiʻi, but as the civil rights movement and the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement grew, the largely non-white demographics of Hawaiʻi provided fertile ground for marking whiteness and gaining political traction. Unfortunately, the HRM's success was tainted with implications of racialization.

Hawaiʻi has an active blood quantum, established in 1920 for the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act to determine eligibility for Hawaiian Homeland, Kamehameha Schools admission (a private institution), and voting for or becoming a trustee on the Board of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. The blood quantum requires that, to qualify, an individual must have at least 50 percent Native Hawaiian ancestry. The basic argument against the blood quantum is that biological ancestry ought not grant special privilege. Ironically, the progress made by the American civil rights movement to undo white privilege is used to argue that Hawaiian ancestry-based sovereignty and other hereditary-based processes and benefits violate the rights of non-Hawaiians and deny them access to political, educational, and economic resources. This argument has been labeled "reverse racism" in other contexts in which whites claimed they were victims of unequal treatment or exclusion. The position has been used to contest other civil rights laws in the U.S. Refuting the claims that there was a historical injustice done by whites to Native Hawaiians is harder to maintain, but a "reverse racism" argument is frequently used to refute hereditary-based benefits for Native Hawaiians.

Racialization sanctioned by the State's blood quantum extends beyond the allocation of a particular economic benefit and into the matrix of identity politics, the potential source of a significant degree of social capital. For whites, this is the uncomfortable consequence of "reverse

racism." However, for Native Hawaiians who are not perceived as such, this situation can be insulting. Recent attempts to authenticate and relax the "50 percent" metric used to designate eligibility for Native Hawaiians were articulated in a Congressional study in 1980, in which Native Hawaiians were designated as individuals with *any* descendants living in Hawai'i before Captain Cook's arrival. Clearly, Euro–American constructions of race have created many consequences for those living in Hawai'i. Most troublesome are the assumptions and stereotypes about who is a native.

In 1980, Congress passed Public Law 96-565. Title III, Section 301, of the law allows for the creation of the "Native Hawaiians Study Commission" (NHSC), tasked to investigate the culture, needs, and concerns of Native Hawaiians. Nine commissioners selected by the President conducted the study. Unfortunately, the report they generated was not unanimously supported. After twenty-one months, six of the NHSC members presented a 490-page report, in which they concluded there was no historical, legal, or moral obligation for the U.S. government to provide reparations, assistance, or group rights to Native Hawaiians. Three commissioners disagreed with the conclusions of the majority and produced an accompanying 180-page minority report. Completed in 1983, the report's oppositional conclusions and recommendations fit appropriately with the contested political history of American intervention in Hawai'i. In Volume I, the majority report, the authors found no culpability or responsibility for reparations, in direct contrast to the findings presented in Volume II, the minority report. For those opposed to claims of Native Hawaiian political and economic disenfranchisement, NHSC is referenced as the official position on the matter, a demonstration of America's willingness to properly investigate the concerns voiced by sovereignty advocates. The NHSC represents a useful—and official— reference tool to silence sovereignty advocates.

Legal arguments are also used to contest claims of Hawaiian sovereignty and reparation. According to Hanifin (1982), none of the land transferred at the time of the overthrow was considered private. Moreover, non-Hawaiians owned 80 percent of the private land. So, the land in question must be limited to what was considered Crown or government lands; this is the land that was then ceded to the U.S. after annexation. In 1893, a legislative body controlled these lands. Being active in government was the only way in which control (i.e., sovereignty) over government lands was exercised. Because most of the Native Hawaiians were not participating in governmental affairs at the time the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi was overthrown, their claims of lost sovereignty are unwarranted. The loss of political power is also, in this argument, limited to the legislative context that excluded the majority of Native Hawaiians harmed by the admitted role the U.S. played in the Committee of Safety's coup d'état. Essentially, because the majority of Hawaiians were landless and absent from the Hawaiian political system at the time of the overthrow, they cannot request reparations for lost lands or political sovereignty.

Another strategy to delegitimize HRM's sovereignty claims is disaffiliation with Native Americans. The U.S. Congress has set many legal precedents in its relationship to the indigenous populations of North America. These legal and economic gestures, particularly the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, have generated hope and tactics for Native Hawaiian sovereignty advocates. Some HRM sovereignty advocates do not think the "nation within a nation" model used by Congress in dealing with Native Americans is appropriate for Hawaiians; however, the Congressional reparations given to Native Americans do provide examples of U.S. attempts to amend past wrongs, overlook legal complications, and administer deserved justice. Perhaps these actions can be seen as moral gestures aimed at repairing damages of the past. Both sovereignty

advocates and their opponents use the tactic of distinguishing Native Hawaiians from Native

Americans to achieve their objectives.

Native Hawaiians and Native Americans are similar, but only in a general sense. They

have in common the fact that they are subordinated ethnic groups affected by American policies

of "manifest destiny." Both groups share grim demographic profiles compared to other

Americans, with shorter life expectancies and lower socioeconomic statuses. However, one

difference between the two populations is that the U.S. was not the first foreign presence in

Hawai'i. One criticism of HRM discourse emerges when linking the consequences of a particular

first contact to claims that the U.S stole land and sovereignty. For example, the first contact

occurred in 1778, followed by the Sandalwood trade (from 1810-1830) and Christian

Missionaries (from 1820). Further, highlighting the legal implications and inaccuracies of

categorizing Native Hawaiians and Native Americans as distinct groups provides an effective

critique. The Hawaiian Island's chiefdoms and economic systems were transformed through

several foreign and domestic interactions (some biological) with the Kingdom of Hawai'i, which

was overthrown in 1893. Moreover, Hawai'i did not consist of egalitarian bands or tribes who

practiced reciprocity, but had a ranked system of power with a redistributive economic system.

Lastly, unlike Native Americans, the nation of Hawai'i was thousands of miles away from

America. Therefore, Native Americans and Native Hawaiians are quite different and should not

be equated in legal, economic, or political terms.

Outcomes

The Hawaiian cultural movement of the 1960s led to a language revitalization that

galvanized a sovereignty movement now woven into the fabric of economic, political, and social

life in Hawai'i forty years later. Now combined and termed the Hawaiian Renaissance, the effort

represents a quintessential example of a social movement. The consequences of group solidarity and political and economic efforts toward Hawaiian enfranchisement are linked to the revitalization of Hawaiian cultural and linguistic awareness.

The HRM supports the argument that language and culture are inextricably combined. When the Hawaiian cultural revival began in earnest in the 1960s, the Hawaiian language was close to extinction. This impending loss of the language led to a commitment to ensure that the Hawaiian language was preserved. The consequence was to institute Hawaiian language immersion programs. Colleges and universities offered credit for Hawaiian language courses. Alongside this effort, primary and secondary educational curricula required Hawaiian cultural content (even if they were not immersion schools). Currently, the University of Hawai'i has a School of Hawaiian Knowledge that offers degrees in Hawaiian language (BA, Minor, Certification, and MA), Hawaiian Language Immersion Education (Minor), and Hawaiian Studies (BA and MA). Additionally, students can earn a BA or MA in Pacific Island Studies (School of Pacific and Asian Studies) and a Minor in Pidgin and Creole Studies (College of Arts and Sciences). The University of Hawai'i includes the HRM within their general education requirements. Its Manoa campus averages twenty sections per term for a course that provides "an introduction to the unique aspects of the native point of view in Hawai'i and in the larger Pacific with regards to origins, language, religion, land, art, history, and modern issues" (University of Hawai'i course catalogue). All students who earn an undergraduate degree from the State must take this course. Several of the HRM's key activists are teaching in universities.

The result of involving HRM in education is that all primary and secondary public education in Hawai'i incorporates some Hawaiian history and cultural content into its curricula, and many offer Hawaiian language instruction as well. Further, most post-secondary education in

Hawaiʻi provides courses in Hawaiian language or culture. The exact cultural content of each

course is not regulated, but the HRM has undoubtedly influenced the content.

Interestingly, at the time of this writing, Hawaiʻi Pacific University has initiated a

strategic plan that rests upon what they refer to as Hawaiian values:

> **Values**: The faculty, staff, students and overall university community of Hawaiʻi
> Pacific embrace the following values as representative of the spiritual, ethical and
> philosophical principles that support our community as well as of the aspirational
> ideals to which we collectively aspire.
>
> Expressed both in Hawaiian and English, they are as follows:
>
> **Pono**, meaning righteous, honest and moral and an energy of necessity. Within
> the Hawaiʻi Pacific University community, it also stands for truth and ethics, trust
> and respect, civility, transparency, gratitude, acceptance and purposefulness.
>
> **Kuleana**, meaning responsibility and rights and concern for all interests, property
> and people. Within the Hawaiʻi Pacific University community, it also stands for
> sustainability, student focused, value added, academic rigor, state of the art,
> stewardship and shared governance.
>
> **Aloha**, meaning hello, goodbye, love, kindness and grace, unity, humility,
> patience and waiting for the right moment. Within the Hawaiʻi Pacific University
> community, it also stands for shared future/goals, collaboration, decisive,
> disciplined, culture of accomplishment and valuing university communities
> (Hawaiʻi Pacific University strategic plan, unpublished)

This excerpt shows how the HRM has influenced nonprofit culture (Hawaiʻi Pacific University is

a nonprofit entity). On the other hand, integrating Native Hawaiian language can also be

perceived with skepticism by Native Hawaiians who think the integration is disingenuous—a

ploy to access to economic resources available for organizations that help Native Hawaiians.

Amidst the historical institutional and educational developments, the political and

scholarly attention paid to the illegal overthrow of Hawaiʻi's sovereignty has generated

significant inertia. Despite the current factionalizing within the HRM, a keystone of solidarity in

the movement was established with the passing of the "Apology Resolution" in 1993—the U.S.'s

acknowledgement and apology for its involvement in the illegal overthrow of Hawai'i's government in 1893. The political and social visibility of the HRM in the mid 1990s was at a zenith. Twenty years later, the "Apology Bill" still anchors activists in a mission to right this wrong. However, helping Hawaiians today is tracked more by social service outcomes than by examples of self-determination.

For academics of that time, the postmodern turn was in full swing (see Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fisher 1986). A collision between anthropological theory by scholars on the Pacific and emerging Native Hawaiian scholars and activists burgeoned with the "invention-of-tradition" literature (Handler and Linnekin 1984; Hanson 1989; Keesing 1989; Linnekin 1983, 1990, 1991, 1992). Particularly concerning for Native Hawaiians was the implication that tradition was discursive in nature, developed from competing ideologies and political rivalry (Lindstrom 1982, 317; Tonkinson 1982, 312). As Native Hawaiians were consciously building solidarity and a plea for self-determination into a credible nationalistic sovereignty moment, the deconstruction of tradition was less than affirming.

The general theme of invention-of-tradition literature is that tradition is malleable, interpretive, and symbolic (i.e., invented) and does not necessarily hold up to historical scrutiny (i.e., tradition). Authenticity, by necessity, became woven into these analyses. The deconstruction of tradition resulted in framing tradition as conscious, discursive (i.e., invented) versus passive, unconscious (i.e., traditional). Turner (1997) argued that this focus, while useful, understates the historical continuity and social constraints that operate when humans interpret (i.e., invent) patterns of behavior as tradition. In Hawai'i, tradition, "invented" or not, was an essential component in gaining traction for the contemporary political ideology of the HRM and Hawaiian Nationalists. As indigenous Hawaiian scholars were becoming legitimized by the

academy through published work that addressed culture, language, history, political economy

and ecology, an unfortunate de-legitimization emerged along with it. Trask, an outspoken Native

Hawaiian scholar articulated some of the consequences of this collision:

> Contrary to Linnekin's claims, and Keesing's uncritical acceptance of them, the
> value of malama 'aina has been "documented historically," and "recorded
> ethnographically, (as Keesing might learn if he read Native sources), two of the
> criteria Keesing cites as central to any judgment of the accuracy of "ancestral
> ways of life being evoked rhetorically" by Native nationalists today. If Natives
> must be held to Keesing's criteria, why should he be allowed to escape them?
> The answer is that Keesing, with many Western academics, shares a common
> assumption: Natives don't know very much, even about their own lifeways, thus
> there is no need to read them. (The only "real" sources are haole sources,
> hegemony recognizing and reinforcing hegemony). (Trask 1991, 162)

In a talk given in 1989 before an academic audience that included members of the Anthropology

Department at the University of Hawai'i (remarks that were later published in her book, *From a

Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*), Trask criticized Jocelyn Linnekin's

argument that Hawaiian nationalists' claims of '*aloha 'āina* and *mālama 'āina* (love/care/protect

the land) were invented to address current political land disputes.

> In short, because Linnekin wanted to publish an allegedly scholarly article
> applying the "inventing tradition, inventing culture" school of thought to
> Hawaiians, we, the Native people, are now faced with a proliferating ideology
> which is hurting our real culture every day, which is hurting real Hawaiians every
> day, and which is being used over and over to undermine our claim to say who
> and what we are. (Trask 1993, 169)

Trask communicated the harms done by anthropologists and archeologists as agents of the

United States' colonization of Hawai'i— ranging from ideological to practical—such as the

contract archaeology conducted for land development.

> In Hawai'i, contract work is a major source of funding for archaeologists and
> anthropologists. Investors and state or private institutions to survey areas and
> deem them ready for use hire these people. In highly controversial cases regarding
> removal of Hawaiian bones and destruction of Hawaiian temple and house sites,

many archaeologists and anthropologists have argued for development and against preservation while receiving substantial sums of money. At its worst, these controversies have exposed the racist paternalism of anthropologists who pit (in their own words) emotional Hawaiians who try to stop disinterment and development against scientific anthropologists who try to increase the store of (Western) knowledge. (Trask 1991, 162)

Trask's impassioned arguments are not inconsequential; they are inspiring and influential. Unfortunately, consolidation of the sovereignty arm of HRM has been fraught with factionalization. Some of the fragmentation was due to racialized tendencies towards Native Hawaiian affiliation, but other complications have made the sovereignty goal cumbersome.

A fairly popular turn of phrase here is "Defend Hawai'i." It's commonly found on T-Shirts. The text is set against images of the Royal Crown or a machine gun. These icons serve as simple and convenient symbols for Hawaiian Sovereignty Advocates. The gun icon, obviously, asserts that a weaponized military defense is warranted. After asking one articulate wearer what it meant, I received a confident response: "It started with 1893 American militarily supported overthrow, but continues with the state's economic dependency on tourism and the impoverishment of *kanaka maoli*. Hawai'i is being *haolified* [transformed into American sociopolitical system]" (Anonymous Hawaiian sovereignty advocate, personal communication, July 24, 2010). Such is the sentiment of some of the advocates within the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. Although most of the individuals with whom I interacted did not believe military action was necessary, they did believe the ongoing political, economic, and social hardships endured by Hawaiians are the result of American involvement. Nonetheless, the actions taken to address the injustices have created a significant schism in the HRM. It appears that despite the dramatic turnaround in Hawaiian cultural and linguistic education—and despite the

establishment of the OHA—Hawaiians do not agree about what is and ought be the central task of the HRM.

Significance

The polity within the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement contains a continuum of perspectives, actions, and intended outcomes. The movement is diverse. Its advocates range from being deeply embedded within the current social order to those well outside the dominant system. Embedded within the state, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs and Democratic Senators who have worked to implement federal laws such as the galvanizing Apology Resolution and the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2009 refer to themselves as Hawaiian advocates. Others within the same movement refuse to participate in any governed activity, including registering their vehicles, paying fees or taxes linked to the controlling system, honoring real estate deeds, or adhering to trespassing laws written by a government they believe is illegally occupying their homeland. Senators, social workers, the wealthy, and the homeless are all fluent in the discourse of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement.

In this research, I point to the nonprofit industrial complex as a (bene)factor in the waning credibility of the HRM. The HRM created a palatable context for an anti-hegemonic response to the assimilation and compromise of Hawaiian society since European contact. HRM elevated Native Hawaiian history, worldview, language-use, political organization, and knowledge to an understandable ideological system with several manifestations of practical implementations. These implementations varied based on the focus of their advocates, and included mandated Hawaiian history and language immersion in education and various forms of governmental reorganization. These varying aims undoubtedly aided in factionalizing the HRM, but an unexpected benefactor has been the nonprofit sector. Much of the state and federal monies

allocated in Hawaiʻi are given to agencies that serve Native Hawaiians in some way. Perhaps unintentionally, the Hawaiian language revitalization element of the movement has opened a door for the legitimization of Hawaiian Creole English, or Pidgin.

Pidgin is a manifestation of contemporary local Hawaiian identity. Unlike Hawaiian, Pidgin is spoken by a diverse group of locals in Hawai'i. Indeed, jeopardized by the prestige and institutional bias of Standard American English (SAE) and Hawaiian, Pidgin signals a more complex nonassimilation due the ethnic diversity of its speakers. More importantly, Pidgin unifies the local community across ethnicities. Perhaps unintentionally, the HRM gave Pidgin a place—a seat in the classroom, albeit controversial. While linguists disagree about whether HCE meets the qualifications of a language, there are enough studies and speakers of the vernacular to support HCE's cultural significance. There are published works that attempt to codify and document its lexicon and grammar (Sakoda 2003; Simonson 2005; Tonouchi 2005). There is even a Pidgin translation of the New Testament (Grimes 2000). The argument by some linguists against HCE/Pidgin as a language is that it is better characterized as an English variety such as African American English, American Indian English, or Canadian or British English. Ultimately, members of the HRM, through its earlier focus on Hawaiian revitalization, helped call into question the presumption that SAE is the prestige language of Hawaiʻi. This created an awareness of Pidgin and prompted the emergence of advocates to bring this geographical linguistic practice to the fore.

Native Hawaiian resistance of American hegemony is evident in academic writings as well (Cruz 2004; Kameʻeleihiwa 1992, 1995; Silva 2005; Trask 1993). Hawaiian resistance to American political, economic, and cultural control continues despite statehood and the incorporation of the former nation into the United States. Resistance can be found in

contemporary discourse, in institutions, and in legal as well as social contexts. A striking institutional example is the establishment of OHA in 1980. This organization continues to assert its legitimacy amidst the ongoing controversial ideology about its role in helping Hawaiians and Hawai'i.

Implications for the HRM emerge in academic and political arenas as well as in private and public spheres. As postmodernism peaked, concerns about the HRM drew attention to the scholarship on Hawai'i and whether it was conducted by Native Hawaiian scholars. The disagreements about what the HRM ought to prioritize can be mapped with the varying levels of attention paid by its advocates. The splintering of the consolidated HRM of 1993 centered on which reality—political, cultural, linguistic, health-related, educational, or economic—should be the focus of the movement's efforts.

There were scholars who argued that Hawai'i's incorporation into a global political economy was inevitable (Wolf 1997). Curiously, this argument has become a portable talking point for the political Right and for those who think the claims of sovereignty for Hawaiians are unwarranted because Hawaiians would have been unable to maintain their autonomy. The paternalistic narrative goes something like this: "Hawaiians were going to be overtaken by larger global powers eventually—American control was better than the alternatives for the Hawaiians." Marshall Sahlins, a non-Hawaiian scholar of Hawai'i argued that Hawaiians effectively maintained their cultural identity despite the global political–economic process that was unfolding around them (Sahlins 2000; Wolf 1997, 258-261).

Postmodernist scholars asked, Who was telling the story? The fact that many non-Hawaiians were writing about Hawai'i prompted concern over the legitimacy and inclusion of Hawaiian scholars of Hawai'i; the scrutiny of authenticity, access, and authority were

heightened. Postmodern anthropological concerns about agency and cultural representation augmented the presence of Native Hawaiians who published work about Hawai'i. Being *haole* in Hawai'i became a marked identity. Whiteness was pulled from neutrality and invisibility, no longer an anthropology experiment. It was now visible and tethered to a growing concern and distrust. This is a unique dynamic, formed in the cauldron of the HRM, postmodernism, and the political economy of Hawai'i.

The HRM reinvigorated compassion for *Kanaka Maoli* and their life ways. Hawaiian culture, language, and values were recast as both violated and vital. This stream of consciousness was not limited to the politically minded. The tourism industry and the Democratic Party capitalized on the presentation of Hawaiian culture and language to visitors. Corporations integrated Hawaiian values into their mission statements, thereby becoming another complication in the province of authenticity. What are a *luau* and *hula* or *pono* and *kuleana*? Are they ploys to entice tourists into an imagined exotic land, or are they broken links to Hawaiian culture or "values" claimed by nonprofits as part of their organizations' business model?

The HRM was and is rooted in social justice. The civil rights movements of the American mainland— particularly indigenous movements —inspired the Hawaiian Renaissance. Change and distrust of authority was in vogue in America during the sixties and seventies. HRM represented a long overdue and cohesive response to the colonization and political overthrow of Hawai'i.

The Hawaiian Renaissance Movement has, in effect, become woven into the status quo in Hawai'i. My encounters with residents indicate there are degrees of awareness in regards to Hawaiian political or cultural perseverance. Further, Hawaiian-centered institutionalization pervades, especially within public education and nonprofit funding. Some of my interviewees

revealed distrust that the institutional changes were genuinely Hawaiian in nature. For them, it was perceived as tokenism, embedded within the American political system, and evidence of an inability to effect the change that the early HRM advocates envisioned. Others believed there is much more that must be done for true compensation and Hawaiian enfranchisement. There was no consensus that the HRM achieved (enough) social justice for Hawaiians. Although the HRM may have improved the overall awareness and consciousness of a Hawaiian polity, more work is required.

These dynamics reflect the polarization into which this social movement has evolved. The manifestations can be seen in cultural artifacts, images, political arenas, lawmaking, economic trajectories, and language, and beyond. The Hawaiian Renaissance Movement has become a binding thread in the tapestry of Hawaiʻi, anchoring itself as a diversified common-sense entity with notable and significant results. This sensitivity to Hawaiian-ness is ever-present within the nonprofit sector. Agencies and organizations that can directly address *Kanaka Maoli* or Hawaiian cultural preservation in their missions position themselves within a political and social legitimacy that is often followed by funding. This is the paradox. If the State is invested (figuratively and fiscally) in the health and welfare of Native Hawaiians, why does the State need nonprofit organizations to assist them?

The HRM is an example of the enfranchisement of a subordinated group that had the right elements at the right time to evolve into an empowered sociopolitical movement. The HRM had two key points at which a political apex was reached. The first was at the 1978 Constitutional Convention; the next was in 1993 at the one hundredth anniversary of the overthrow of Hawaiian sovereignty, in conjunction with the Apology Resolution signed by the U.S. Congress. Twenty years later, the HRM has less of the public's attention. However, the

HRM has effectively changed the consciousness, the language, the story, the education, and the laws of Hawai'i.

Today, the HRM's factions operate with less solidarity and focus on different aspects of the movement—e.g., sovereignty, language, culture, education, and land. Economics guide the HRM and connects it to the nonprofit industrial complex. The organizations evolving out of the HRM were often modeled and structured using the standards for creating a nonprofit organization. It is this dynamic that has co-opted the political potency once enjoyed by the HRM.

CHAPTER 6

NONPROFIT INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX (NPIC)

This chapter focuses on the Nonprofit Industrial Complex, or NPIC. Both social work and social movements operate within the NPIC context. The NPIC is a political–economic matrix consisting of myriad tax codes, policies, polarized ideologies, and trillions of dollars. It is a global phenomenon with manifestations of national economic, agricultural, and medical development initiatives and facilitated by a corresponding proliferation of nongovernmental organizations (a synonym for nonprofit organizations that operate outside the U.S.). This discussion encompasses the American history of the NPIC, with attention paid to the Hawaiian organizations within it. The NPIC has significant influence as a mediator of social change movements. Grassroots organizations with revolutionary missions are inadvertently hindered by the parameters of the NPIC within which they operate. Private foundations and public funds regulate the organizations with specific outcomes and expectations funded by grants (i.e., money). This process gives significant control to the NPIC over how nonprofit organizations conduct their affairs.

In Hawaiʻi, OHA and two 501(c)(3)s, Alu Like and Hawaiʻi Helping the Hungry Have Hope (H5), were established to address social injustice in Hawaiʻi. OHA and Alu Like have over thirty years of state-sanctioned legitimacy and funding directed toward serving the Hawaiian community. H5 is a nonprofit organization, funded by the State of Hawaiʻi, which was opened as a temporary shelter for the visibly homeless population in downtown Honolulu. All of these organizations have been structured in part within a framework established by the NPIC.

The NPIC has effectively transformed the radical challenges presented by the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement, contributing to its distillation into smaller mission-focused organizations through a structure of capitalist competition for foundation and government funding, legitimacy, professionalization, and social services. The revolutionary call for social justice for Hawaiians has been suppressed by a seemingly more urgent need for the provision of social services.

According to Rodriguez (2009), the nonprofit industrial complex is "a set of symbiotic relationships that link political and financial technologies of state and owning class control with surveillance over public political ideology, including and especially emerging progressive leftist social movements" (21-22). In *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded* (2009), the authors argue that the nonprofit industrial complex has hindered grassroots social movements. The NPIC exposes the negative effects of the 501(c)(3) system on social justice movements. The premise is that the NPIC stifles, regulates, surveys, and ultimately subverts political agendas and social changes that are counter-hegemonic. In effect, grassroots social movements become constrained by the NPIC, which is structured by and for state control and the preservation of capitalism. Capitalism is the culprit of many of the systemic social ills social movements are intended to address. The complex symbiosis of political, financial, state, and owning class has weakened the revolutionary elements of Hawai'i's Renaissance Movement, particularly those related to regaining sovereignty.

History

The rise of the NPIC is concurrent with the rise of industry, wealth, and poverty. As a "deserving" class of disenfranchised citizens (widows and children) became increasingly visible, organizations emerged to help them. After the Civil War, the individuals, churches, and public

officials eager to assist the needy coalesced into the National Conference of Social Welfare in 1874 (Slaughter 1980). These charities focused on alleviating individual poverty as opposed to addressing the systemic causes of poverty. These were not charities campaigning for higher wages. Rather, they were dealing with the impact of low wages. Unfortunately, this characterization remains for many 501(c)(3) social service agencies today. They are unable to allocate their limited resources towards "campaigning." Moreover, nonprofit status legally regulates their political activity.

Charitable giving grew rapidly during the early 1900s. Multimillionaire robber barons like Sage, Rockefeller, and Carnegie created new institutions—foundations—that supported charities. These foundations also shielded their earnings from being taxed (Smith 1999). Before the 1950s, charities were unregulated because very few states taxed corporations. When the foundations were extremely large, like the Russell Sage Foundation created by his widow in 1907 with the seventy million dollars he left to her, charitable donations became taxable entities, but only for the largest and wealthiest. In 1910 and 1911, Rockefeller and Carnegie, respectively, established similar multimillion-dollar foundations. According to the *Giving Institute: Leading Consultants to Non-profits*[1]*,* donations from individuals, foundations, and corporations grew from $7.7 billion in 1955 to $175 billion in 1998 (Incite! 2007, 4). This economic trend has continued since the NPIC's inception in 1969[2]. Foundations tend to focus on "research and

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[1] In 2006, the *American Association of Fundraising Council Trust for Philanthropy* or AAFRC changed its name to the *Giving Institute: Leading Consultants to Non-profits*.

[2] Providing a specific time for NPIC's inception is problematic given its history and the types of organizations it includes. A range from anywhere between 1910-1988 could be argued. I have selected 1969 because this was the year the IRS passed its first laws restricting the activities nonprofit foundations could engage in and mandating annual reports to be publicly accessible. The 1960's saw significant growth in both nonprofit foundations and social movements. By 1969 it was clear, given the IRS's laws and the concerns that generated them, that the nonprofit sector required oversight. This legal oversight provides an institutional time stamp for NPIC.

dissemination of information designed ostensibly to ameliorate social issues—in a manner,

however, that did not challenge capitalism" (Incite! 2007, 4). Nonetheless, as the purse grew, so

did the political implications. Foundations and nonprofits proliferated.

As foundations received the baton from the charity movement that preceded them, they

moved away from specific agendas and established missions that were more general. They

tended to be structured with boards of trustees or directors. Since their genesis, foundations have

had opposition from liberals and conservatives alike. Keeping an eye on where the foundations

monies went became a controversial issue. Even today, the larger the foundation, the more likely

it will be criticized. In 1916, the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations warned in a report to

Congress that foundations were a "grave menace" (Howe 1980, note 1) because of their

convergence of wealth, power, and ideology. The members of the Commission urged Congress

to more carefully regulate foundations. They did not. However, the negative attention did divert

foundations from conducting their own research. They began to use intermediaries, such as

universities, to establish claims of objectivity (Howe 1980).

After the economic collapse of the Great Depression, foundations reemerged, most

notably the Ford Foundation (founded in 1936). The Ford Foundation broke new ground with its

active role in social justice efforts. Its involvement in the civil rights movement was troublesome

for both liberals and conservatives. While Allen (1970) argued that that the Ford Foundation's

involvement in civil rights was an effort to direct the movement into a more conservative

direction, the Right was critical as well, especially in the South. Once again, pundits urged

Congress to regulate foundations more strictly, or else they would continue to "subsidize left-

wing causes" (Neilsen 2002, 53). In 1962, Congressman Wright Patman of Texas conducted a

study of foundations. While representing the Right's concern, his report to House of

Representatives echoed similar concerns voiced from the Left:

> Economic power was consolidating in the hands of foundations; foundations were being used to escape estate taxes; compensate relatives; and pay annuities to themselves; The IRS lacked proper oversight over foundations; foundations were controlling business to give them a competitive advantage over small businesses; and foundations were spending too much of their money overseas.
> (Incite! 2007, 5)

Throughout the 1960s, foundations were being established at a rate of twelve hundred per year

and promoted in financial magazines as tax shelter tools (Billitteri 2000). In response to the

mounting pressure and growth, Congress passed the Tax Act Reform in 1969. The new law

collected a 4 percent excise tax on foundations' net investment income; restricted foundations'

ability to engage in business operations, which ended corporations ability to operate tax-free; and

required a 6 percent annual spending of a foundations' net investment income (reduced to 5

percent in 1988). Additionally, the Act compelled foundations to provide comprehensive

information disclosures in their annual reports to the IRS and to make their reports available to

the public (Roelofs 2003, 15).

Money & Politics

As helpful as the regulations have been in curtailing foundations' power, they continue to

be a crucial element in our political economy today. The political Left and Right both rely

heavily upon foundational funding to lobby for and carry out their agendas. Shuman (1998)

argued, however, that the Right has utilized foundations more effectively than the liberal bloc.

He suggested that, despite the large amounts dispensed by liberal foundations, their specific

issue-oriented campaigns have less long-term impact than the Right's investment into think

tanks, journals, and research projects. In other words, the Right's use of foundation funding has

helped to alter the public consciousness.

> This kind of investment by the Right in public policy has paid off handsomely. Its long-term support of conservative public scholars enabled them to develop and promote numerous "new ideas" …With ample funding, they have successfully pounded their ideas into heads of millions, sowing confusion, apathy and opposition to public regulation of private corporations. (Shuman 1998, 12)

Think tanks like the Heritage Foundation are effectively transmitting Right-wing agendas that

reshape the public's awareness of a topic. Political "education" using expert scholarship funded

with millions of dollars has proven useful. Depending on which side of the political spectrum

one falls, the NPIC's operations unfold in various ways to "encourage civic participation; allow

for expression of religious, social, and artistic values; provide basic social services; and

strengthen communities" (Roeger 2012, 17).

As I discussed in the previous chapter on social work, charity itself has become a

necessary gear in the industrialized world. There were 1.1 million registered 501(c)(3)s in the

United Sates as of 2009, according to the National Center for Charitable Statistics (NCCS). The

authors of the NCCS report to the Congressional Research Service declared that:

> Charitable organizations are estimated to employ more than 7% of the U.S. workforce, while the broader nonprofit sector is estimated to employ 10% of the U.S. workforce. In 2009, the charities filing Form 990 with the Internal Revenue Service reported approximately $1.4 trillion in revenue and reported holding nearly $2.6 trillion in assets. (Sherlock 2009, 2)

By all accounts, the nonprofit industrial complex is an institution. It is a viable economic

sector within the United Sates. During the recent economic crisis, the NPIC took a hit like the

rest of the nation, but curiously, the NPIC grew 24 percent over the past decade, unlike other

major sectors in the United States' economy (Roeger 2012, 68). The government utilizes the

NPIC to deliver a multitude of services to the public through subsidies. Corporations and wealthy individuals use it to shield portions of their income from taxation, the political establishment uses it to lobby and develop ideological platforms, and 10 percent of America's workforce relies on it for employment. The nonprofit sector contributed $804.8 billion to the U.S. economy in 2010, making up 5.5 percent of the country's gross domestic product. GDP estimates are from the Bureau of Economic Analysis and include nonprofit institutions serving households. They exclude nonprofit institutions serving government or business. If the NPIC were a country, it would have the seventh largest economy in the world. Remarkably, almost half of NPIC's operational expenses are made possible through volunteerism. In 2011, 26.8 percent of adults in the United States volunteered with an organization. Volunteers contributed 15.2 billion hours, worth an estimated $296.2 billion (Blackwood 2012, 1). The types of nonprofit organizations vary. The largest portion are public charities, or 501(c)(3)s, in the IRS code.

> Of the more than 30 types of nonprofit organizations defined by the Internal Revenue Code, 501(c)(3) public charities are the most numerous. Public charities include arts, education, health care, human services, and other types of organizations to which donors can make tax-deductible donations. Nearly 1 million 501(c)(3) public charities were registered with the IRS in 2010, representing nearly two thirds of all registered nonprofits. The number of registered public charities increased more quickly than other types of nonprofits, growing 42 percent over the decade. Public charities also make up a larger share of the nonprofit sector in 2010. (Blackwood 2012, 2)

The 2012 Nonprofit Almanac (Roeger 2012) provides the most complete and current collection of data using IRS filings and the Bureau of Economic Analysis (BEA) records. In a reminder to their readers, the Almanac's authors distinguish the nonprofit sector by what it is not. "It is not part of government nor is it a part of the business sector. More descriptively, it is also referred to as the charitable, voluntary, tax-exempt, independent, third, social, or philanthropic sector (Roeger 2012, 17). In 2012, nearly 1.6 million nonprofit organizations were

registered with the Internal Revenue Service, five hundred thousand more than in 2009. This does not include the seven hundred thousand smaller nonprofits (with revenue less than $5,000) and religious congregations and their auxiliary groups who are not required to file with the IRS (Roeger 2012, 17). All told, there is approximately one nonprofit organization for every 175 Americans, and the numbers continue to grow.

The pathology of any social movement in the United States evolving into a nonprofit organization is a channel with limited room for divergence. The designation of 501(c) determines nonprofits' state-sanctioned activities. The IRS maintains a web of correlated taxation, charity, social welfare, and political engagement codes. The NPIC and the IRS have evolved together and work together to regulate service, ideological, and/or political activities through the 501(c) status designation. Conceptually, the designations between the types of activities ought to be distinct. However, by creating associated 501(c)s, these distinctions have been effectively (i.e., legally) conflated. Policy research and reporting, for example is different than public office candidate advocacy. The former is ideological, while the latter is political. Both activities are acceptable in a 501(c)(4) nonprofit entity, but only the policy research and reporting is allowable for a 501(c)(3). Charitable (c)(3)s are restricted to limited lobbying. The IRS defines "lobbying" as a specific activity that ultimately involves urging lawmakers to take specific positions on specific pieces of legislation (U.S. IRS 2013).

> Although charities must restrict the amount of lobbying they do, they are permitted to engage without limit in a wide range of other kinds of advocacy activities that do not fall under the IRS's definition of lobbying, such as public education, writing op-eds on general issues of concern, holding community forums, etc. (Krehely 2005, 9)

The 501(c)(3) category is the largest in the nonprofit sector, and reasonably so, as it hosts the charity classification associated with tax exemptions for its contributors. Education is also

classified within this category, which has a flexible definition and wide practice. While 501(c)(3)s can and do advocate for their communities (i.e., their clients), to participate in the electoral and legislative process, they are legally forbidden to openly endorse or oppose particular candidates for public office. Endorsement or opposition, for tax purposes, equates to money spent. That said, a (c)(3)s staff and volunteers are likely to be politically aligned with the agency's mission, which is politically situated. Therefore, open discussions and advocacy for this political reality can legally be explored in their public education activities or in community forums. In fact, it is the amount of money spent on such activities that is the assessment tool for legal compliance. (C)(3)s may not engage in direct electoral campaigning (e.g., produce a "Vote for X this fall" pamphlet), but they can produce a "Vote This Fall" pamphlet.

As a social worker, I attended the National Youth Symposium in Washington D.C., accompanied by clients of the organization. The symposium was timed with the legislative process so that the agencies had an opportunity to lobby their state's federal representatives. While there, we arranged to meet with our senators—with the clients—about the politicians' positions on poverty in the community. The hope that the youth will share their experiences with the public official is rehearsed for the visit . The expenses of this activity were itemized in the budget under "education." An agency may include a portion of such expenses as nonpartisan campaigning and lobbying, provided it does not exceed their allowable annual limit, as it is not considered electoral campaigning or endorsement. Rather, it is experiential public education and public policy lobbying in the interest of the agency's clientele: limited lobbying and limited money. For the IRS, such activity constitutes an acceptable practice for a charitable organization. It is legally irrelevant if the clients or their chaperones influence the congresspersons by the

organization's visit. Obviously, the influence on the current political system by for-profit organizations is unprecedented and far more worrisome than the limited influence of nonprofits.

Unfortunately, many charities are afraid of losing their tax status or are on the edge of their own fiscal crisis; thus, they do not engage in any lobbying, despite the tax laws allowing for it. Many nonprofits avoid straying from their service-delivery tasks altogether. They would rather dedicate all of their resources directly to their constituencies. This nonpolitical protocol hinders the potential for structural change. "Arguably, if organizations want to effect permanent, systemic changes, they need to also be prepared to advocate—including by direct and grassroots lobbying—for their causes and constituencies" (Krehely 2005, 10).

A 501(c)(4) is classified in the "social welfare" category, with an unrestricted financial limit on lobbying efforts, provided the lobbying is related to its "members," which has come to include any visitor of a (c)(4)'s website. This is the more useful designation for a politically motivated social movement. However, a movement's ability to politically lobby (i.e., spend money) on campaigning and endorsement has a tradeoff. Giving money to a 501(c)(4) is not tax deductible. This eliminates funding from many individuals and foundations, which significantly reduces capital. Recently, a workaround for this problem has emerged. The solution is a tax-exempt shelter with unrestricted political lobbying through an affiliation between (c)(3)s and (c)(4)s. The result has been further proliferation of 501(c)s. The former organization raises capital to help the latter affiliated organization. Having both types in an affiliated structure allows groups to "receive tax-deductible donations and foundation gifts and continue to lobby extensively without violating the law" (Krehely 2005, 10). The IRS constraints are loosened; however, the structure is still enmeshed within the tax code and requires expert accounting and sophisticated organizational structuring. The National Rifle Association (NRA), the National

Organization of Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, MoveOn.org, the Heritage

Foundation, and the Sierra Club all have this structure in place and receive millions from

foundations and individual donors through their 501(c)(3) affiliates, which have similar names to

those of the 501(c)(4) entities. Some of these organizations have affiliated Political Action

Committees or PAC's as well. For example, the Sierra Club is a 501(c)(3) organization, while

the Sierra Club Foundation is a 501(c)(4). The Heritage Foundation is a 501(c)(3), and its

political lobbying arm is Heritage Action for America, a 501(c)(4). Many other large national

nonprofit organizations use a similar structure.

As a lower taxed context the nonprofit sector has brought elite fortune 500 companies as

well as individuals with enormous sums of money into the realm of nonprofit financing. Tax

attorneys and gifted accountants have helped to co-opt what was originally intended as public

organizations into impossibly sophisticated and complex understandings of what constitutes a

legal nonprofit organization – and what it can and can not do.

The current concerns surrounding political campaign financing are embedded within this

developing trend in the NPIC. Political action committees (PACs) have legal protection to make

direct financial contributions to federal candidates. Super PACs cannot make direct contributions

to candidates, but they can contribute to other aspects of a candidate's campaign (e.g.,

advertising, legal fees, canvassing). This three-pronged affiliation of 501(c)(3)–501(c)(4)–PAC

(or super PAC) requires clever accounting and organizational structuring, but with the millions

of dollars in revenue they generate, there are ample funds to pay the accountants and

organizational consultants. Planned Parenthood (and the National Rifle Association) is an

example of an organization with this three-pronged affiliation. Planned Parenthood Federation of

America is the 501(c)(3), International Planned Parenthood Federation in the 501(c)(4) and

Planned Parenthood Action Center is the PAC.

Office of Hawaiian Affairs

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) is an integral and unique element to Hawaiian

sociopolitical and nonprofit affairs. The OHA is a state government office established during the

State's 1978 Constitutional Convention (Con Con). Its inception and mission include the health

and welfare of Hawaiians, with the addition of economic resource management and a distinctly

political objective in establishing Hawaiian people and nation recognition.

> OHA's mission is to mālama (protect) Hawai'i's people and environmental
> resources and OHA's assets, toward ensuring the perpetuation of the culture, the
> enhancement of lifestyle and the protection of entitlements of Native Hawaiians,
> while enabling the building of a strong and healthy Hawaiian people and nation,
> recognized nationally and internationally. (Crabbe 2012, 1)

The mission of OHA is a social welfare initiative—a goal that does not include profit—with the

caveat of "protecting assets." One of the measures proposed to assist Hawaiians before the

establishment of the OHA was to create a nonprofit agency using a pro-rata share of the

Hawaiian Ceded Land Trust. Ceded lands are the lands that were Crown lands or government

lands during the Kingdom of Hawai'i, illegally taken from the Native Hawaiian monarchy at the

time of the 1893 overthrow, and that were subsequently ceded to the United States in 1898

without any compensation to Native Hawaiians. The Native Hawaiians have a substantial claim

to these lands, and the lands are now being maintained under a virtual moratorium until that

claim can be addressed and resolved. A substantial sum was offered as the funding source for a

Hawaiian-specific nonprofit agency. State representative Henry Peters wrote the bill, called

Ho'ala Kanawai. The proposal was rejected after "constitutional scholars determined that the

state [couldn't] create a private (that is, independent) agency using public funds" (Sanburn

1991a, 12). Despite the State's economic interest in managing how the ceded lands revenue could be spent, the "Peoples' Con Con" delivered the unexpected outcome of having Hawaiians manage the funds. Called the peoples convention because 90 percent of the delegates had never held elected office (Sanburn 1991a:13). OHA relies principally on ceded lands revenue, which has developed into the Native Hawaiian Trust Fund. Ceded lands and their use remain legally, socially, and economically controversial. The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921 set aside some of this land for Hawaiian use as agricultural and residential property. Establishing eligibility criteria for who is Hawaiian has turned out to be problematic. Long before the civil rights movement and its backlash, Hawaiian lawmakers agreed that individuals with a 50 percent ancestral Hawaiian blood quantum were eligible for the land that was ceded and set aside for homesteading. The administration of the Hawaiian Homestead Act was ineffective. Many of the eligible candidates waited for years, often dying before a parcel was provided. One of OHA's proposed functions was to assist in the management of the stagnating Homestead Act of 1921.

Further, "physical morbidity and mortality, mental health, socioeconomic status, education level, welfare use, incarceration representation, drug abuse, high-risk behavior, [and] obesity…" was the harsh reality for the Native Hawaiian population (Hope 2003, 1). The establishment of OHA was couched within this crisis. OHA was the response to a call to oversee the necessary social welfare for and public responsibility to a population that had survived rampant biological disease and depopulation; impoverishment; and political, linguistic, and cultural ousting. Resiliently, the HRM legitimized Hawaiians' self-determination and challenged the State and the U.S. to address the injustices done to them and their Hawaiian nation. OHA was a manifestation of the political traction HRM achieved. In 1978, the State Constitution of Hawai'i was amended with the following Hawaiian rights:

[1] An amendment authorizing the creation of the Office of Hawaiian affairs and the election by Hawaiians of its nine-member Board of Trustees with the power to administer all government lands and funds set aside for the benefit of Native Hawaiians and Hawaiians; and setting aside a pro-rata share of ceded land trust for native Hawaiians

[2] An amendment protecting traditional native fishing, hunting, gathering access rights for religious and subsistence purposes, subject to state regulation.

[3] An amendment prohibiting the use of "adverse possession" to acquire land parcels of 5 acres or more

[4] An amendment recognizing the importance of the Hawaiian culture and including the Hawaiian language alongside English as one of the state's two official languages.

[5] An amendment strengthening the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands by allowing more flexibility in legislative funding department's administrative costs. (Sanburn 1991a, 14)

As extraordinary as this event was, the adoption of the amendments did not unfold blissfully within the Hawaiian community. Although the nine Trustees of OHA agreed to unite, the broader Hawaiian community was less inclined to do so. Some grassroots Native Hawaiian groups did not see the establishment of a state office as a positive move towards self-determination. It was criticized as acquiescing to, and participating with, the *haole* system they hoped to usurp. One of the more influential grassroots Hawaiian organizations, Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana (PKO), steered away from OHA and, before the trustees had even been elected, announced that it would not support the infant agency (Sanburn 1991b, 12). In 1977, the Council of Hawaiian Organizations and Alu Like sponsored what became known as the Puwala Sessions. These were the first organized forums devoted to the discussion of Hawaiian issues by the Hawaiian community since Lili'uokalani's loyalists had been forced to disband in the early 1900s (Sanburn 1991a, 12). Frenchy Desoto, the "mother" of OHA, was the first chair of the Board of Trustees for the organization. Ironically, she had attended the Puwalu Sessions as a

representative from the PKO. It was in the Puwalu Sessions that the vision of OHA was first articulated and later manifested in the 1978 Constitutional Convention.

The PKO and other grassroots organizations were not the only Hawaiian groups critical of OHA. Well-established Hawaiian organizations that reached out to OHA were not received with the *aloha* they expected. Alu Like made two attempts at collaborating with OHA; both attempts were rebuffed. The first attempt was when Alu Like offered to share its mailing lists and database. The second attempt came a year later. As the OHA was struggling to gain credibility, a suggested convening of the three largest Hawaiian affairs agencies (Alu Like Inc., the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, and OHA) was also declined by OHA (Sanburn 1991b, 12-13). When OHA was courted by other Hawaiian coalitions, such as the Hawaiian Services, Institutions, and Agencies group (HSIA), OHA again declined to join. HSIA includes significant lands trusts, such as Bishop, Lunalilo, Queen Emma, Queen Lili'uokalani, the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands, Bishop Museum, and Alu Like. HSIA's first years of operation set the tone for the factionalized elements of the HRM today and was the impetus for the often-asserted criticism that OHA is not an effective Hawaiian advocacy organization. The fact that OHA's budget is ultimately under the purview of the State's legislature and that its trustees competitively campaign in the electoral political system leaves liberal-leaning HRM constituents unconvinced that OHA has moved toward Hawaiian independence.

One of the difficult decisions OHA had to make was whether it was going to be a direct service agency or one that administered funds to other agencies. Being a direct service agency, for example, would've looked quite different. Had this been the case, clients could've applied directly to OHA for resources. Selecting a direct or a nondirect path for the agency was difficult because so many people were looking at OHA to produce results. Direct service provides

assessment sooner, but for the early trustees, the mission of OHA seemed grander than direct service delivery. In the end, they choose to be a nondirect agency. This means that OHA's resources are channeled to service providers, most prominently to 501(c)(3)s to deliver services and projects that the trustee members of OHA deem worthy. In strictly economic terms, OHA serves as a treasurer and administrator of the ceded lands assets.

Obviously, whoever has access to abundant resources tends to be heavily scrutinized, particularly when poverty and homelessness is a front-page affair, as it tends to be in Hawai'i. This dynamic has lead to mistrust and cynicism about OHA's decisions. Because these decisions are made by elected board members there has been a recent controversy about who can be on the board. This controversy reflects the backlash of civil rights and HRM as OHA board members were restricted to Native Hawaiians. Harold Rice, a *haole*, thought that was unfair (see Rohrer 2006 for a discussion of the Supreme Court's decision in Rice v Cayetano, 528 US 495). OHA's role as a State Office and indirect service provider has distanced it from the grassroots origins it claims to imbue. Nonetheless, the political agenda of the early HRM is inscribed into the mission statement of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

Alu Like Inc.

In Hawai'i, like the rest of the country, charitable nonprofits are the dominant group. According to NCCS, Hawai'i had 1,736 501(c)(3)s registered in 2010 with $1.4 million in total revenues and $2.3 million in assets. Alu Like Inc. is one of the larger outfits in Hawai'i. Incorporated in 1975, two years before the establishment of OHA, Alu Like Inc. received a $125,000 grant from the Administration for Native Americans in 1976, growing into a multimillion-dollar charitable organization serving Native Hawaiians. It represents a premier social service (and employment opportunity) for Native Hawaiians. Alu Like's mission, posted

on the organization's website is, "We envision Hawai'i, our special island home, as healthy, safe and productive, and guided by the shared values of all its people" (Alu Like Inc.). Since its inception, the agency has had a history of political activity. For example, it was an active participant in the Puwalu Sessions. In fact, Alu Like compensated several staff in the Hawaiian Affairs Committee as they came together to conceptualize OHA. Today, the Alu Like Board of Directors has an OHA member. Thirty years later, Alu Like, along with the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement has turned its attention towards the provision of service and does not present itself as a prominent political force, particularly on issues of Hawaiian sovereignty. Over time the face of social services transform. They must do so in order to meet the needs the community as it changes. Alu Like created its organization with a particular focus on the Native Hawaiian community.

Obviously, there are other types of services in Hawai'i. On an Island where milliions of people visit, visably homeless or houseless people draw signifcant concern and attention. There are many advocates for the houseless on O'ahu and they all struggle to balance thier operating budgets with the limited resources available. One individual, working with the help of a church's resources, ended up front and center as the director of a State funded emergency shelter.

The first time I saw Utu Langi, he was as an activist on the lawn of the Capitol. The first time I met Utu Langi was in my classroom. Serendipity. He was a (nontraditional) student at Hawai'i Pacific University, completing coursework for his Bachelor's degree. Fortunately for me, he enrolled in my anthropology course, "Poverty and Culture." I learned more from him than I could ever reciprocate.

Next Step

Homelessness is a government issue, a business issue, a public-health issue, a public-safety issue, a civil liberties issue, and a social justice issue (Blair 2011). Next Step shelter demonstrates the linkages between the State, HRM, and NPIC. As an urgently created temporary solution to visible poverty in Honolulu, the agency is inextricably connected to all three elements. Despite the imagined tropical paradise the tourist industry has created, people in Hawaiʻi need shelter, too. Fortunately for me (and countless others), Mr. Utu Langi ran Next Step Shelter.

The State needs the nonprofit sector to provide social service. The nonprofits need the fiscal resources of the State to fulfill this function, representing a troublesome feedback loop. Hawaiʻi's controversial and unresolved land issues complicate the drama of houselessness. Some of the revenues received by OHA from renting the land occupied by the Next Step shelter and other structures is, in turn, pledged for Native Hawaiians. The political–economic interchange linked through land brings the Sate, HRM and social services literally on the same plot of land. The geography itself, the *āina*, is highly contested and extremely valuable and remains prevalent in the sociopolitical reality for housed and houseless residents, social workers, and activists, the State of Hawaiʻi, and Native Hawaiians.

The Next Step shelter is a direct service that is designed to confront the consequences of economic and social inequality in Hawai'i. It is a State-funded social service for the homeless. Established by the governor the shelter was an unprecedented, quickly executed solution to solve a public faux pas that placed hundreds of houseless people on the lawn of the State's Capitol. When established, an Tongan named Utu Langi was charged to managed Next Step. Less than two months before he was arrested for trespassing on the front lawn of City Hall. For legal and

contractual reasons before being given the million-dollar contract to oversee the operations in a 36,000-square-foot warehouse to shelter the homeless he needed to establish a nonprofit organization. His arrest was the result of leading the homeless (and some activists) who were being evicted from the Ala Moana Beach Park by Honolulu's Mayor. The State's Governor and Mayor had different tactics for addressing homelessness in Hawai'i. These differences became apparent in their responses to the heightening dilemma of houseless individuals surrounding the capitol district of Honolulu.

For added symbolic effect, the displaced squatters from Honolulu's beach park were removed at the tail-end of forty days of rain, inspiring Biblical references (Fujimori 2006). The rain had stretched the State's entire infrastructure, causing mudslides that destroyed homes and roads. Flash flooding overwhelmed the city's storm and sewage drains. In Honolulu, a raw-sewage line burst, and the city routed the waste into the Ala Wai canal that runs through Waikiki and into the Ocean just west of Hilton's Hawaiian Village. A shopping mall was inundated under several feet of water while the storekeepers tried to corral their floating merchandise. The atmosphere in paradise was less than pleasant, and the removal of homeless families by the City and County of Honolulu did not go unnoticed, adding even more strife to a month-long environmental blow to the State's welfare. A local woman in her sixties exclaimed, "I've lived here all my life and never seen rain like this" (S. Ward, personal commutation, May 15, 2006).

Public land in Hawai'i is complicated and political. The State needed a location for the people the city had evicted from the park, a temporary emergency shelter. Additionally, a place was required to accommodate the hundreds of poor people removed from the lawn of the State Capitol, and the location needed to be under the State's control and within budget. State administrators found a spot, an unused, dilapidated warehouse in Kaka'ako, Honolulu. The

warehouse sat on a parcel of twenty-five acres of land that was slated by the State to be given to the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to settle past-due ceded-land revenue payments. The Hawaiʻi Community Development and Housing Corp (HCDHC) operates along with the Hawaiʻi Public Housing Authority (HPHA) to provide affordable housing options throughout the State. The HCDHC had access to this unused portion of a warehouse in the Pier One Kakaʻako district. The University of Hawaiʻi had recently built a new school of medicine in the same area. However, the area was commercially zoned, requiring either some quick rezoning or the willingness of an apathetic executive administrator to "look the other way" until a better location could be found. The location was viewed as temporary. OHA obtained control of the parcel, marking these events as an interesting dynamic of institutional intersections.

The Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) would later collaborate with the State to establish a shelter on the west coast of Oʻahu. The State leases these land plots for the homeless from OHA and DHHL respectively, representing an awkward combination of tenants, lessees, and property owners. The Hawaiʻi Legislature approved the exchange so that Next Step could be created. Currently, Next Step, funded by the State of Hawaiʻi, pays the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to lease the warehouse. Next Step became the first of three of the largest shelters in the State funded by the State on DHHL/OHA-controlled land.

The urgency and social pressure on the State to help shelter the houseless children and families removed from Ala Moana Park became unavoidable. The story dominated the front-page for weeks. The media, local churches, and several homeless advocacy and social service organizations collaborated to ensure that something was done. The incident was met with a highly efficient response. The rain, combined with the pressing need for a location, created a high visibility of the consequences of removing the squatters. A heightened public compassion

expedited the collaboration and resulted in speedy political action. Two years earlier, the Governor had proposed a plan to address the State's homeless problem; this crisis, having a politically charged and socially visible entourage of homeless folks demanding help next to her mansion was simply impossible to ignore. The City and County of Honolulu removed the squatters and the State of Hawai'i found a location (the OHA parcel) and three nonprofits to operate the project.

Next Step's development is linked to a social activist strategy that unfolded, fortunately, in the political center of the State, its capitol district. Ala Moana Park is 1.5 miles away from the City Hall, which shares a campus with the Honolulu police department, the State Capitol building, the Governor's mansion, and 'Iolani Palace—the home of Queen Lili'uokalani and the location of the 1893 overthrow. As the police began to remove the squatters from the park, a group of fifty to one hundred homeless people, along with members of church groups, Native Hawaiian groups, and homeless advocacy organizations marched to the City Hall in the rain, carrying posters and singing protest songs, to demand the Mayor provide an alternative home for the evictees. Four misdemeanor arrests were made for trespassing, and the group disbanded. Nonetheless, an effective statement was made and the media recorded the events, as did many who commuted along King Street into Downtown Honolulu. Thus, there was no way to avoid the issue of homelessness in Honolulu. The solution created for the homeless in Honolulu was a result of the HRM's previous activist initiatives; in fact, it would not have been possible (i.e., affordable) to put the shelter anywhere else except on ceded lands managed by OHA and DHHL.

Five weeks of community meetings ensued, bringing together State and City officials, Hawai'i Community Development and Housing Corp (the State's Public Housing Authority), church leaders who had been temporarily sheltering the displaced squatters, homeless advocacy

groups and service providers, and three nonprofits (the Affordable Housing and Homeless Alliance [AHHA], H5, and The Waikiki Health Center). The state's Public Housing Authority took shape as the Housing Finance and Development Corporation was created as part of the administration of Hawaii Gov. John D. Waihee III to promote affordable housing. Ten years later, the corporation was merged with the Hawaii Housing Authority into a single housing agency called the Housing Community Development Corporation of Hawaii (HCDCH). More recently, HCDCH was split into the Hawaii Public Housing Authority (HPHA), and the Hawaii Housing Finance and Development Corporation (HHFDC). The housing authority currently is part of the Department of Human Services and the corporation is part of the Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism. The authority manages federal and state public housing programs, including senior housing and Section 8, which is a federally assisted housing voucher system for low-income families and individuals. The housing corporation develops and finances low and moderate-income housing projects and administers home-ownership programs.

The purpose of the meetings was to decide how to manage the State of Hawai'i's homeless shelter in Kaka'ako Park. The collaboration fostered other projects to address visible homelessness. The Governor and the State elicited the help of Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) to allocate land for another State-funded shelter on the rural west side of Waianae, O'ahu. However, this arrangement was not without significant controversy.

After the Apology Resolution was declared, HCDCH (also known as the State of Hawai'i), attempted to transfer certain ceded-land parcels that were partly controlled by OHA (in Maui and Hawai'i) over to third-party developers. OHA requested that HCDCH certify that any transfer of the parcel's ownership would not diminish Native Hawaiians' land claims and to include a disclaimer to that effect. The HCDCH would not provide the disclaimer, believing it

would make it impossible for future owners to obtain title insurance. HCDCH sent OHA a check

for the land. OHA refused to accept the payment. OHA took the State to court. The Circuit Court

found in favor of the State to transfer and develop the land without entanglements of the

contested ceded lands. It helped that the State's development project was for the public good

(affordable housing). OHA appealed the decision. Hawai'i's Supreme Court heard the case,

finding in favor of OHA – reversing the Circuit Court's decision.

> For the reasons discussed infra, we vacate the January 31, 2003 judgment and
> remand this case to the circuit court with instructions to issue an order granting
> [OHA]s' request for an injunction against [HCDCH] from selling or otherwise
> transferring to third parties (1) the parcel of ceded land on Maui and (2) any ceded
> lands from the public lands trust until the claims of the native Hawaiians to the
> ceded lands has been resolved. (Supreme Court of Hawai'i)

HCDCH appealed. The case was then presented to the United States Supreme Court, which

found in favor of the State of Hawai'i – reversing the Supreme Court of Hawai'i's decision

> Justice Samuel Alito, writing for a unanimous Court, reversed the Hawaii
> Supreme Court's ruling, holding that the Apology Resolution did not create any
> new right, nor did it change the relationship between the State and the Native
> Hawaiian community. The Apology uses only conciliatory words, which
> Congress does not use to create substantive rights. While the Resolution does
> state that it does not serve as a settlement of any claims against the United States,
> a disclaimer of settling claims against one sovereign (the United States) cannot be
> read to affirmatively recognize claims against another (State of Hawaii.)

Thusly, the development of the parcel in Maui for affordable housing has begun, with

completion expected soon. The Maui incident argued before the U.S. Supreme Court between

OHA the State exemplifies the ongoing crisis the HRM brought to the table. Who has the rights

to (develop) the ceded lands in Hawai'i?

Regarding the Ala Moana park incident, one of the arrested activists who spurred the

State into action was Utu Langi who became the creator and Executive Director of H5. H5 is a

faith-based 501(c)(3) with humble beginnings. Utu, a Tongan, moved from Tonga to San Francisco and then to Hawai'i. In what he refers to as "grace," he was inspired to turn his time and energy into helping others (U. Langi, personal communication, October 14, 2010). Utu decided to change his life and went to school to become a carpenter.

In a moment of inspired compassion Utu decided to give a blanket to a homeless man sleeping on a bench, an act which turned into a full-time practice of serving the homeless in Hawai'I (U. Langi, personal communication, October 14, 2010). Utu's community service activities took precedence over carpentry. Utu based his activities out of the First United Methodist Church (FUMC), developing his services from distributing blankets, to opening a food bank, to preparing and delivering food and mobile meals to thousands of homeless across O'ahu (U. Langi, personal communication, October 14, 2010). Utu enlisted the hands of the homeless themselves to assist in preparation and serving, adopting a peer-outreach model.

Utu's actions created some tensions within the FUMC community (U. Langi, personal communication, October 14, 2010). Having homeless people in and around the church kitchen was unnerving for some. In response, they split economically from FUMC to incorporate into its own 501(c)(3) – H5 (U. Langi, personal communication, October 14, 2010). At the time of the Ala Moana Park eviction, Utu, with a handful of the park's squatters, were serving meals six times a week to the residents there (U. Langi, personal communication, October 14, 2010). He was well known by all, including the houseless, church groups, outreach workers, and other advocates. Utu had genuine compassion, an overbearing physical presence, and a warm, gentle approachability. He was also quick-witted, clever, and an experienced entrepreneur. He was charismatic and convincing, a true leader and well suited for his role as an activist turned Executive Director.

The Ala Moana Beach Park squatters had been living there for several years (some as long as ten) before the city initiated its "cleanup." The Park is located between Waikiki and Downtown Honolulu. The Mayor had been actively engaged in reducing the visibility of homelessness in and around the City and County of Honolulu. This objective was accomplished by terminating camping at parks most likely to be visited by tourists. Many beach parks in Hawai'i allow overnight permit camping. Enforcing the permitting tended to be relaxed. Nonetheless, many of the squatters obtained permits from the City's Department of Parks and Recreation downtown Honolulu office. With the advent of online permitting, permits are more difficult to obtain by many houseless residents. Ala Moana has since been closed to overnight camping, but staying in other parks (City & County or State controlled) requires a permit.

The trend in State and City parks has been to limit permit camping or eliminate it altogether in high profile locations (i.e., City parks) and close them to the public at 10:00 p.m., midnight, or 2:00 a.m. (reopening at 5:00 or 6:00 a.m.). Further laws have been passed restricting closed tents and shopping carts at any time in key city parks.

The "cleanup" was both practical and euphemistic. Honolulu's Mayor, had been working at cleaning up the city to improve the experience for visitors and residents. The Chamber of Commerce, along with visitor industry associations and homeowner–condo associations, openly supported Ala Moana's cleanup as well as other projects designed to eliminate visible poverty (U. Langi, personal communication, October 14, 2010). The officials behind the cleanup effort at Ala Moana declared that the Park needed landscaping, painting, and updating to its utilities (showers and restrooms). The hidden text of the declaration addressed the houseless residing there: Residents and city officials were interested in reclaiming Ala Moana from the squatters,

and closing the park for a "cleanup" was the most effective way to accomplish this goal. As the eviction grew near, concerns emerged that the park was unsafe, especially after dark, and unsightly because of the impoverished inhabitants (D. Tanner, personal communication, October 2, 2007). It became impossible to avoid the implications of the cleanup for the more than two hundred people the project would displace. After three months of temporary overnight closures, the Mayor permanently closed Ala Moana from 10:00 p.m. to 4:00 a.m. Other "cleanups" have taken place before and since the Ala Moana incident. All these cleanups resonate with similar tones and juxtapositions of hidden and public transcripts about the homeless; however, Ala Moana took center stage in this controversy.

When I arrived in Honolulu and began reaching out to social workers, I was brought to Ala Moana Park to make connections with people who were homeless. It was here I heard, "We are houseless, not homeless"—an echo from the squatters on the west side of Oʻahu (M. Klink, personal communication, June 17, 2005). The street outreach workers and agencies I contacted reported that Ala Moana is where the "houseless stay." It was "the field" where I began this research, serendipitously finding myself walking among the squatters during their removal and then working with Utu Langi at Next Step.

A portion of the homeless population in Hawaiʻi consists of single-income families, who often live in their cars. These families are unable to afford the high cost of living in Honolulu. They make ends meet by "doubling up" (two or more nuclear families sharing one bedroom or apartment) and/or "camping." The problem is rather invisible because there are many more who are "at risk" than visibly squatting. This population constitutes a significant portion of the population that require social services (K. Tani, personal communication, November 2, 2010).

Those living in parks or on the street are a smaller, albeit highly visible component of the problem.

Many of the individuals who work in the nonprofit agencies that help the homeless are two to three paychecks away from being homeless themselves (K. Tani, personal communication, November 2, 2010). The paradox is that a social worker's own job security depends upon a system of inequity, working in what Kivel (2007) referred to as the "buffer zone" between elites and the impoverished (134). Social workers and social services help keep the reality of poverty and inequality from view. Visible homelessness problematizes the socioeconomic containment/stratification of elites not interacting with the impoverished of our society. Consequently, getting visibly houseless individuals "off the streets" is important for all, particularly for the elite. The profession of social work itself buffers the elite from exposure to inequity as it provides employment opportunities for those who might otherwise be receiving services. I the case of Next Step's contract with H5, gainful employment was provided to some that were on the edge of economic straits (K. Tani, personal communication, November 2, 2010). Social workers' activities to help the poor paradoxically pay the rent for the helpers too. H5 quadrupled its annual operating budget when presented with the contract from the State to manage Next Step (U. Langi, personal communication, January 9, 2013). This small agency with a highly effective advocate, making waves—and news—on the lawn of the City Hall, was quickly corralled by the State to run its shelter.

H5 was tasked with the day-to-day management of Next Step, a daunting project utilizing an abandoned warehouse to shelter three hundred people. AHHA offered access to transitional and affordable housing options, and Waikiki Health Center provided medical and mental health services for the "members." "Members" is how H5 referred to residents of Next Step. They were

"members of a community," not "clients." The structure was in need of quick fixes that were made by a diverse group of helpers. Bathrooms, hot water, showers, and some semblance of privacy were established with creative but less than ideal measures. Four-foot, three-walled cubicles achieved privacy, perhaps the most noted characteristic of Next Step's environment. Families of three of more occupied the largest cubicles, which were six by eight feet. Couples and singles occupied smaller spaces.

After consulting with Utu, we asked students in my course to build relationships with the members, volunteers, and staff at Next Step and to conduct ongoing interviews with them throughout their term, addressing issues of sovereignty and personal understandings of poverty. Utu's enrollment in my course was a serendipitous moment in my fieldwork. We became fast friends, and I was given unprecedented access to Next Step shelter. For two semesters, HPU's Poverty and Culture course met inside the Next Step shelter. Utu's research project in the class centered on interviews he conducted with the Acting Director of the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL) and the Head of the Homeless Programs for the Hawai'i Public Housing Authority.

Utu's efforts and creativity extended beyond the walls of the shelter. He commandeered large touring buses and converted them into shelters. He established a recycling program that employed Next Step members. For several years, H5 organized a public awareness and fundraising campaign called "Walk the Talk." The event had participants (shelter staff, volunteers, members, and other community advocates) circumnavigate the island of O'ahu in a ten-day 120-mile walk. They started and ended the journey at the State Capitol grounds. One year the participants slept in cardboard boxes on the Capitol's lawn. Utu believed that people supporting the homeless ought to experience first-hand the realities of living on the street. The

impact of the scene for passersby and State employees also motivated the idea. On the night of the event, several people prepared for a cardboard-sheltered slumber party. Unfortunately, it rained heavily. Most of the participants were quickly discouraged and went home to rest before their long trek.

Utu and H5 managed Next Step for five years. The contract was taken over by Waikiki Health Center. H5 had operated under a tenuous annual contract that was competitively bid on by larger nonprofits in the State (U. Langi, personal communication, January 9, 2013). After returning to its humble budget, H5 continued its work in what Utu referred to as "smaller projects," such as the mobile food delivery and converted bus shelters (U. Langi, personal communication, January 9, 2013). Unfortunately, the IRS is auditing H5. Utu quipped, seemingly unworried that it was "his politics" that alerted the audit (U. Langi, personal communication, January 9, 2013).

The outcome for H5 demonstrates the neoliberal influence on NPIC. The contractual competition and lack of funding experienced by nonprofits is no different than the competitive supply-and-demand model seen in the for-profit sector. Large nonprofits collect fiscal resources by meeting state and federal goals for services rendered. They have full-time staff searching for public and private grants. Often, these nonprofits tailor their applications for funding with fine-tuning, just as an individual might rewrite a resume for employment, including buzzwords and rhetoric highlighting the funder's goals. The nonprofits need money just as much as their for-profit cousins. Building political and economic alliances with local, state, and federal governments is a growth tactic for nonprofits and for-profits alike.

H5, along with some members of Next Step, were asked to present at the "No Mo' Haus" academic conference at the University of Hawai'i. The members shared their experiences of

houseless-ness and discussed the necessity of services such as Next Step to help the houseless

transition into housing. Sharing heartwarming success stories is often how nonprofits present

their value to funders, politicians, and the public. Most memorable for me was Utu's declaration

that homelessness was not going to end unless more money was budgeted to assist the agencies

dealing with the problem. For him, at that moment, money was the solution. More money is a

common solution in the hegemony of capitalism. In fairness, Utu was responding to the current

political economic conditions of H5 and to his work as an advocate for the poor. He was also

addressing a recently released State plan to end chronic homelessness in Hawai'i. The plan was

compiled by the Homeless Policy Academy and developed collaboratively with the Departments

of Health and Human Services, Housing and Urban Development, and Veterans Affairs. It was

also the script used by public officials and nonprofits when discussing the issue of homelessness.

For Utu, the plan was smoke and mirrors, impossible to achieve without more money.

      Kivel (2007) argued that social service hinders or distracts attention from what is

required to effectively institute social changes to end poverty, domestic violence, and other

injustices. Using the distribution of wealth as the framework of his argument, Kivel suggested

that the mission statements and jobs provided by NPIC safeguard the elite from any change or

"revolution". In fact, the proliferation of social service work keeps hundreds of thousands of

people out of poverty. Careers and the professionalization of helping others are jobs about which

people can feel good. The consequences of industrialization have continued to fuel the problem

of inequality. Charity and nonprofits have not reduced the problems. To the contrary, they have

themselves grown into a significant economic sector of American society, funded by the

wealthy. Poverty has not diminished; it has proliferated right along with the NPIC.

The grassroots development of the HRM generated tremendous negative attention toward the State, and they were given a seat at the table—the government's table. OHA was established and now controls millions of dollars in revenue from the ceded lands (very little of it from the State: less than 10 percent of the State's general fund) to help Hawaiians. H5 emerged as a voice for the poor, one that could be heard. Although H5 is a molehill in the mountain of nonprofits, it is a leader among the discontented crowd. Willing to be arrested in an effort to draw attention to the issue, these thorny advocates for the Hawaiians and the homeless were given by the State a warehouse to shelter them.

The similarities between H5 and OHA are structural, and difficult to ignore when they end up on the same plot of land. OHA, of course, is managing much more than this small parcel, but the argument by the grassroots organizations of the HRM is that no department of the State can advocate for Hawaiians effectively. Curiously, OHA and the State are not necessarily on the same team, as the Supreme Court cases demonstrate. Nonetheless, the usage of (some) of OHA's ceded lands to host the poor remains in force. H5, now without the State's contract, is presenting receipts to the IRS for an audit. They no longer deliver services.

Conclusion

The NPIC is a systemic aspect of postindustrial capitalism. It was forged from the compassionate notion of helping those who were undeserving of the misfortune of their circumstances. Contributing money for such a noble effort is a moral and practical way for the wealthy to dodge scorn and taxation. Thus, nonprofits became inundated with money and power. Congress eventually established tax codes and policies, which categorized and regulated nonprofits in 1969. With this, the modern NPIC was born.

The HRM, launched in the same era as the 1969 Tax Reform Act, found a home in the ideological boundaries of NPIC. NPIC was able to host Alu Like Inc. and H5 as they worked toward serving the needs of the disenfranchised in Hawaiʻi. OHA, too, is couched within the ideological underpinnings of NPIC. Yet, all three of these organizations are confined and influenced by the political–economic contours of NPIC. They must carefully account for and cater to the donated dollars that makes their operations possible. They must seek out funding and political affiliations that will not jeopardize their resources. They must compete for funding and collaborate in service.

OHA's revenues from the controversial ceded lands, along with federal resources, include a significant amount of money earmarked for Native Hawaiians (or part Hawaiians). The HRM effectively placed Hawaiians on the budget in Hawaiʻi—the ultimate form of value in a capitalist society. Fest (1998) suggested that the American way is to ignore social problems as long as possible. When they are no longer ignorable, we then throw money at the problem until it can be ignored again. State, federal, and private monies are "thrown" into the nonprofit industrial complex. In the case of Hawaiʻi, as a consequence of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs controls revenues from land that once belonged to its overthrown monarchy.

OHA's ceded land revenue has given rise to agencies, civic clubs, and other organizations influenced by the HRM, which influences their activities toward Hawaiian issues. Alongside this development, more conventional NPIC funding has spurred other social welfare causes; their collaboration and competition permeates the landscape of the helping profession. The NPIC provides a guided path for their growth. The HRM gave birth to innovative ideas and advocacy while NPIC gave birth to the 501(c) infrastructure to put these ideas on the ledger.

Social welfare, social justice, and educational programs have all found fiscal benefits, as long as they incorporate indigenous Hawai'i or Hawaiians into their mission objectives.

Has the HRM changed conditions positively for Hawaiians? Has the State or NPIC positively changed circumstances for those in the lower socioeconomic status in Hawai'i? Are the large social service providers interested and able to foster social change? The answers to these questions are both "yes" and "no." Yes, because members of the HRM trudge on despite the movement's factionalization and diluted influence. Yes, the movement helped to gain ground: The Hawaiian Renaissance Movement has put Hawaiians into the public consciousness and discourse regarding social, economic, political, medical, legal, and educational arenas. However, the answer is "no," because the HRM has lost its political teeth. OHA and Alu Like Inc. represent legacies of the HRM, but they are both embedded in the institutional framework of the State and a capitalist model that serves the wealthy and privileges some at the cost of others. The activists have lost because a backlash against compensating or addressing Hawaiians' claims has become commonplace. Rice's case with the Supreme Court brought "reverse racism" logic that opposes discrimination laws and the gains made from the movement. Worse, activist Hawaiians are frequently discounted in pop-cultural contexts as irrational. They are encouraged to accept the inevitability of their situation (i.e., America will not give the Islands back or return their sovereignty). Activist Hawaiians are reminded that the establishments of DHHL, OHA, and Alu Like, the revival of Hawaiian history, and the revitalization of the language are more than enough.

"Yes", the activists have won because to be *haole* (i.e., white) in Hawai'i is not an invisible ethnicity. Whiteness is marked. The white business–political oligarchy has been overtaken by an unparalleled ethnic diversity in demographics and public office. However,

Hawaiians are not necessarily the beneficiaries of this social reality. Hawai'i is ethnically diverse. There is no majority—everyone is in a minority. In the Census, 23.6 percent of Hawai'i's residents claimed multiethnic backgrounds (two or more races), far more than any other state in the U.S. Almost 39 percent of Hawai'i's population is Asian, 24.7 percent is white, 10 percent is Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islanders, 8.9 percent is Hispanic, 1.6 percent is Black or African American, and 0.3 percent is American Indian and Alaskan Native. The HRM helped to mark whiteness amidst this diversity, and the marking is not positive. The neutrality, invisibility, and privilege enjoyed (consciously or unconsciously) by whites on the American mainland are less so in Hawai'i. Indeed, there are white elites, but they share their status with Asian (Japanese) counterparts. Again, the activists have not completely won political or economic restoration, as most elites in Hawai'i are neither Hawaiians nor part Hawaiians.

Similarly to other social problems in America, the proverb "out of sight and out of mind" accurately reflects the problem of social justice in Hawai'i. The ongoing process of disenfranchisement, marginalization, and political control can be seen in NPIC.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The NPIC constrains the outcomes of all social work and social movements – but most impacted are those aimed at systemic change. The more significant the change, the more difficult the funding will be. The influence of and hegemonic forces within political economics effectively regulate to whom and how help will be administered. Understanding this conclusion as a manifestation of hegemony enables those engaged in social work and activism to more carefully consider how their work and their organization may be influenced by structural forces. Using this research as an inquiry to how social activism and social work may be corralled into the purview of the State through legal, economic, and political forces in Hawaiʻi is an exercise in consciousness raising. Consciousness, in this sense, is an essential ingredient for change.

The conclusion of constraint or structural co-option is not a criticism of the agencies or activists working in Hawaiʻi. To the contrary, these organizations and individuals trudge diligently given the conditions and resources at their disposal. All of the service agencies with which I interacted were committed and effective organizations tirelessly working to help their clients. As for the activists and civic clubs they, too, were adamantly working within their means to inform, educate and change circumstances for Native Hawaiians. When presenting the conclusions of this dissertation with my contributors' activists were more receptive than social workers, but they all were open to the implications. Perhaps, due to social activists ideological positioning any structural critique is welcomed. Yet, their fiscal status may also contribute to a quick agreement to the controlling nature of NPIC. At any rate, this research supports the

arguments articulated by Incite! Women of Color Against Violence 2009 – while not necessarily intended, NPIC's framework can be manipulated for conservative political agendas[1].

NPIC fits within a larger political economy of the United States. The political dynamics in Hawai'i (or anywhere eles for that matter) demonstrate NPIC as an institution supporting the larger economic structure rather than the unique context of Hawai'i. In this system, the advocates of the subaltern, disenfranchised, or otherwise compromised groups are restricted by NPIC's established framework. In other words, they must deliver services and discourse that are fundable and organize within the structure set by the IRS and other legal parameters.

Organizations that criticize or reject this structure as convoluted and opt out are marginalized economically and discursively – consequently they can be characterized as unreasonable, anti-establishment revolutionaries unwarranted of funding or voice. What makes this dynamic so troublesome is when if groups hope to "make a difference" the may sacrifice their vision of changing the system from the outside for changing the system from within. This logic follows that once established as a bona fide organization the real work of changing things can begin.

Alu Like Inc., OHA, and Next Step offer manifestations of this dilemma. The taproot of all three of these organizations is a commitment to undo social injustice and inequality. Each agency's genesis is linked to a political struggle. Each agency secured state and/or federal legitimacy and funding[2]. They all are doing extraordinary, necessary work for Hawai'i and

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[1] Such as the Ford Foundation's involvement in the Civil Rights Movement or, as some sovereignty advocates have suggested, OHA's establishment as a State institution.

[2] Unlike Alu Like and OHA, Next Step's funding, while stable, is not secure. The original nonprofit managing Next Step, H5, was outbid by a larger nonprofit Waikiki Health Center. Next Step's funding and location is the direct result of the state of Hawai'i's intervention. Curiously, it is budgeted as a *temporary* shelter. Yet, the shelter has been open for nearly a decade.

Hawaiians. Yet, the activist community in Hawai'i is divided about whether these organizations are able to effectively change the circumstances Hawaiians face when they, too, are extensions of the system governing Hawai'i.

Individual actors within the early Renaissance Movement formed Alu Like Inc. and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs in Hawai'i. According to OHA's published history, Alu Like and OHA's origin are connected. In fact, Alu Like is credited with funding the staff needed to form the organization before its adoption as a State Office. OHA describes several grassroots-activist organizations, along with Alu Like's federal funding, as instrumental in collaborating and forming the organization. Alu Like, concerned about Native Hawaiians status and welfare then as now, is aligned with OHA and its mission. This narrative unites these organizations' histories, but more importantly, their affiliation with the State of Hawai'i. If OHA's history is accepted – even partially – the collaborating HRM grassroots activists may have believed changes for Native Hawaiians could be made from within the State's bureaucracy if they had a seat at the table.

Similar to the outcome of political activists at the helm of OHA in its beginning, Next Step's establishment as a temporary shelter for the rallying houseless gathering on the State's front yard provides further, more recent, evidence of the complexity of political economy. H5, the small nonprofit that was contracted to manage the shelter, had been feeding people in parks across O'ahu. More importantly, its director, had just been arrested for tresspasing on State property[3] before being awarded the State's contract. In an interview, he admitted his surprise in being invited to discuss options with the State and other large nonprofits (U. Langi, personal

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[3] While this was the offical citaiton for the arrest, the intention/meaning of this action was to reduce the growing public attention to the issue and disperese/discourage those gathering in active resistance to the park's closing – particlully the homeless.

communication, October 14, 2010). By his own admission, he knew very little about managing a shelter with a 400 person capacity and was convinced the other organizations would get the contract (U. Langi, personal communication, November 3, 2012).

These examples demonstrate the establishment routing activists into the realm of NPIC. When (or if) an injustice is visible enough to threaten a majority of the polity, then the nonprofit industrial complex provides a legitimate mechanism to address the wrong. Public and private dollars are funneled into NPIC, earmarked as contributions to remedy the problem. When various voices from HRM effectively presented the jeopardized status of Native Hawaiian's economic, cultural, linguistic, educational, political and physical health on their Island homelands was prevalent enough the State responded by adopting OHA and officially adopting Hawaiian as the State's language. Years later, the glaring visibility of poverty in the seat of the State's capitol district again forced the State to enact NPIC solutions. The implementation of social activism presents in both cases. The establishment heard demands for change, but did not relinquish control politically (OHA) or economically (Next Step).

As NPIC implements solutions in Hawai'i, the attention has shifted away from social change towards social service. Meeting the immediate needs of those living in poverty diverts HRM's focus for Hawaiian sovereignty. Issues such as "affordable housing" articulated by agencies that deal with poverty take center stage in a State that depends upon appearances for its 7.5 million yearly visitors. Meanwhile, the State and its own OHA battle in the highest courts about developing the very land that was taken from the Hawaiians. To OHA's credit and critique of being an arm of the State it has expressed autonomy by taking the State of Hawai'i to court for attempting to determine how the land under OHA's purview can be administered. After alternative rulings at District and the Hawai'i State Supreme Court the U.S. Supreme court ruled

against OHA. The state of Hawai'i can and is developing affordable housing on the contested ceded lands. This was something OHA and the Hawai'i Supreme Court belived OHA should be able to determine (read: change if need be).

Social work and social change have become distanced by NPIC. Tax codes, funding, and venues for actions, led by those with capital and the dominant political ideology, have weakened the linkages between social activism and social service. Few organizations can operate effectively outside of NPIC. Those that can, represent the epitome of change agents. They are likely to be poorly funded activists that are at risk of becoming enticed by a seat at the table and some funding to continue their work. The status quo often see such activists as troublemakers. Yet, it is the underdog in American mythology that holds the righteous position.

Utu Langi and his 501(c)3, H5, continue on the path of making a difference after their state contract with Next Step shelter. Despite the ongoing IRS audit, H5 continues to feed and shelter the poor, albeit on a much smaller scale, of course. Although raising awareness and challenging the State to provide resources for the impoverished is not specifically scheduled on Utu's agenda, Hawai'i Helping the Hungry Have Hope remains the agency's mission. Sadly, maintaining financial solvency has become a priority for H5. OHA and Alu Like Inc. continue as robust organizations with little worry about their economic status. OHA functions as the chief allocator of funds for Native Hawaiians and the nonprofit organizations that wish to help them. OHA continues to be criticized as an arm of the State, and is, therefore, hindered in who appeals for and accepts its resources. Some Hawaiian sovereignty advocates have been relegated to less prominent roles in Hawai'i's sociopolitical spectrum. They have been appeased and heard, quieted and remarginalized. The American economic system, with its powerful mythological

narrative that economic development is the key to success, be it individual, for-profit, or nonprofit incorporation, prevails.

However, the HRM has planted seeds that bore fruit. Hawaiian cultures' deference to the land and self-sacrifice for family has notable influence in Hawai'i. The inclusion of Hawaiian values, be they contemporary invention or revived tradition, demonstrates an investment to change the worldview. More valuable still is the marking of whiteness. *Haole*-ness and its associated privilege and racist history are made more visible and discussed with a degree of frankness in Hawai'i that indicates an adoption of anti-hegemonic discourse.

Pessimistic pundits argue that including *pono* (righteousness) in the values articulated by any organization in Hawai'i, especially those run by *haoles,* is a form of political tokenism, representing insincere "political correctness." Optimistic commentators suggest that the inclusion of any Hawaiian concepts into mission statements, values, or strategic planning is essential regardless of the degree of sincerity. Either way, the fact that this debate exists at all is the direct result of the Hawaiian Renaissance Movement's impact upon the sociocultural reality of Hawai'i. As an optimist, I believe that the seeds planted by HRM are *pono* and will continue to grow. It represents Hawaiian resilience and tenacity. Despite all that's unfolded Hawaiian-ness remains a central concern in Hawai'i. Recently, when gathering at the Hokolea's[4] return in Kaneohe a renown Hawaiian author was describing how the anger she once had was subsiding and, like grief, this was just one phase in the process of reconciling what has happened to and with Hawaiians (L. Kame'eleihiwa, personal communication, September, 2013). Another Hawaiian mentor of mine who was there that day rearticulated this sentiment. She confided, "as

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[4] The Hokulea is the name of a Hawaiian outrigger canoe that uses traditional Polynesian navigation techniques – no compass or GPS – to sail the Pacific Ocean. The project brings people together to celebrate the triumph of Polynesian navigational expertise. It also passes on the skills through a rotation of enthusiastic mariners brought on board to learn the skills. It is another example of the manifestation of the HRM.

an activist everyone expects me to be strong and mad, but I'm not really mad anymore – some people still are and that's ok, but for me it doesn't help" (Anonymous, personal communication, September, 2013). I have come to regard the resilience of Hawaiians and their culture as inspiring example of cultural underdogs unexpectedly enduring in a match of American assimilation.

Indeed, Hawaiian culture has been pruned and uprooted at times; but their population, their principles, their language, and their spirit has not died. In fact, it thrives. Bruddah Joe, the Hawaiian who dealt with the duplicity of his uniqueness, wanted only to transmit that the Hawaiian Way was the way to heal and serve the children of Hawai'i. His organization believed that "inspir[ing] and equip[ing] families and communities [was accomplished by] using timeless Native Hawaiian values and traditions" (Partners in Development Foundation, 2009). The hours I spent with him showed me how Hawaiians understand and organize their world. He believed disharmony and inequities would be minimized if this information could be simply be communicated and understood. The initiative of passing on or teaching others about Hawaiian values is embedded within the institutions in America's State of Hawai'i.

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