Ruth Horie: An Oral History Biography and Feminist Analysis

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THESIS

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A Note on Language

This is a collaborative project between an interviewee (Ruth Horie) and an interviewer (me). It is both of our hope that use of the Hawaiian language here in the Hawaiian Islands continues to increase. While it is already officially one of the two languages of Hawai'i, neither of us believe we have reached (or are even close to) the realization of Hawaiian as a commonly-used language—even second language—here. However, we are both hopeful that there is momentum in the right direction.²

Unfortunately, only one of us (Horie) comprehends Hawaiian as well as English. Most of us living in Hawai'i have at least a small reserve of Hawaiian vocabulary at our dispense.

However, it must be presumed that most readers—including, and importantly, the thesis committee, but also most people outside Hawai'i—are at this time unable to comprehend the Hawaiian language.

Based on her experience cataloging and reading countless academic materials, including hundreds of theses and dissertations, Horie recommended I use italics for any non-English words, with a definition in the text, as well as a separate glossary. While I wish to acknowledge that putting Hawaiian words (other than people- and place-names) in italics could inadvertently "other" the language, I follow my interviewee's advice in this thesis for several reasons: 1) I am only fluent in English; 2) the program this thesis is in partial fulfillment of is wholly in English; 3) Horie is more experienced than me academically, so I trust her opinion in this area; and, 4) her academic specialization is in language, she comprehends Hawaiian, and has much stronger roots

¹ "Section 4. English and Hawaiian shall be the official languages of Hawaii" Retrieved from: https://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/hrscurrent/Vol01 Ch0001-0042F/05-Const/CONST 0015-0004.htm.

² This year, the University of Hawai'i announced that moving forward, it will issue diplomas in both English and Hawaiian, upon request: https://www.hawaii.edu/news/2018/05/08/hawaiian-and-english-diplomas/.

in these islands than me, so I feel that she is particularly qualified to make a sound and sensitive determination in regards to this issue.

There is a persistent sexist usage in English of referring to ships, cars, and other inanimate objects with feminine pronouns (Romaine, 1997), and I have noticed anecdotally that many writers tend to similarly gender geographic/physical locations and nations, assigning them as female. No doubt, this gender coding is a violence, one that allows for the projecting of masculine entitlement onto the people who wish to exploit the land,³ and feminine otherness onto colonized places,⁴ which are then seen, once gendered female, as "spaces in need of mastery and appropriation" (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997, p. 96).⁵ In this paper I purposely avoid gendering objects and/or land, nations, etc.

From here on out, I do not use the term "non-white," as it implies a lack of something, and defines what is by what it is not. My aim is to discontinue defining people by their lack of whiteness, and in doing so, de-normalize the white person as the universal, standard human being or American citizen. White/non-white is a false and damaging binary that I do not want to reinforce nor perpetuate. While it is slightly awkward and similarly nonspecific, in this thesis I here on out use "person/people of color" instead of "non-white" whenever possible.

³ And the Native people of the land.

⁴ In tourist and military discourse, respectively, "Hawai'i is coded as a soft, feminine, welcoming place, waiting and receptive" or "as a weak female needing manly protection from a dangerous world" (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997, p. 98).

⁵ Native Hawaiians also sometimes referred to Hawaii as a woman, an earth mother/goddess named Papahānaumoku, but their attitude toward her was completely different and based upon respect; the "strictest rules and protocols existed to ensure that each aspect of the taking and giving of life was observed" (Kamahele, 2008, p. 80). There is a "fundamental clash between the Kanaka Maoli relationship to a living 'āina (literally "that which feeds") and the Euro-American concept of 'land' as flat and lifeless real estate" (Kajihiro, 2008, p. 176).

Ruth Horie: An Oral History Biography and Feminist Analysis

Abstract

This thesis is an oral history biography of Ruth Horie (1950-), a Japanese American librarian in Honolulu, Hawai'i whose work centered mainly on preserving and providing access to Native Hawaiian materials. Primarily a cataloger, Horie was one of the rare librarians who understood Hawaiian, a critically endangered language. She earned her undergraduate degree in Hawaiian Studies and two master's degrees, in Library Studies and Linguistics, from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. She worked for a decade as a reference librarian at the East-West Center and Bishop Museum, and then spent twenty-two years as a cataloger at Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. The accompanying intersectional feminist analysis aims to examine the unique positionalities Horie embodied, and extract insights from her experience. Horie's life and work turn out to be an excellent example for all librarians who wish to take a social justice stance in their careers.

Keywords: cataloging, Hawai'i, intersectional feminism, Japanese American Biography, library science, oral history, Yonsei

Part I: Oral History

Family History

Much, if not most, research about Hawai'i begins the story at the point of Western contact, as if there was no history in these islands prior to white people laying eyes on it. This is absolutely not reflective of reality; Hawai'i has a rich and complex history that precedes Western contact by at least a thousand years, and starting history at the point of Western contact is misleading. While I will not provide a detailed Hawaiian history prior to Western contact here, I wish to emphasize that this is only in the interest of time, and because the interviewee of this oral history is part of a family of settlers, not Native Hawaiians, who arrived in Hawai'i in the nineteenth century.

Precisely when humans first arrived in the Hawaiian Islands, the most geographically-isolated archipelago on the planet (Stannard, 2008), physically located roughly 2,400 miles from its closest neighbors (Rohrer, 2016), is not a consensus. Over the course of possibly seventeen centuries, waves of Polynesians discovered, settled and developed societies in the Hawaiian Islands (Young, 1998). One estimate is that Polynesians first arrived around 700 (Daws, 1968); another is that initial Polynesian discovery of the Hawaiian Islands occurred between approximately 1000-1200 (Kirch, 2011), and other scholars (Wilmshurst et. al., 2011), who performed a meta-analysis of radiocarbon dates from the region suggested it was likely closer to the year 1200. According to some *Kanaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiian) records, it was sometime

⁶ Unfortunately, "some of the most pernicious misrepresentations of the colonization of the islands" are "that Hawai'i's history began with Cook's landing, that colonization was easy and nonviolent, and, perhaps most importantly, that Kanaka Maoli did not resist." Challenging these misrepresentations "challenges the notions of the haole as discoverer, savior, and civilizing force in the islands" (Rohrer, 2010, p. 8).

⁷ Since scholarly texts must, as Batuman (2007) notes, "flatten the events of centuries into a matter of some hours' reading" (p. 1).

⁸ Some estimates include the fact that the group that is now considered *Kanaka Maoli* was not the first of the Polynesian groups to arrive.

around two-thousand years ago (Trask, 2008; Hoʻomanawanui, 2008). Whichever date is closest to the truth, *Kanaka Maoli* have nevertheless been the Indigenous population of the Hawaiian islands for at least eight hundred years, and possibly up to two thousand years. Native Hawaiians "are the indigenous people of Na Kai 'Ewalu (the Hawaiian Islands), not simply an earlier arrived immigrant group in Hawai'i's contemporary multiracial milieu" (Young, 1998, p. 4). The Hawaiian Kingdom was established by 1810, and since 1843 was recognized as an independent state by the major powers of the world (Kauanui, 2018). These facts, combined with the United States-backed overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 (Saranillio, 2010), shed light on who ultimately has the right to stake claim to these islands.

White Englishman James Cook arrived in Hawai'i much later than the Native Hawaiians, somewhere between five hundred and one thousand years later, in 1778 (Daws, 1968), laying the groundwork for future colonization. American missionaries followed, in 1820, to impose their lifestyles and worldview; over the next hundred years, through intentional linguistic and cultural repression, 10 they nearly succeeded in completely wiping out the Hawaiian language (Warschauer, Donaghy & Kuamoÿo, 1997). 11 Missionary wives, recruited specifically to serve that role, were tasked of course with the usual gendered-labors of the household, and a "final manic move in the effort to map domesticity on the social space of the Hawaiians was the attempt to introduce the concept of marriage and female submissiveness among those native to Hawai'i" (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997, p. 101). Also, importantly, the missionary wives fastidiously kept watch over their own children, ensuring that they would not acquire native

⁹ One scholar estimates Polynesian arrival in Hawai'i as far back as an entire millennium (Stannard, 2008); for comparison, everyone else has only co-inhabited these island for less than two hundred years (Daws, 1968). ¹⁰ Including a ban on the traditional practice of hula.

¹¹ Non-natives also succeeded in wiping out a sizable percentage of the native population (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997).

language (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997). Bringing their language, lifestyle, and religion with them, ¹² with the explicit intention of imposing them, these missionaries established a firm foothold for continued colonization, exploitation, and displacement of Hawaiian land and people, that persists today. "The history of the present in Hawai'i emerged from its encounters with Western explorers; missionaries, entrepreneurs, and sugar planters" (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997, p. 99). ¹³

Circa 1826, American naval ships joined French and British warships docked in Hawai'i (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997). In the first half of the nineteenth century, these white foreigners struck clandestine deals with chiefs and Kings to gain rights to land for development (Daws, 1968). By the 1840s, agricultural exploitation of the islands began to look especially lucrative to these men¹⁴ as whaling, which had helped develop Honolulu into a trading port, failed; by midcentury, the Hawaiian government had passed laws allowing foreigners to purchase land in fee simple (Daws, 1968), meaning "belonging to the owner and his heirs forever, without limitation" (Oxford University Press, 2018). Shortly thereafter, urged by the white American colonizers, King Kamehameha III proposed the Great Māhele (1845-1850), a land redistribution act (Heckathorn, Morgan, & Motteler, 2018) in which lands were re-plotted according to ideal utilization, with "ideal" meaning, as so deemed by the colonizers (Rohrer, 2010). The Great Māhele resulted in an almost total displacement of the Hawaiian population (Okihiro, 1991), with white men ending up with four acres of land for every Native-owned acre (Daws, 1968). Ostensibly, this "freed" Native Hawaiians from serfdom, but really, it undermined their

¹² And their diseases, but that was unintentional.

¹³ Importantly, these outside groups ultimately transformed Hawai'i to a capitalistic society, one at odds with the traditional Indigenous worldview and lifestyle, and that positioned *Kanaka Maoli* to fail from the outset (Okihiro, 1991).

¹⁴ Sugarcane grew wild in the islands, and this is where they set their sights (Daws, 1968).

¹⁵ Including all acres owned by *Kanaka Maoli* chiefs.

relationship with the 'āina (land) and subsequently, the fundamental basis of their society (Okihiro, 1991).

The white American colonizers "had forced the government to westernize itself at great cost and in great haste, and then they chose to act as if the government did not exist" (Daws, 1968, p. 110). These white men were, not surprisingly, "Manifest Destiny men," hose interest around this time was that the United States annex Hawai'i so that their businesses would benefit by being placed within the U.S. tariff structure (Daws, 1968, p. 147). Many of these white men were not benignly self-interested but were actively racist toward both Native Hawaiians and Asian immigrants (Daws, 1968). They craved economic prosperity for themselves above all else, and the nineteenth century in Hawai'i was plagued by white men gathering in exclusive groups to plot their ascension to power (and subsequent wealth). While some favored what they called "revolution" and others craved U.S. annexation, none wanted statehood for Hawai'i because that would turn Native Hawaiians into American citizens, and white men were "against equal rights for kanakas in a white man's country" (Daws, 1968, p. 148).

Honolulu was a bustling international trade port by mid-century, and that resulted in additional public issues, such as when a United States merchant ship delivered a passenger infected with smallpox in 1853. By January 1854, 2,485 people—mostly Native Hawaiians—had perished from the disease, and that number was likely inaccurate with the true death toll perhaps as high as 6,000 (Daws, 1968). By the 1860s, due to the single-minded businessmen taking over the islands, the missionaries "were in full retreat" (Daws, 1968, p. 163). From the mid-nineteenth century and through World War II, Hawai'i's elite—mainly *haole* (foreigner/white person)

¹⁶ "The colonizers of Hawai'i brought with them both a profound sense of entitlement and a fear of engulfment" (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997, p. 99) and "apologists for expansionism during the late nineteenth century justified U.S. imperialism as manifestly destined by divine sanction, geography, and racial superiority" (Okihiro, 1991, p. 17).

businessmen, some of whom married into Native Hawaiian royal families—derived their power by controlling land, capital, and the government (Okihiro, 1991). A distinguishing feature of the territory was the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of a few: Hawai'i's "financial oligarchy" was comprised of "The Big Five" companies who together owned almost half the total land area of Hawai'i, produced 90% of the total value of all products, and controlled ancillary businesses such as banking, transportation, utilities, insurance, and retail (Okihiro, 1991). Not surprisingly, their pervasive influence in the islands reverberates to this day. These elite haole businessmen exploited the unstable socioeconomic and political conditions that Asian nationals were experiencing (because of American, British, Spanish, and Japanese imperialism), to establish an American settler colony with the plantation as its economic base (Fujikane, 2008). Between 1860 and 1866 the Hawaiian sugar business boomed, exporting fewer than a million and a half pounds in 1860 and almost eighteen million pounds by 1866 (Daws, 1968). Between 1850 and 1870 plantation owners demanded more labor than those already in the islands could provide. "After early unsuccessful attempts at using Hawaiians as labor (thwarted by depopulation, out-migration, and resistance), plantation owners brought in successive waves of mostly Asians... to work on the sugar and pineapple plantations" and this shifted the demographics of the islands' population, creating the political backdrop of every facet of Hawai'i from then on (Rohrer, 2016, p. 61). Plantation directives were strict and harsh, and laborers were essentially "ruled by the master-and-servant relationship" (Okihiro, 1991, p. 22).

The plantation owners wanted "cheap and docile workers;" the first sizable group of recruited workers were Chinese, known for their skill in sugar production (Okihiro, 1991, p. 29). Perhaps emboldened by their economic success, white businessmen instigated the 1875

¹⁷ The "Big Five" companies were C. Brewer & Co., Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, Theo H. Davies & Co., and H. Hackfeld & Co. (later Amfac, Inc.).

Reciprocity Treaty between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States, which further strengthened their political power (Okihiro, 1991) by assuring duty free entry into the U.S. for Hawaiian sugar; this treaty also, importantly, gave the U.S. exclusive rights to Pearl Harbor (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997). The following 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy was a strategic political move, precipitated by the perceived threat of then-reigning Queen Lili'uokalani, who had promised her people she would restore the powers of the monarchy and instate a new constitution (Okihiro, 1991).

Horie's maternal family emigrated from Japan to occupied Hawai'i—what was at the time a United States territory—around 1898, as part of a second influx of Asian plantation workers, this time Japanese. Horie is not sure if these family members emigrated together, or met when they were already in Hawai'i. The one thing that is certain is that Horie's maternal great-grandparents emigrated to Hawai'i from Japan. She believes that these family members came to Hawai'i specifically to work on the plantations.

My ancestors on my mother's side initially worked on plantations on Maui and Hawai'i Island. I'm not sure if they landed in Honolulu and then travelled to those islands, or if they landed on those islands directly from Japan.

Almost all Issei¹⁹ arrived between 1885-1924, a period during which roughly 180,000 Japanese arrived in Hawai'i (Tamura, 1994; Scheiber, 2013), becoming by 1900 the largest ethnic group in the islands (Tamura, 1994; Fujikane, 2008). These were mostly, at a rate of about 80%, men (Tamura, 1994). Similarly, but under different circumstances, Japanese immigrants were among the "pioneer" immigrants to the continental United States from Asia (Darlington &

¹⁸ The United States' Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Asato, 2006) resulted in other Asian immigrant groups recruited by plantation owners around this time.

¹⁹ Issei are first generation Japanese immigrants to the United States.

Mulvaney, 2014, p. 45). Like many American citizens, Horie comes from a family of immigrants. However, unlike most Americans, the first immigrants, or Issei, in Horie's family emigrated to the Hawaiian Kingdom, not to the United States of America,²⁰ so they never became American citizens; yet, they remained in Hawai'i, which eventually became part of the United States.

The American-born children of Asian immigrants largely populated the public schools in Hawai'i, and Japanese students often additionally attended Japanese language schools (Tachihata, 1981). Many (mostly white, American) public-school teachers complained of Nisei children who spoke Hawai'i Creole English (HCE), commonly called "Pidgin." This was not a so-called problem only for Japanese children. In fact, "only 2 or 3 percent of all students entering public school spoke Standard English" as late as 1920, and public-school teachers largely blamed this phenomenon on Japanese language schools (Asato, 2006, p. 23).

In 1898, United States' President McKinley signed a resolution to annex Hawai'i and in 1900 Hawai'i became a territory of the United States through the Organic Act (Hawaii-Nation.org, 2018). The United States annexation allowed Japanese in Hawai'i to move to the continental United States, and about 20% of the Issei did, between 1898-1907 (Tamura, 1994), some because of higher wages offered in California (Asato, 2006). Nisei, the first generation of Japanese immigrants born in the U.S., possessed dual nationality (Asato, 2006; Tachihata, 1981),²¹ as anyone born in the U.S. is automatically a citizen, and any Japanese person born outside Japan was at the time automatically also a subject of the Japanese emperor (Daws, 1968). American citizenship, however, was not available to Issei or some other Asian immigrants²² until

²⁰ Renowned Native Hawaiian activist and scholar Huanani-Kay Trask (2008) argues that Asian immigrants to Hawai'i are in fact settlers, not immigrants.

²¹ As such, if they visited Japan, they might be required to serve in the military (Asato, 2006).

²² Discluding Chinese and Filipinos.

over half a century later, when, in 1952 (U.S. Department of State, 2018), the McCarren-Walter Act was passed (Tachihata, 1981).

Horie's paternal grandparents were both born in Toyama-ken, a prefecture on Japan's main island, but their birth years are unknown. Her paternal grandmother was named Hatsue Yago and her paternal grandfather's first name is unknown, but his surname was Kamada. Horie's maternal grandmother, Ruth Ume Nakamura—after whom she is named—was born in 1904, on Hawai'i Island.²³ Her maternal grandfather, Samuel Torashige Tachibana, was born on the same island, in the same year (or possibly the year before). Horie is not sure whether or not this side of her family immigrated to Hawai'i to specifically work on plantations.

My father's parents came from Japan. I don't recall anyone on his side saying that they actually worked in a plantation first. I mean they might have, but since they lived in Honolulu and never went any place else for a lengthy period of time before my father was born and my uncle was born, they might not have first gone to plantation, but I really don't know. I'm a bit sketchy on that part.

Between 1900 and 1910, more wives arrived from Japan, so fewer Japanese people traveled back to the homeland; as ties to Japan loosened, the Japanese community in Hawai'i was strengthened and they began to earnestly establish themselves in the islands (Tamura, 1994). In the 1909 "Great Strike," 7,000 Japanese plantation laborers from all the major plantations on O'ahu (Okihiro, 1991, p. 45) demanded higher wages; no more ethnic pay scales; better housing and sanitation; and a reduced work day, to ten hours (Tamura, 1994). The strike was unsuccessful, but it "showed that the Japanese were discarding more and more of their old-world ways and embracing American attitudes and methods" (Tamura, 1994, p. 215).

²³ Horie is unsure of the exact location, but likely it was in the Kona area.

Exaggerated patriotism during the following decade, due in large part to World War I, made Americans wary of people speaking any language other than English (Tamura, 1994; Asato, 2006) and so, like the effort to eradicate the Hawaiian language almost exactly a century before, there was a concerted effort to abolish Japanese language schools in Hawai'i. Japanese language schools had started on plantations, for workers' children (Asato, 2006).

Japanese language schools were originally established to provide immigrants' children with Japanese education based on the assumption that they would eventually return to Japan. The language schools, however, blossomed with many Issei determined to settle in the United States. (Asato, 2006, p. 106)

At the beginning of the twentieth century, "nativists demanded that the question of Japanese language schools was a challenge to Japanese assimilability into white society" (Asato, 2006, p. X). The attack on the schools was part of a much broader Americanization agenda to stamp out diversity, both culturally and ideologically (Tamura, 1994). Several claims against the Japanese included that they were a sizable threat due to their economic power, supposed inability to assimilate to American life, and their growing population; these complaints (similar to the "yellow peril" myth) all stemmed from fear of economic competition and political control (Asato, 2006);²⁴ many Japanese workers had left the plantations to enter skilled trades, where they were newly in direct competition with *haole* (Scheiber, 2013). Such fear-based exclusionist attacks occurred simultaneously in Hawai'i and most Western states where Issei settled. In Hawai'i, "the Japanese language school debate was a manifestation of power conflicts among several different groups" with the battle ultimately "a grueling struggle" between whites and

²⁴ These fears echo some expressed today in the U.S. about Mexican immigrants.

Nikkei over land ownership and subsequent control over the future [voting] majority in Hawai'i (Asato, 2006, p. 42).

Around this time, in 1919, Horie's father, Masanori Horie, was born in Honolulu. When my father was an only child his parents lived in Honolulu on Waipā Lane, just off Vineyard Boulevard, north of Liliha Street. After his father returned to Japan,²⁵ his mother married another Japanese immigrant, Mr. Yasusaburo Horie. I believe my father's half-brother was born while the family was still living in Honolulu and his stepfather was working as a night watchman at a car lot near the corner of Kapi'olani and Kalākaua. Later, the four of them moved to what is now Āhuimanu on the Windward side.

While [white] Americans unfairly and xenophobically attempted to stamp out diversity and cultural practices in Hawai'i, those cultures were not always necessarily progressive themselves. Tamura (1994) describes the social structure and conditions that Japanese immigrants brought with them to Hawai'i: "While the Japanese valued schooling, they stressed it for boys rather than for girls... the Japan the Issei knew was a patriarchal society, and the Issei brought that tradition with them to Hawaii" (p. 119). Like in the Western world, Japanese families were patriarchal, and specifically, women and girls were expected to do unpaid labor at home (Tamura, 1994).

In some ways, the cultural norms and social structure that Japanese immigrants brought with them to Hawai'i helped them survive, and eventually thrive, here; extremely statusconscious, traditional Japanese culture "enabled them to adapt rather easily to the class-driven society they encountered in Hawaii" (Tamura, 1994, p. 195). The Japanese sense of self-worth

²⁵ Horie says the reason he returned to Japan from Hawai'i was that after he attempted to murder his wife, his friends and neighbors got together to raise enough money to send him back to Japan.

was apparently so high that it was unscathed by the rampant discrimination and intolerance it encountered in the U.S. (Tamura, 1994). Of course, this sense of superiority had a sinister side (beyond sexism):

The Japanese in Hawaii came from a heritage that exalted them as a people superior to all others. Even when Japan encountered the technologically more advanced West, the Japanese still believed themselves better because of their spiritual culture... Part of this self-perception derived from ideas of skin color, ideas the Japanese had formed long before contact with Westerners. Japanese saw themselves as white-skinned, which they considered beautiful; they viewed black skin as ugly... In this regard ideas from the Nisei's cultural heritage merged with views rooting in the Islands' class-based society. (Tamura, 1994, p. 188)

In other words, Hawai'i, by then annexed by the United States, was a white supremacist society, and the parallel Japanese culture of racial superiority is what enabled them to easily assimilate. There is an inherent and complex contradiction in their racism, however; the Japanese in Hawai'i both believed that they were superior to other races, and they considered themselves white.²⁶ However, white European Americans definitely did not see the Japanese as belonging to that elite group.²⁷

While Americanizers insisted on loyalty from the Japanese, they refused to treat them in ways that encouraged that loyalty. While Americanizers demanded that

²⁶ There are possibly lasting repercussions of this complex racial situation in Hawai'i today, that will be further examined in the analysis.

²⁷ An interesting parallel: Kauanui (2018) disappointedly notes that it is common within the contemporary Hawaiian Sovereignty movement for *Kanaka Maoli* to derive their right to self-determination by positioning themselves as superior to—more advanced and civilized than—Native Americans. Of course, in the eyes of the United States government, Native Hawaiians are Native Americans. These political sentiments of the *Kanaka Maoli* "naturalize Native Americans' limited political status based on chauvinistic (mis)understandings of what constitutes a "tribe" as somehow inherently domestic and dependent" (Kauanui, 2018, p. 4).

Nisei renounce their Japanese citizenship, they gave tacit approval to the denial of naturalization rights for Issei. And while Americanizers spoke of democracy, they attempted to destroy the Japanese language press and denied Japanese the kind of justice accorded Caucasians. (Tamura, 1994, p. 88)

The complex racial milieu in Hawai'i meant that Japanese settlers had prejudices of their own, but still faced rampant discrimination and antagonism.

My grandfather on my mother's side, he and his brother, his younger brother, were orphaned after the 1918 (or so) Spanish Flu, or Influenza. And since they were left without parents, they were taken in by a Hawaiian family, on the island of Hawai'i. And, so that's how my grandfather learned Hawaiian, and learned to love Hawaiian food, and Hawaiian music, and learned to play the ukulele.

The influenza pandemic of 1918-1920 was experienced worldwide, and "killed more than 21 million persons, including at least 675,000 Americans and more than 2,300 people just in Hawai'i" (Schmitt & Nordyke, 1999, p. 101). It was the fourth most-fatal epidemic in Hawai'i's history;²⁸ plantation dwellings were notoriously cramped, and overcrowding exacerbated the spread of the disease. Horie does not know how her grandfather and great-uncle ended up *hānai* (adopted)²⁹ by a Hawaiian family; plantations were methodically separated along racial lines, to keep workers from banding together against the cruel working conditions, plantation owners, and *luna* (usually-Portuguese³⁰ plantation overseers). Horie said that no one has ever asked her about

²⁸ The epidemic was brought to Hawai'i by the islands' occupiers; the first cases here broke out in the navy and military bases (Schmitt & Nordyke, 1999).

²⁹ She also said: "*hānai* would only apply to my maternal grandfather and his younger brother," and not to their subsequent progeny.

³⁰ Despite being European, Portuguese people were not considered racially white in Hawai'i, but close enough to oversee the decidedly-non-whites.

how her grandfather and great-uncle ended up $h\bar{a}nai$ by a Hawaiian family, and that no one has told her the reason for it.

I don't know. The head of the Hawaiian family who took in my maternal grandfather and his younger brother was Mr. Kilinahe, a policeman. I believe this was in a coffee growing area in the Nāpoʻopoʻo, Kona district of the island of Hawaiʻi... It's possible that other Japanese adults had also died from the flu and so their families weren't able to take in two orphan boys.

The Horie family lived in what is now Āhuimanu, where [Ruth] Horie says they were surrounded by and learned a lot about the Hawaiian lifestyle and language. Her father "went to school in a region called Waiāhole," a farming valley on the windward side of Oʻahu. As a child, her father walked every day from Āhuimanu to Waiāhole,³¹ where

he completed the sixth grade, which was the highest grade offered at Waiāhole School. His mother raised vegetables at home. I'm not sure what his father did. My father made spending money by catching frogs alive and selling them in Chinatown where his mother sold her vegetables.

The Horie family growing produce at home was not unusual; like the Chinese before them, many Japanese plantation workers had eventually sought better opportunities for employment, such as family farming (Okihiro, 1991).

Horie's mother, Irene Tachibana, was born in 1925, in Honolulu, to Ruth and Samuel, a sharpshooter with the Hawai'i National Guard. When Irene was 16, in 1941, Japan bombed Pearl Harbor.

³¹ This is a distance of roughly three miles.

After the Pearl Harbor bombing, the grounds of the University [of Hawai'i] were torn up for trenches and a site near the present-day Hamilton Library was readied as a mass burial ground for casualties anticipated in a Japanese invasion... as the war wore on, the staff and student body were greatly affected. The military presence dominated the campus, and the library's Oriental and Pacific Islands collections became a resource for army and navy intelligence officials. Librarians were called upon, especially in the early years of the war, to help with fingerprinting, enumerating, and other defense work. (Morris, 2006)

Masanori and Irene had both been born in the territory of Hawai'i, so they were citizens, but Masanori's parents were not (Irene's parents were both American citizens, having been born in 1904 in the territory). Even though there was rampant discrimination against people of color, 32 many Japanese citizens and Japanese Americans in Hawai'i rushed to defend the islands and their occupying power. Horie's father, Masanori, who was 22 at the time, was drafted to the United States Army³³ in 1944, to serve in World War II. Japanese Americans were banned from joining the military until 1943 (Altschuler & Blumin, 2009); Horie's father "was inducted on April 27, 1944 and honorably discharged on April 18, 1945. He served in the 1399th Engineers Construction Battalion, stationed at Schofield Barracks, Wahiawā." This primarily Japanese American battalion remained in Hawai'i and was never in combat, but three members died in service-related incidents; the battalion "completed 54 defense related construction projects on O'ahu and was awarded the Meritorious Service Award in October 1945" (Grubb, 2014).

³² "Paradoxically, the Japanese did not lack a capacity for loyalty; in fact they were overendowed [sic] with patriotism" (Daws, 1968, p. 307).

He was never stationed outside of Hawai'i.

Horie's mother dropped out of high school to aid in the war effort, also on behalf of the United States. Despite her parents' involvement in the American war effort, during this time, Horie's extended Japanese family lived in fear of unwarranted incarceration (and what exactly happened in the "internment camps" was unclear, so at worst, they imagined death).

During the war she [Irene] worked as a secretary. They got some dispensation to leave school, the ones who were old enough, in high school, to get a job and help the war effort. Well that was another reason, when talking about, you know, are we gonna survive this, is... my grandparents on my mother's side, my grandmother told me this story, about something that happened during the second World War. Obviously before I was born, but— my grandfather was a member of the Hawai'i National Guard. He was a sharp shooter. He had a gun, and when the second World War broke out, and they started rounding up Japanese, and Japanese Americans, my grandmother was really afraid. She told me that, number one, that all the Japanese regardless of—see, both my grandparents on my mother's side were American citizens. They were born in Hawai'i during the territory. She was afraid they'd all be killed, all Japanese, regardless of American citizenship or whatever. That was her number one fear.

Luckily, despite their fears, no one in Horie's family was arrested or killed. She attributes this to the fact that had Japanese in Hawai'i been incarcerated in camps, the economy would have collapsed ("local authorities realized that if everybody was rounded up, the economy would

³⁴ "Another serious problem inheres in the scheme's treatment of the Japanese-American experience during World War II. The only pertinent subhead is — DEPORTATION, which less-than-adequately describes the forced installment of over 110,000 Japanese-Americans in concentration camps... entirely on the basis of their 'ancestral origins.' To do justice, subject-wise, to this wholly shameful episode requires, minimally, a new sub-head like — MASS INTERNMENT, 1942-1945, with 'xx's' for 'Civil rights' and 'Racism—U.S.'" (Berman, 1971/1993, p. 31).

collapse, and Hawai'i would not be able to support the war effort") so it was more relaxed than in the rest of the U.S. She is correct that the reaction toward anyone of Japanese ancestry was more relaxed in Hawai'i than the rest of the United States (Scheiber, 2013), but it was not entirely positive. Partially in response to the attack on Pearl Harbor,

Anti-Japanese sentiment had resulted in the closing of Japanese language schools and Buddhist and Shinto temples, as well as the evacuation of certain Japanese community leaders to relocation camps³⁵ on the U.S. mainland... a mass evacuation of all Japanese living in the islands was not feasible. Hawai'i's 160,000 Japanese comprised one third of her [*sic*] population and it would have been impossible to send these people, many of them American citizens, to the U.S. mainland or to segregate them on one of the islands. Such a move would have severely dislocated the local economy, since both private industry and the military employed skilled Japanese workers. (Tachihata, 1981, p. 199-200)

As soon as Pearl Harbor was bombed, the territory's governor imposed martial law,³⁶ which lasted until October 24, 1944 (Scheiber, 2013). Although they were treated moderately better than those in the continental U.S., Japanese Americans—and, to a lesser extent, Italian Americans and German Americans—were still "subject to investigation, interrogation, incarceration, and evacuation" (p. 416).

...we had Pearl Harbor, we had a staging area for soldiers to be trained before they went to the Pacific Islands, and you know... so, only a few people, in terms of the

³⁵ Tachihata does not clarify the meaning of this euphemism.

³⁶ "From the start, martial law in Hawai'i was regarded as a measure for internal security and the solution to what was called, in the military and political discussions of the time, "the Japanese problem"—the presence of large numbers of Japanese who might side with the enemy in case of war" (Scheiber, 2013, p. 417).

general Japanese or also German and European population were actually rounded up and interned. I heard one story from a professor at Leeward Community College who's been studying internment in Hawai'i is, in the beginning, the authorities actually rounded up all Europeans, German or whatever, including Swiss, French, Italians, and so that crippled the hotel culinary industry cuz these people were chefs, they were professionals, that's why they were working here, in a hotel. [laughs] And that didn't last too long, apparently... probably they couldn't tell who was German, who was Italian, so just round them all up. And in fact, one of my grandfather's, on my mother's side, one of his friends... an Italian American, he was decorated, a decorated veteran of World War I, and he was rounded up!

Once the war ended, things started to go back to normal for the Tachibana and Horie families. Between 1946 and 1959, Oʻahu's population increased by over one-hundred thousand; at this time, Japanese and Caucasians were dominant groups, followed (in descending order) by Hawaiians, Filipinos, Chinese, and Koreans (Tachihata, 1981).

Horie's parents met through mutual friends. "By the time I was born in 1950 my father's family (his mother and stepfather) had moved to a new house on Kamehameha Highway just north of the Kahalu'u Stream. That's where my father started his "Kahalu'u Garage" Chevron³⁷ gas station, towing and auto repair business. My mother moved in after she and my father got married in 1949." Masanori was 30 and Irene was 24 at the time of their wedding. By the end of the following year, they were new parents.

³⁷ "The Chevron station was my father's business. He was the boss. I guess you could call it a franchise type of ownership."

Youth (1950-1968)

Childhood

Ruth Horie was born on Friday, December 1, 1950, in the territory of Hawai'i. Irene and Masanori welcomed their first child at

Kapi'olani Hospital, the one where Barack Obama would later be born. On my mother's side of the family, I'm fourth generation; on my father's side I'm the third generation. But when people have a family background like that, the generation is counted as the higher one.

Fourth generation Japanese Americans are also called Yonsei (Tamura, 1994). "Those with plantation labor family histories often identify generally as local... Racial identity is one of the mainstays of local culture flowing through family narratives, food ways, traditions, jokes, literature, and cultural expectations" (Rohrer, 2016, p. 82). While Horie is racially and ethnically 100% Japanese, she is what is considered "local" in Hawai'i.

Local identity and culture emerged primarily from the experience of those who labored on sugar and pineapple plantations and as such is an amalgamation of Asian and Pacific immigrant cultures and native Hawaiian culture. Being a "local" in Hawai'i is therefore different from being a "local" in common discourse on the continent, since it is tied to this history and culture and not simply to residence. (Rohrer, 2016, p. 10)

"Local" is a classification that means not-Indigenous, but also claims—rightfully or not—some sense of Indigeneity in that it indicates belonging to the land of Hawai'i. Localness is performed³⁸ in various ways, either consciously or not, and is enacted as if it is its own ethnic

³⁸ "all identities are performatively produced in and through narrative enactments that include the precarious achievement of belonging" (Prins, 2006, p. 277).

classification (although it can be comprised of many ethnicities and mixed-race people). One of the primary ways this localness is performed is through language. The language Horie speaks when excited or stressed, what she says she considers to be her "native" language, is Hawaiian Creole English (HCE). This is consistent with research on earlier generations of Japanese people in Hawai'i, who wished for the "rights and privileges due them as Americans without having to reject their identity as children of Japanese plantation workers. This attitude of the Nisei was reflected in their use of Hawai'i Creole English, which Americanizers attempted to eradicate" (Tamura, 1994, p. 198). Also known as Pidgin, ³⁹ HCE persisted among Nisei as their "mother tongue despite the fact that lack of fluency in standard English could have negative educational and economic repercussions" (Tamura, 1994, p. 202). Notably, Horie speaks both standard English and HCE. ⁴⁰ Food is another important identity marker of any ethnic group, and locals are no different. Horie likes Hawaiian and local food; her favorite food now is Texas steak and Pacific Spiny Lobster, but she also enjoys Hawaiian food and local specialties such as plate lunch.

I was born in 1950. Right before the Korean War started. And, I asked my mother once, did she have some fears or apprehensions about future life in Hawai'i, you know, given this war, because both my parents were old enough to experience the Second World War. You know, she was in high school, and he actually enlisted in the Army. But she says she doesn't recall. So, the Korean War, I don't think really played an important part in our family stories. My father would tell World War II stories now and then, because he didn't go to Europe, he was stationed here, along

³⁹ "Hawaii residents have commonly used the term "Pidgin" to refer to the entire spectrum of languages spoken by plantation workers and their descendants" (Tamura, 1994, p. 199).

⁴⁰ Among many other languages; more on that later.

with some of his friends... the thing that I really remember about the early childhood in the fifties, in terms of geopolitical things, was the Cold War, and the threat of nuclear attack. And we had these drills in school about getting down on the floor underneath our desks, and, [laughs] we had [sigh] we got explanations about, you know, radiation, and the bomb, and stuff, and this was also at the same time that the U.S. was doing bomb testing in Micronesia—in fact, my uncle, my father's younger brother, was in the Army at this time. He was stationed in Enewetak. So, he was directly involved in some of this nuclear testing. We even had a book in our household that had... it was basically a cookbook, I think, but in the back, it had a whole section devoted to nuclear survival... What to do, stockpile, in terms of non-perishable food that could be eaten as, you know, in an emergency, food, to sustain your calories, but it's not really too appetizing or tasty, but you know, to stay alive. And how to detect if there's fallout. Ok, you know, thinking back on this, this is ridiculous. It says look on your window sills, [laughs] keep your windows closed but if you see these little particles, little dusty particles, accumulating on your window sill, or you know, other flat surfaces around your house, it could be fallout, and, honestly when we had that false-alarm drill last month, on January 13,41 I went into PTSD.42 Cuz I, you know... from that time, all that Cold War and bomb threat and hiding under the desk in a classroom, 43 that

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⁴¹ On January 13, 2018, Hawai'i residents received a text message that was "an erroneous alert that falsely warned of an imminent ballistic missile strike," distributed via the state's emergency warning computer program (Deitchman, Dallas, & Burkle, 2018). Many people panicked; local news websites crashed, the emergency alert system was unable to send out a corrective alert for almost an hour, and Governor Ige could not figure out how to log onto his Twitter account to provide an update for over a quarter of an hour.

⁴² PTSD is the acronym for post-traumatic stress disorder.

⁴³ Later, she said: "the under-the-desk-drills, that was in the sixth grade, when I was 10 or 11, in 1961 or 1962."

probably colored my whole outlook of what I wanted to do in the future. People would ask often, 'Well what do you want to do when you grow up?' I didn't think I was gonna grow up! I thought I was gonna die; because it seemed like it was gonna happen! I thought you know, obviously, you know, books have been printed, and they're talking about bomb shelters, and I was really angry at my father for a long time because he refused to dig a hole and build a bomb shelter. [laughs] Well, what're we gonna do? You know, we're helpless!

Horie was born at the peak of the Cold War, which continued throughout her childhood and young adulthood (Britannica Academic, 2018). (Horie was 41 years old when the Soviet Union collapsed and the Cold War (1949-1991) finally ended (Fink, 2014).) When talking about her birthday, Horie notes that it was also right before the Korean War (1950-1953) started (Millett, 2018). She says that she has asked her mother if they were hesitant to have children when the country was on the brink of war, but her mother apparently does not remember any connection between those two considerations. Horie remembers her maternal grandmother—who had also apparently assumed that she and her Japanese family would be rounded up and killed during WWII—was scared, and Horie possibly absorbed this sense of unease. She remembers that it even shaped her world-view; between drills at school, cookbooks instructing how to survive the nuclear apocalypse, and a decades-long war, she took for granted that she would die before adulthood. She says it was not until college that it even occurred to her that she might be able to have a future.

Horie describes herself as a sickly child; she had bronchitis and limited lung capacity that persists to this day, and which she does not believe she can fix. She attributes these respiratory ailments to being around too many people smoking cigarettes.⁴⁴ She

was kind of sickly because of secondhand smoke. I had a lot of lung problems, bronchitis and... in fact my, our family doctor was a bit worried about my coughing and she actually convinced my father to take me to the Lanakila TB⁴⁵ branch, which was there from way back, to have my chest x-rayed to see if I had TB or some kind of lung problem. And turns out I didn't, but you know, I was allergic to the smoke. That's why I was coughing all the time. [laughs] Smoke from both sides of the family.

This unfortunately also affected her pursuits, such as when she quit hula because of second-hand smoke.

I didn't like it that she⁴⁶ would smoke during the lessons... I mean she was in her own backyard. Right. I mean, and people smoked, right. We didn't have that antismoking aspect of our society at that time yet, but I didn't like it, so I think I told my grandmother about it and my grandmother told my mother about it and my mother asked me if I really wanted to keep going or not and I said I didn't, so I stopped and I think there was another one of those instances where I turned away from a good educational opportunity, but later on I made up for it by actually studying hula at the university formally, and that was quite rewarding, I think.

⁴⁴ In 2006, State Bill §328J-3 passed prohibiting smoking in enclosed or partially-enclosed public spaces (Hawaii.gov, 2006).

⁴⁵ Tuberculosis.

⁴⁶ The *kumu hula* (hula teacher).

Horie tells another incredible story related to smoking, one that she thinks might have shaped her outlook and attitude toward life. Her father was driving her to see the doctor about her lung problems. The car windows were rolled up and he was smoking a cigarette; Horie asked her father if he would not smoke, just this once, and he replied: "You can't change the world." She says that at that moment, something in her mind clicked; she thought, "Well, maybe I can." Despite this discouraging interaction, Horie also remembers her father as generally very supportive of her.

...my father and my grandfather were entrepreneurs, sole proprietors of their own businesses. I think those are very good role models. If you want to do something you can. And even when my parents suggested that if I wanted to go to college in France at the Sorbonne it, looking back on it, I thought that's pretty phenomenal, that they would support me to such an extent that if they were able to support me in whatever I thought I wanted to do, that was quite fortunate... I never heard from either of my parents that they wanted me to be any type of profession, go into any type of profession in particular. I knew my father kind of wanted me to be a doctor, but he never actually came out and said that... they sort of left it up to me.

Masanori Horie was head of the household. He shared stories from WWII, stories that Horie says now were part of her family's stories. Horie says she learned from her maternal grandmother's stories of World War II that being a person of color was or could be dangerous: "our existence as a minority group, though we didn't use those terms, in those days, non-white, put it that way, could be in jeopardy, depending on world events." Her impressions from her

⁴⁷ She also said, in regard to her father smoking in the car, "eventually the world did change... And you know, ironically enough he died of lung cancer."

youth were that *haole* were a rich, separate class and you had to "watch out for them." It seems this was a sentiment shared by both sides of her family.

I got the distinct impression from my father that any *haole*, you know, white people, he interacted with were generally rich and they were in a separate social class. And you have to watch out for them. [laughs] And although his other friends were really kind of a mixed bag... one of his best friends was Filipino, Filipino American—and I wouldn't say we had any white friends, so to speak...⁴⁸ my father...told me a couple of stories about how rich *haole* men can take advantage of people like us and I thought that was kind of unjust, but he didn't have a solution and I couldn't think of a solution, but he said there was this rich *haole* man who lives up there on the hill over there... He gave my father this old bicycle. It was an adult bicycle and my father fixed it up and got it running and he could ride it, you know, he pumped up the tires or fixed them or whatever. And then when Mr. So-and-So saw that, saw that my father had fixed up the bicycle and he could ride it, he took it back! And that was what my father said was so unjust about it.

Somehow, despite the warnings, Horie's best friend at school since first grade ended up being a local *haole* girl named Joyce. Her parents were like Horie's second family, and yet they never met her parents. Horie's family mainly socialized with other family members or with friends who were also Japanese American. She says she had several *haole* friends, because they were more accessible, but she also remembers discrimination against *haole*.

⁴⁸ She also said: "most of my parents' friends were fellow Japanese or some possibly Okinawan, and... my father had a lot of more friends and associates because of his business. He dealt with pretty much everyone... Another of his best friends was Hawaiian. Another I believe was Chinese American. It's hard to say, I mean, socially, no, we didn't socialize with anyone besides fellow Japanese Americans, or Japanese, or Okinawans."

The Horie family was not particularly religious or otherwise involved in community groups; other than Masanori's business, the family mostly kept to themselves. Horie's parents were very private and told her not to get involved with other people in general. This perhaps seems unusual today, but it was common for families like hers at the time; discrimination discouraged Japanese from having close relationships with European Americans (Tamura, 1994).

Horie was struck by how different families on TV were from her family. 49 She mentioned several times during the interviews that in her experience growing up, people simply did not talk about things. 50

Our family and probably a lot of Asian American families, we didn't do a lot of discussing anything at home. We didn't talk around the mealtimes, and I don't know if that was the norm...⁵¹ I do know that we didn't interact much with too many friends to actually go over to their house or have them come over to our house.

Horie was an only child until 1958, when her brother was born. That same year, her father was in a bad car crash, which had negative repercussions for the whole family for many years, and meant he was unable to work for some time while recovering. During that period, Horie recalls that they did not have as much money while he was unable to work. Luckily, her mother also worked, full-time, downtown at Honolulu Savings and Loan.⁵²

⁴⁹ I believe what she means is that the All-American [all-white] families portrayed on TV mid-century were a far cry visually and culturally from what life was like in territorial, multicultural Hawai'i.

⁵⁰ She even relayed a time when one of her classmates died over the weekend, electrocuted while picking mangoes. They were told at school and that was the end of it; no counseling, no discussion at home. She was disturbed by it. She notes that people did not grieve publicly, back then, especially Asians or Asian Americans.

⁵¹ When asked if she thought this was due to Hawai'i culture, or Japanese culture, or 1950s culture, or some combination, her answer is "all of it," including her particular family's culture.

⁵² She had a full career and retired at age 65.

While their parents worked (or recovered, in her father's case after his accident) they received free childcare from their families; Horie and her younger brother were cared for by their maternal grandparents. Horie therefore spent her childhood between two locations: Kahalu'u, where her nuclear family and paternal grandparents lived (together),⁵³ and Kāne'ohe, where her maternal grandparents, who she says in large part raised her, lived.

...my mom's job was in town, and so she'd, she got to work in a carpool. Back and forth. She drove herself and me down to Kāne'ohe,⁵⁴ to my other grandparents' house, and dropped me off, and then she got on the carpool to go to town. And when she came back on the carpool, then she collected me, and then we went home. So, I was there from breakfast to nearly dinnertime. And on Fridays, when her company worked until six, I had dinner there too. And so, my grandparents really raised me, my maternal grandparents. Cuz I spent most of my time with them. And that's why, because both of my grandparents were born and raised in Hawai'i and spoke fairly standard English, because they were, in their interactions, dealing with a lot of *haole*, I was really discouraged from speaking Pidgin [laughs] and I had to learn to speak proper English once in school. I think I'm sort of in both worlds, but not fully in one or the other. I don't consider myself a fluent Pidgin speaker, because I only spoke it with some classmates, and with my brother, and on the other hand, I do consider English to be my second language, because I still struggle with it.⁵⁵

⁵³ This was the same Horie family house that Masanori and Irene had moved into (with his parents) upon marriage.

⁵⁴ From Kahalu'u, a roughly 15-minute drive without traffic.

^{55 &}quot;...people tell me 'Oh, as soon as you open your mouth, we can tell, you're from Hawai'i.' Right? I don't sound like my aunts who went to California right after high school, and they really do sound like Californians. And my mother, even though she grew up in Hawai'i, she moved to the mainland in 1974, after spending some decades, she has, to my ears, sounded less and less local. Not quite to the extent as my aunts, who are both younger than her. And my brother, who was about fifteen when he moved with my parents to New Mexico, and then he graduated from high school in Albuquerque, and then after that he moved to Texas. My brother really does sound like a Texan."

Horie's mother was fluent in both Standard English and Japanese, but "but she chose not to speak Japanese at home." Her own mother had learned "proper" English as a teen, working as a domestic servant for a wealthy family in Hilo. Irene "got furious" when Horie's paternal grandparents, who lived with them and were both fluent in only Japanese and HCE, spoke a sort of half-Japanese, half- "Japanese-ized pidgin" to their granddaughter, because "she thought it would just ruin my learning... She wanted me to learn proper English, totally and completely."

School Years

Horie was a child and came of age during the Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s-1970s. During the 1950s, communism was viewed as a serious threat to the American way of life, including in Hawai'i, where there were several local and federal investigations (Tachihata, 1981). Horie remembers her father as staunchly anticommunist. In 1959, when Horie was in elementary school, Hawai'i was declared a state by the U.S. government (Saranillio, 2010). When Hawai'i officially became a state in August, the newly approved state constitution replaced the 1900 Organic Act that had governed Hawai'i as a territory (Tachihata, 1981). Despite a high number of them having served in the American WWII effort (Kosasa, 2008)—including Horie's own parents—Issei were not granted the right to vote until 1952 (Weiss, 2018). Before statehood, the G.I. Bill—whose authors did not consciously intend it to be racist or sexist, but who also did not challenge the race or sex assumptions of their time—enabled many Japanese American men in Hawai'i to obtain formal education, which led to their increased involvement in political and business hierarchies (Altschuler & Blumin, 2009). The following decade of "democratic revolution" (during the 1950s) further saw Japanese locals in increased positions of power (Rohrer, 2010, p. 8). To this day, Hawai'i's officials on the

county, state, and federal levels are largely Japanese American (Fujikane, 2008). Japanese in Hawai'i were successful because they were not only willing, but eager, to assimilate into the existing American colonial structure and ideology in Hawai'i.

The acculturation of the Japanese community began slowly during the sojourner period of 1890 to 1907, picked up some momentum during the settlement period of 1907 to 1924, and became progressively more substantial during the 1920s and 1930s as the Nisei grew up, attended school, and reached adulthood. Japanese men responded overwhelmingly to the call for volunteers to join the U.S. Army during World War II. Forty percent of all Japanese males in Hawai'i enlisted, constituting 60 percent of Hawaii's fighting forces. This demonstrated not only the Nisei's desire to prove their loyalty, but also the extent of their acculturation. (Tamura, 1994, p. 235)

Even though Hawai'i was not yet a state when most of the Japanese immigrants arrived, with each generation, the Asian settlers became increasingly Americanized (Tachihata, 1981). Portraits of the United States Presidents were displayed proudly on the walls in public schools. At elementary school assemblies, Horie recalls that "Hawai'i Pono'ī" was sung. ⁵⁶ During the sixth grade, Horie's classmates took turns leading the *Pledge of Allegiance* each morning and picking a patriotic song to sing. Horie says that she always picked the U.S. national anthem, "The Star-Spangled Banner," because she liked the tune. Horie remembers many people in Hawai'i wanting to incorporate into the United States. Statehood

⁵⁶ Queen Lili'uokalani wrote the original national anthem i "He Mele Lāhui Hawai'i" in 1866 before she became Queen. Her brother Kalakaua and Henri Berger wrote Hawai'i Pono'ī; Lili'uokalani was the reigning monarch when the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown (Lili'uokalani, 1898).

brought a prosperity to Hawai'i that would last throughout the 1960s, as both tourism and defense spending began to compete for first place with the sugar industry which had dominated the Hawaiian economy for nearly a century. The people of Hawai'i continued to be largely Asian, but they were mostly of the second or third generations and quite thoroughly American in custom and outlook (Tachihata, 1981, p. 269).

By the time Hawai'i was proclaimed a state, Horie was eight years old and had been born an American citizen.⁵⁷ On the first-ever Admission Day, along with her classmates, Horie was shuffled into a sort of impromptu parade. The students all waved small American flags as they marched in the procession, and although it was too abstract for her to grasp enough to care about then, there was a general level of excitement she remembers picking up on, even at that age.

I think I was really too young to understand any of the implications... I wasn't really aware of how anyone else in the community felt about it except that it seemed really exciting. I can pinpoint I think that I was in the third grade and I was eight years old. That was in March of 1959 when Eisenhower signed the Act of Admission to take effect on Admission Day, August 21, 1959. At that point in time we would have been on summer vacation, so I figured it must have been at the signing that it was so special and we got into a little parade across the street and back from my school with the little American flags to wave and it seems according to the mood of the teachers and everybody that it was something to be celebrated.

⁵⁷ "... some of us who were born in that era prior to statehood found it so amusing and or maddening that when Barack Obama was running for president and people started challenging his citizenship because ah, yes, we weren't born in the state of Hawai'i, we were born in the territory, but John McCain was born in the canal zone, which was not a state and never was a state, never became a state and later on was given back officially to the people of Panama. So you know, his birthplace is actually now a foreign country, and nobody made a big deal about John McCain. So what's the big deal?"

So, we did. But the only thing that I recall that actually happened as a result of statehood at the time was the Farm Fair, which it is still called now,⁵⁸ up until then was always called the 49th State Fair because there was this push, this desire for Hawai'i to become a state. And they named the state fair, you know, for the aspiration of becoming a state, the 49th state. That changed to the 50th State Fair after that because Alaska actually became the 49th state right before Hawai'i.

Statehood did not mean that Hawai'i was now a multicultural American paradise. Even after the Americanization of the islands was considered complete, there was unrest. Horie remembers that during her junior year of high school (1966-1967) "Kill a *Haole* Day" started. As she remembers it (vaguely), it was related somehow to football, and the worst thing that ever happened at her school was that a *haole* teacher was stabbed by a student⁵⁹ (he survived).⁶⁰

English was the language used in all the schools Horie attended, but it would not be until college that she consciously noticed all her professors—mostly *haole*—using "proper" English. Before college, both Standard English and HCE were used in the schools Horie attended. Her formal education had begun at Shaklee's private school,⁶¹ where she attended Kindergarten. For first through sixth grade, she attended Benjamin Parker Elementary⁶² in Kāne'ohe—after kindergarten, she attended all public schools for the rest of her education—and then He'eia Intermediate for seventh grade, also in Kāne'ohe. Her neighborhood high school was Castle,⁶³ and that is where she completed eighth through twelfth grade. She did not attend Japanese

⁵⁸ https://hawaiistatefarmfair.org/.

⁵⁹ Details on this boy are unknown.

⁶⁰ She says it was maybe related to homosexual advance; at least, that was a rumor.

⁶¹ "my mother didn't send me to a public-school kindergarten because her work hours didn't enable her to pick me up after school. The following year I attended first grade at Benjamin Parker elementary school, where the kindergarten (that I didn't attend) was available."

⁶² http://beniaminparkerschool.weeblv.com/

⁶³ http://www.castlehs.k12.hi.us/

language school, despite the fact that attendance was and remains fairly common. Horie says she hated school from day one, and she was not any happier on day two when she realized she had to go back:

you had to get dressed up and wear shoes, it was uncomfortable and awkward and, it didn't seem very interesting to me. Some things were interesting, like for six years... we had a rotating traveling Japanese language teacher who would come in twice a week for six years to our class and I'm sure other classes...Ms. Kiyokawa. And she taught us Japanese reading and writing, Japanese culture, songs, dances. I thought that was fascinating. And is possibly a substitute for going to Japanese language school after regular school.⁶⁴ Certainly I thought it was more interesting than what the, some of the other children were learning in Japanese school.

She recalls feeling stifled by the rigid and authoritarian structure of school, and says she began rebelling against authority immediately. She remembers an incident when she wanted to color her printed outline of a four-leaf clover—which, as an island child, she had never seen before in real life. Her teacher insisted on everyone using green. "I did color the shamrock green, but I also added a red dot in the middle because red was my favorite color." Horie remembers inadvertently inciting a mini-riot, wherein, having seen her include red in her clover, the other children were inspired to similarly take advantage of the rest of the crayon box. "…one student, I can't remember who it was, put red dots entirely around the entire edge of the four-leaf clover, that's a lot of work and she did a really careful job and she went way beyond."

Still, Horie had compassion for her teachers. Since childhood, she was observant and reflective. "I've been aware since early childhood that I knew I didn't want to do what other

 $^{^{64}}$ "I refused and for some reason my parents let me get away with that."

people seemed to expect me to do," she says. "Especially in terms of a profession, and a lot of my parents' friends thought I should be a teacher, 65 and that was absolutely the farthest thing from my mind." She appears to have been quite empathetic from a young age; she says she observed that teachers' days did not end when the kids got to go home. For teachers, the end of the school day meant grading and preparation for the next day;

especially as the grades got higher and higher and the homework got more and more, I could see that wow, they had to check all that homework, right? Their day didn't end at the end of our day! I could see how teachers really had to work hard, and really had to put up with a lot, from us, in particular, the students. And, I don't know, it seemed like... not too fun. I mean, some of our teachers were great, and they seemed to have some interesting experiences outside of teaching, but it didn't sound like something I wanted to do.

She was also aware of large class size,⁶⁶ and thought that managing all the children seemed tiring. Her early observations in and of schools stuck with her, and for the rest of her life, she avoided any jobs in schools, despite her academic achievements and eventual love of (and proficiency at) learning.

...my grandparents on my mother's side had three encyclopedias in the house, small, medium, and large, and I would pore over them endlessly. I thought it was very fascinating, especially the color pictures of various things like minerals and Roman

⁶⁵ "One profession that welcomed the Nisei was teaching" and it "provided upward mobility" (Tamura, 1994, p. 228). Perhaps this is why Horie was encouraged to become a teacher; her elders all saw that she had potential and they wanted her to succeed. Teaching was a profession that would allow her to succeed regardless of her race/ethnicity and gender.

⁶⁶ "Well, kindergarten wasn't that big. I think it was maybe about, I don't know, less than two dozen, probably later on our classes in the elementary school got bigger, but maybe the biggest numbered class was maybe in the midthirties or high thirties...I think sixth grade was probably our biggest class."

sculpture and all kinds of things like that. My father had a copy of the Boy Scout manual but he was never in the Boy Scouts and I'm not sure what year of the manual it was, I'm assuming not later than the mid-fifties, 1950s, could've been older, but I thought that was fascinating too because it had Morse code and the flag semaphores and how to care for an injured person, how to make bandages, splints and how to tell what time it was, and the compass, and all that stuff... Those were two of the earliest actual books I remember.

Although her family only spoke English at home, and all the schools she attended were run in English, Horie spoke many languages from an early age. In addition to her fluency in HCE and Standard English, she could understand Japanese, ⁶⁷ although she now says she is not comfortable speaking it to people from Japan. She describes the version she learned as "frozen in time" and very unlike the Japanese she learned in a conversational Japanese class later. Her hesitation also stems from the fact that there is a different way for men and women to speak in Japanese, and all the Japanese she learned in childhood was from her father's side, so she learned the man's way of speaking. She remembers hearing snippets of other languages in and around home and school. At his business, which served a diverse demographic, Horie's father picked up conversational Korean, Ilocano, Japanese, Hawaiian, Spanish, Portuguese, and even Italian, the last she says due to prisoners of war he had contact with during his time in the U.S. Army. Horie took French in ninth and tenth grade. She remembers her parents telling her that French was an international language and encouraging her to perhaps think of attending college in France, at the Sorbonne.

⁶⁷ Her elementary school had a traveling Japanese teacher who would teach them sporadically, and her grandparents were bi- and multilingual. "My maternal grandfather spoke Hawaiian, and my father spoke Hawaiian. And I believe that my father also understood Okinawan. Because he had a lot of Okinawan friends."

I thought it was a good idea to take French because I learned a lot about the culture and appreciation for some songs and some things. I don't know why our teacher didn't teach us the Marseillaise, you know, the French national anthem. But he didn't. He taught us some drinking songs. I think he was a nontraditional teacher actually.

Talk of college began in earnest during Horie's senior year of high school. Every year throughout her childhood, some of her classmates would disappear, having transferred to private schools; "a lot of my classmates were Hawaiian and started disappearing to go to Kamehameha and other schools." Horie was always aware of private schools and continental colleges. The students who could afford to attended private schools in Hawai'i and then college or university on the continent.⁶⁸

Growing up, Horie never considered becoming a librarian. No doubt this was in part due to the fact that, as previously mentioned, she did not think she would grow up. Additionally, a library school did not exist in Hawai'i until 1966 (Tachihata, 1981). She enjoyed reading for fun but was terrified of librarians.

We were introduced to the Benjamin Parker school library in the first grade and went there as a group. And... it's funny, you know, I ended up being a librarian, because I was terrified of the librarian, the first librarian I'd ever seen. She was large, middle aged, had iron-gray hair, sort of like a Brillo pad, she had on these big thick shoes, with big, thick heels, black, black shoes. And her desk was kind of a high desk. It was sort of like a judge's desk. She was looking down on you, as a little kid.

⁶⁸ This is still common.

Her perception of librarians changed in seventh grade when the librarian was not intimidating, or, as she put it, a "normal person;" and later, at Castle High School, she says the two school librarians took her under their wings.

Around this time, during her teen years, Horie's father recovered enough from his accident to not only get back to work, but to build his family a new house.

Sometime before 1965 my father built a new house on the property, ⁶⁹ sold the Chevron station and rented our old house to the new owner, Mr. Cookson. I believe it was around 1966 that Dad started working for Honolulu Sporting Goods, which had a store at Ala Moana Center. At first he worked as one of two gunsmiths at their workshop on Colburn St. in Kalihi. Later, by 1968, he transferred to the Ala Moana Center store and switched to fishing rod and reel repairs.

Undergraduate Education (1968-1979)

In the fall semester of 1968, Horie enrolled as a freshman at the University of Hawai'i (UH), Honolulu.⁷⁰ She was the first in her nuclear family to attend college.⁷¹ She thinks many of her high school classmates applied to college; most of her friends were the smart kids. Horie always assumed that she would attend college, and her parents offered her the choice of either private high school, or a continental (or international) college, but not both, and she had apparently made her choice by remaining in public high school. However, her father's 1958 car accident resulted in thinner-than-expected finances even a decade after the fact, eliminating the

⁶⁹ He did not personally build it; he paid to have it built.

⁷⁰ The name authority record for the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa states that it was changed from the University of Hawai'i, Honolulu, to the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in 1972.

⁷¹ One of her mother's cousins had attended college.

international or even mainland college options Horie had grown up encouraged to pursue. She applied only to UH.

Castle High School employed a guidance counselor, a man whose main role was to guide students through the college application process. UH was the least-expensive option available, at about \$250 per semester. Horie says she was not upset about not going to the continental U.S. for college. Her expectations for college were shaped by what she heard about it in high school; she says she received academic training but did not expect nor realize that there would be such a large student body, meaning less-personalized attention and less "hand holding." Oddly, she had only visited the Mānoa campus once before, to take a French placement exam. She does not recall that any tours or orientation sessions were available to incoming freshmen.

While her mother's female friends had suggested Horie become a teacher, her father wanted her "to be a doctor, a medical doctor. But I didn't really take to that idea because I was too squeamish about blood." Because her grandfather was a landscape designer, and she was "intrigued by atriums," Horie thought at first that she wanted to be an architect. She says she could always see what could be improved in spaces. She also enjoyed art and had learned photography as part of an art class in high school. Her father also took still and Super 8 [movie] films, which perhaps provided implicit approval to pursue the arts, but taking one art class was as far as Horie went in that direction. She had wide-ranging interests, which she pursued enthusiastically. Her interest in multiple disciplines, and her habit of exploring these interests via her course schedule, is one reason it took her so long—11 years—to complete her undergraduate degree. She also considered French (she took two years), pre-law (mainly because she loved

⁷² Horie's father secured her a Lion's Club scholarship for the first academic year (1968-1969). She is not sure if he was a Lion's Club member. I contacted them to ask, but they have not replied.

⁷³ Financial and personal issues were also factors and will be expounded on shortly.

the class "Logic"), American Studies, and Anthropology, before finally settling on and ultimately graduating with a B.A. in Hawaiian Studies: "Once I started taking Hawaiian, that was it." At the time, there was no Hawaiian Studies department, so Horie designed her own degree under the Liberal Studies Department. She also completed a minor in Art History-Visual Design, 74 with a focus on traditional Hawaiian tattooing.

The Hawaiian Renaissance

The design-your-own Hawaiian Studies major that Horie graduated with was a popular option at this time, because the Hawaiian Renaissance flourished in the 1960s and 1970s, in tandem with the Civil Rights Movement, Women's Movement, and other similar movements focused on Indigenous peoples' rights. During this time, legal restrictions on the use of Hawaiian language in schools—originally implemented in 1886—were overturned (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018). The Hawai'i State Constitutional Convention of 1978 made Hawaiian (along with English) one of the state's official languages (Warschauer, Donaghy & Kuamoÿo, 1997). Another result of the Hawai'i State Constitutional Convention was the addition of a constitutional amendment to include Article X, Section 4, mandating that the state promote Hawaiian culture, history and language in public schools; immediately thereafter, in 1980, the Hawai'i State Department of Education created the Hawaiian Studies Program (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018).

⁷⁴ This would now be considered graphic design.

⁷⁵ However, to this day the use of the Hawaiian language continues to be a fraught and oft-contested issue (Boneza, 2018). Colloquial and official use of the Hawaiian language is not on-par with the use of Standard English.

While Horie says she did not recognize it at such at the time, she was in the middle of a cultural revitalization movement. Dr. Jack Ward, ⁷⁶ a professor in the Indo-Pacific Languages Department, was Horie's academic adviser. She remembers her perspective broadening when she learned Hawaiian history from the Indigenous point of view, for the first time, under Pauline Nawahineokala'i King Joerger. During this time, she also danced hula in a UH class taught by Ho'oulu Cambra.

Horie was part of two groups associated with her undergraduate studies. The first was a selected studies group for honors students; they were awarded use of their own special study room with "nice views" and access to special magazines, on the top floor of Sinclair, 77 the university's relatively-new (since 1956) undergraduate library. Through the Selected Studies Program, Horie met her first UH friend, Davianna Pomaikai McGregor (now a professor with the UH College of Social Sciences). The second group was Hui Aloha 'Āina Tuahine, the Hawaiian Studies Club. Dr. Larry Kimura 8 was the club's adviser; he is now internationally renowned for his work on Hawaiian language revitalization. The Hawaiian Studies Club organized and participated in Hawaiian cultural activities, such as food and camping trips. Kimura hosted a Hawaiian language talk and music shows; as part of their class assignment, Horie and her friends would listen to the show, call in to talk, and once visited him downtown in the studio to sing Christmas carols in Hawaiian. The movement was serious about cultural revitalization, but it was also fun; perhaps that was a factor in its success. Simultaneously, the Second Wave of the Women's Movement reached its height, between 1960-1980. Horie remembers Pauline King

⁷⁶ He is currently listed as Associate Professor of Hawaiian and Tahitian: http://www.catalog.hawaii.edu/07-08/personnel/faculty/w.htm.

⁷⁷ https://guides.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/sinclairlibrary

⁷⁸ https://hilo.hawaii.edu/keaohou/2014/10/09/kimura-hawaiian-language/

Joerger, the professor who taught Hawaiian history from the Hawaiian point of view, also championing women's rights and feminism.

I was aware of the Women's Movement. I subscribed to *Ms. Magazine* in the 1970s. My mother doesn't identify herself as a feminist⁷⁹ but she did pursue a non-traditional career path—working in a financial institution in downtown Honolulu. Definitely not a housewife. I mean, she could cook and clean and whatnot, with the best of them, I think. But she did have a lot of help from my paternal grandmother, you know, in terms of the household, and also, my maternal grandparents were taking charge of me, while she went to work… ⁸⁰ In thinking back, I see the true feminists in my family were my father and my maternal grandfather. My father because he had high expectations for me, and supported my career choice even if it didn't match his preference. Dad also taught me to fish, shoot a rifle, use a bow and arrow, and go snorkeling—generally sports for boys. My maternal grandfather because of something my mother said he told her when she was old enough to work: "You have to paddle your own canoe."

Horie does not remember Title IX specifically, nor its implementation, but she does remember efforts to pass the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which would have constitutionally protected citizens from sex discrimination. She was in favor of the ERA; Hawai'i was the first state to ratify it, but unfortunately, the amendment was never ratified on the national level. Horie's only outright activist activity during this time was when she testified in

⁷⁹ When asked to clarify, Horie said: "This topic never came up."

⁸⁰ "She worked, she was still working there when they decided to move to the mainland and she continued to work on the mainland, cuz she was quite young actually, fairly young, too young to retire... she did retire at 65. She was able to get a job at a national company, Hewlett-Packard, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. And so, was pretty well set."

favor of the Senate bill for an act for Prepaid Health Care during the 1973-1974 legislative session:

I was motivated to lobby for health care for part-time employees and raises for UHM⁸¹ student workers because I was personally impacted... It was my first time testifying there and I was very nervous as I read my prepared statement. At the time, I was working part-time on campus as a student assistant at the East-West Center. The bill eventually passed and was enacted in 1974.

Kahalu'u Flood (1964) and Family Relocation (1974)

Horie took a long time—11 years—to earn her undergraduate degree. This was long even at UH, where most people, she remembers, took four to five years to graduate; however, more than half of UH students still take 6 years to earn their undergraduate degree (UH News, 2016), 82 so her experience was not completely unusual. While she eventually felt like she was falling behind her peers, Horie truly enjoyed being in college, so she was in no rush. However, personal factors ultimately affected her timing, as well.

In 1964, there was a major flood in Kahalu'u, where her family's house was located; a decade later, her family moved to the mainland United States as a direct result.

My parents' property was condemned for a flood control project so they accepted the government's eminent domain payment and moved to the mainland in 1974... my parents invited me to come along, cuz I was here as an undergraduate, here at

⁸¹ University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

⁸² This was announced as an "all-time high" for 4-year undergraduate graduation rates, indicating that prior to 2016, most students took even longer.

UH, but I declined because I was majoring in Hawaiian Studies and I didn't see how I could do that anyplace else.

She says, "the stream overflowed and the house flowed downstream and hit the bridge over Kamehameha Highway." There was

a lot of inundation, and property damage. So, the government confiscated our property, which was bought and paid for, by eminent domain. And we didn't really, you know, we got a settlement but it wasn't really enough to get another similar place of equal size and value, let's put it that way. So my father and his boss, who was from Albuquerque, that company was part of a chain; Honolulu Sporting Goods was part of Cook's Sporting Goods, which had a store in Albuquerque. They decided to move together. You know, my father to move to Albuquerque, and his boss to move back to Albuquerque since that's where he was from. And so that's where my parents moved to, along with my younger brother... it was really kinda traumatic for him, because he was in the middle of high school.

In 1974, while her family relocated to the mainland, Horie secured full-time employment with the Department of Health, in the Vital Statistics branch⁸³ (archives). She worked at the Lanakila Tuberculosis branch, then the Department of Education's student demographics office.

When I worked there it was called the Student Information Branch. It gave out the federal survey cards to students to take home and tabulated the demographic information that the students' families provided when the cards were brought back to school. The information was used to determine how much federal funding would be given to Hawai'i, based on how many students were military dependents.

^{83 &}lt;a href="http://health.hawaii.gov/vitalrecords/">http://health.hawaii.gov/vitalrecords/

Another function was projecting demographic changes in numbers and ages of children likely to attend public schools in the different school districts. The current unit that comes closest might be "Special Projects." 84

Horie credits her career success in part to the eclectic nature of the various jobs she held over the years, which included posts in both the private and public sectors. In this position, Horie learned about analyzing data. Unfortunately, her boss was a "borderline sexual harasser;" he made people uncomfortable, and Horie was warned about him by other women in the office. This is still common today, but now it might be referred to as a "whisper network." She agreed with her female coworkers that this man got too physically close to them; her solution was to pull out one of her drawers whenever she heard him coming to her desk, so that there was a physical blockage between him and her. Eventually, in 1976, this temp job expired.

This was a rough period for Horie; her financial insecurity, hostile work environment, and especially her family's unwanted relocation took a toll on her psychically as well as financially. She wrote one of her papers for an American Studies course about how her parents had to move because their property was condemned, even though the house was not damaged. She did not receive a good grade for the paper and admitted that that was "tough to take."

I really sort of entertained the thought of protesting on my own, making a sign, you know, parking myself on our former property. But then I wasn't brave enough to really do that, and I didn't have a network.

⁸⁴ The Special Projects office addresses "academic/educational issues that are significant to the Department and that impacts several offices" including operational, technical, and project management projects (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 2018).

Employment

Even before the flood forced her family to move, Horie was a diligent worker, in addition to taking out student loans to finance her undergraduate education. The second week of her freshman year at UH, while enrolled in school full time, she began working downtown at Honolulu Savings and Loan, the same financial institution that had employed her mother. She was a part-time employee there for several years, starting as a teller but eventually climbing the corporate ladder to serve as librarian and automatic mortgage payment control clerk in the data processing department. "I was put in charge of the library of computer books and manuals, which had been just kept on shelves, in no particular order, with no labels, and no catalog." She attributes her ascension at Honolulu Savings and Loan to being "groomed;" she had placed high on the institution's entrance exam and therefore was singled out by management as someone with potential.

Horie had already moved out of her family's home before her parents relocated to the continent in 1974. She said that they were against it, for financial reasons, but she craved independence, especially since she was butting heads with her more conservative father, a "veteran and staunch anti-communist." She wanted to leave home because of this dissonance she felt between her competing desires to be a good daughter, and stand by her beliefs—particularly, she and her parents held conflicting views regarding the war in Vietnam. Horie had experienced high school during the 1960s, when, for young people, counterculture was popular culture. Mrs. Kirk, her high school social studies teacher, had been in the Peace Corps, and taught her students about the origins of the war in Vietnam. Mrs. Kirk had assigned her students to go to the library and look at *U.S. News & World Report* and *Time* magazine and try to understand other issues about Vietnam. College was again broadening Horie's perspective; she says her American

Studies and Ethnic Studies courses—new fields of study at the time⁸⁵—made her realize her "racist upbringing;" she had observed prejudiced stereotypes used by her nuclear family, such as the idea that Native Hawaiians are lazy. She now attributes much of this inter-group prejudice as "tribalism—the survival of the group is the primary motivation." She points out that humans are animals, and that threats to our survival trigger something deeply primal within us that can lead to ugly attitudes and behavior toward our fellow human beings. During this time, there was also what Horie describes as a lot of propaganda against communism, which to her, sounded "horrible;" she saw it as the U.S. trying to prevent a local people from exercising their own political will. Her father, as a World War II veteran, was staunchly pro-American and anticommunist. During the Civil Rights movement and the Vietnam War, both spanning the 1950s-1970s, many experienced this "clash between young idealists who wanted to purify the nation from what they saw as a history of poverty and injustice and conservatives who tried to squash what they saw as an attempt to overthrow traditional morals" (Asato, 2011, p. 288). Horie did not want to stick out as the rebel in the family; that would be too uncomfortable. The easier thing was to simply remove herself. Although she avoided conflict at home, Horie did not stay wholly silent on the issue. She attended a sit-in to protest the firing of UH Professor Oliver Minseem Lee, a self-described "Chinese-American Radical" who was considered a Communist for protesting the Vietnam War and advising the antiwar Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) student chapter (Kubota, 2017). Some of the students and faculty who attended the administration building sit-in were arrested; after the protest, the University of Hawa 'i

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⁸⁵ The UHM Ethnic Studies Department was established in 1970 as an "outgrowth of the civil rights, anti-Vietnam War, ethnic empowerment, and students' rights movements." At this time, "there was no redress for Japanese Americans illegally interned during World War II, the United States was using Kaho'olawe for military exercises, and Native Hawaiians were losing thousands of acres of land in adverse possession proceedings" (McGregor & Aoudé, 2014, p. 68).

Professional Assembly (UHPA) conducted an investigation and decided in favor of free speech, and determined that Lee had been let go without due process, so he was reinstated (Kubota, 2017).⁸⁶

When she moved out of her parents' house following disagreements with her father's political views, Horie found a place to rent in Makiki, much closer to the University. It was a tight situation, with four women sharing two bedrooms, but not an uncommon one for college students. Moving out of her parents' house meant Horie needed to pay rent, so she began working at the first-ever all-night grocery store in Waikiki. She worked the graveyard shift, which was difficult⁸⁷ and indirectly caused her to flunk her first college course, a Hawaiian language class. Another issue she had to contend with was health-related. Horie first thought she was suffering from early-onset arthritis because her big toe was swollen and painful—a condition that still flares up now, at times. Eventually, a doctor found she had instead developed gout (a type of inflammatory arthritis) from eating too many bean sprouts.

She says that while she did not interact much with librarians during her undergraduate education, when her graduation neared, Horie was already thinking about getting her master's in Library Studies (MLS) degree. She spoke to Wil Frost, a social sciences librarian, about what his job was like. Abraham Piianaia, 88 the first director of the Hawaiian Studies Program, and one of her mentors, 99 had planted the seed of this idea. He explained to her that Hawaiian Studies graduates were needed in libraries, and he thought she might make a good fit.

⁸⁶ First, the Board of Regents and top administrators had refused to reinstate Lee; the board later reversed its decision "after a top candidate to become UH president, Harlan Cleveland, said he would not accept the job unless the controversy over Lee was resolved" (Kubota, 2017).

⁸⁷ Working overnight has myriad negative health effects (Ramin et. al., 2014).

⁸⁸ He died in 2003 (Blakeman, 2003).

⁸⁹ She was also a student assistant in his office for a year.

Graduate Education and Early Career (1979-1991)

Master's Degree in Library Studies (1979-1981)

Horie graduated with her B.A. in Hawaiian Studies in May 1979 and went straight into the Library Studies (LS) program. ⁹⁰ This time, she would graduate with her degree—an MLS, Master's in Library Studies from the Graduate School of Library Studies (GSLS)—right on schedule. It took her two years (August 1979-August 1981), which was, and still is, typical for the LIS master's program, three decades later.

Horie had spent the summer between undergraduate and graduate school working in the Hawaiian Studies Office. Horie thought earning her MLS degree would teach her how to do research, which would come in handy in the future, if she continued to pursue Hawaiian Studies. That was her plan, especially since alternatives were not appealing; she knew she did not want to work in a school or public library. Horie says she has not been, and still is not, good at long-term planning. So, she formulated a loose plan that gave her life just enough structure, but she had few expectations.

Before she started her next degree in the fall semester, Horie spent her summer as a temp, in a job for a special grant, "The Social Role of the Courts in the Hawaiian Kingdom," awarded to the Judiciary. This included going to the State Archives to read court case reports, code metadata, and translation of Hawaiian language letters from the first Chief Justice, William L. Lee, and it eventually led (indirectly) to volunteer work after she retired. In the second year of her MLS degree, she secured a paid internship in the Pacific Collection at UH's Hamilton Library. By this point, Horie was 29 years old. While she had a lot of interesting opportunities

⁹⁰ This is now the Library and Information Science (LIS) Program: http://www.hawaii.edu/lis/.

she was pursuing, she still could not help but feel a bit behind, since it had taken her so long to earn her undergraduate degree.

Maack & Passet (1994) have documented the importance of mentorship and role models as "agents of inspiration, catalysts to move in new directions, and sources of support" for aspiring women in academic environments (p. 148). Luckily, Horie was able to find several academic mentors while earning her MLS degree. She particularly remembers Dr. Sarah Vann, who she says taught her indexing and abstracting, as well as the Dewey Decimal Classification System, the Library of Congress Classification and Subject Headings, and the AACR2 cataloging code. ⁹¹ Dr. Vann assigned a memorable and practical project—she had her class index a real UH anthropology book, published by UH Press in 1981: *Ethnic groups and social change in a Chinese market town* by C. Fred Blake.

While Horie was working on her MLS degree, ALA's affiliate Asian Pacific American Librarians Association (APALA) was founded, in 1980 (Echavarria & Wertheimer, 1997).

One thing that I remember about APALA was discussing the possibility of joining with one of the UHM librarians around 1991 or 1992. She expressed her opinion that even though she was Asian-American herself, as a librarian she didn't closely identify with that group. That idea seemed reasonable to me.

It might be less surprising that Horie did not join APALA when accounting for the fact that she possibly did not see herself represented in it: "The four largest APALA ethnic groups are Chinese (40 percent), East Indian (14 percent), Filipino (10 percent), and Korean (16 percent)" (Echavarria & Wertheimer, 1997, p. 379). Horie did join the Hawai'i Library Association (HLA), first as an MLS student, and then the American Library Association after graduation. She

⁹¹ New at that time, the switch was eventually made from AACR2 to RDA, currently still in use.

said she did so simply because it was "the thing to do." Overall, she thrived in the program, and was inducted as a member in the international LIS honor society Beta Phi Mu.⁹²

Employment at the East-West Center (1981-1986)

Upon graduation, Horie had several things on her mind, but the most important was obtaining a full-time and permanent position in order to make rent, start to pay back her student loans, and receive benefits, such as health insurance. Her non-negotiable criteria for a full-time job was that it must be on Oʻahu, since she was dating someone here at the time. Her mentors all strongly advised her against accepting any position below the level of librarian, but when she was offered one such position, as a library technician at the East-West Center (EWC), 93 she went against everyone's advice, and accepted. Her reasoning was that it was full-time, paid well-enough, and was in a library (bonuses for not being a public or school library). "Dean Ira Harris discouraged me from taking this position because it was a library technician job and he felt strongly that I should pursue a professional librarian position instead. He explained that if I began my career as a technician, I may find it difficult to move into a professional position later." His worries turned out to be well intentioned, but unfounded.

The [first] position was in a two-person library, with a librarian and a technician. As a technician, I was able to learn and do all the activities involved in running a library: reference, database searching, ordering supplies, cataloging books, labelling books, re-shelving books, filing catalog cards, putting on and taking off

⁹² Candidates for membership in Xi Chapter are nominated by the LIS Faculty on the basis of the following criteria: have a cumulative GPA of 3.75 or higher; be in the top 25% of the graduating class; demonstrated service to the profession, LIS Program, and fellow students; demonstrated professionalism and leadership potential in the profession; passed the oral exam in the final semester; and have no LIS grade below a B-minus.

https://www.eastwestcenter.org/

newspapers from the sticks, etcetera. My title was "resource materials technician." The position was [eventually] eliminated and re-described as a "junior resource materials specialist." I applied for that position and accepted it when I was offered the job.

Located across the street from the UH campus, the East-West Center is a "an independent, public, nonprofit organization with funding from the U.S. government, and additional support provided by private agencies, individuals, foundations, corporations, and governments in the region" (East-West Center, 2018). It was established by the United States Congress in 1960 and charged with promoting "better relations and understanding among the people and nations of the United States, Asia, and the Pacific through cooperative study, research, and dialogue" (East-West Center, 2018). Horie's professional education included cultural sensitivity training and interactions and events with diverse individuals. She felt engaged at this job because of this constant influx of different and interesting people. The center even had an exchange program for librarians. Horie did not participate, but she remembers one visiting librarian from New Zealand, one from Japan, and one from Malaysia; to this day, she remains friends with the Malaysian librarian.

Chiefly, at EWC Horie learned how to work collegially; she thinks that was a good lesson for her specifically, because she tended to struggle with people and her reactions to situations, a difficult weakness to have as a librarian, considering that as a profession, librarianship is collaborative (Irvin, 2016). Despite this self-assessment, Horie accomplished plenty of joint work; one example from this period is that she successfully co-edited the 1983 *HLA Journal* with Terese Leber, another resource materials specialist at the EWC. In hindsight, she thinks that she might have jumped to conclusions and acted in a way that made things worse, because she did

not have all the information. For example, she says that expectations were unclear between her and the head librarian; Horie was resentful when she learned that another new employee was not expected to do exactly what the last person in that position had done. She attributes this frustration to that fact that she does not like change. But there were many changes, and they mainly benefitted her.

While Horie was in her second position at the EWC, the center underwent an institution-wide reorganization, during which the five libraries were consolidated into three. Horie helped by creating a plan to move all the materials in a short amount of time by pre-assigning the shelves where the books would go. She even measured the shelves, without being asked. This was not the first time she took initiative to improve the library.

One of the first things I did before the incumbent technician left was to integrate the two different parts of the card catalog into one sequence. Later I learned how to do database searching, something I had not learned before graduating. When the library acquired "smart" typewriters that could be programmed, I developed a method of typing multiple catalog cards instead of running them off on a mimeograph machine. I also learned how to update the reprint catalog and order a new printout at the UHM computing center.

Horie speculates that her job was technologically advanced (for the time) perhaps because the library she worked in was the communications library. She was not afraid to embrace innovation; she had taken a programming course as an elective for her MLS degree, and her willingness to early-adopt was an asset that would persist throughout the rest of her career. As mentioned, she proposed using the "smart typewriter" to print the catalog cards for books and

the metadata⁹⁴ sheets for reprints, which made the entire process less messy, faster, and easier. She also learned how to use several databases, while on the job. At the time, the library she worked at had an account with the UH computing center in Keller Hall.⁹⁵ Bibliographic information was collected on data sheets; to update the catalog, Horie had to order a printout of the whole thing, or a significant portion of it. The librarians and technicians would update a portion every week or month. They informed patrons of what was new, in a binder. They could also database⁹⁶ search closer to the library, in another room nearby, where they had to deal with a phone console and receiver. They would type in the query—Boolean could be used—and results would be printed out. Before printing, it was possible to see how many results there were, and modify the search if necessary before printing.

In 1986, five years after she had started working there, Horie was unhappy to find that there was talk of reduction in force ("RIF"). This was in the middle of then-President Reagan's two terms in office, and his economic program ("Reaganomics") curtailed social services spending, increased military spending, and lowered taxes; combined with the Federal Reserve Board's reduction of growth in the money supply, Reaganomics resulted in a recession (1981-82) and his terms were characterized by economic growth, but also huge budget deficits (Downes & Goodman, 2014). Horie remembers that during this time, there was even fear of the East-West Center being totally eliminated. Due to a significant budget cut, they would have to let people go. Horie was worried for her job, which was a salaried position with benefits. She was automatically a member of AFSCME, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal

⁹⁴ At the time, the word "metadata" was not used, but I use it here for clarity's sake. Horie clarifies that at the time, it would have been referenced as "bibliographic information."

⁹⁵ http://libweb.hawaii.edu/names/keller.html

⁹⁶ Although they had access to multiple databases, Horie does not remember which specifically.

Employees, which represented all the center's employees, so she would not be destitute even if laid-off, but she was averse to change and craved job security.

Horie says that both at the time and now, looking back, she would describe her time at the East-West Center as a great learning experience, one in which she was able to meet new challenges. While employed there, she continued several other pursuits on the side, including volunteering at UH's Hamilton Library, in the cataloging department. She had been in contact with Kengo Yasumatsu—a librarian from Japan who previously worked at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.—about a job at Hamilton Library, back when she was still a graduate student, but at the time of her graduation and subsequent job hunt, there was no opening. Five years later, she had strengthened her connections with that library, but there was still no position available for her. Luckily, one Sunday morning, she happened to see an ad in the newspaper for a reference librarian at Bishop Museum Library. She sent in her application the next day, on Monday; interviewed for the job that Friday; and was offered the job on the spot. She accepted.

Employment at Bishop Museum (1986-1990)

Bernice Pauahi Bishop, a descendant of Kamehameha I, was the largest landholder in the Hawaiian Islands during the mid-nineteenth century (Okihiro, 1991). Her namesake museum⁹⁷ was founded by her husband, Charles Reed Bishop, in 1889.⁹⁸ The original ethnology museum absorbed the then-inactive National Museum in 1891 (Tachihata, 1981). By the 1980s, the Bishop Museum had become the largest natural and cultural history institution in Polynesia and

⁹⁷ https://www.bishopmuseum.org/

⁹⁸ He also made substantial financial contributions to the Honolulu Library, and had opened the first bank in the islands, in 1848 (Okihiro, 1991).

in 1988 it was designated the State Museum of Natural and Cultural History (Editors of Encyclopædia Britannica, 2013). Of this, Horie said:

I was excited about the "State Museum" designation, because I assumed (wrongly, as I later found out) that the Museum would join the State messenger service (saving money on postage) and that Museum employees would join the civil service system (and get job security and union representation)... When I learned that the designation did not include what I assumed it would, and that it wouldn't really affect the staff as far as I could tell, I became disappointed.

Horie had first volunteered at the Bishop Museum Botany Department as an undergraduate. "I felt the experience would help me learn and perhaps give me a leg up on a potential future job there. I believe I had the same motivation to volunteer at the Hamilton Library Cataloging Department while still working at the EWC." She started in her new position at Bishop Museum's onsite library in November 1986. She took a \$12,000 pay cut, ⁹⁹ from \$25,800, which would be significant today, and was even more so then; however, she felt it was worth it to be able to go back into Hawaiian Studies. She agrees with the general perception that the Bishop Museum's library houses arguably one of the best if not the best Pacific collections in the world. The reasons she took the job without hesitation were that it was the ideal job for her background; she already knew one of the catalog librarians; and she thought that it was a rare opportunity. "I felt very fortunate to work in a position that fit my education background and interests. I also appreciated the importance of the institution to the local community and the wider research world."

⁹⁹ There were perks and benefits, including free parking, a 35-hour work week (instead of 40 hours), institutional support for attending ALA annual conferences, time off to attend HLA conferences on island, a store discount, free business cards, and OCLC training when it was held on island.

Her new title was reference librarian, and her duties were "serving the Museum staff in person and by phone; serving the public in person, by phone, and by mail; making outgoing interlibrary loan (ILL) requests; some cataloging; some manuscript inventory work; [and] proofreading the Museum newsletter." She also did communications outreach, and instruction. She only worked in the library, but through her duties had contact or involvement with the Amy B. H. Greenwell Ethnobotanical Garden and the Hawai'i Maritime Center (HMC), both of which were once part of the Museum. "The library felt like a part of the museum, definitely a support unit, and sometimes its own entity, as an OCLC holding library, for example." Horie interacted with any museum staff who came in to use the library; she was mainly customer-facing. "During public hours I was in the reading room. During all staff working hours" I was available to answer questions from museum staff."

One drawback, besides the pay cut, was that she went from a union job to working at a non-union, private nonprofit; she therefore now felt she had less job security. However, there was an informal expectation that she would remain working as a librarian at Bishop Museum until retirement. Horie did not intend to move up the chain of command; she says that from speaking with and observing all three of the women who had the head librarian job while she was there, it was clear that she "would not want to be them."

Aside from the head librarian, there was one reference librarian (Horie), two catalog librarians, a half-time geography and maps librarian, and two library clerks. ¹⁰¹ Since there was no promotion available for her except to head librarian, a job she did not want, Horie did not get promoted during her four years at the museum library.

¹⁰⁰ Monday-Friday all day, and Saturday morning, except holidays and holiday weekends.

¹⁰¹ All the Bishop Museum librarians were women.

I generally worked well with everyone. There was only one clash that I can remember, when I made a remark about a person calling in from the public, without realizing that he was a friend of one of the library clerks. I said that he was being too "vague" in his reference question.

That this was perceived as a "clash" possibly displays Horie's high personal and professional standards, and/or the culture of politeness in Hawai'i. Here it is customary to err on the side of politeness since there are fewer degrees of separation between people on an island.

When asked about her specific experiences or accomplishments at Bishop Museum, Horie says:

I continued the practice of creating index cards of answers to frequently-asked reference questions. Example: who are the "Big Five?" When a local radio station promoted a Hawaiiana trivia contest, I called them and asked for the questions, so that we could be prepared with answers for members of the public who called us. I created a staff phone directory sorted by first name. I learned to process and inventory a manuscript collection by working on the Vivienne "Huapala" Mader collection of hula chants and songs. I assisted with bibliographic data collection for "Hawaiian sheet music index: a union catalog" and worked with project director Michaelyn P. Chou¹⁰² on editing the volumes, which were published in 1990.

Also while at Bishop Museum, Horie had her first experience of contributing to the OCLC Database; she learned how to fill out data sheets to contribute to the National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections (NUCMC).¹⁰³

¹⁰² Hawaiian Collection librarian.

¹⁰³ http://www.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/about.html

When the decision was made to progress from retrospective conversion to using OCLC for current cataloging, we had onsite training from OCLC staff. Because I had used OCLC in my previous position at the EWC, I was able to assist library staff and answer some questions after the trainer left.

When Horie left her position at Bishop Museum, after almost five years, her salary was approximately \$20,100. Horie did not know how much her coworkers were earning; she emphasizes that she was unaware that "anyone at all could ask for a raise." She said that when her financial circumstances changed, she decided that she needed to seek a higher –paying job: "After divorcing, I realized that I needed a higher-paying job to maintain my living expenses, and after some Museum employees were laid off without much notice, I needed better job security." The exorbitantly-high cost of living in Hawai'i—possibly the most expensive place to live in the United States (Ross, 2017)—can mean high risk if a person loses their job here.

Asking for a raise simply did not occur to Horie; instead, she resolved to find a new position.

Horie had continued to be part of previous organizations and communities during her employment at Bishop Museum, including Beta Phi Mu and HLA. She also attended the UH Alumni dinner at one of the ALA annual conferences, in Chicago, June 23-28, 1990. She says that she received support from HLA, OCLC, contact people at EWC, and UHM libraries: "I benefited from those contacts as I learned how to do my job and develop professionally." The support "originated organically from my prior network contacts and also from learning from the others already working at the Museum." Finally, a spot opened for her back at the University of Hawai'i. Her connections, which she had worked hard to maintain, ensured that she was top-of-mind for filling the position when it opened.

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (1991-2012)

Employment at Hamilton Library (1991-2012)

In January of 1991, Horie assumed her new role, assistant head of the Serials Department at the Thomas Hale Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (UHM). The College of Hawai'i was originally established in 1907 and became the University of Hawai'i thirteen years later. Hamilton Library's emphasis on Hawaiian, Pacific, and Asian materials, which has continued, had early roots; early acquisition lists include a Hawaiiana collection from antiquarian Thomas Thrum and books gifted by Japan's Prince Akihito (Morris, 2006). The first building constructed specifically for books is now known as George Hall; its 1925 opening ceremony was attended by Governor Farrington and members of the Hawai'i Territorial legislature. Elizabeth Bryan, who worked at the library from 1913-1919, was "an early feminist who waged and won a battle for recognition of the head librarian as a faculty member" (Morris, 2006). Half a century later, Ralph Shaw—who served as University Librarian and worked at the library from 1966-1969, while Horie was starting out there as an undergraduate student—secured faculty status¹⁰⁴ for all the librarians (the "professional staff") and upgraded civil service rankings for the library's support staff. He also "transformed a respectable college library into a major research institution;" founded the Graduate School of Library Studies; completed a new "graduate research library;" 105 and supervised the reclassification of holdings from Dewey Decimal to the Library of Congress system. When Sinclair Library was converted from an undergraduate library to a music and media center, in 1977, "the Asia, Government Documents,

¹⁰⁴ From civil service.

¹⁰⁵ Hamilton Library.

and Hawaiian and Pacific collections, as well as the library school, were moved from Sinclair" to Hamilton (Kittelson, 1984, p. 62).

Horie had wanted to work at Hamilton Library ever since she was a graduate student at UHM. The library's Hawaiian collection is "unequaled in the world" (Morris, 2006). John Haak, successor to Don Bosseau as University Librarian (1983-2000), had finally hired Horie in 1991. Four years earlier, in 1987, Haak had moved to establish a new archives and manuscripts unit, which "grew rapidly to include Hawaii Congressional papers" and Plantation Archives, formerly held by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association, but now housed within the library's Hawaiian collection (Morris, 2006).

Horie was assigned a "coach" to her help learn the job, which she said was common but not categorically practiced; she found it very helpful. She got along well with her new colleagues. "I really looked up to them because they'd been doing this work for years and years, and I just needed to get a good start and learn the job."

Exactly one year later, in January of 1992, Horie went half-time, which meant she moved to a different library; she was a part-time librarian at UH West Oʻahu Library only for three months (through March). That odd period in an otherwise very stable and continuous career was due to personal circumstances; she thought she might move to the mainland, but in the end, she did not. In April (1992) she returned to the UHM Library, where she was a catalog librarian in the Cataloging Department until her retirement two decades later, in November 2012.

Just after Horie began working at Hamilton Library, the Family and Medical Leave Act was passed, in 1993. This eventually directly benefited Horie, who applied for family leave in 1997 while working at UH: "My father was terminally ill on the mainland and then passed away."

I was aware of the changes in the missions of Hamilton and Sinclair Libraries, as well as the shifts of materials. Many non-music and art related titles moved from Sinclair Library to Hamilton Library. Some less-used back issues of serial titles moved from Hamilton Library to Sinclair Library to make room in Hamilton Library. When materials moved or were withdrawn, their records in the online catalog had to be adjusted. I was glad that Hamilton Library became the "main" library because it meant to me that anyone could use it, not just those doing "graduate research." While I was an undergraduate, I remember feeling like a bit of an interloper exploring Hamilton Library.

That feeling had gradually changed over the years, as Horie became interested in working at Hamilton Library. ¹⁰⁶ She had envisioned herself becoming a librarian at Hamilton, and had finally achieved that goal; when asked if she was interested in advancing her career, or in leadership roles, Horie says,

I was mainly interested in learning the many aspects of being a good cataloger... I accept that I have an aversion to holding leadership positions. I would rather put my head down and do my work than deal with bureaucracy and all the administrative and personnel headaches that go with leadership... there was a possibility of my applying to become Assistant University Librarian, ¹⁰⁷ when that individual left... Well, when the person that had that position during the flood, later on, left, to go back to the mainland, people, several different people encouraged me

¹⁰⁶ Although even now, she says she has always experienced some sense of "imposter syndrome."

^{107 &}quot;...the Assistant University Librarian is not a faculty member, it's an administrative position. The library has three administrative positions: The University Librarian, and then Associate University Librarian, for administration policy and planning, something like that. And the Assistant University Librarian would cover automation, computing, technical services, systems."

to apply. But I was absolutely not interested. [Laughs] It was flattering, to have the confidence of people who would come up and actually tell me, "Ruth, you should apply for that, we think you'd be actually good at it." But, maybe so, but, it just went against the grain. Having seen what [the] person in that position was responsible for, I just didn't think it was something I wanted to do. So that, as far as the career opportunities, that was probably the highest level that anyone encouraged me to apply for.

Horie says she likes or dislikes things—such as paperwork—and is impulsive. She is extremely group-oriented and proactive, and therefore probably would have excelled in leadership positions, which would have been great since "women make up less than a critical mass of academic leadership" (Baker & Bobrowski, 2016, p. 82).

I think the major inhibition was my own aversion to paperwork. And the other factor which *advanced* my efforts to obtain professional development and promotion would be the expectations within the department and, in the form of subtle peer pressure and encouragement from the more-experienced librarians who had been there longer. Plus, the general library administrative support; they really wanted us to succeed. It was really apparent... and so, all of those three, I think, worked together to make it easy to actually go along and jump through all those hoops, and feel good about it.

As at most university libraries, UH librarians are all faculty; they start as Librarian II (instructor); next is Librarian III (assistant professor); then Librarian IV (associate professor); and, finally Librarian V (full professor). Horie thinks she was probably qualified to be a Librarian V—in fact, many of her colleagues agreed, and voiced their encouragement for her

advancement—but she never applied. She did not want to apply for something she might fail at, and she was more preoccupied with achieving tenure; she felt anxious about it and calls herself a "worrier by nature." In order to remain employed by the University, librarians must achieve tenure, ¹⁰⁸ so the stakes are high. The tenure process was explained to her by both UH and Hamilton Library. She was advised to apply for promotion to Librarian III and/or IV before applying for tenure, so that is what she did.

Speaking of her own experience as well as her later work helping others go through the process, Horie says:

Coming up for tenure or promotion together, you consult with each other as to how you're gonna write this up. It's not a matter of colluding, it's a matter of getting the facts out in the open so that we're all on the same page about it. Yeah. Maybe I was overly-concerned about that. But I tried to, partly as my role as a faculty representative in the union, but partially out of trying to impart some of the good wisdom that I got from other mentors, that, number one, this is a multi-year process, you have to be prepared, you have to document what you're doing, 109 and write yourself up as if you're writing a newsletter article or something. So-and-so, this is what I did, and this was the outcome, and I worked with so-and-so, and it doesn't have to be necessarily somebody in the library, could be someone in another department, or another state agency, let's say, whoever, whomever, and just learning to document and look at your own activities almost like a third party. Like, how is this going to fit in with these criteria that you're eventually gonna have to

¹⁰⁸ Tenure is a permanent or indefinite university position.

¹⁰⁹ Starting in 1999, Horie kept individual annual reports, which summarized employee activities during the previous fiscal year (July 1-June 30).

address? And make sure that what your position you're hired at, you gotta focus on certain criteria that are really focused on your job, just don't go all over the place, or, just don't focus on something that's not really what you're hired to do, cuz that's a problem too, if you think you're doing great work, but it's not really a central activity of your personal position.

Horie applied for (and was granted) tenure in 1996. The only factor that Horie feels inhibited her career advancement efforts was her own aversion to paperwork. She attributes peer pressure and administrative support with helping to advance her efforts.

I chose to pursue the first two promotions (to rank four) within my position. I did not pursue promotion to the highest rank (rank five, equivalent to full professor), because I have an aversion to paperwork. I was not prevented from pursuing any other career advancement steps... I chose to pursue nearly every professional development opportunity for which I was eligible and that was offered. I was not ever prevented from pursuing any.

Besides promotion to leadership positions, there were professional opportunities available, such as promotion to a higher rank within her position; appointment to chair library committees or task forces; appointment to department head; and promotion to division head or assistant university librarian. Professional development opportunities available included training to learn how to create LC (Library of Congress) name and subject authority records; propose new LC classification; how to use new versions of the integrated library system (ILS), called Voyager; OCLC Connexion Client training; LC Cataloger's Desktop; Hamilton Library's intranet software; the new RDA (Resource Description and Access) cataloging code; the BIBCO Standard Record (BSR), a bibliographic monographic record model that uses a single encoding

level in a shared database environment;¹¹⁰ the CONSER Standard Record (CSR);¹¹¹ the Library's institutional repository software; and the University's online grading system.

While Horie was most interested in increasing her capabilities as a cataloger, there was a desirable incentive to apply for promotion: per institutional policy, each promotion included an automatic 8% pay increase. "Because salaries serve as one index of a profession's success, one would expect remuneration to increase commensurately with educational requirements and credentials" (Passet, 1996, p. 208). This seemed to be the case for Horie, who managed to somewhat overcome the stereotyped low-pay for women in general and librarians in particular by being a university librarian at a university that considers librarians faculty, ¹¹² and at a state institution accountable to regulation by the government and unions.

However, the academic library profession "gets short-shrift from academe" (Juárez, 2015, p. 299), and indeed, Horie describes some instructional faculty outside the library as actively against librarians having faculty status. UH librarians were not considered "real" faculty by the non-librarian faculty, so much so that some even wanted to strip librarians of their faculty status. The in-group she had aligned herself with—the exclusive category of faculty—ultimately rejected her (and those in her camp). They were unwilling to share their power, even though it cost them nothing to do so. This is consistent with "modern formulations of the academic library... with a significant gender distinction in wages and prestige created between faculty and librarians" (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 647). Possibly, non-librarian faculty perceived their own status as tarnished or somehow limited or denigrated by association with librarianship, a feminized and chronically undervalued and underpaid profession. "Librarians were considered support staff,

¹¹⁰ https://www.loc.gov/aba/pcc/bibco/bsr-maps.html

¹¹¹ https://www.loc.gov/aba/pcc/conser/issues/CSR.html

¹¹² It is likely not a coincidence that academic librarians are paid more than public and school librarians, and that faculty are generally skewed white/male, especially those with tenure.

subservient to the scholarly and pedagogical output of the faculty... It was a long struggle¹¹³ for librarians to become accepted as members of faculty associations, and in some places they still bargain independently" (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 647).

Horie says that because of this antagonism, the UH librarians needed to be extra solid on tenure and promotion applications. In technical services in the library, Horie felt like a minority within a minority within another minority. Because many librarians do not understand what we do. And it's sometimes difficult for us to concentrate and focus and say something in a concise way that's understandable not only to the other librarians, but other faculty on campus too, some of the other faculty on campus, I'm sorry to say, [are] actively *against* librarians having faculty status. 114 So there's all these hurdles to jump through. And make sure we're making these applications in a confident and professional way. Not to put it anything that seems the least-bit iffy.

As faculty, UH librarians were required to eventually apply for tenure. Their applications were reviewed by the UH Tenure and Promotion Review Committee (TPRC), an anonymous group of faculty members who are all either at or above the rank to which the applicant is applying. Horie has advice for anyone who must go through this process, since she successfully completed it: "stay on track and check in with people." For her, that meant her department head, and the "coach" who was assigned to her (a tenured librarian).

¹¹³ Sloniowski (2016) calls this struggle "the Dewey-imposed ceiling on our work" (p. 647).

¹¹⁴ Horie fought this bias in several ways, in addition to being the "model minority" as a cataloger/librarian: "I proposed to UHPA that the hierarchy of priority for faculty housing be rearranged in a way that was not based on faculty classification. At the time, librarians were near the bottom of the hierarchy. I proposed two different ways of arranging the hierarchy, based on rank and based on anticipated length of time the housing was needed, but was not successful. In the process I learned that the priority for faculty housing was held as a prerogative of the Board of Regents."

She describes the overall work environment as encouraging and supportive, despite the antagonism of some non-librarian faculty. And, after a few years working at UH, Horie found another source of guidance and support; she joined a campus mentoring program mainly geared toward women. "After a while it broadened out to minority men, and some of them had experienced similar problems with... credibility and discrimination, etcetera." She was not looking for such a group, but just happened to find out about it via the UH announcement emails. Later, she proactively reached out 115 to new librarians with the same advice she had learned from that group, which she felt she had benefited from.

Horie had an aversion to failure; specifically, she did not want to apply to anything she might not succeed at; this is the reason she gives for never applying for Librarian V. When asked what she meant by "not succeed" in this context, she replied, "not succeeding at getting the promotion, even if I would still be continuing in the position." Interestingly, she also says she received encouraging input from others.

...a couple of times [I] asked some of the more senior librarians in our department or, who had been on those committees, judging the applicants, and reviewing their applications, "Well, do you think I could qualify for Librarian V?" or, "Do you think I should apply for Librarian V?" and everyone said, "Yes, go ahead." You can't lose. I mean, it's totally voluntary. And it's not a big deal or a detriment to your career if you *don't* get it. It's not like tenure. Tenure is—if you don't get tenure, you're out of a job.

¹¹⁵ A gap in the literature exists regarding "pink-collar" labor that university librarians perform, also known as emotional labor: "the often unrecognized or unproblematized affective work of academic librarians in knowledge production and education" (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 647).

Ironically, her failure to apply for that ultimate librarian rank meant she did not get Faculty Emeritus status, which would have meant free parking and an office during retirement, two perks that are a particular shame for her to not receive since she still volunteers there (she still goes to UHM three days per week, and pays for parking, which is not cheap). One of her own self-defined failures is when she applied for a special salary adjustment, and her request was only partially granted.

In the 2003-2009 contract, the UH Board of Regents and the UHPA created a memorandum¹¹⁶ of understanding to enable faculty members to apply for "special salary adjustments" under the criteria of equity, market, merit, and retention, and bonus payments. I applied for an adjustment of \$6,000 per year based on equity and merit. Library Administration granted a \$600 adjustment.

It seems that Horie needed prior approval before feeling comfortable asking for a raise; at least now, she was aware of the possibility.

When asked to define her own successes at UH, Horie highlights her embrace of evolving technologies in cataloging. There were many technological transitions over the course of her employment at UH. The advance of technology did not intimidate her. She also served on the [rotating] UH system-wide cataloging coordination committee (SCCC).

I did do well in terms of embracing and promoting the evolving technology of cataloging. Like, one of the training sessions we had, I collaborated with a former library school classmate who got a job at the East-West Center, to have one of these training sessions actually be multi-campus, multisite, almost like a conference call kind of thing. It was held in a room in the library school; whereas in the past it was

 $^{^{116}\} Details\ in\ Appendix\ R-18\ on\ p.\ 41\ and\ 106-107\ of\ the\ 2003-2009\ contract: \ \underline{https://1gyy0p31bywk3kl09732jggr-wpengine.netdna-ssl.com/wp-content/uploads/legacy/uhpa-bor-contract/archives/2003-2009-bu7\ contract.pdf.$

generally only you know, in the room with the trainer, and all. So, that was kind of revolutionary, and well-supported by our department head, head of cataloging. I don't know how we came up with the idea. [laughs] And then, the aspect of, moving from tape-loaded OCLC work to live on-demand OCLC cataloging, that was, I thought it was inevitable, and it would save a lot of time, actually, because, it, the tape-loading I think only happened quarterly, so, if we did some cataloging and in the three months before our tape went in, some other library put in that same record, or did something which duplicated our efforts, then we wouldn't know about it for months, and it's kind of [a] waste of our work, in a sense. Plus, the transition from OCLC dedicated terminals to workstations to the PC, to do your work, those three things all happened while I was in the cataloging department. And fortunately, our department head, who came from the Library of Congress, was really open to any kind of technological improvement, and when he convinced the library administration to get us all PC's, he said, "Ok, we're all gonna get PC's." And many people [had] never touched a PC before. He says, "You're not gonna be afraid of it. Everyone's gonna get one, on your desk, and we're not gonna start doing any work on these right away. Your first assignment is to play with it. Play games, play Tetris, or whatever it is, and just get accustomed to how the keyboard works, how the cursor arrows work, and back and whatnot. Cuz I want everyone to get comfortable with using a PC before we actually start loading apps. And then, you'll be more comfortable actually learning the app rather than learning the app and the PC at the same time. I'd been working with computers since my very first job in 1968 and actually got into the data processing and punching cards, and in library

school I took programming, and so, the advance of technology didn't really scare me. I could see the benefits of it and I was willing to do whatever was necessary to learn it and help other people come along for the ride, more or less [laughs] and this still is going on in cataloging. There's no end. [laughs]

When asked to describe any particular challenges she faced over the course of her career at UH, Horie reiterates that catalogers are the blue-collar workers of the library—something she said she first heard from one of her department heads—and they are measured by how many items they cataloged. Something she specifically mentioned occurred when she was the newest cataloger in the department; she was told she was the most productive cataloger. It was both disturbing to her, and an accomplishment. Her interpretation of the event is unexpected to me, as a white millennial; I can only guess that her attitude toward praise has some roots in her culture—either as a Japanese American or a Hawai'i local—or her generation (or some combination).

We had a new department head... who was born and raised in Hawai'i but actually spent most of her career on the mainland, but returned home... She [pause] for some reason she was really oriented toward productivity, which I was in favor of, generally speaking, because I could see the size of the backlog and how, you know, how time-consuming everything is... She came up to me one day and asked me, she said, "Ruth, you are the, by the statistics, you are the most productive cataloger in this department." And I was the newest cataloger in the department, and that was a big shock. And she said, "What's your secret and how can we impart it to everybody else?" And that was really disturbing to me, that I would even presume to give advice to anybody else who was senior to me in the department. I said, "I

can just tell you that I try to find shortcuts. Not that I'm gonna do less than full-level cataloging, or sloppy work, or anything, but I try to gather together things that are similar, and catalog them together, rather than ten separate things, maybe, five similar things, and another five similar things. And it takes less time to do it that way.

Evidence of Horie's unique positionality as a Hawai'i local is how she begins this story by revealing that the person who offended her¹¹⁷ was from Hawai'i but had "spent most of her career on the mainland." That is the only piece of information Horie reveals about that person, indicating that in her view, it was a defining characteristic (at least in this situation). This story illuminates and underscores Horie's investment in hierarchy, or what she has referred to as the "establishment;" her preference for collectivism over individualism; and her innate tendency to efficiency, which clearly served her well in the course of her career as a cataloger and librarian. When asked about these beliefs and preferences, Horie attributes them to her personality, to something innate within her; however, when critically viewing her positionality within context, the argument could be made that these particular traits are more typical of Hawai'i in particular, where there is a "local cultural ethic of humility" (Rohrer, 2010, p. 56). Possibly, some of Horie's tendencies and preferences might have been influenced by her Japanese heritage; "Unlike Westerners, who valued spontaneity and individuality, the Japanese emphasized predictability, control, and selflessness" (Tamura, 1994, p.33). There was also a sort of glass ceiling for Japanese American women:

¹¹⁷ My interpretation.

Rohrer (2010) writes that, given its history, "it should not be surprising that race operates differently in the islands than it does on the continent, or anywhere else, for that matter" (p. 5). I would extend that concept to include not only racial categories but also local/nonlocal in/out groups/distinctions, as well.

The progress of Nisei occupational advancement in Hawaii differed markedly between males and females, reflecting the status of Japanese males within families. Japanese men moved up the occupational ladder quickly, but Japanese women advanced slowly. (Tamura, 1994, p. 221)

Horie, however, was very good at her job, and other people recognized that. She was especially talented at finding the most efficient way to complete her tasks. Perhaps this is part of the reason she excelled as a librarian.

Laws 2-4¹¹⁹ were the ones that stood out for me in relation to cataloging ...we had some assigned work, because this is current, this is rushed, or whatever. But we had some leeway as to what we wanted to pick to do, to do cataloging for, based on combing the backlog. It all needs to be done, so just, whatever, have at it, right? And I kinda enjoyed combing through the backlog and looking for things. Like, if I was assigned an art auction catalog for this week, I would go look in the backlog for other ones. And, because, they all needed to be done. It [was] just easier if I did them all together. Or, if, say the Hawaiian Collection received a big donation of archaeological reports from the H3 tunnel surveys, I asked the Head of the Hawaiian Collection at the time to just give me all of the archaeological reports at one time. I felt it would be easier for one person to segregate the reports by author and location and assign call numbers accordingly... cuz the Head of the Cataloging Department told the Head of the Hawaiian Collection "you have to dole these out to the catalogers, you must not overwhelm them, cuz they have their regular weekly work." So, she would give me, like, two or three a week, and that's difficult because

¹¹⁹ She is referring to the famous *Five Laws of Library Science*. Number two is every reader their book; number four is save the time of the reader (Ranganathan, 1931).

they're all on the same topic, right? Archeological work. And they're all done by different archeologists, but each archeologist did numerous reports and mostly on certain locations.

Sabbaticals

In over two decades as a UH librarian, Horie took two sabbaticals. Each required an application, but she describes the process as having been relaxed and informal. The sabbaticals were for six months each at full pay but could be broken into smaller periods.

For her first sabbatical, Horie spent three months in the spring of 2000 helping her previous employer, Bishop Museum library, with its cataloging backlog. She cataloged an impressive 1,000 books over the course of only three short months.

Since none of the 1,000 the books were held by the UHM Library, the cataloging supported Senate Concurrent Resolution 176 (1999) "Requesting the University of Hawaii to Partner with Bishop Museum for Research Assistance."

The second half of this first sabbatical (the Spring semester), she spent helping UH transition to Colorado Alliance of Research Libraries (CARL), an automation system software that was the precursor to the Voyager system the library still uses today. Used until the year 2000, "UHCARL, as the local system became known, served as a host site for a state network of libraries, including nine external library sites in the University of Hawai'i system, the Hawai'i Medical Library, and the Bishop Museum" (Morris, 2006).

The following is an email Horie sent requesting her second sabbatical, during which she cataloged 60 e-books for the Ulukau¹²⁰ database and assisted in testing a major redesign of the Ulukau website:

Sabbatical leave for 6 months: June 1 - Nov. 30, 2010. My last sabbatical leave was for 6 months: Sept.-Nov. 1999 and Feb.-Apr. 2000. These are activities that I plan to undertake:

- 1. Create catalog records for the next group of electronic resources to be added to Ulukau, 121 the Hawaiian electronic library. These resources include but are not limited to: digitized print materials, sound recordings, and video recordings.
- 2. Add links to electronic versions of print materials in the Library online catalog.
- 3. Add catalog records for electronic resources that the Library does not hold in print form to the online catalog.
- 4. Contribute catalog records for electronic resources to OCLC, an international bibliographic database.
- 5. Develop improvements to the name and title browse functions of Ulukau so that multiple names and titles associated with any given resource may be indexed and retrieved consistently.
- 6. Develop a curriculum outline for staff at school libraries in Micronesia to learn how to apply the Dewey Decimal Classification system and the Sears subject headings, to be presented at the Nov. 2010 Pacific Islands Association of Libraries,

¹²⁰ http://ulukau.org/.

From 2003 onwards, when e-books were new, Horie volunteered cataloging new books for Ulukau.

Archives and Museums conference in Chuuk, Micronesia, at the request of the Chuuk Library Association.

7. Spend one week in Chuuk following the PIALA¹²² conference on site visits to school libraries to assist library staff in applying the Dewey Decimal Classification system and the Sears subject headings in cataloging their holdings.

This second sabbatical provided Horie with an opportunity for further professional growth and development. She successfully turned items 6 and 7 into a copy-cataloging workshop at the 2010 PIALA conference in Chuuk, FSM. She also found meaningful ways to contribute in several directions simultaneously:

The community of users of Ulukau, including UH faculty, staff and students, would have enhanced access to electronic resources related to Hawaiian language, Hawaiians, and Hawaiian studies. The Library would receive monetary credit for each catalog record for an electronic resource that I contribute[d] to OCLC. The library staff and students in Chuuk, Micronesia, and the attendees of the 2010 PIALA conference would be able to start applying the Dewey Decimal Classification system and the Sears subject headings to their holdings.

2004 Mānoa Flood¹²³

In several unexpected ways, Horie's life has been impacted dramatically by floods.

Exactly four decades after the flood that caused her family to eventually relocate off-island, a flash flood rushed through Mānoa valley, where UH is located. Horie recalls:

¹²² Pacific Islands Association of Libraries, Archives, and Museums

¹²³ Photos from the flood can be viewed at: http://manoa.hawaii.edu/library/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/A-River-Ran-Through-It.pdf.

The Saturday night October 30, 2004, flood from Mānoa Valley swept into and through Hamilton Library, destroying all departments in the ground floor ¹²⁴ and causing a lesser degree of damage to departments near the loading dock on the first floor. We could not work. When it happened, I was on the mainland. I returned home on Sunday evening, October 31. When I came in on Monday, November 1, I could not park in the lower campus structure, which had layers of mud deposited by flood waters. The Library was closed. It was barely accessible. The power was out. We could not walk down the staircase to LIS.

According to an official University of Hawai'i statement (2004), the flash flood damage "included about 230,000 rare maps and aerial photographs, more than 100 computers, thousands of government documents and books, collection services and the Library Information Science (LIS) school." During the flood, several LIS students and their professor, Dr. Andrew Wertheimer, ¹²⁵ escaped through a window. Luckily, there were no fatalities or major injuries. However, the damage was substantial.

Hardest hit were the government documents and maps collections. The building of the government documents collection dated back to 1907; of the some two million items, about 95% were damaged or lost. Similarly, 65% of the maps and aerial photographs were destroyed. Tens of thousands of mud-covered maps had to be painstakingly cleaned by hand over a period of years. The ground floor also housed collection services; an estimated 36,000 items awaiting processing were lost. Furniture and computers were destroyed. The library's electrical system was

¹²⁴ Systems, Acquisitions, Serials, Cataloging, Government Documents and Maps, and the LIS Program.

¹²⁵ He is also the chair of this thesis.

destroyed, necessitating emergency generator power for many months.... Two Texas corporations, the Belfor document recovery company and the BMS CAT company¹²⁶ were contracted. (Morris, 2006)

Damage was estimated at upward of \$48 million. For the two months after the flood, all hands were on deck for recovery. The LIS school temporarily relocated to the Pacific Ocean Science and Technology (POST) and Bilger Hall buildings.

I assisted with flood recovery. My first role was as a gatekeeper. On the morning of November first, I volunteered to sit on a stool in the main entrance (which could be manually forced open about 18 inches) and tell people that the Library was closed until further notice. 127 I only let in those who worked in the library or needed to be here. When the front entrance was closed and all entrance and exit was controlled at the loading dock, and later at the side entrance to Science and Technology, I coordinated library security guards, campus security guards, and staff security volunteers, helped organize the check-in table, patrolled the perimeter of Hamilton Library to prevent unauthorized access and looting, worked with the campus fire safety officer and the Honolulu Fire Department captains of the three closest fire stations to implement their approved measures to re-open without working fire alarms, issued air horns to each department, arranged to purchase flashing pagers for use by hearing impaired library patrons in the event a fire alarm sounded and an evacuation was called, posted signs inside the Library where fire extinguishers were situated, trained staff in what to do if anyone smelled smoke or

¹²⁶ A commercial company that deals with water and fire damage, and mold restoration.

¹²⁷ These were the days before smartphones and social media; no emergency alert or status updates could be distributed to all students' persons via computer program or social media.

saw flames, served as liaison with the Honolulu Police Department when several signs of arson were discovered, attended some administration meetings to report progress and make recommendations.

Everything was soaked... it was kind of miserable, actually. And in fact, we couldn't even open the drawers because they couldn't really get to the interior parts of the ground floor right away... a contractor was called in from Texas, that is a disaster recovery big contractor and they took charge, they hired local people and they planned it out. They worked on every single building on campus... every building on campus was affected. And we dragged the PCs that came from the offices in the basement, out onto the sidewalk to hose them down, because we knew we had to contract with some agency to try to recover what was on those PCs, so we could continue working. And for the most part, a majority of the PCs were restored, and everything was downloaded onto CD-ROMS, and handed to us later on. That was miraculous.

...for the first two months, November and December, I was working full-time with flood recovery. My first role was to keep people out of the library. And then, I was eventually in charge of all security, including campus security, library security, HPD,¹²⁸ and library volunteers¹²⁹ to patrol around the building, in shifts,¹³⁰ and make sure people didn't take things that were sitting outside, and didn't bother us while we're trying to recover... So, I was coordinating the library security

¹²⁸ Hawai'i Police Department.

¹²⁹ This refers to library employees who volunteered to be on security duty.

¹³⁰ In shifts, "because you can't expect us to be walking around all day, right? It's too tiring."

guards, the campus security guards, the police, and the, eventually, the Fire Department to help us do various things.

The flood recovery put my work completely on hold for two months, and partially for six more months, until June 2005. My work as a cataloger resumed in January 2005 when our temporary space was assigned and we each got a table, chair, PC, and shelving space. At first the catalogers searched donated materials in Voyager to see if any could be added to the collection as replacements. Twice we pitched in to help sort the tremendous number of donations that poured in. As time went on, I began to do original cataloging as usual. I did some flood recovery work in researching and making purchase recommendations for equipment that was lost in the flood: copiers, typewriter, microfilm readers, microfiche readers. I also took the paper FEMA flood recovery work time sheets that were given to us by the Library Fiscal Office and converted them to Excel sheets with formulas for calculations. After we began using these in Cataloging and Serials, I offered the Excel files back to the Fiscal Office in case they wanted to issue them for use in other Library departments too. At the end of my flood recovery work I turned over all my flood recovery documents to Library Administration.

Horie might have been extremely averse to paperwork and administration, but she was still proactive, thorough, and compliant.

Teaching Cataloging (2009)

Five years after the flood, after the LIS Program moved back into Hamilton Library's basement, Horie taught a course in the Library and Information Science program. The graduate-

level course was LIS 605, Basic Cataloging and Classification, required of all LIS students.

Horie taught the course during a summer session in 2009. Prone to either like or dislike things,

Horie actually both liked and disliked teaching:

I was asked by my department head to help LIS offer the course with a local instructor rather than hiring a visiting professor, because the faculty member who usually taught the course was finishing her Ph.D. The need was for only that one summer session... I enjoyed it when students seemed to absorb and appreciate the material. I found the time in preparing for daily classes and handling bureaucratic paperwork less enjoyable... The students represented a wide range of levels of exposure to cataloging and how it related to other functions in libraries. I appreciated the questions, some very basic, and others more nuanced. I felt that the students' questions motivated me to work harder at understanding my own role as a cataloger... I think it went fairly well. The majority of student evaluations were positive. My syllabus was selected by the UHM Assessment Office as exemplary and was included in the syllabi exhibit for the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC) re-accreditation visit in December 2009. I was especially grateful to Ms. 131 donna Bair-Mundy, the usual cataloging instructor who was on leave, for allowing me to use her course materials.

Teaching the course had an impact on Horie's previous conceptions of teachers, in that it confirmed her suspicions. During childhood, she saw how much work went into being a schoolteacher, and that observation specifically deterred her from pursuing teaching as a career.

¹³¹ Horie said "Ms." but her title is currently Dr. Bair-Mundy, as she completed her Ph.D.

I believe the teaching experience reinforced my previous conceptions of how hard teachers need to work. The experience also reinforced what I learned from my existing teaching or coaching sessions with other librarians and library paraprofessionals with regard to how the teaching method(s) needed to be tailored to the subject as well as to the students in the class.

When she taught cataloging, Horie shared with the students that catalogers wield power in terms of correcting the record and empowering people versus perpetuating misleading, discriminatory, or incorrect information.

I did say that catalogers are empowered to do so through procedures established by the Library of Congress Program for Cooperative Cataloging. I felt that it was important for students to know this so that some of them might be inspired to take similar steps and make a difference.

Master's Degree in Linguistics (1996-1999)

Horie was a Librarian II, considered entry-level for UH librarians, when she enrolled in her second master's degree program. She was admitted to the program to begin the Fall semester of 1996, but she had started thinking about the program about a year prior. She then began to take classes, before applying for the program, so that she would be able to stay on schedule when she started. Her M.A. in Linguistics took her about three years to complete—she graduated in 1999—while working full-time, so she stayed on track. Her friends and family supported this new endeavor: "Yes, they did, and so did my colleagues as well as the Library Administration. I applied for and was granted a one-semester study leave to complete my M.A. in fall 1999."

Horie can speak and understand HCE, English, and Hawaiian, and has "very limited speaking and listening comprehension" of Japanese. She has cataloging fluency/bibliographic familiarity with French; German; Spanish; Dutch; Latin; Samoan; Tongan; Tahitian; Pohnpeian; Kosraean; Marshallese; Guamanian / Chamorro; and Maori. She did not consider pursuing a master's degree in Hawaiian Studies, because she felt that her B.A. in Hawaiian Studies (1979) was sufficient, and the next logical step was to study the language. She only studied Hawaiian language in detail during her studies (as opposed to learning additional languages in the course of her M.A. program), but her course assignments included short studies in Korean, Marshallese, Pohnpeian, and Turkish.

I was given a choice between pursuing the M.A. first, followed by the Ph.D., or pursuing the Ph.D. directly. I decided to pursue the M.A. first, for two reasons: [a] I wanted to break the effort into two manageable segments, and [b] as a terminal degree, an M.A. would have been one criterion to apply for promotion, while a Ph.D. would have taken me longer to acquire, and would not necessarily be considered a criterion for promotion. I could have taken additional Hawaiian language courses through the same tuition waivers as an unclassified student without pursuing a degree. But the UHM Linguistics Department provided the easiest way to study the language itself without moving out of state or trying to pursue a degree through distance education. I worked full time and received UH tuition waivers for most of the required courses. I paid resident tuition for one elective course so that the minimum enrollment could be met. If I had not done this, that course would have been cancelled. I paid for the books myself.

 $^{^{132}}$ She had completed Hawn 301-302 by fall 1979, and Hawn 401-402, and Hawn 435 (translation) by spring 1981.

When asked what it was like studying Hawaiian language—and culture, previously—as a non-Hawaiian, Horie says:

In linguistics, many scholars are not members of the ethnic or geographic group that speaks the language being studied. It is more important to have familiarity with or fluency in that language. So I did feel comfortable as a graduate student... My fellow linguistics students came from all over the world. I recall two other students from Hawai'i. Neither of them were studying Hawaiian. Likewise, the faculty came from outside of Hawai'i, but most had lived here for many years. Several faculty members specialized in Pacific Islands languages: Byron Bender, Marshallese; Kenneth Rehg, Pohnpeian; Albert Schütz, Fijian and Hawaiian; and Miriam Meyerhoff, Solomon Islands Pidgin.

Horie did not write a master's thesis, but she did complete original research. A copy of her paper, *Language variation in Hawaiian: How do you say "Hawaii"?* (Horie, 1999) is included in the UH Hawaiian Collection. When asked how her graduate education in linguistics influenced her work as a librarian, Horie said:

I was able to use the M.A. as one of the criteria in my application for promotion from Librarian III to IV in Fall 2003... I believe the impact on my confidence was significant. My sociolinguistics professor praised the way I wrote the interview questions and designed the research. My Plan B paper¹³³ was selected for inclusion in the fall 2003 UHM Linguistics 102 course bibliography. My graduate education in linguistics did have an impact on my job performance. I was able to improve my cataloging of materials in various Pacific Islands languages and better understand

 $^{^{133} \} The \ paper \ mentioned \ previously: \ ``Language \ variation \ in \ Hawaiian: \ How \ do \ you \ say \ ``Hawaii?'' \ (1999).$

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the historical relationships among the languages. In the course of my cataloging work, I was able to apply that knowledge to propose new subject headings and classification numbers for some lesser-known Pacific Island languages to the Library of Congress.

For example:

Mandara language (Papua New Guinea) sh2009008405

Menya language sh2009008433

Nek language sh2009008462

PL5417.4 Moken

PL5417.5 Moklen

PL6303.5 Satawalese

PL6516 Takuu language

These are examples of Pacific Islands languages that were used in certain books that the library acquired. The languages did not already have Library of Congress subject headings, so I proposed them, successfully. The "sh" number is the LC subject heading authority record number in their database. The "PL" class numbers are for Pacific Islands languages that did not have specific assigned class numbers before I proposed them.

Doctoral Work on the Americanization of Hawaiian Language

Next, Horie considered a Ph.D. in the Americanization of the Hawaiian Language; she even applied and was accepted into the program, but ultimately chose not to pursue it.

I applied for the Ph.D. program before I completed my M.A. in 1999. I was encouraged by Michael Forman, my first linguistics professor during my undergraduate years, who later became department chair, and William O'Grady, the graduate chair, when I was admitted into the M.A. program, to treat my M.A. coursework as preparation for the Ph.D. They both agreed that my Ph.D. topic was a logical extension of my M.A. work because I would be studying sound recordings to identify generational differences in how Hawaiian and Maori languages were spoken by native speakers who had a common influence of English (Anglicization) as the dominant language in society. I formulated this topic based on the numerous video recordings of talk shows in Hawaiian and in Maori that I had been cataloging as part of my work in the Library.

Ever practical, Horie ultimately decided that going for her Ph.D. was unnecessary. "After I received my M.A. and was accepted into the Ph.D. program, I decided not to enroll in it because I felt it was time for me to refocus on my cataloging responsibilities in the Library." She also mentioned that she did not think it would increase her chances for further promotion, and, personal factors also influenced these decisions: "I also felt that it was time to get a life and refocus my attention on my husband, who had been so very supportive throughout the process."

Challenging Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH)

Cataloging is the action of creating a catalog, "usually distinguished from a mere list or enumeration, by systematic or methodical arrangement, alphabetical or other order, and often by the addition of brief particulars, descriptive, or aiding identification, indicative of locality, position, date, price, or the like" (Oxford University Press, 2018). It is essentially the act of organizing or classifying a library's collection so that items and information can be retrieved. "Classification is at the heart of the work of a library. A library is arguably nothing more—or less—than a set of materials classified according to some set of standard principles" (Drabinski, 2008, p. 198). Horie herself says, "library cataloging is part of the holistic life of the library."

Two of the main U.S. cataloging standards, both by the national Library of Congress (LC), are the LC Classifications (LCC) and LC Subject Headings (LCSH). These are both "languages" and each, "despite its unique methods, shares the same goal: to distill the aboutness of an item" (Tuttle, 2012, p. 264). The LC is based on Cutter's dictionary catalog; LC modified it with controlled vocabularies, at the end of the 19th century (Tuttle, 2012). LCC is primarily used so that library users can locate physical items within a library (or at least, historically, this was so) and LCC primarily indicates an action (such as the practice of biology), and then a topic within it (Tuttle, 2012). However, this creates a problem, because life is not so simple; often, actions and topics cannot be so rigidly divided. Subject headings were therefore invented as a sort of "third dimension" (Tuttle, 2012, p. 266) that users could utilize to follow a topic or subject across the entire classification system. Further rigidifying the classification systems and schemes is the fact that many online systems still require posting in only one category. The

¹³⁴ The age of these systems might partially explain why difficulty in modernizing them persists; much has changed since their creation.

reality is that life is too complex to be reduced to simple hierarchical structures, much less single categorizations. However, human brains are limited, and as such, so are our information systems. The apparent redundancy of two LC systems (LCC and LCSH), while limiting, is actually necessary to create a complete structure (Tuttle, 2012).

Deodato (2010) applies Derrida's deconstructivism to LIS, the key concept being that nothing has an inherent meaning; all meanings are contextual, or inter- and intra-dependent, and therefore never fixed, but rather dependent upon their relationships. Derrida rejected universality and absolute truths. Instead, he believed that all "attempts to represent meaning and fix it in time and space are necessarily repressive; acts of exclusionary 'violence;'" he "explicitly disavowed the possibility of immutable, fixed meanings" (Deodato, 2010, p. 76). To Derrida, words and language can have no stable meaning; his philosophy emphasizes ambiguity and plurality, in which everything is determined by its context. 136 Classification systems are "closed" in that they are necessarily limited (Deodato, 2010, p. 83). In fact, that is their whole purpose: to limit ambiguous or multiple meanings in order to clarify. This is not necessarily or inherently a good or bad thing; in fact, establishing a reliable system for information access is necessary for information retrieval (Deodato, 2010). Cataloging, which is essentially knowledge organization, exists precisely to create fixed and stable meanings. With controlled vocabulary, RDA rules, and other imposed structures, cataloging forces rules onto knowledge, positing an exact correspondence between signifier and signified, or text and meaning (Deodato, 2010).

¹³⁵ Jacques Derrida was a contemporary of Michel Foucault.

¹³⁶ While this definitely complicates cataloging, it also rings true. We see this contextuality of meaning in users' (and even various librarians') reactions to items. What one librarian might classify as X, another [equally intelligent and qualified] librarian might classify as Y. The conditions affect the outcome; a librarian is not a superhero, but a person. Each librarian brings to her work her own background, knowledge (or lack thereof), biases, etc. Even something as mundane as what someone ate in the morning might affect their work performance that day. Librarians are only human, and are therefore [understandably] fallible.

Cataloging rules are specifically designed to combat ambiguity. As such, cataloging creates a fixed "reality," an imposition that can impact how users will interpret knowledge and materials. In this way, libraries do not simply organize information; they also construct it (Deodato, 2010).

Catalogers are tasked with the near-impossible goal of reducing all of life to a multidimensional yet singular language system, that is legible to all users, front- and back-end. It is therefore a necessary—yet near-impossible—task to be fair, accurate, and transparent when cataloging. Further complicating catalogers' work is that, as are other United States' and Western institutions, the LC "is rooted in historical structures of white supremacy; as such, the catalog presumes White to be the normative term" (Drabinski, 2008, p. 198).

Starting in the 1970s, corresponding to the various social, cultural, and civil rights movements of the time, librarian Sanford Berman began some of the deconstructivist work Derrida might have imagined for libraries. Deodato believes, as did Berman, that there is an exclusionary bias within the cataloging standardization, and that it limits interpretation by both naming terms and defining their relations (Deodato, 2010). In this way, catalogers are responsible for determining not just meaning, but also context. Both Berman and Deodato acknowledge that classification schemes reflect the basis of the culture that creates them; this is an important clarification, as it removes the responsibility from individual catalogers, and puts the burden on their context, or the structures and systems in which they live and operate. However, just because the onus is not totally on individuals to right history's wrongs, does not mean that individual librarians cannot or should not attempt to correct apparent injustices. Catalogers are products of society, so they should not bear 100% of the burden of bias in information. However, as both stewards and creators of knowledge—especially systems—they do have a responsibility to be self-aware. Using Derridean theory to examine LIS illuminates the

fact that organizing information is not a neutral activity, and perhaps it can never be. It is up to catalogers to decide how to move forward, given that constraint.

Horie saw her role as primarily a cataloger, and not as an activist. When she found inconsistencies and mistakes in classification systems, she felt that it was her duty as an information professional to correct the record. The positive social implications of her work were a side effect, and not her primary intention. When asked what inspired her to act, Horie says "For the most part, the new subject headings and subject heading changes came up in the normal course of my cataloging work." While she received the support of and peer review from the other catalogers as well as the department head, Horie spearheaded the effort. "It was up to each cataloger to initiate whichever action seemed appropriate." She went through the UHM Library Cataloging Department, which is a member of the Library of Congress Program for Cooperative Cataloging (PCC), which has set guidelines and procedures for proposing new subject headings, changes to existing subject headings, new classification numbers, and changes to existing classifications under the Subject Authority Cooperative Program (SACO). 137

Whether or not she registers it as such, these efforts Horie voluntarily and proactively undertook were progressive, activist, and vitally important, for "Settler colonial claims only hold if the narrative of discovery and disappearance hold" (Rohrer, 2016, p. 13). Horie was instrumental in changing several LC subject headings, most notably from "Hawai'i– History – Revolution of 1893" to "Hawai'i– History – Overthrow of the Monarchy, 1893." Horie's work on this one specific subject heading demonstrates how catalogers produce knowledge, and has obvious social implications: The impact of the story of Hawai'i's "discovery" by Captain Cook

¹³⁷ http://www.loc.gov/aba/pcc/saco/index.html

is huge, particularly for *Kanaka Maoli*, "because it vanishes centuries of their habitation and their understanding of how they came to be in the islands" (Rohrer, 2010, p. 14).

Horie first noticed subject headings, including the one mentioned above, that she simply believed to be inaccurate, in 1994. Then-President Bill Clinton had just signed the Apology Resolution (Fujikane, 2008). Perhaps partially due to Hawaiian sovereignty issues suddenly in the national spotlight, Horie happened across multiple inaccuracies—in total, she identified roughly 12— that were factually incorrect, erroneous or misleading in nature, or both:

1. from: Kahoʻalowe Island Reserve (Hawaiʻi)

to correct a misspelling by LC: Kaho'olawe Island Reserve (Hawai'i)

2. from: Moku'ula (Lahaina, Hawai'i)

to change apostrophe to ayn: Moku'ula (Lahaina, Hawai'i)

3. Annexation to the United States

cross reference from: Hawai'i– History – 1893-1900

4. from: Forgiveness

to add cross reference: Unforgiveness

Several years later, in July 2008, Horie made a "professional visit" to LC in Washington, D.C. She was already traveling there for a National Education Association (NEA)¹³⁹ meeting, ¹⁴⁰ for her university work. She was escorted on a walkthrough of the various processing work areas. She also met with Tom Yee, assistant chief of the Cataloging Policy and Support Office,

¹³⁸ S.J.Res. 19 (103rd): A joint resolution to acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii: https://www.govtrack.us/congress/bills/103/sjres19. "Despite the passage of this law, white and Asian settlers have launched multiple legal assaults against Native entitlements" (Fujikane, 2008, p. 14).

¹³⁹ http://www.nea.org/

The meetings are held in Washington, D.C. during presidential election years.

about the process for subject heading and classification proposals. She recalls that Yee grew up in Hawai'i. She also met with Remé Grefalda, LC's area specialist and curator for the Asian and Pacific Islands, to view the Library's Asian and Pacific collections. Lastly, she took an architectural tour of the Thomas Jefferson Building, which she says that her tour coordinator called "probably the most beautiful building in Washington, and in any case it's not to be missed."

Professional Memberships, Organizations, and Affiliations

University of Hawai'i Professional Assembly (UHPA)

Horie joined the UHPA, the union that represented the UH librarians, when she began working there in 1991. About a decade later, she served on the Board for two terms, from 2002-2008 (the period directly following the HIDOE strike; see next section). During that six-year period, she served in a number of positions:

- 1. Women's Committee, member
- 2. Nominations and Elections Committee, chair, co-chair, and member
- 3. Martin Luther King, Jr. Parade Committee, chair and co-chair
- 4. Faculty Forum Committee, co-chair and member
- 5. Executive Committee, secretary and member at large

Horie describes herself as a "neophyte" when she first joined the UHPA, but said that as time went on, she learned "more about union organizing and the power of the executive director versus the power of the board versus the power of the membership." In 2008, when Horie was UHPA Director, she disseminated an American Association of University Women (AAUW)¹⁴¹

¹⁴¹ https://www.aauw.org/

survey entitled "Ask a Working Woman," so the opinions of the UHPA members could be included (University of Hawai'i Professional Assembly, 2008). In partnership with Working America, the community affiliate of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), the AAUW survey asked questions such as, "What do you do if you have to take time off work to care for a sick child or parent?" (University of Hawai'i Professional Assembly, 2008).

Horie was also part of the core group that formed a special committee, the UHPA Women's Committee. It was founded to give women a voice in decision-making in the union. As of 2014, the Ad Hoc Women's Committee was comprised of Teresa Bill (UH Mānoa); Maggie Bruck (Maui Community College); Joyce Chinen (UH West Oʻahu); Monisha Das Gupta (UH Mānoa); Ruth Horie—she is a lifetime member of the UHPA—(UH Mānoa); Joyce Lighthill (Leeward Community College); Priscilla Millen (Leeward Community College); Ming-Bao Yue (UH Mānoa); and Kenith Simmons (UH Hilo) (University of Hawaiʻi Professional Assembly, 2014).

Statewide Public Education Strike (2001)

Horie became actively involved in the union when then-Governor Cayetano¹⁴² proposed budget cuts that would negatively affect all teachers who were 9-month employees.

In the weeks leading up to the statewide public education strike in spring 2001, it became crystal clear to most of us UH non-instructional faculty that Department of Education teachers and UH instructional faculty work all year-round, whether they

¹⁴² Benjamin Cayetano, a Filipino "local," has attempted to protect his own political investment in settler control over Native people and resources, publicly stating, "I've lived in Hawai'i long enough to feel I'm Hawaiian" (Fujikane, 2008, p. 16).

have actual classes or not. The crucial issue for me was that Governor Cayetano proposed to remove medical coverage and retirement credit for the summer months when instructional faculty did not teach. I and the majority of my colleagues, as well as the majority of the public agreed that this was neither safe nor fair... it would not be safe for 9-month instructional faculty members to be without medical insurance during the summer, if an accident or illness affected their health.

The University of Hawai'i Professional Assembly (UHPA) and the Hawai'i State

Teachers Association (HSTA)—both members of the NEA union—ended up going on strike at
the same time, statewide, against the UH Board of Regents and the Hawai'i State Board of
Education, respectively. UHPA and HSTA spent months planning; during that nine-month
period, Horie saved up enough money to forgo paychecks for up to an entire semester, if need
be; this is even more impressive when considering that the proposal in question did not actually
apply to her.

I had no real idea of how long the strike might last. I was told that for government employees, two weeks might be expected, but who knew? I also forestalled replacing the air-conditioner unit in my condo.

The entire state system of kindergarten through graduate school went on strike; UHPA and the Hawai'i State Teachers Association¹⁴³ (HSTA) walked out on April 5, 2001, in what the *Los Angeles Times* noted was "the most far-reaching walkout ever in American education" (Essoyan, 2001). Horie was picket captain at Maile Way, the road that Hamilton Library is located on at UHM. The strike was successful, and UHPA settled with the UH Board of Regents on April 17, only twelve days in.

¹⁴³ HSTA and UHPA were, at the time, both affiliated with NEA.

University of Hawai'i Library Faculty Senate

Horie was involved in the Library Faculty Senate, in several capacities, including as an individual member, a member of the Elections Committee, as parliamentarian, as secretary, and as elected representative to the UH Mānoa Faculty Senate (MFS). ¹⁴⁴ As a member of the MFS Committee for Academic Policy and Planning (CAPP), which is concerned with establishment and modification of degree programs and curricula (an area in which the adequacy of library resources for given programs is considered), she

successfully proposed that the procedural checklist for new degree programs [at UH] include a line for assessment of library resources in support of the program. Until this line was inserted, the assessment was usually done at the last minute and rushed through with little time for the Library to plan how it would support the new program.

She was a staunch library and librarian advocate, and also successfully proposed that the Mānoa Council of Chairs routinely include on its roster and invite Library department heads to meetings; that the All-Campus Council of Faculty Senate Chairs routinely include on its roster and invite the chair of the Library Faculty Senate to meetings; that the Library Personnel Committee¹⁴⁵ not be involved in any tenure applications for Library administrators; ¹⁴⁶ and that the then-Interim University Librarian not be supported in her plan to reorganize the Library before a permanent University Librarian was in place.

¹⁴⁴ https://hawaii.edu/uhmfs/

This committee has a role in librarians' applications for contract renewal, promotion, and tenure.

¹⁴⁶ Library administrators are not faculty members so are not eligible for tenure.

Hawai'i Library Association (HLA)

The Hawai'i Library Association (HLA)¹⁴⁷ was founded in 1922 and became affiliated with the American Library Association (ALA)¹⁴⁸ two years later (Hawai'i Library Association, 2018). As mentioned, Horie had joined HLA as a student member when she entered library school in the fall of 1979. She attended her first HLA annual conference in the spring of 1980, along with many other LIS students. "My impression was that it was quite a large organization, with members from a wide variety of libraries and institutions. It was the thing to do, and it seemed interesting." The president at the time was Lucretia Fudge. After Horie graduated with her MLS, she changed her HLA membership to regular member, and served as co-chair of HLA's Hawaiiana section.

"I was recruited by the Nominations Committee in late 1996 to run for Vice President."

The HLA board was comprised of a President, Vice President, Secretary, and Treasurer. Initially, Horie was not interested, but says she decided to run because it was a service to the group, and then she "progressed as expected. I was elected and served from 1997-1998." Usually a Vice President is expected to become President the next year, and Horie did, serving as President from 1998-1999. She also served HLA as journal co-editor; conference coordinator (1998); 149

Director, which is an advisory position on the board (2003-2005); and chair of the Audit Committee, an annual committee that audits the organization's finances (2008). 150 As we will see, Horie used her presidency to advance Pacific ties.

¹⁴⁷ http://hawaiilibraryassociation.weebly.com/

¹⁴⁸ http://www.ala.org/

¹⁴⁹ At the time, this was one of the duties of the President; however, it is such a large job that later it became its own separate position.

This is a short-term commitment of usually three people that are recruited by the board.

Pacific Islands Association of Libraries, Archives, and Museums (PIALA)

Horie was also actively involved long-term with the Pacific Islands Association of Libraries, Archives, and Museums (PIALA). In November 1998, she attended her first PIALA conference; HLA awarded her \$500 toward the costs, and she used her own airline miles for the plane ticket. That year, the HLA board and the PIALA board passed resolutions to establish a permanent international partnership. ¹⁵¹ Practically, this meant that the two associations agreed to exchange newsletters; link homepages; attend each other's conferences; discuss common issues; and share ideas and expertise. Additionally, funds were set aside for one PIALA member to attend the annual HLA conference; Horie remembers that this scholarship was unidirectional because librarians in Hawai'i tend to earn more money and have more funding opportunities than those on other Pacific Islands. She says the HLA/PIALA partnership was both a grassroots initiative, and directly influenced by ALA's similar efforts at the time:

In 1998 ALA President Barbara Ford set her theme as "Global Reach, Local Touch" and called on the chapters to forge international partnerships with international library associations in neighboring library regions. For example, the Texas Library Association partnered with the Mexico Library Association. Here in Hawai'i, HLA president Helen Wong Smith and I decided that HLA could partner with the Pacific Islands Association of Libraries and Archives (PIALA). I believe the partnership did foster closer relations between the two organizations. One tangible outcome

 $^{^{151} \} The \ ALA \ Chapter \ Relations \ Office \ (\underline{http://www.ala.org/aboutala/offices/cro}) \ was \ informed \ of \ the \ partnership.$

was the establishment in 2013 of the Karen M. Peacock Memorial Scholarship, which enables a PIALA member¹⁵² to travel and attend the HLA annual conference.

Horie attended PIALA conferences and gave workshops in 1998 (Kosrae, Federated States of Micronesia (FSM)), 2002 (Chuuk, FSM), 2003 (Pohnpei, FSM), 2004 (Marshall Islands), 2005 (Kosrae, FSM), 2007 (Tinian, NMI), 2008 (Yap, FSM), 2009 (Pohnpei, FSM), 2010 (Chuuk, FSM), 2011 (Kosrae, FSM), and 2014 (Palau). The conferences were held each November, and usually between one and five people from Hawai'i attended. Horie received partial funding from UH Libraries for some of the conferences. Following the 17th and the 18th Annual Conferences (November 12-17, 2007 and November 17-21, 2008, respectively), Horie edited the conference proceedings: It Can Be Done: With Advocacy, Libraries Can Thrive on Pacific Islands: Selected Papers from PIALA 2007, Pacific Islands Association of Libraries, Archives and Museums 17th Annual Conference, November 12-17, 2007, Tinian and Saipan, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (Horie, 2010) and New Beginnings: The Library as an Information and Resource Basket: Selected Papers from PIALA 2008, Pacific Islands Association of Libraries, Archives and Museums 18th Annual Conference, Colonia, Yap, Federated States of Micronesia (Horie, 2009).

I learned so much from the people who attended the conferences. I believe that visiting the different countries and entities deepened my knowledge of Micronesia and broadened my perspective on librarianship... Getting involved with PIALA was intentional on my part but incidental to my work as a librarian.

The mission of PIALA is to enhance the quality of leadership in order to support and strengthen libraries, archives, and museums across the Pacific Islands. "I feel I contributed to the

 $^{^{152}}$ The two organizations jointly review the applications and select the awardee.

mission by reaching out to PIALA, helping to establish the international partnership between HLA and PIALA, attending conferences and offering cataloging workshops, and doing what I could to enhance the cataloging of Pacific Islands materials at the UHM Library." PIALA agreed; in 2014, they awarded Horie their PIALA Lifetime Achievement Award (Library & Information Science Program, 2014). To this day, Horie does not know what the nomination process was. The decision to make the award is not annual, but it is made by PIALA's executive board.

Receiving the award was a complete surprise. It was announced at the closing dinner of the PIALA conference in Palau. I was deeply honored and appreciative. Jane Barnwell, former Director of Library and Information Literacy Initiatives at the Pacific Resources for Education and Learning (PREL) also received a Lifetime Achievement Award that year. PIALA also presented a special "Partnership Award" to HLA in recognition of 20 years since the international partnership between HLA and PIALA was established in 1998.

Retirement and Legacy

Retirement (2012)

Horie announced her plan to retire in December of 2011, a year prior to what would be her final day of employment. Multiple factors led her to conclude that it was time to retire. She wanted to visit her mother, who now lived on the continent and required caregiving, more often. She felt she had "succeeded in nearly everything [she] set out to achieve." There were also some challenges she had been experiencing with what she describes as the "bureaucracy," and she was finally fed up with the administrative aspects of the job.

I retired in December 2012. It was the earliest possible date on which I could retire... I wouldn't have access to the campus health services, which was really convenient, you know... my income would go down... I think those were the only two disadvantages that I could think of. I refinanced my mortgage so that I could pay it off within one year after retiring. Also, my mother who lives on the mainland was aging and needed more help.

The library threw a joint party for Horie and other retirees (another librarian and a paraprofessional). When asked if she had accomplished everything, professionally, that she wanted to, Horie said: "I started on a guide to cataloging Hawaiian language materials but did not go as far as I wanted to. Whatever I contributed has been posted on the Cataloging Department's processing manual under "Guide, lists, cheat sheets." There were downsides to retiring, of course, which included a reduction in income. Previously unaware that asking for a raise was even an option, the activities Horie engaged in over the course of the rest of her career had resulted in her becoming almost an expert on salary issues. Interestingly, she says she was happy with her \$80,000 annual salary—the amount she was making by the end of her career and that she did not feel that potentially earning more money would be worth the paperwork. Horie felt that between her state retirement fund and her private one, she had saved enough. She would receive a state pension—about 50% of her former salary—and by 2013, she paid off the mortgage on her condo. Eventually, she figured, she would be able to apply for Social Security. Yet, Horie feels that she did not save enough early on; she began saving for retirement in 1991, quite late, at age 41. Still, Horie believe she retired at an ideal time.

¹⁵³ http://www2.hawaii.edu/~hlibcat/index2.html

Despite her family obligations, ever the productive and involved librarian, Horie took only one month off (December 2012). In January 2013, she began volunteering at Hamilton Library, for roughly six hours per week. When news of her imminent retirement spread throughout the Oʻahu library community, Horie received "too many offers" of places to volunteer; upon reviewing these offers she ultimately chose to donate her time and expertise to several, mostly pertaining to Hawaiian collections, such as Ulukau, Bishop Museum, and Hamilton Library's Cataloging Department, among others.

Thesis Committee (2015)

In 2015, three years after she retired, Horie served on the thesis committee for a Native Hawaiian LIS student named Shavonn Matsuda. The LIS master's thesis dealt with Horie's specific expertise: *Toward a Hawaiian Knowledge Organization System: A Survey on Access to Hawaiian Knowledge in Libraries and Archives* (Matsuda, 2015). When speaking about this thesis, Horie points out that the LC as a whole system is Western. At first she was unsure whether she qualified to serve on a thesis committee, since she was retired, and not emeritus. She also had never been on a thesis committee, but she drew on her previous experience cataloging hundreds of theses.

The chair of the student's thesis committee invited me to be the third and "outside of UH" member of the committee. The committee chair 154 made the case to the Graduate Division that even if I was retired and no longer a UHM faculty member, my knowledge and expertise were needed.

¹⁵⁴ The committee chair was Dr. Rich Gazan, and the third committee member was Dr. Andrew Wertheimer (Matsuda, 2015), who is committee chair of this thesis.

Renaming the UH Hawaiian Cataloger Position

Horie succeeded in convincing the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa to change the title of her former cataloger position to "Hawaiian Cataloger" at Hamilton Library, but they were unable to find a fully-qualified candidate to fill the position. "After two unsuccessful searches, the position was filled in January 2017." This person is a *haole*, a Standard English native speaker who does not speak Hawaiian, but is currently enrolled in Hawaiian language courses at UH.

I had originally proposed that the position title be changed from "Cataloger" to "Hawaiian Language Cataloger." When the search process began the title was "Hawaiian Materials Cataloger/Metadata Librarian." I proposed the change through the levels of hierarchy in the Library, and with people I knew in the Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge.

It was important to Horie to have the position, which was the one she vacated upon retirement, renamed.

There had been Chinese, Japanese, and Korean language catalogers designated for many years. In spite of the past success the Library had in filling vacancies so that there was at least one cataloger with expertise in Hawaiian, I felt that the Library and the University needed to recognize the importance of Hawaiian language by designating an existing cataloger position for it. 155

¹⁵⁵ No cataloger with the word "Hawaiian" explicit in the job title is currently listed on the Hamilton Library website as of December 1, 2018. When I mentioned this to Horie, in February 2018, she looked into it and said that none of the language specialists have their languages included even in their job descriptions, which is very odd to both of us. Horie said: "I don't know why the full titles of the four catalogers (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Hawaiian) whose position titles are language-specific are not listed as such on the Library's or the Department's websites. I would expect accuracy and transparency." I concur, especially since the online listings are probably how many library users choose who to contact with queries.

Again, Horie's goals of accuracy and social justice intersected:

I envisioned that the role would include a function that I and other catalogers before me had already been performing: cataloging any and all library resources in Hawaiian or that had Hawaiian text or a name in the title, content, authorship, publisher, subject, or geographic coverage. I also firmly believed that a required qualification was Hawaiian language proficiency, just as Chinese, Japanese or Korean language proficiency was already required for any applicants for cataloger positions in those languages.

Horie is not sure if there was a formal process in place for such a request, but she ... perceived that there was widespread support because nearly everyone I spoke to about it readily agreed with me. The only opposition I received was from one of my fellow catalogers who expressed that there would not be enough library materials in Hawaiian to make it worthwhile to designate a cataloger for them. My answer to that opposing opinion was that I, as the de facto Hawaiian language cataloger, did routinely catalog other materials in English, and in any other language that I could read. I also maintained that I was also routinely assisting the Chinese, Japanese, Korean language catalogers, and any other librarians and staff in answering their questions about Hawaiian language. I believe that a critical mass of people who supported the change and who had the authority to make the change was reached through word of mouth.

Ongoing Volunteer Work

Horie is a busy volunteer and has been ever since retirement, taking only the December holidays off between her last day at work and her first day as a volunteer. Her most important ongoing project is helping compile a Hawaiian legal dictionary; this came out of the 1979 grant project she worked on translating and coding metadata. Her colleagues on this project had already been keeping index cards. She started working on the dictionary in the fall of 2014, and in February the following year (2015) they held the first advisory meeting. By now the team has completed 1,200 words; their goal is 5,000. Horie spends about 10 hours per week working on this dictionary from her desk at Hamilton Library. Her volunteer weekly schedule is currently:

Mondays: Bishop Museum Library (afternoons)

Tuesdays: The Congregation of the Sacred Hearts U.S. Province Archives

(mornings); Hamilton Library (afternoons)

Wednesdays: Hamilton Library (all day)

Thursdays: Hamilton Library (all day)

Fridays: free day¹⁵⁶

When asked if she would like to do anything for herself during retirement, such as travel, she says she wants to go to Cologne; she has a friend there, whom she visited about two years ago. She says she loved Germany and would like to go back.

¹⁵⁶ In 2018, Friday afternoons were scheduled for meeting with me to conduct recorded interviews for this thesis.

Bishop Museum

I've been a volunteer in the Bishop Museum Library since January 1991. My contributions have been in original cataloging and database consultation. Over the years I've converted their card catalog records into their online catalog for all the Hawaiian language titles. I'm in the process of converting the records for titles in Pacific Islands and Southeast Asian languages.

Ulukau

Ulukau, ¹⁵⁷ also known as "the Hawaiian Electronic Library," is a digital online library for mostly Hawaiian language and some English language materials; it includes "searchable Hawaiian language dictionaries, online newspapers, books, the Hawaiian Bible, genealogy, māhele and other place name resources and much more" (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2018). Founded in 2005, it now involves dozens of partners and is spearheaded by two organizations: Hale Kuamo'o of Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language at UH Hilo and Ka Waihona Puke 'Ōiwi Native Hawaiian Library at ALU LIKE, Inc. ¹⁵⁸ (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2018). Using open-source Greenstone ¹⁵⁹ software, designed specifically for digital libraries, the purpose of Ulukau is to make resources available "for the use, teaching, and revitalization of the Hawaiian language and for a broader and deeper understanding of Hawai'i" (Ulukau, 2018). Ulukau is a unique, Indigenous database and resource, and Horie is particularly

¹⁵⁷ http://www.ulukau.org/

¹⁵⁸ ALU LIKE, Inc. (https://www.alulike.org) is a private nonprofit organization that assists Native Hawaiians in efforts to achieve social and economic self-sufficiency.

¹⁵⁹ Greenstone was developed with UNESCO support at the University of Waikato, Aotearoa (New Zealand) (Ulukau, 2018).

qualified to provide support for their information and cataloging needs, as one of the rare professional and experienced catalogers fluent in both English and Hawaiian. She has worked with them for fifteen years, on an unpaid basis.

Since 2003 I've been volunteering to catalog electronic sources in Hawaiian or about Hawaiiana in English. Mahealani Merriman, the head of the Native Hawaiian Library, referred Bob Stauffer, the Ulukau manager, to me. At the time, Ulukau was a project of ALU LIKE, Inc., the umbrella organization of both the NHL 160 and Ulukau.

The federal Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) was created in 1996, when Congress passed the Museum and Library Services Act; IMLS is the primary source of federal support for over 123,000 libraries and 17,500 museums in the United States, and since 1998, it has been providing funding support for Native American and Native Hawaiian library services (Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2018), including Ulukau. In 2010, IMLS granted ALU LIKE, Inc. \$420,000 to provide access to its Native Hawaiian Library (NHL) resource materials from Ulukau, with the goal of making reference materials Web-accessible, providing much-needed support to Hawaiian language immersion programs "and to those who work in and with the Hawaiian language" (Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2010). In 2018, IMLS announced funding for the Lau ā Lau ka 'Ike project, which will provide "culturally-appropriate organization and representation within library catalogs and other digital collections by improving access for Native Hawaiian users, particularly Hawaiian language speakers, information professionals, and the Hawaiian community as a whole;" the project is a partnership between

¹⁶⁰ ALU LIKE's Native Hawaiian Library (NHL) was established in 1985. Its purpose is to provide library and information services to Native Hawaiians and others interested in the history, culture, and contributions of Native Hawaiians (ALU LIKE, Inc., 2017).

Ulukau, The World Indigenous Nations University Hawaii Pasifika, Nā Hawai'i 'Imi Loa, the Hawaiian Librarian Association (HLA), and Hawai'inuiakea: School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (Institute of Museum and Library Services, 2018).

King Kamehameha V Judiciary History Center

Located in Ali'iolani Hale¹⁶¹ in downtown Honolulu, the Judiciary History Center¹⁶² is an administrative program and permanent educational institution created by the Hawai'i State Judiciary "to inform and provide learning opportunities about the judicial process and Hawai'i's legal history from pre-contact to present" (King Kamehameha V Judiciary History Center, 2018).

From 2014 to 2017 I volunteered 1-3 days a week to provide Hawaiian language translations of Hawaiian Kingdom era letters and documents from the Hawai'i State Archives, ¹⁶³ and helped to create their Hawaiian English Legal Dictionary.

Congregation of the Sacred Hearts U.S. Province Archives

Stuart Ching, the archivist of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts U.S. Province

Archives, introduced Horie to a volunteer opportunity in their rare books library. Horie had

already known Ching, who was another former Bishop Museum employee. The Congregation of
the Sacred Hearts U.S. Province Archives are housed in and belong to the Congregation of the
Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, in Kaimukī. The archive's mission is to collect, preserve, and
access the history of the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts U.S.A. Province. The congregation
came to Hawai'i from France in 1827 and was the first group to set up a permanent Catholic

¹⁶¹ This historic building also houses the Supreme Court of the State of Hawai'i.

¹⁶² http://www.jhchawaii.net/

^{163 &}lt;u>http://ags.hawaii.gov/archives/</u>

mission in the islands. The archives contain scrapbooks, rare manuscripts, general interest books, records of burial locations, photographs, private personnel records, and objects connected to one of the most famous members of the Sacred Hearts congregation, St. Damien of Moloka'i (Hawaii Catholic Herald, 2018).

Since January 2015 I've been volunteering one morning a week to catalog their rare books in Hawaiian and other languages. Last month I began cataloging their regular book collection in English and other Western languages.

Hamilton Library

When asked if it felt strange immediately volunteering to do the work she used to be paid to do, Horie said no, because it eliminated what she disliked about the job, and just left what she loved; she no longer had to deal with the administrative aspects, or the bureaucracy. Additionally, as a volunteer, Horie is limited by library policy in what work she is now permitted to do.

Since January 2013 I have volunteered in the Cataloging Department to assist with two low-priority cataloging projects: upgrading Hawaiian and Pacific Collection brief records to full, and converting bibliographic records of Hawaiian and Pacific microfilm titles from catalog cards to the online catalog.

The brief records that Horie mentioned existed from a previous "rapid cataloging" effort, and her work converting brief records to full, and/or from physical to online, can be especially important in terms of helping promote access to Hawaiian language materials. Several years before Horie began working in the Cataloging Department, Kengo Yasumatsu, head of cataloging, initiated a project to reduce the large backlog of monographs and make the items accessible to library users. The bibliographic records had minimal information: author, title,

imprint, pagination, publisher. The call number was based on the main letter of the class (such as L for education); the letter Z (to force shelving at the end of the alphabetical range); and the date the bibliographic record was created (850826.25 for 1985 August 26, the 25th rapid cataloging record created in that class number on that day). For example, LZ 850826.25 was the rapid cataloging call number for a book entitled "Analyzing pupil-teacher interaction," published in 1966 by the Hawaii Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Horie's volunteer work therefore involves searching for a full-level OCLC record, updating holdings, exporting the record, importing it into the Voyager cataloging module, merging the OCLC record with the rapid cataloging record, and sending the book to be remarked with its new LC-style call number and returned to the Hawaiian and Pacific Collections.

I am allowed to replace a minimal level rapid cataloging record with a full level OCLC record (with an LC-style call number, subject headings, and access points). If I cannot identify such an OCLC record, I mark the rapid cataloging record—on an Excel spreadsheet for the project—as needing to be "re-cataloged" and move on. If an OCLC record matches the rapid cataloging record but lacks one or more key elements (call number, subject headings, etcetera), I record that OCLC record number as the likely match, and move on. Through this process, a number of minimal-level bibliographic records get upgraded to full, so that library catalog users are more likely to retrieve materials that match their search statements. And the library makes a small bit of progress in the lag time between acquisition and cataloging. For example, I upgraded a rapid cataloging record created in 1987 for a children's book which was published in the 1950s, with an OCLC record input in

2005 by a member library. This was an English language children's book, but published in Hawai'i, and is important because it's out of print

Volunteer Projects Completed

UHPA Disaffiliation from NEA (2013)

Horie spent about a month involved in the UHPA disaffiliation from NEA, in 2013: The only activist activity I decided to engage in after retirement was the effort to prevent the University of Hawai'i Professional Assembly from disaffiliating from the National Education Association. In early 2013, along with a handful of current and retired faculty, with some assistance from NEA regional staff, I helped to compile a list of pros and cons, [and] asked the NEA to clearly outline the procedure for UHPA members to retain their individual NEA memberships and NEA member benefits—such as life insurance, periodical subscriptions, vendor discounts.

Horie is a lifetime member of both UHPA and NEA. Horie was a strong advocate for both organizations, and thought that their union had been extremely beneficial, particularly during the 2001 strike, during which the UHPA "received a lot of help" from the NEA, "both in terms of personnel and expertise." However, J. N. Musto, the UHPA executive director, ¹⁶⁵ "had not really been a strong proponent of the NEA."

... due to various things that happened between the NEA and the HSTA during the last several years before this came to a head, he determined that it was not to the

¹⁶⁴ And the HSTA.

¹⁶⁵ Musto was also the UHPA executive director and chief negotiator during the 2001 statewide education strike.

advantage of the UHPA to stay affiliated... we would save money to not have to cover a portion of the dues... and also he felt, I believe, that the UHPA will be better off not being affiliated also with the HSTA, in terms of bargaining... collective bargaining was done separately, of course, for the different unions.

Through the affiliation, UHPA members were receiving NEA member benefits, such as life insurance, subscriptions, and vendor discounts. Acting on her commitment to accuracy and access, Horie volunteered to join a group of current and retired faculty to go around and talk to then currently-employed faculty members to see if they had any questions or concerns regarding the possible disaffiliation.

I wanted to find out, okay... many of the individual members of the UHPA also had life insurance and other benefits from the NEA. Now, what's gonna happen to those? And I felt that the local union, in other words, the UHPA, really owed it to the members both current and retired to get these facts straight and disseminate them to the membership so they can really make an informed decision and not feel like this is a kind of top-down decision which isn't considering the consequences on an individual level... I thought, sure, okay, you can influence... the requisite number of members, of the board of directors to force it through—all it takes is a majority—but if you don't have member buy in, it doesn't seem like there was enough transparency or democracy involved. And that was my point.

It is significant that Horie emphasizes that her involvement was to advance democratic ideals; she herself was undecided as to whether disaffiliation was a good idea. Her main concern was that every person's voice was heard.

I was really surprised when we went around to the... some different offices on campus... many of the faculty members who came from the mainland, you know, they're haole, full professors. They've been here for a long time. They know which end is up. [They] really didn't want to leave the NEA because they said, okay, this is an isolated place. There's only one university here... only one higher education union. We need the power of the parent organization to help us in terms of due process and certain grievances and certain elements that can be supported, like lobbying in Washington, D.C., lobbying congressmen, getting on higher education committees, and actually trying to steer national policy in terms of the state of faculty life... I was kind of encouraged by that, actually, that yeah, maybe there is an overriding benefit to stay even though it's a chunk of change. We need it... as I tried to delve and get the information as to how the current and retired members of the UHPA were going to handle any kind of continuity of any NEA memberships can we get the UHPA to put this information out to the membership just in a nonjudgmental way, just in case people were concerned—I was really surprised at actually how much pushback I got from the UHPA. And that to me was even more disappointing. It wasn't exactly a gag order, but I felt they were being less than transparent, which could easily be done. And, and on the NEA side, of course, they didn't want anyone to disaffiliate; they felt, you know, this is important. You should give people the opportunity to really understand both sides of the issue, and they were happy to provide whatever information we wanted as to how to continue with your life insurance and other benefits... A narrow majority of the UHPA board voted on February 23, 2013 to disaffiliate, effective September 1, 2013.

The final vote consisted of 13 ayes, 10 nays, and 1 abstention. Horie was disappointed that although there were some board members who could not attend, the board went ahead and voted anyway. For one board member who could not attend in person, from a neighbor island, the board

arranged a conference call... The connection kept getting dropped and they couldn't hear, and I thought, you know, I was just sitting in the room as an observer. I didn't have any standing whatsoever. I just really got furious when the board decided not to consider that person's vote, not to try to call them up or at least fix the technical issue, which was preventing him from participating fully in the meeting... [the vote] wasn't really that close... it really didn't make any difference. To me it was the principle of the thing.

Hawaiian Language Web Feasibility Task Force (2015)

In Fall 2015 I was invited to join the Judiciary's Hawaiian Language Web Feasibility Task Force¹⁶⁶ by chair Judge Richard Bissen. The task force was mandated by the Legislature's House Concurrent Resolution 217 SD1, Requesting the Judiciary to Convene a Task Force to Examine Establishing Hawaiian Language Resources for the State of Hawai'i Judiciary.¹⁶⁷ I volunteered to serve on the Content Integrity Subcommittee by chair Larry Kimura,¹⁶⁸ UH Hilo. As a member

^{166 &}lt;a href="http://www.courts.state.hi.us/docs/news_and_reports_docs/Final-HawaiianLangTF_report_12-17-15.pdf">http://www.courts.state.hi.us/docs/news_and_reports_docs/Final-HawaiianLangTF_report_12-17-15.pdf

https://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/Archives/measure_indiv_Archives.aspx?billtype=HCR&billnumber=217&year=201

¹⁶⁸ Larry Kimura is an associate professor of Hawaiian language and Hawaiian studies at Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language, University of Hawai'i at Hilo. See page 46 for Horie's previous connection with Dr. Kimura.

of the task force, I attended meetings, gathered information about average salaries for language interpreters and translators, and shared what I was doing to help the Judiciary History Center create the Hawaiian English Legal Dictionary. In [the] Spring [of] 2016, along with other Task Force members, I testified in support of House Bill 2180 and Senate Bill 2162, Relating to Hawaiian Language. 169

Four committees were formed to study and propose findings to the full Task Force for future implementation. Horie served on the Hawaiian Language Committee (Content and Integrity) and was listed as a Hawaiian Language Resource Expert with the Judiciary History Center (Office of the Chief Justice, 2015). Three budgets were proposed, the first totaling \$480,200 for "ideal" efforts that would allow for the establishment of long-term resources and capacity building to train experts in the field; a second totaling \$309,800 for a "sustainable" one-year effort; and a third totaling \$174,280 for minimal/core efforts to generate Hawaiian presence in the Judiciary web resources. Horie says that unfortunately, all three proposed budgets were deemed too costly.

Hula Preservation Society (2016-2017)

Horie also became involved with the Hula Preservation Society (HPS)¹⁷⁰ through Bob Stauffer. A nonprofit, HPS is "dedicated to documenting and sharing the amazing life stories of our eldest living Hula Masters and their efforts to perpetuate hula, so their legacies live on to inspire and educate;" it "grew organically out of a desire to come to know more about what our senior masters from different hula lines and families had seen, heard of, experienced, and learned

¹⁶⁹ The proposal did not pass; Horie says it was unsuccessful mainly due to financial concerns.

¹⁷⁰ http://www.hulapreservation.org/

in their lifetimes about the hula of old, from the time when Hawai'i was a sovereign land" (Hula Preservation Society, 2014). This was a time-limited effort, contingent on the life of the two HPS grants Horie volunteered under (she was not paid):

During 2016 and 2017 I provided metadata support¹⁷¹ to HPS under two grants from the Hawai'i Council for the Humanities: A Visual history of Hawaii's Post-World War II Decade Through the Lens of Hula, consisting of approximately 200 photographs¹⁷² taken by Kent Ghirard and the Lipinski family, and 'Iolani Luahine¹⁷³ moving images, 10 videos and 3 motion pictures.

Part II: Intersectional Feminist Analysis

Author Self-Identification

If the word "feminism" is to confer any meaning, it necessarily must aim at social transformation, challenge "neutrality" or "objectivity," and include a critique of traditional structures "that have marginalized women materially and psychologically, in the world and even in their own souls;" as scholars, we must also scrutinize our own practices (Patai, 1991, p. 138). This master's thesis, a woman's life story told largely in her own words, is ultimately about subjective experiences involving identity factors, put into a contextual framework. Oral history is a collaboration between two parties, the interviewer and the interviewee. The separation between the narrator and the interviewer, especially any power imbalances that might exist, ¹⁷⁴ must not be

¹⁷¹ Library of Congress Subject Headings and Hawaiian words and names.

Horie selected which 200; she thought it should be a group choice, but they asked her to make the selection.

¹⁷³ Luahine was a renowned hula dancer.

¹⁷⁴ In many oral history interviews the interviewer has the scales of power and privilege tipped in her favor, since usually she is the one who is more educated, and the process will result in her own professional recognition (Olson & Shopes, 1991). In this thesis, the interviewee happens to be more professionally accomplished, formally educated, and financially well-off than the interviewer. But, I still have power as the author of this work.

ignored (Gluck & Patai, 1991), for "none of us is innocent or politically pure, even if at times we forget that and pretend to be" (Rohrer, 2016, p. 165). Since "there is no such thing as an entirely objective treatment" and "we write from a certain position, constructed by our history, nationality, race, gender, class, education, beliefs" (Lee, 2009, p. 12), here I attempt to clarify mine. Since neither the interviewer nor the interviewee in this project is objective nor "innocent," and since feminist researchers "must raise questions about the ethics of our behavior in relation to those on and with whom we do our research" (Patai, 1991, p. 138), it is important for me, the interviewer, to introduce and identify myself to the reader. Vis-à-vis this section I hope to avoid what Rohrer (2016) describes as "the danger in not discussing my positionality," which would be "complicity with native dispossession and fictions of objectivity tied to nonnative "expertise."... As numerous scholar-activists have noted, there is no comfortable resolution to this situation" (p. 16). My own particular blind spots are, of course, inherently invisible to me. My hope is that in providing this context—which not only introduces me, as the interviewer, but also, crucially, the milieu in which both I and the interviewee currently exist—the reader will be invited in as a third party to this collaborative learning process, a project that has feminist and social justice aspirations. The reader might be able to interpret this work more accurately and completely by knowing who its writer is. The reader likewise arrives to this thesis with their own particular life experiences, ideas, biases, etcetera, and so no two readings of this thesis will be the same; each reading will hopefully contribute in a unique way to my project's goals of furthering selfawareness and social justice through critical engagement. I hope that this thesis provides an opportunity for reflection and collaboration both among and between those within and outside of academia.

At the time that I am writing this, I am a twenty-eight-year-old, unmarried, cisgender, heterosexual, able-bodied American citizen whose ancestry is Eastern European, Ashkenazi Jewish, and Balkan. I only speak English fluently, and that has never been a barrier for me in any significant way. I live in Hawai'i, where I am part of the 25% of the population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017) that is *haole*, and I visibly present as such. Being Jewish complicates my whiteness, as Jewish might mean religion, race, and/or ethnicity in the United States; I do not practice Judaism, and neither do my parents, but my genetic makeup includes Jewish heritage. While anti-Semitism is and has been rampant historically, presently, and worldwide, to any person on the street I would be visually-registered as only Caucasian, and being part-Jewish has not in any way impacted my interactive experience in the world. 175

In Hawai'i, racial and ethnic dynamics are different than in the first 49 states. The fiftieth state is the most racially and ethnically 176 diverse.

One of the things visitors and scholars frequently note is the extent to which people in Hawai'i openly categorize each other by race. This makes many "mainlanders" uncomfortable, since they are used to a culture that politely pretends to be

¹⁷⁵ Much of my family history is unknown to me. My Jewish paternal grandfather fled persecution in Crimea, arriving to the United States as a teenager. My paternal grandmother tells me that her parents came to the United States from the USSR, but that her father returned after a short time and ended up in one of Stalin's Gulags. As far as I know, all four of my maternal great-grandparents immigrated to the United States from Eastern Europe. I suppose this makes me fourth-generation American, although I must admit that I had never given it any thought prior to embarking on this thesis project. Not having to ever consider what generation American I am, because I have never had my personal citizenship questioned, is one of my privileges as a white person in the United States of America.

¹⁷⁶ I am using ethnicity to mean people who share certain traditions, possibly including but not limited to religion, language, history, and geography or geographical origin (Tamura, 1994).

colorblind.¹⁷⁷ One of the mainstays of local¹⁷⁸ culture is the way it marks, stereotypes, and pokes fun at the different groups in the islands. (Rohrer, 2010, p. 53)

In Hawai'i it's not uncommon to ask, "What are you?" (meaning ethnically) rather than "What do you do?" and I am not infrequently asked "Where are you from?" by locals. When I respond that I live here, the question is usually repeated. I then counter with, "I grew up here," which is not technically wholly-accurate, but is the closest thing to a concise and truthful answer. At this point, the skeptical gazes usually do not abate; I have been told by people in Hawai'i that I do not sound local, but I have also been told by people in the other 49 United States that the way I pronounce words is odd. My personal authentic way of being is not consistent with the social norms of any either place, and so my belonging is tenuous, if it exists at all; it is always inadequately and insufficiently "performed," as feminist scholar Judith Butler (1996) might say, 179 and therefore it is never truly achieved. Significantly, I have never experienced this interrogative interaction in Hawai'i with other *haole* people. In a way, I appreciate this closed-off-ness on the locals' part, because it represents to me a small but significant resistance to allowing white domination to exist unchecked, to spread comfortably. On the other hand, it also strikes me as annoving, as a silly squabble, a mutually-unjustifiable, indignant, territorial

¹⁷⁷ Horie commented on this in our first interview: "if I'm on the mainland or someplace else outside of Hawai'i... and someone asks me where I'm from, I might say the U.S. I might say Hawai'i... So, and I might say, yeah, I'm Japanese American, my ancestors came from Japan, but I'm American. That comes up occasionally, on the mainland... Sometimes somebody on the mainland might ask me what is my nationality, and I understand that to mean your country. You know, so I say that I'm American, but then they wanna know ethnicity, maybe... Like maybe they don't even know that word, ethnicity."

The term "local" has positive and negative associations, depending on who you ask. It gained force as a uniting term in Hawai'i in the 1960s working-class community struggles but has since been criticized for being "used by privileged classes of Asian settlers to claim a history of oppression for themselves. This is not to say that all local Asians fall into these privileged classes, but the term "local" is often used to mask the political power that Asian settlers have historically exercised, often against Hawaiians" (Fujikane, 2008, p. 27).

¹⁷⁹ Butler writes that gender identities are constantly unstable, requiring repetitive effort to continue to exist or be enforced.

posturing between two non-Indigenous groups, possibly neither of whom have a true right to claims of belonging here.

I was born in New York City but grew up primarily in the British Virgin Islands. My family moved to O'ahu when I was in eighth grade. After college back in New York state and a few years working in the city there afterwards, I returned to O'ahu to attend graduate school, and I have now lived on O'ahu for a combined total of only nine years (although my family moved here fifteen years ago, so that is how long I have referred to it as "home"). It is important to acknowledge my place in (and resulting framework and perspective, having grown up in) the complex colonial history of these two sets of islands (the Virgin Islands and Hawai'i). As a white person in majority non-white places, I have always *felt* like the minority, because in terms of numbers, I was. I want to clarify that while this sometimes (but very rarely) resulted in a feeling of discomfort or annoyance—such as being asked where I am from in Hawai'i, my longtime place of residence, as mentioned, or being refused a kama 'aina (resident) discount because of my race—that is all. The feeling of being in the minority that I wish to convey here is literal, and not one of perceived oppression. I have just always noticed my whiteness in a way that I do not think most white American citizens ever need to, because they are usually in the visible majority; 77% of Americans are racially "white alone" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). 180 My interpretation is that growing up not surrounded by white people has shaped the way I view the world, a fact I want to disclose at the outset of this project. While I do not claim to be immune to the privileges nor

¹⁸⁰ I mention this here because before I moved to a small town in upstate New York to attend a liberal arts college, I was unfamiliar with the feeling of being surrounded by people who looked like me. I was shocked in majority-white places like upstate New York, and later Sweden, Norway, and Germany (where I visited), by the intense experience of being surrounded by white people, as a white person. There is a feeling of privilege and security that comes with being in a dual position of power: Possessing both the historical advantage of white supremacy and the implicit invulnerability of being surrounded by people who look like you. However, I did not feel more comfortable being around white people. Since it was a new, unfamiliar experience to me, it felt profoundly uncomfortable, eerie, and distinctly, viscerally, not-good.

innocent of the violence of colonialism and white supremacy, I hope that my self-awareness as a white person and compassion as a human have been expanded by the colonial and multiethnic contexts to which I belong and from which I emerge.

Being one of the only white children in many situations growing up, and not speaking the local dialects or languages (patois in the V.I., Hawaiian Creole English in Hawai'i), ¹⁸¹ I always knew that I did not truly belong to any specific place. While I did not possess the sufficient knowledge nor vocabulary to identify it, I nevertheless knew that as the minority white people, we were still in a position of power. Children are observant; no one had to tell me that there was a legacy of colonialism in the islands for me to notice its repercussions. All this confused and troubled me, but no one ever spoke of it outright. I always knew not to call (or even consider) myself "local" in either Hawai'i or the Virgin Islands. I do not remember how or when I learned that localness was correlated to race. Even though these were the places where I grew up and considered home, in the Virgin Islands local meant black, and in Hawai'i local meant Hawaiian, Asian, ¹⁸² or mixed race.

Today, I think often about these complex and sometimes conflicting, porous definitions, boundaries, and borders. Whenever I am asked where I am from, either here in Hawai'i or when I am traveling, my anxiety spikes. I know that the person asking is usually just being polite and does not care to hear my whole life-story, but I have no concise answer to give that feels authentic and/or accurate. Which definition/s fit me? Who am I, and what is my *kuleana* (responsibility), in 2018, as an adult in Hawai'i? I am not simply a mobile, transient (by choice),

¹⁸¹ As a child, my parents vigilantly prevented any organic osmosis of these local languages.

¹⁸² "Today, modern Hawai'i, like its colonial parent the United States, is a settler society... Native people and territories have been overrun by non-Natives, including Asians. Calling themselves "local," the children of Asian settlers... claim Hawai'i as their own, denying indigenous history, their long collaboration in [Native Hawaiian] continued dispossession, and the benefits therefrom" (Trask, 2008, p. 46).

Millennial, American when I inhabit a colonized place, this contested, stolen land; I am what in Hawai'i might be called a "local *haole*," but more often I just hear "*haole*" used, and I personally am more comfortable with it. To me, even if separated from race, localness invokes a sense of ownership, which I am not necessarily comfortable claiming (and which, as mentioned, has sometimes been denied me by others in Hawai'i). Localness intuitively feels at least partially-achieved by familial roots, and/or a childhood spent in a place. There seems to be something crucial about either being able to trace one's family back in a location and/or spending formative years in a place and its culture, and I do not have either of those levels of connection nor personal familiarity/familiality with/in Hawai'i.

Of course, I probably have more cultural awareness in Hawai'i than a white American who just arrived in the islands from the continental United States, by virtue of time spent here. My haole-ness has been in contact with Hawaiian and local culture in myriad ways and for many years. In middle and high school, I danced hula and wove hala baskets and bracelets and read Hawaiian myths and legends. My classmates and I chanted in [rote] Hawaiian when we went on a class trip to an active volcano, and we all had genuine respect for Pele (the Hawaiian goddess of lava) and the 'āina (land). Since eighth grade, my friends and I have openly chastised tourists when they litter or act disrespectfully in sacred places such as volcanoes and heiaus (temples). Since I was thirteen I have been eating rice for breakfast with my eggs; giving and receiving leis for special occasions; casually attending Bon festivals; and throwing shakas when I merge lanes. But these partial assimilations to contemporary island culture do not in any way indigenize me, nor obscure my whiteness, nor give me any right to be here. The culmination and implications of my assimilation to island culture—whatever "island culture" means, anyway—can really only be called a baseline cultural competency. I know some Hawaiian words and phrases, but I cannot

string together a single sentence, even after fifteen years. I am still constantly aware of my whiteness, do not call nor consider myself "local," and do not feel that I truly belong anywhere, which includes here. I would certainly never, ever call myself Hawaiian. This is an obvious statement to anyone reading this in Hawai'i, but it is common for people outside of these islands to ask me if I am Hawaiian (once they find out that I live there), and to use the word "Hawaiian" to mean anyone who lives in Hawai'i. This is not a kosher practice within Hawai'i; geographic and residential signifiers, such as people living in New York referred to as "New Yorkers," are incompatible with Hawai'i "because "Hawaiian" is not a residential category but an Indigenous designation" (Rohrer, 2016, p. 126). As Horie put it:

network news, major network news... they say "The Californians" or "New Yorkers" or whatever, but we know in Hawai'i, those of us who've grown up here, that it's not really polite to call yourself a Hawaiian unless you're of Hawaiian blood. It doesn't have to be 100% Hawaiian blood.

As Horie and I both noted, in Hawai'i, "Hawaiian" colloquially means of Hawaiian ancestry; whereas, in the *Oxford English Dictionary* it is defined as: "Of or relating to the island of Hawaii, or to the whole group of the Hawaiian Islands in the North Pacific; A native or inhabitant of Hawaii" (2018). If the *Oxford English Dictionary* definition were accurate, I would be Hawaiian, because a Hawaiian is a native *or an inhabitant*. I am indeed very *related to* the islands of Hawai'i; I am certainly an *inhabitant*; it could even be said that I am *of* these islands, since when I visit places that are not Hawai'i, Hawai'i is where I say—with some trepidation—that I am "from." This Western definition strikes me, however, as simply wrong (although it is usefully illuminating in regard to the Western worldview). It is inaccurate, it is too forgiving (of

 $^{^{183}}$ Especially continental United States journalists, I have noticed. To them, any resident of Hawai'i is Hawaiian.

colonialism/imperialism), it is too loose, too unspecific, too removed from the reality of lived experience, to be correct.

Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) insist on genealogy as the basis of their community, so from their perspective (which ought to be privileged in their own home, no?), Hawaiian means a person with a Hawaiian ancestor (Rohrer, 2010). Therefore, there is also an element of inaccuracy within the better, but still problematic colloquial contemporary use of the word "Hawaiian" to mean of Hawaiian blood. This informal usage likely came from the formal United States government definition; in 1921, the United States Congress set aside 200,000 acres (of 1.8 million seized) for "Native Hawaiians," which they defined as those with at least 50% Hawaiian blood quantum (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2014, p. 14). Not only is defining indigeneity by blood quantum an imposition by a government that illegally overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy, it is also inaccurate from the Native Hawaiian perspective, and downright antagonistic and white-supremacist. The blood quantum standard can be considered violence because it attempted to redefine Hawaiian identity as

separate from genealogy, fortifying the myth of the vanishing Hawaiian, and ensuring that property continued to accumulate in the hands of haole. It also firmly established the haole as the normative citizen in Hawaii—and this was decades prior to statehood. (Rohrer, 2016, p. 119)

Words and their definitions are clearly important, not only in academia, where we are indoctrinated into specific and often rigid discursive practices (including vocabularies), but in lived experience. Words and their definitions have real-life, material consequences, and "words do not exist outside of the discursive, temporal, social, and political contexts that give them

meaning, and that they help create" (Rohrer, 2010, p. 75). In fact, neither do people. 184 The situation here, clearly, is complicated. Who gets to define words? How is information classified? Who gets to decide what is privileged or prioritized? Who belongs where, and why? Whose stories are memorialized?

Speaking of academia: Indigenous Studies questions the [Western] academic privileging of published, "scholarly" texts over stories, oral histories, songs, and other traditional practices (Rohrer, 2016, p. 20). The incongruence between conflicting Western and Indigenous worldviews and practices is one of the reasons why I believe the work I am doing via this thesis is imperative for the historic record—particularly in a place as complex as Hawai'i. To me, oral history as an academic methodology honors the Indigenous worldview, by privileging oral tradition and narrative history over authoritative and "objective" biographical scholarship.

This is also a feminist¹⁸⁵ project, especially since the topic is a woman's life story; it takes power from the privileged [Western] scholar and redistributes it to the [historically marginalized] narrator via a traditionally-Indigenous method. This acknowledgement is not intended to co-opt an Indigenous practice, nor to indigenize myself, my interviewee, or my thesis. It is simply an admission that I am attempting to conduct Western research in a manner reminiscent of and respectful to the indigeneity of the place I am researching. This is not Hawaiian Studies research, and neither I nor my interviewee in this project are *Kanaka Maoli*. However, this life history exists in a context, the most important of which is Hawai'i, so the place and its people deserve and receive attention in this thesis.

¹⁸⁴ And, as we saw in this thesis, in my analysis of a woman's career as a librarian, neither do subject headings.

¹⁸⁵ Feminism is officially defined as "Advocacy of equality of the sexes and the establishment of the political, social, and economic rights of the female sex; the movement associated with this" (Oxford University Press, 2018).

A shortcoming of this project is that, as a white American, and one who knows little of her own genealogy, I risk inadvertently perpetuating the legacy of settler colonialism and white supremacy in Hawai'i. I don't have a sense of belonging to any place [or land] which makes it easy for me to refuse responsibility whenever I please. This mobility, while a privilege, also makes it difficult for me to understand an Indigenous perspective, especially in Hawai'i, where Indigenous identity is inextricable from land and water. I compensate for this by learning about and remaining respectful of Hawaiian culture and Indigenous Studies as much as possible throughout this project. I also hope to overcome or at least combat my complicity with an honest discussion of both my and my interviewee's *kuleana*.

Judy Rohrer, a self-identified *haole* and cultural studies professor/scholar who also lived in Hawai'i, acknowledges the complicated nature of doing research about settler colonialism; I cite her often throughout this thesis, because like her, I am a *haole* with immediate family in Hawai'i, and am studying at the University of Hawai'i. I aim to continue Rohrer's project of building accountability into how we *haole*. It is my opinion that while their input is appreciated, asking Hawaiians to determine how we should *haole* in Hawai'i would be asking them to do more work that is not their *kuleana*, because we are occupying their land; it is up to us to figure it out if we are here. Like Rohrer (2016), I attempt to engage with the triangulation of Hawaiian-local-*haole* to "think about how recognizing the dynamism, porosity, and contingency of those categories might help us envision a more just future for the islands" (p. 151). By engaging with her work, I hope to in some ways remedy my own complicity in the ongoing settler colonialism in Hawai'i. Our work is also dissimilar; she provides a thorough and useful overview, a macro analysis that is heavily theoretical, while I am going into the micro, focusing on the materiality of one person's life.

While scholars aim for objectivity, no scholarship is ever completely neutral; still, I wish to explicitly state from the outset that this thesis is not neutral. This is my attempt at furthering the cause of feminism by highlighting a woman of color's story in a white- and male-dominated profession and country. It is not meant to in any way be a complete nor representative analysis of librarianship, of contemporary or twentieth-century Hawai'i, or of all women's experiences. It is but one small point in an existing constellation of personal narratives and subjectivities, and one that I hope will be continuously added to, in many diverse ways, by many different people, for many years to come.

Introduction

There is a clear correlation between the treatment of women in American society and the low status of the library profession, a purportedly "feminized" field which is in reality maledominated in terms of organizational control (Hildenbrand, 1996; Radford & Radford, 1997; Olin & Millet, 2015; Baker & Bobrowski, 2016). Browse the table of contents of the recently-published book *The Librarians of Congress* (Nappo, 2016) and you will find thirteen chapters, each about a man. It was only in 2016 that the first-ever woman and first-ever person of color was hired to hold the prestigious position, ¹⁸⁶ which is arguably the highest-status, or at least most visible "librarian" job in the country. This woman was also the first person who was an actual librarian to hold the position in the library's 217-year history, sending the public the message that to be qualified to be America's librarian, you either need to be a white man, or be actually qualified.

 $^{^{186}}$ Dr. Carla Hayden is the fourteenth and current Librarian of Congress.

And yet, ask any American—librarian or not—if they imagine a man or woman when they hear the word "librarian," and chances are they will tell you they imagine a woman. This is a remarkably ubiquitous, and in some ways accurate, American stereotype; librarianship is comprised of more women (75-85%) than men (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2017). This 4:1 ratio has remained remarkably steady over time (American Library Association, 2011). However, research shows that although "librarianship is stereotyped as a female occupation, managerial positions are stereotyped as masculine" and, specifically in academic libraries, "women are still not found in executive positions in proportion to their representation" (Irvine, 1985, p. 6 and 146). Women librarians in academic libraries specifically have had to overcome "long-standing and oppressive social traditions, which not only circumscribed their opportunities but also buried their contributions" (Grotzinger, 1978, p. 175).

Ask any American to name the most famous librarian—or even just any librarian—by name, and chances are they either will not be able to think of one, or they will say Dewey, because they grew up using the Dewey Decimal System in public and school libraries. This most famous man of American librarianship was indeed extremely influential. Unfortunately, some of his most lasting legacies in our profession include systemic sexism, racism, antisemitism, and religious intolerance.

While much progress has been made in recognizing the contributions and achievements of women in the field of librarianship, clearly the project is far from complete. While women continue to do the bulk of the work of librarianship—80% of it, to be exact—men continue to occupy places of power and prestige. Even worse, salary data for librarians (U.S. Census Bureau, 2016) show that women earn only 87% of what men earn, and Asian American librarians earn

less than Caucasian librarians (although Asian American men still out earn Asian American women).

White privilege is pervasive beyond salaries; even where feminist progress has been made, there remains an elitism within feminist research that privileges white women (Etter-Lewis, 1991). And, despite the fact that most librarians believe that library staff should reflect the diversity of the communities they serve, the demographics of library employees remain stable over time, with the average library worker a white woman in her mid-fifties (Roy, 2015).

In setting out on this project, it was my goal to simply add one person of color (POC) woman's story to the official record and history of librarianship. What resulted was a complex, nuanced, and [hopefully productive] intersectional, ¹⁸⁷ feminist, and reflexive thesis.

While women represent 80 percent of the professional library workforce, they are underrepresented in the elite or dominant group. This imbalance exaggerates the need of the library elite to manage myth and memory in order to both distance itself from the non-elite and to scapegoat it. Not surprisingly then, the same elite male minority that dominates the field also dominates the writing of its history as authors, journal editors, and reviewers and readers for publishing houses. (Hildenbrand, 1996, p. 2)

This project aims to contribute to the official library history a true story by and about women, thereby redistributing a very small piece of the management of the memory within Library and Information Science (LIS).

¹⁸⁷ Intersectionality is defined as "the interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage; a theoretical approach based on such a premise" (Oxford University Press, 2018).

My collaborator in this oral history project is Ruth Horie (in this thesis referred to by her surname). ¹⁸⁸ Born in what was at the time the territory of Hawai'i, in 1950, Horie is Yonsei, or fourth-generation Japanese American, and a librarian. She is an activist who continues to work ¹⁸⁹ in libraries, and whose official career as a cataloger spanned over thirty years, from her first full-time library job in 1981 until she retired in 2012.

Research Questions

My thesis is that this particular interviewee's subjectivity, her unique life-story, is important in the history of librarianship and Hawai'i, and that it can contribute to a more complete feminist archive and a more complete historical record of librarianship. Her story can serve as a reference point for librarians or library workers, women, Asian Americans, Japanese Americans, students, activists, and historians, and in particular those from and involved in Hawai'i.

The notion that there are several perspectives or alternative views is intrinsic to an intellectual approach. Libraries, universities, or any place in which scholarship occurs would be unimaginable without that principal. (Arth, 1994, p. 98)

This thesis was derived in large part from Hildenbrand's stance that there is "still much to be learned about library *her*story" (1996, p. 18); she calls for LIS scholars to complete studies on individual women's personal identities, and asserts that these biographic studies ought to emphasize both the context of opportunity and the subject's individual development.

¹⁸⁸ "Naming is just one signal of the biography's approach to its subject" (Lee, 2009, p. 130); using "Horie" rather than the more personal, casual "Ruth" elevates her status and importance to that of at least equal-to men, whose biographies almost never use their first names (whereas women's biographies typically do).

¹⁸⁹ As a volunteer.

Horie is an ideal interviewee for this oral history project because as a linguist, as a librarian, and as a POC woman from a working-class family, several pertinent themes emerge that are relevant to our understanding of the silencing of women in library history (Hildenbrand, 1996): class and race; language (which is relevant to librarianship in terms of information classification and access, but also to multiculturalism, diversity, inclusion, and discrimination); indigeneity, colonialism, and immigration; how gender shapes career-building in librarianship; and activism and social justice. As a librarian, she rejected neutrality, instead taking a stance; yet, she was not anti-establishment. While it is unwise to generalize one person's experience across an entire reality, Horie's story can still provide a blueprint for how a librarian can work within an imperfect system to make positive and productive changes, despite a racist/sexist/colonial shared history.

Questions that framed and informed my thesis research are:

- 1. How might sexism and misogyny have impacted this individual's library career? Hildenbrand (1996) notes that "women in librarianship continue to negotiate their way between the expectations of them as women and as librarian, and these stereotypes have a direct or indirect effect on all members of the female-intensive profession of librarianship" (p. xii).
- 2. Can Horie's experience serve as a successful model for how a librarian can effectively take a social justice stance in her career?
- 3. How does Horie's life and professional career fit within a larger intersectional feminist framework and library history as a whole?
- 4. In what ways did Horie's career and social/historical positionality/context interact with and influence one another?

- 5. How did Horie's achievements (as an activist, a working woman, and librarian) contribute to decolonizing librarianship (and in particular, classification systems)?
- 6. What can current and aspiring librarians learn from the setbacks, triumphs, failures, and successes she experienced and/or achieved in the course of her library career? "Even short-term exposure to the past experience of women... has the most profound psychological effect on women" (Lerner, 1986, p. 3).

Methodology

Biography, or life-writing, is a well-established academic discipline, and the University of Hawai'i has had a Center for Biographical Research¹⁹⁰ since 1978 (Lee, 2009). I have chosen oral history¹⁹¹ as my qualitative research method for this life-writing project because my professional philosophy, personal approach, and theoretical framework are feminist. From a feminist perspective, it is crucial to allow the interviewee to tell the story of her own lived experience, in her own voice; oral histories "provide an invaluable means of generating new insights about women's experiences of themselves in their worlds" (Anderson & Jack, 1991, p. 11). Giving a voice does not mean speaking for someone; it requires listening and consciously providing space for their own, unique voice and perspective to be empowered through expression and acknowledgement.

Before a feminist oral history interview, the researcher and the narrator should meet to "promote collegiality and to engage in mutual self-disclosure" (Minister, 1991, p. 36). Horie and

¹⁹⁰ http://blog.hawaii.edu/cbrhawaii/

¹⁹¹ This thesis is an oral history research project that adheres to the Oral History Association's Principles and Best Practices for Oral History (see Appendix A).

I met informally for two hours in the Fall 2017 semester, in the UH cafeteria next to the library where she used to work and in which I now attend LIS graduate school. This was a casual and comfortable but neutral place for us both, and we met to chat informally about the project and her life.

The subsequent recorded interviews were loosely based on the questions (Appendix B) included in the thesis proposal, but were largely open-ended, relaxed, and freestyle, as that approach fit Horie's personality and communication style. From a feminist oral history perspective, general questions are acceptable because then "women can choose for themselves which experiences and feelings are central to their sense of their past" (Anderson & Jack, 1991, p. 17). Controlling the interview topics is "a hallmark of the male interviewing norm" (Minister, 1991, p. 36), so I allowed Horie to control much of the narrative, even though I asked the questions and prepared/updated them before each session. The exercise of remembrance can be deeply personal, and memory is an active process in which meaning is generated (Ritchie, 2015). Additionally, all oral histories are joint products shaped by both the interviewer and the interviewee (Ritchie, 2015). Therefore, the questions were preliminary and incomplete. They were further shaped by the process as it progressed, and subsequently elaborated upon over the course of the interviews. The questions were dependent in large part upon the course of the conversations and were further developed and expanded as the process unfolded.

While I was not critical of her expression or personal perspective, I applied a critical theoretical framework to my contextual analysis of her experience, which I observed through her storytelling and the interview sessions. Presenting the narrator with drafts of the interpretation allows the narrator to share authority (Borland, 1991). To share agency of her own story with Horie, I submitted my first draft of this thesis to her before submitting it to my thesis committee.

I formally interviewed Horie for one to two hours every Friday afternoon during the Spring and Summer 2018 semesters. Feminist interviews proceed at a leisurely pace (Minister, 1991) and indeed, by the summer of 2018 our interviews had resulted in twenty hours, ten minutes and 48 seconds of total recorded interview time. The interviews were audio-recorded on my iPhone and saved digitally. The first meeting occurred in a group study-room in Hamilton Library, on the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa campus. The subsequent meetings all occurred in a vacant office at the University of Hawai'i Cancer Center, in Kaka'ako. 192

Before beginning the recorded interviews, I prepared a copyright release form (Appendix C) as well as a human subjects research release (Appendix D), both of which Horie signed. The University of Hawai'i Internal Review Board approved this human subjects research (Protocol 2017-00907, Appendix E). Leilani Dawson, Manuscript Collections Archivist in the University Archives and Manuscripts Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library, said that she would be delighted to acquire the audio-recorded digital files for their archives. The full audio recordings and transcript of the audio recordings will be prepared and submitted to the University Archives and Manuscripts Department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Library via Leilani Dawson upon completion of this thesis. By thus contributing my raw data to a larger repository, I will be adding an important historical resource to the University's Archive, from which future historical evidence can be mined (Ritchie, 2015).

Oral history is a systemic attempt to obtain a more complete record of the past (Ritchie, 2015), and as such, this project contributes to that broader goal and to the writing of history "from the bottom up" (p. 7). Oral history refers to both the method of collecting and preserving history, as well as the product of the process; it is an agreement made between an interviewer

¹⁹² This is where I am employed and is located closer to Horie's residence.

and interviewee with the intention of creating a permanent record that contributes to a new understanding of the past (Ritchie, 2015). In using one person's story as my focus, I am able to examine the factors which might have had an influence on, or been influenced by, her life.

Oral history has been an interview method since Harvard-educated Joseph Gould was the first to practice it as such, in the 1940s; the first modern oral history archives were created in 1948 at Columbia University; the University of California, Berkeley and the University of California, Los Angeles followed suit in 1954 and 1958, respectively; and the Oral History Association was formed in 1967 (Ritchie, 2015). The Oral History Society was founded in 1973 and by 1987 the International Oral History Association had formed (Ritchie, 2015). Although oral history originally focused on [white] elites, by the 1970s, it became a more common approach among scholars of the "other" (POC, women, the working class), who may not have otherwise left much of an archivally-recorded existence.

Oral histories have been credited with reviving truths and unearthing buried identities, thus promoting healing on both the personal and national scale. However, oral history has also been criticized for being too partial, too imprecise, or too Freudian; therefore, in this thesis I supplement and analyze the raw data from my interviews by contextualizing and grounding it in social history, as former Historian of the United States Senate Donald A. Ritchie (2015) recommends for a more complete and accurate narration. In this way, I utilize oral history as a tool to incorporate the marginalized into the larger historical narrative. While one person's story cannot be generalized or necessarily directly applied to others', it can potentially provide a useful case study, that will help build a richer *her*story of our profession. I also hope this method or

¹⁹³ This reflected the rise of Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies, and labor historians, as well as more affordable and portable recording technologies.

framework might aid future LIS students and professionals, especially those who face similar setbacks or challenges as those faced by the interviewee.

In her book *Sewing, Fighting and Writing: Radical Practices in Work, Politics and Culture,* Maria Tamboukou (2016) synthesizes renowned political theorist Hannah Arendt's postulation on the usefulness of storytelling:

By evading the abstraction of universal principles, qualities or categories, stories throw light on a wide range of historical, sociocultural and political structures; they ground abstractions, flesh out ideas and thus create a milieu of critical understanding... There is a strong link between the cognitive and political aspects in the act of storytelling. (Tamboukou, 2016, p. 29)

By collecting and preserving one person's story told from her point of view, I will be able to, as Tamboukou (2016) explained, "ground abstractions" (p. 29) and create a historical data source from which important historical evidence can be extracted (Ritchie, 2015) even beyond this thesis. The creation of this personal account/historical record, analyzed through an intersectional feminist lens, will illuminate and illustrate a range of historical, sociocultural and political institutions and structures pertaining to the history of libraries and librarians.

Collecting a librarian's specific career/life story is a productive academic activity because specificity is required when oversimplifications proliferate, obscuring women's role in library development (Hildenbrand, 1996). Each person's individual story is therefore highly relevant and significant in moving toward a more accurate, nuanced, and complete record and understanding of library [and Hawai'i] history. This is especially the case since there persists a lack of progress in recruiting librarians of color, particularly in academic settings (Chang, 2013).

Oral history, in particular life stories, are of great use for the study of history. Life stories highlight

the complexity, the ambiguities, and even the contradictions of the relations between the subject and the world, the past, and the social and ideological image of woman—i.e. how women live, internalize, and more or less consciously interpret their status. Thus, the life story approach has to be considered as a methodological tool providing access to a body of information that is more detailed, more discerning, but also far more complex... (Chanfrault-Duchet, 1991, p. 89)

Oral history involves interpretation and analysis, along with gathering data. The oral historian must use an interpretive framework, a specific interpretive model, designed to take into account the narrative, social context, themes and symbolism, and the relationship between these various elements (Chanfrault-Duchet, 1991). Within the methodology of oral history, it is necessary to select an appropriate theoretical framework. Oral history has always been multidisciplinary (Ritchie, 2015) which means that it can be conducted and analyzed from multiple disciplines, perspectives, or approaches, all equally valid, but some perhaps more wellsuited to a particular interviewee's life story. For this thesis, I have identified feminist theory as the most synergistic theoretical approach for my research, myself, and my interviewee, for several reasons. Firstly, feminist interviewing has enriched the practice of oral history (Ritchie, 2015) and since the 1980s, feminist scholars have advocated for an "integrative, transdisciplinary approach to knowledge, one that would ground theory contextually in the concrete realm of women's everyday lives" (Stacey, 1991, p. 111). Knowledge "produced through the actual lived experience" is valid from a feminist pedagogical standpoint (Accardi, 2013, p. 37). Renowned scholar and historian Gerda Lerner (1986) goes so far as to claim that women's history, in

particular, is "indispensable and essential" to women's emancipation—however, she also notes that a distance persists between feminist criticism and historical scholarship (p. 3).

History is a both a burden and an opportunity for feminists, since "whoever controls the interpretation of the past controls the politics and economics of the present" (Mayo, 1994, p. 59); this is why oral history can be a democratization or "egalitarization" of both history and power. As opposed to setting one "Great Life" center-stage, which "can be read as... consolidating a hierarchical, anti-egalitarian social structure" (Lee, 2009, p. 14), here I present one regular woman's life story in an effort at advancing the anti-hierarchical, egalitarian social structure I hope to achieve as a feminist.

LIS is a profession with a historical and ongoing gender divide, in which, over the past century, and still currently, women have dominated the workforce, but men occupy higher-level, higher-paying management positions (Baker & Bobrowski, 2016). This disparity is clearly divided by gender, making feminist theory and Women's/Gender Studies an appropriate lens for any LIS research, but particularly research on a librarian and woman's career trajectory; a critical feminist framework is necessary to identify historical and contemporary issues in librarianship, specifically. Adding women librarians' stories in their own voices to the history of a feminized but not feminist profession is productive from a feminist standpoint. As Hildenbrand (1996) poignantly notes, library history is not that which actually transpired, but rather, it is what is included in the written record of the past.

Feminist librarians presumably share a goal of overcoming this unfair gender divide, and part of my personal ethos, project, and goal is to be an activist / progressive librarian.

Specifically, I am a feminist, so feminism underlies all my personal and professional goals.

Using a feminist-framed method of oral history as research has positive social repercussions

beyond the confines of academia because it empowers the women whose stories are told in their own words, allowing them to define themselves, and, if they wish, to forge "new modes of femaleness" (Chanfrault-Duchet, 1991, p. 90). This is why "all women must tell their own stories in their own words" (Etter-Lewis, 1991, p. 44). Part of the goal of feminism is "decentering oppressive power relations and transforming them into something egalitarian and democratic. This includes listening to and creating space for marginalized voices" (Accardi, 2013, p. 9). Feminism and oral history are therefore particularly synergistic and mutually-reinforcing, because both empower. Using the feminist practice of oral history to collect women's life-stories is particularly useful because it allows us, as scholars, to think through the ways in which women relate to and possibly confront the institutions that dictate and reproduce social models for and of women (Chanfrault-Duchet, 1991). These institutions are enacted within the structures of racism, sexism, and other modes of oppression.

Oral history is obviously and necessarily interdisciplinary, which is another reason why feminist theory is the most appropriate specific framework for this thesis; Women's Studies has "always aimed at crossing disciplinary boundaries and challenging subject compartmentalization" (Woodward & Woodward, 2005, p. 3) Since feminist theory (in its most progressive and arguably best iteration) is now intersectional, it is nuanced, complex, and flexible enough to allow for appropriate analysis of the entire context of a life in Hawai'i—a racially-complex and contested geopolitical place—as well as an activist career in librarianship, a feminized profession. By using feminist theory, there is room to include multiple aspects or factors (racial, gendered, historical, socio-cultural, political, economic, etc.) and to approach the project without excluding nor obscuring the interconnected and intersecting factors that contribute to women's life stories and library careers. By applying an intersectional feminist lens

in my examination of one woman's experience, I am able to critically explore the complex interplay between thought (theory) and action (practice, or in this case, life). From a historical standpoint, it is easier to separate theory and practice; the traditional study of history mandates separation of practice (or current life) with the aid of critical distance. However, feminism is difficult to extract purely from its implementation, and Horie is a very real person who is still very much alive and active, so there can be only very limited critical distance in this case.

Therefore, rather than pitting theory and reality against one another, by reducing them into clearcut, separately-defined functions that are able to operate independently, I will demonstrate how theory and practice are indeed different and yet inextricably-linked categories or concepts, when it comes to feminism and activism.

This shared characteristic—an inextricable interplay between theory and practice—in both feminism and activism is another reason why feminist theory is the most appropriate lens through which to examine a female activist's life and career. Intersectional feminism is a complementary and synergistic approach to an oral history project where, specifically, the interviewee is a 67-year old, multilingual, divorced [and remarried], Japanese American woman, from a working-class family. The result will be one woman's complicated but true history as well as its implications and illuminations within the broader context of *her*story.

Crenshaw (1991) coined the now-ubiquitous term "intersectional feminism" and *The Combahee River Collective Statement* (1977), one of the first feminist works to take a truly intersectional approach, rejects the notion that race, sex, class, ability, etcetera can be neatly separated into singular oppressive forces that can be removed by chipping away at them one at a time. *The Combahee River Collective* acknowledges that these complex systems of power and violence are inextricably linked. This is perhaps what self-described "feminist killjoy" and queer

theorist Sara Ahmed (2017) would call a "sweaty concept": it is ugly, messy, and complicated, but it is reality, and pretending that it is neat and tidy might be easier, but does not lead anywhere productive. I hope to take this same nuanced, interrelational, intra-relational, intersectional approach to my analysis of one person's life and library career, in order to achieve an interdisciplinary and contextual approach to oral history, especially since it can be all too easy to identify the diversity of our librarian workforce in monolithic terms (Irvin, 2016).

Tucker (2000) argues that since the history of libraries intersects with myriad issues, American librarianship can be studied in much the same way as American history, and using overlapping resources. He also notes that professional historians do not yet adequately recognize library historians; this is particularly harsh when you consider how much historians owe to libraries and librarians. It seems that the history of libraries will only be relevant once it is viewed as interdisciplinary and contextualized within the larger framework of history (sociologically and/or politically); this echoes an intersectional feminist approach in which considerations of context and enmeshment are crucial to critical analysis. Echoing Hildenbrand, Tucker also notes that while women dominate the demographics of librarianship, they have not dominated its historiography. This thesis addresses all these contemporary LIS/history concerns.

Hawai'i is construed from many angles but "always within the parameters" of the male gaze (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997, p. 104). Feminist theory is therefore a useful framework for Hawai'i in particular, a place whose history includes

several centuries of the order-producing narratives of strangers to these islands who saw what was new to them through the gendered lenses of what they expected to see. In their eyes, Hawai'i was notably passive and lacking, in need of their projects

to fulfill its promises, supplement its voids, and evade its entrapments. (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997, p. 96)

The result of these gendered metaphors in a charged colonial [and patriarchal] context is, unsurprisingly, not good for marginalized people—including women—or the 'āina (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997).

More materially, Horie's family has lived in Hawai'i since the 1800s, and she was born, grew up, worked, and still lives in Hawai'i. She formally studied Hawaiian language and culture for over a decade, and significant events in Hawaiian history occurred during her lifetime. One of her most inspiring achievements as a librarian is correcting some official LC Subject Headings related to Hawaiian history. Her entire story is infused with this place and cannot be separated from this geopolitical context.

"As countless scholars have established, race is spatially, temporally, and relationally contingent" and race functions differently in Hawai'i than in the continental United States, although still within the larger framework of white supremacy (Rohrer, 2016, p. 79). Hawai'i is comprised of roughly 50% women; 2% Black or African American; 10% "Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander, alone"; 10% Hispanic or Latinx; 194 24% two or more races; 22% "White alone," (not Hispanic or Latinx); and 26% White alone (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). 195

In addition to its idiosyncratic¹⁹⁶ multiracial setting, another reason why feminist theory is the right approach for this particular story is that "Hawai'i provides a unique location for developing more sophisticated understandings of multiple claims to place staked in complex

¹⁹⁴ I use Latinx to include multiple gender identifications, but the Census uses "Hispanic or Latino."

¹⁹⁵ The difference between "White alone, not Hispanic or Latino" and "White alone" is not clear to me, and possibly not to those self-identifying, either.

¹⁹⁶ By this I mean unique for the United States, as it is a primarily Caucasian country in both population and mindset.

relationships between indigeneity and race, relationships that exceed native/settler binaries" (Rohrer, 2016, p. 3). Because I am aiming to advance feminism in the Hawaiian context, this is necessarily also about de/colonization. "If colonization relies on tidy categories and bright lines of demarcation, decolonization gains strength in choppy waters with multiple, fluid subjectivities" (Rohrer, 2016, p. 103). Just by sharing Horie's story, she and I will be contributing to the fluidifying effect of having multiple and diverse subjectivities on record, and therefore, hopefully, to the project of decolonization.

Perhaps due to its complicated history, or perhaps due to its geographic isolation, despite its official incorporation into the United States, Hawai'i does not regularly receive a global (or even national) audience; a search for peer-reviewed, academic articles with the subject heading "Hawaii" published in the past 15 years yields only 32 results in EBSCO's *Library, Information Science & Technology Abstracts* database. Even less encouragingly, a search for "Japanese American" in the same database with the same criteria yields only 10 results. ¹⁹⁷ So, despite the fact that "No major - or, increasingly, minor - figure, in any field, now goes unbiographized" (Lee, 2009, p. 91), biographies of women who are Asian American librarians, Japanese American librarians, and/or Yonsei librarians are either unwritten, obscured, or both. Very little has been done to correct the gender imbalance in academia, even though much can be done, and it is clear that even now women have not been given "their rightful place in history" (Talbot, 1994, p. 68). There is a "direct correlation between the historical visibility of women and its relationship to power, economics, and the equalization of gender in the present" (Mayo, 1994, p.

¹⁹⁷ The Director of the Japanese American National Library (http://www.janlibrary.org/) wrote me (via a March 26, 2018 email) that their collection does not have any autobiographies or biographies of Japanese American librarians, in any format, for any time period.

60). Currently, Japanese American librarians are nearly completely absent from the historical record.

...as a quintessentially social field, LIS is interested (in one way or another) in how society, people, institutions (including but not limited to libraries), governments, and information technologies work, and the interactions among them. Furthermore, LIS is also very interested in the betterment of society, from the development of national information policies, to the provision of user-friendly and equitable access to information, the inclusion of diverse and /or marginalized clienteles, the support of citizen lifelong learning, the nurturing of the library in the community, and many other proactive areas of research and practice. (Leckie & Buschman, 2010, p. xiii)

Oral history, feminist theory, and LIS make for a synergistic and useful triangulation approach to interdisciplinary research. Library women's history is already "rooted in library feminist activism" (Hildenbrand, 2000, p. 51) but, despite the fact that it is a feminized profession, women's contributions to library history have still been sorely marginalized (Hildenbrand, 1996). To make matters worse, POC librarians' contributions have been largely ignored. More specifically, there is a distinct lack of literature outside of the black/white binary, excluding other races and ethnicities, such as Asian Americans (Velez & Villa-Nicholas, 2017). Additionally, in LIS research there remains "a dearth of intersectional understanding of identity" (Gardner & Galoozis, 2018, p. 184). I hope to bring the story of a multilingual, Japanese American, female librarian from Hawai'i to the forefront, as a perspective and experience that is not yet included in the historical record. Feminist librarian scholars such as Hildenbrand (1996) have called oral history a strong potential remedy for the previous marginalization of women—

especially in the LIS field—focusing specifically on gender as an essential conceptual tool of historical research.

In 1883, Dewey was the first to hire [white] women as professional librarians (Wiegand, 1996). While Dewey did believe that these college-educated women satisfied the criteria for professional librarianship, his intention was not necessarily to empower women by offering them jobs outside the home. His aim—which he was successful in—was to find the most qualified but also, crucially, cost-effective, persons. While he can be credited with the initial import of women into the library profession, he paid them only half the salary of their male counterparts (Wiegand, 1996). Dewey was by no means a socially-progressive librarian, 198 and as we have seen, Dewey's initial gross undervaluing of women/women's work haunts the profession to this day. 199

...women could be hired to do the work at much lower salaries than men. This became a standard pattern in small- to medium-sized libraries, but in larger institutions, where the top administrative jobs required more skill, more intelligence, an ability to make decisions, and a firm hand of authority, maledominated boards generally thought it wiser to hire men as directors. This practice quickly stratified the large library institutional bureaucracy by gender. (Wiegand, 1989, p. 103)

Charles Ammi Cutter, a contemporaneous [white] librarian similarly "cast a long shadow on the field";²⁰⁰ he drew on Dewey's decimal system to develop what later became the basis for the Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH) (Winke, 2013, p. 122). Radical librarian

¹⁹⁸ His anti-Semitism eventually lost him his post as the New York State Librarian, and he also disallowed "negroes" in his clubs (Wiegand, 1996, p. 324).

¹⁹⁹ An additional barrier to equality that women at that time had to overcome was "discrimination faced by the working woman as she moved outside of her traditional role as nurturer and housewife" (Grotzinger, 1993, p. 353). Specifically, of cataloging and classification.

Sanford Berman (1971/1993) sums up the residual bias in these LIS classification schemes best when he notes that the LCSH dealing with humans

can only "satisfy" parochial, jingoistic Europeans and North Americans, white-hued, at least nominally Christian (and preferably Protestant) in faith, comfortably situated in the middle-and higher-income brackets, largely domiciled in suburbia, fundamentally loyal to the Established Order, and heavily imbued with the transcendent, incomparable glory of Western civilization. (Berman, 1971/1993, p. ix)

After Dewey opened the gates, there was an influx of women into the LIS profession at the turn of the twentieth century. At that time, librarianship was feminized by design as a sort of "housewifely role" (Sloniowski, 2016, p. 646). Hildenbrand's essay, "Library Feminism and Library Women's History: Activism and Scholarship, Equity and Culture" (2000) places the development of library women's history within the context of library feminism and American history from the 1950s through to present day. ²⁰¹ Building on earlier women librarians' histories, Hildenbrand writes that in the 1950s, many educated women were holding jobs outside of the home, and many began working part-time in libraries; by then, women had established their right to work outside the home and in libraries, and simultaneously, more uneducated men were filling up higher-paying administrative library roles (that they were arguably unqualified for). The 1960s brought about second-wave feminism, and with it, a reform agenda and a desire for greater academic study of women who had been largely invisible or hidden in traditional history. Around this time and into the 1970s, feminist activism included the rise of Women's Studies on university campuses. Simultaneously, there was an emergence of feminist librarians' groups and

²⁰¹ At time of publishing.

committees, including the American Library Association (ALA) Social Responsibility Round Table's Feminist Task Force (FTF), founded in 1970 to address sexism in libraries and librarianship (ALA Feminist Task Force, 2016) and COSWL, the Committee on the Status of Women in Librarianship (American Library Association, 2018). 202 Although these professional groups meant progress in terms of research and discussion on women in the profession, very little attention was paid to women of color. 203 Progressive librarians and library students, inspired by the Civil Rights and attendant, aforementioned social justice movements, advocated for challenging the status quo in librarianship as well; one result was the Library Bill of Rights (Asato, 2011).²⁰⁴ In 1972, Title IX of the Education Amendments extended equal opportunity to all persons receiving federal assistance in educational institutions, "thereby including higher education under the umbrella of the federal laws and regulations prohibiting sex discrimination and requiring implementation of affirmative action guidelines" (Irvine, 1985, p. 141). (Hawai'iborn Japanese American Patsy Takemoto Mink (1927-2002), the first woman of color elected to Congress, "built critical support" for Title IX (U.S. House of Representatives, 2018).) In 1980 the Asian/Pacific American Librarians Association (APALA) was founded in response to the fact that Asian/Pacific American librarians had to that point been virtually "unnoticed and unrecognized" (Yamashita, 2000, p. 96). During this decade, library women's status improved somewhat, as many initiatives begun previously came to fruition. As Betty Jo Irvine pointed out in her book Sex Segregation in Librarianship: Demographic and Career Patterns of Academic Library Administrators (1985), since Title IX was implemented in the 1970s, by the 1980s it had resulted in increased opportunities for women to become academic library administrators. The

²⁰² http://www.ala.org/aboutala/committees/ala/ala-coswl

An additional disappointment is that it appears that the FTF website has not been updated in nearly two years, indicating a lack of progress or enthusiasm, whether or not that is actually the case: http://www.libr.org/ftf/.

http://www.ala.org/advocacy/intfreedom/librarybill

1990s were an ambiguous period for both feminism in general and library women's history in particular, and Hildenbrand (1997) noted that while ALA's COSWL had resulted in some gains, there had also been setbacks and stagnation and women in the profession were decidedly "still not equal" (p. 44). However, she remained optimistic about the future, and suggested that in order to have a greater synthesis in library history, we ought to move "beyond celebration and toward explanation," and reexamine library history while asking questions about what elements of race, gender, sex and class issues were at play.²⁰⁵

These are questions we must still ask today, both in the present moment and when examining the past. Librarians continue to be predominantly white women. Hildenbrand noted that "women, facing the new, harsher economic and political realities of the twenty-first century, may turn again to activism," and with the historically-significant Women's March (Bynum, 2017), #MeToo²⁰⁶ movement (Hudson, 2018), and other feminist activism revived since 2016, she may have been prescient.

As we are witnessing in the national climate of 2018, identity is more political than ever. The current LIS leadership literature does not adequately acknowledge the politics of the profession and LIS scholars must adapt grounded insights from other fields—in other words, conduct interdisciplinary research—in order to be productive (Buschman, 2016). Additionally, LIS can benefit significantly from more critical-theoretical approaches (Leckie & Buschman, 2010). This interdisciplinary oral history project uses insights from feminist theory to create a product (this master's thesis) that will contribute to an environment of greater critical

²⁰⁵ To her list, I would add ability, age, religion, and more.

²⁰⁶ A "moment that is embracing the sanctity—and, with it, the political power—of the individual story" (Garber, 2018).

understanding of the history, current state, and future trajectory of the library profession. An intersectional²⁰⁷ approach is the most appropriate framework for this interdisciplinary project.

Intersectional Feminist Analysis

As detailed in the "Methodology" section, my analysis is primarily within an intersectional feminist framework. "Biography is never just the personal story of one life. It always has political and social implications" (Lee, 2009, p. 63). There are additional identity factors that merit analysis, but here I simply begin by examining gender.

Horie self-identifies as a feminist, and personally defines feminism as "Being in favor of equal treatment and opportunity for girls and women." When asked about the current #MeToo Movement, she said, "It's about time!" Horie's feminism is apparent in her life's work, way of communicating, and in the following very feminist letter she sent to the editor of ALA's *American Libraries*:

I find the remarks about how "sexy" librarians are in the last paragraph of the interview with John Perry Barlow (Sept., p. 49-51) offensive and trivializing of librarians. It's disappointing that you chose to print Barlow's remarks but it is appalling that AL's interviewer made a rejoinder that the comment will "make a lot of friends." I can't imagine many librarians agreeing with that point of view. (Horie, 1996)

The article in question lauded Barlow, a cofounder of the Electronic Frontier Foundation, as "one of the country's most original and provocative thinkers on the subject of high tech"

 $^{^{207}}$ Additional identities such as religion, ability, and other identity factors that can result in marginalization are included in my approach to intersectional feminist analysis.

(Chepesiuk, 1996). I personally found the comment Horie wrote in about even more offensive than she described it, because it is also condescending:

AL: Anything you wish to add?

JPB: I hope librarians take heart. I don't know if they realize how sexy they are.

AL: [Laughter]²⁰⁸ Say that this afternoon and I'm sure you will make a lot of friends.

Horie was clearly angry about common sexist condescension, and I find it inspiring that she took action, even if and when the impact of something such as a letter to the editor is uncertain. Even small gestures such as that can provide solidarity and encouragement to feminists, and hopefully help influence future feminists' thinking and conversations.

Another insight into Horie's [perhaps subconscious] feelings regarding men and women, is a near-death experience she had in her forties, when she was home alone and gravely ill. She said god appeared to her, as

a white woman, a Disney-esque fairy godmother. She gave me to understand that everything was going to be alright with my illness. And as far as the world was concerned, that it didn't matter if people believed or didn't believe in god, or a religion. That the world and everything in it would still function, atoms would keep working, etcetera, but that we must stop fighting and killing each other over differing religious beliefs.

Later she added that the devil had also appeared to her at this time. He was male, but not exactly a man—sort of resembling a beetle, he did not speak. She emphasizes that this experience was not a dream, and she was quite awake. It was a turning point of sorts; it had a

²⁰⁸ From the tone of this interaction, I cannot help but be reminded of the deplorable 2005 "locker room talk" exchange between Donald Trump and Billy Bush.

profound and lasting impact on Horie's outlook and attitude. The insight that the worst thing that humans were doing was fighting over religion, and the feeling of reassurance, were not fleeting, but rather, stayed with her from then on. It has become her worldview.

Just as we are now looking to Horie's worldview, work, and personal life and experiences for insight, Horie consistently looked to other people as models for how to shape—or what to avoid for—her own life. This is perhaps of consequence for working women in particular, who tend to "identify positions that had been held by other women as more accessible to them" (Irvine, 1985, p. 143); representation matters. Horie's mother Irene was likely her first strong female role model. Irene Horie worked full time, from her teens—when WWII started—through retirement, and that likely had a positive impact on [Ruth] Horie's career. Recent analyses of two surveys from over 100,000 people in 29 countries found that adult daughters—but interestingly, not sons²⁰⁹—of employed mothers are more likely to be employed and "more likely to hold supervisory responsibility, work more hours and earn higher incomes than their peers whose mothers were not employed" (McGinn, Ruiz Castro, & Lingo, 2018).

Research shows that for librarians in particular, mentors play "an important, perhaps critical" role in the career opportunities of their mentees (Chatman, 1992, p. 506).²¹⁰ Hildenbrand (1996) notes that women who are librarians "continue to negotiate their way between the expectations of them as women and as librarians, and these stereotypes have a direct or indirect effect on all members of the female-intensive profession of librarianship" (p. xii). Other than noting the fact that the "feminization" of the profession negatively impacted compensation and

²⁰⁹ It also appears that working mothers have a positive, balancing effect on all their children's gender roles: "sons raised by employed mothers spend more time caring for family members and daughters spend less time on housework;" and women like [Ruth] Horie, who do not have children of their own, can still be positive role models for children: "childhood exposure to female employment within society can substitute for the influence of maternal employment on daughters" (McGinn, Ruiz Castro, & Lingo, 2018).

²¹⁰ This study examined public library leaders.

prestige/status overall, Horie says that she does not feel that her career was impacted by sexism and/or misogyny. Somewhat contradictorily, ²¹¹ she was a founding member of the UHPA Women's Committee, which leads me to believe she might have perceived some disadvantages for women in the library [and/or academic] profession. She later elaborated:

The committee members were mainly concerned with disadvantages for women faculty members in academia. I being the only librarian on the committee could impart a different perspective now and then. Such as, most UH librarians worked all year long.

Related to the feminization of librarianship, volunteerism is a system criticized by some feminists as undervaluing women's work (Mercier & Murphy, 1991). This is significant here, since a big part of Horie's life and ethic is volunteering; she spends much of her time in retirement doing professional volunteer work (and has since early in her career). The ongoing, pervasive presence of volunteer workers in libraries "signals the failure of librarians to prevent the use of unpaid workers and the failure of communities to provide adequate funding for their libraries" (Malone, 1996, p. 293). However, when it comes to well-meaning volunteers inadvertently lowering wages, Horie does not think she is part of that problem; she thinks the lack of good pay for librarians is due to the feminization of librarianship. As previously established, data backs her up on this. And, when asked if there is anything she thought would be better and/or different by now, in terms of social justice issues, she muses that what has gotten much worse over the course of her lifetime is wage discrepancies and conspicuous consumption.

²¹¹ This is merely an observation, and not a problem; "our stories are multilayered and contradictory" (Prins, 2006, p. 281).

²¹² "The presence of volunteers provokes, however subtly, the traditional roles and services previously performed for no pay. Alongside the professional woman toiling for pay resides the image of the woman who asks nothing in return for her giving" (Malone, 1996, p. 290).

Indeed, it has been over half a century since the passage of the Equal Pay Act, yet "women who work full time, year-round in the United States are typically paid only 79 cents for every dollar paid to their male counterparts" (National Women's Law Center, 2015). This is a gendered problem, but it is also a class issue: In 2017, the CEO-to-worker pay ratio was 361 to one (The American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, 2018).

Wage discrepancies between the administrators and workers in libraries was not addressed in this thesis, but of note is that Horie was not interested in leadership positions, so her sex was not a barrier to her in that regard, since it was not a path she chose to pursue. However, equally of note is the aforementioned question of the legitimacy of university librarians' faculty status, which Horie did not mention in connection with misogyny, but I believe might be related to the prejudiced belief in the inferior status of women and therefore the feminized status of the profession of librarianship. The undervaluing of the profession was also possibly a factor when she divorced and could not make ends meet as a single person on her Bishop Museum salary; is it not unjust that a multilingual, highly-educated, and highly-productive employee could not live off her salary (and that is even after working at the library for five years)?²¹³ While she never overtly strove toward leadership positions, thanks to the encouragement and mentorship of several trusted and successful individuals, Horie was able to perhaps achieve more than she otherwise would have.²¹⁴ Horie was lucky to find at least one mentor in every academic and employment setting she experienced. Usually, these mentorships were organic and informal. They were all, with one exception, specific to her contemporaneous pursuit and career stage; once she moved from one place to another, she might keep in touch, but would also find new

²¹³ "One job should be enough" is the slogan of over eight thousand Marriott hotel workers currently on strike across the country, including in Hawai'i; they are demanding a living wage from a company that made \$3.2 billion in 2017 (Philp, 2018).

²¹⁴ This assessment is not in any way meant to downplay her own effort or accomplishments.

mentors in her new work environment. While she sought advice from people she admired and respected, and many people were willing to help her and/or impart advice, Horie never liked being told what to do, and always ultimately followed her own internal compass.

This internal compass also guided her away from motherhood; Horie never wanted to have children, and that decision likely benefited her career, although there is no way to know for sure. Joan C. Williams, director of the Program on WorkLife Law at American University, notes that academia "is a job structure that systematically excludes mothers... It shows that so long as we continue to identify the ideal academic worker as someone who works full time, 60 hours a week for 40 years straight -- surprise! -- that will overwhelmingly be men" (Wilson, 2003). Historically, men have monopolized library leadership roles for a variety of reasons (Irvine, 1985). More recently, studies show that having children increases men's chance of achieving tenure, but drastically decreases women's (Wilson, 2003), a phenomenon that is objectively unfair. I am additionally interested in whether women who are not in tenure and/or leadership roles in the library are qualified yet passed over, or if they consciously chose not to pursue career advancement within in the library; and, whether factors such as motherhood have negatively impacted their chances at career advancement. Of course, we know from Horie that she was not interested in library leadership positions, but considering how many de facto leadership roles she ended up assuming, I cannot help but wonder if her aversion to paperwork was the complete story. One of the factors leading to children having a negative impact on mothers' careers is that only 48% of men who were married full professors had wives who worked full-time, but 91% of women who were married full professors had spouses that worked full time; the bottom line is that marriage hurts women's careers while simultaneously boosting men's (Harvey, 1961; Mutti-Driscoll, 2015). Women must choose between babies and tenure. The unpaid caregiving that is

expected of females but not males is the lifeblood of both individual families and the overall economy (Crittenden, 2002). Men in academia do not have the problem of these societal expectations, which detract from career achievements. Horie eliminated this problem (consciously or not) by choosing not to be a mother. But, we do not know to what extent her husband/s provided support, although she did mention she perceived her husband as supportive. Horie did say that when she was living alone (unmarried), she was the head of her household, and that presently, she feels there is no clear head of the household, as she and her husband share the household labor and expenses. "My husband and I both do housework. He does more cooking and I do more laundry."

Horie's aversion to official leadership does not negate any of her professional accomplishments, but I believe that she would have made a strong addition to library leadership. The reasons libraries should work to ensure representation of women in leadership roles are manifold, but are summed up by Chamorro-Premuzic (2003), who notes that the current state of leadership is "a pathological system that rewards men for their incompetence while punishing women for their competence, to everybody's detriment." One of the top issues in academic libraries today is organizational policy, which concerns the recruitment, education, and retention of academic librarians, especially in library leadership roles; the environment lacks diversity (Hisle, 2002). Academic library leadership is important, among many other reasons, because it helps increase a library's presence on campus (Bell, 2015). Even when women have become administrators—which, historically, is not often—they have been associated with the smaller and less-prestigious research libraries (Irvine, 1985). Horie did not aspire to leadership, even though she often found herself in those roles (sometimes by default) and other people encouraged her in them. I think she probably would have been very successful in leadership roles, especially since

research has shown that organizations led by women have a greater return on investment (Barsh & Yee, 2011). While men consider themselves smarter and more capable than women (Stumm, Chamorro-Premuzic, & Furnham, 2009), arrogance and overconfidence are inversely related to leadership talent. In fact, traits and characteristics more commonly found among women, and that Horie displays, such as humility and emotional intelligence, are exactly those that contribute to successful leadership (Collins, 2001).

The paradoxical implication is that the same psychological characteristics that enable male managers to rise to the top of the corporate or political ladder are actually responsible for their downfall. In other words, what it takes to get the job is not just different from, but also the reverse of, what it takes to do the job well. As a result, too many incompetent people are promoted to management jobs, and promoted over more competent people. (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2003)

Whether or not she was interested in becoming an official leader herself, Horie seems to have learned from and benefitted by other people, mainly people she considered trusted mentors. Onsite mentors, crucial to success at work, are not (and previously have not been) as available to women as to men (Olson & Jackson, 2009) so it is somewhat atypical that she had several mentors encouraging her to extend her comfort zone in terms of her career. She attributes many of her professional advances to outside encouragement, and indeed, research indicates that "women should be vigorously encouraged to apply for administrative posts" if they are to strive for advancement (Irvine, 1985, p. 143).

Career and administrative opportunities are not the only arena in which women face more barriers to success than their male peers. Women, "compared with men, are at greatly increased risk of all forms of sexual assault" and female victims of all types of violence are more likely to

be attacked by their known acquaintances and partners (Acierno, Resnick, & Kilpatrick, 1997, p. 59). As previously mentioned, early in her career Horie worked under a male supervisor who everyone knew to watch out for. Her statements and actions are slightly at odds in her own interpretation of this occurrence; she says that he did not impact her much, but also that she would pull out her desk drawers when he came to see her, creating a physical barricade for her own protection. She does not necessarily think that this man's habit of coming too physically close to women employees for their comfort constitutes sexual harassment. She is the ultimate authority on her experience, and she is the one who was there. From what she describes, I think that this man at the very least created a hostile work environment. Horie tended to quite nonchalantly mention several experiences and incidents that are perhaps symptomatic of largerscale, societal sexism and misogyny. For instance, further investigation could be made into what happened with her biological paternal grandfather, who possibly was a domestic abuser; Horie mentioned that the reason he returned to Japan from Hawai'i was that he tried to kill his wife and he was sent back by friends and neighbors—who had also come from Toyama-ken, Japan, where her paternal grandparents were from—who got together to raise the money. This is, unfortunately, still not uncommon; statistics hold steady over the past several decades and show that, annually, nearly two-thousand women in the U.S. are murdered by their intimate partners (Acierno, Resnick, & Kilpatrick, 1997; Violence Policy Center, 2017). Another example is when Horie mentioned that, when she was a young child, a haole acquaintance of her father's offered to purchase her: "he wanted to buy me, because he thought I was so cute. I mean, it's sort of a horrific thought, right? In this day and age. Anyway, my father refused to sell me to Mr. Camp so thank goodness. [laughs]" She clearly has an understanding of the shifting lenses through which we individually and collectively view incidents such as these, over time. She can laugh

and say it is horrific in the same sentence; as we can see from her tone and phrasing, she might—understandably—experience conflicting emotions and interpretations surrounding incidents such as these.

VBS: Did you know that at the time?

RH: Um, no I didn't. I didn't really know what to think of that.

VBS: Like did you find out later, that he had said that?

RH: Yeah, later as an adult, probably, I thought, yeah, that was horrible. Why would he want to say such a thing, right? Teasing or not...

While some of her experiences might have been expressed as mundane, inconsequential, or even unsurprising, because objectification and violence are normal parts of most women's lives, it should be noted that these incidents are possibly indicative of the larger frameworks of systemic sexism, misogyny, and racism in which Horie has lived. As a woman, she²¹⁵ existed and continues to exist within the structure of patriarchy, so I cannot completely separate sexism nor misogyny from her life story, but I can observe whether or not she identifies those structures, mechanisms, or effects, in the telling of her own story. I can also observe certain manifestations of those structures, even if they are not mentioned overtly. Calling them out as such here is in the hopes of learning something from them; identifying sexism (or racism, etc.) is not anti-sexism (or anti-racist work, etc.) but is at least somewhere productive to begin.

Speaking of racism, Horie says that personally, she felt no real antagonism against her in Hawai'i, but has perceived and experienced some racial discrimination against Japanese people in the continental United States. Horie recalls an experience with racial discrimination once when traveling in the continental United States. She was at Dallas/Fort Worth International

²¹⁵ And I.

Airport, which is very large; it was very early in the morning, and she was the only person awaiting the inter-terminal shuttle. She stood directly below the sign for the terminal that she wanted to go to, where the shuttle was meant to stop. The driver—she remembers it was a man, but she does not remember anything else identifying about him—drove right past her. She walked the distance to where he had pulled over, greeted him, and boarded the shuttle. He would not acknowledge her, did not help her with her suitcase, and did not announce the stops, although that is customary. Again, we cannot say certainly whether this disrespect was due to Horie's gender or race, but she said she could not be sure if this man's rudeness was specifically targeted toward her, and that it "didn't feel very good."

Activism

Antidotes to sexism and racism, as well as other forms of discrimination, include feminism and activism. When it comes to both feminism and activism, it is not necessarily possible nor productive to distinguish between theory and practice. Part of what makes women's oral history ripe for critical analysis and scholarship is also what can make it problematic: It has traditionally assumed a singular feminist methodology, and such assumptions "had the effect of foregrounding gender while obscuring the possible centrality of other factors" (Gluck & Patai, 1991, p. 2). Here, through an analysis of Horie's activism, I attempt to discuss other factors in addition to gender. Beyond its own inherent worthiness, Horie's story and career have much to teach us about the tensions that exist in our multidimensional world, and how we might be able to exist within complex and even conflicting dynamics—she turns out to be a wonderful role model for best practice.

I told Horie that I identified her as an activist librarian and asked her if that is ok. She replied, "Yes, I suppose so." It seems that there is something she does not completely agree with in my interpretation. Following her own logic, my interpretation is that she probably sees the social justice benefit of some of her work as a pleasant result of, but not the reason for, doing it. She says she does not "really" consider herself an activist librarian, but that others may view some of her activities as activist. When asked about this, she identified activities that are more overtly activist than her overall stance as an information professional. When asked if she could share her professional identity and philosophy, she said: "I've tried to work within the rules and accomplish what needed to be done. I don't think I've really thought about it."

I marched with UHPA in several Martin Luther King, Jr. parades, participated in the October 31, 1995 "death of education" march from UHM to the Capitol to demonstrate against Governor Ben Cayetano's cuts to the UH budget.²¹⁶ I also joined UH faculty in a peace march from Ala Moana Park to Kapi'olani Park to demonstrate against President George W. Bush's decision to invade Iraq in 2003.

While she does not wholly embrace her designation as an activist librarian, she also does not dispute it, and she has advice for other librarians and LIS students who want to make a difference:

Do your homework. Get the facts. Examine the relevant foundational documents. Meet with those involved so as to understand different sides of the issue. Consult with mentors. Join or create a network. Work with like-minded others. Find out how to advance your proposal through appropriate channels. Pick your battles.

²¹⁶ https://uhlibs.lib.hawaii.edu/vwebv/holdingsInfo?bibId=18205

²¹⁷ She later added: "and people who have gone through the process before."

²¹⁸ As mentioned, Horie is adamantly pro-establishment in many ways, although she also is aware of structural implications.

When the opportunity presents itself, take action! Go back to the controlling documents and see how it's supposed to work. Find out who has responsibility to amend or enforce.

In terms of when to act, sometimes Horie felt it appropriate for her to be involved in an issue, and others she did not. She is willing to become involved in taking a stance on an issue even if it does not affect her personally, such as when she went on strike with the UHPA/HSTA for all teachers in 2001. Other times, she perceived issues to be in separate spheres, or reserved for certain people or groups, that did not include her.

In the late 1970s, building on the momentum of earlier community-level struggles, the Council of Hawaiian Organizations and Alu Like sponsored "Pūwalu sessions" that brought together hundreds of individuals and representatives of different Hawaiian associations. Many ideas about how to improve the collective conditions of the Hawaiian people came out of these sessions. (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, 2014, p. 14)

Horie might have been interested in the "Pūwalu sessions" but "was not aware" of them and therefore did not attend. On January 17, 1993, for the centennial anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, there occurred the "largest known protest of Kānaka Maoli and supporters in history," and "roughly twenty thousand marched through Honolulu to 'Iolani Palace" (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, p. 17). Again, Horie did not attend, although this time she was aware it was happening. "I did not march because I thought it was reserved for those with Hawaiian blood."

I heard about some of the other protests like downtown, there was the old Vineyard Boulevard group... there was a community like between Queens Hospital and the Department of Ed[ucation] building that was a whole small community over there. They all had to move and there was Kalama Valley which was farming at the time. So these things were starting to percolate up and I've told other people, you know, all of this happened with my parents' property before these organized protests started coming up. So I guess I didn't really have it in my mind that you could even protest at all, if it would do any good at all, other than [you] yourself might be arrested or get into trouble and get in the newspaper. That would be the worst thing. \(VBS: Do you think it's fair to say based on that assessment or experience then that it's important to see other movements succeed in order to feel empowered? \(\text{RH: That's right. If you don't have any personal knowledge of friends or other people in your neighborhood who are talking about the issue or getting upset about the issue, then it's difficult to be a self-starter and start the protest yourself. That takes much more courage and energy to do that.

Horie's story imparts the lesson that representation is important, and providing examples and role models can positively affect and inspire further social justice action and initiatives.

Interestingly, despite the fact that she still does not necessarily self-identify as an activist, and that she says she did not take real activist action until after college, Horie's earliest memory that she associates with activism was when she was quite young.

There was a period when we went to the zoo downtown in Waikiki couple of times and I noticed that the water buffalo didn't have a pond. It was kind of a dry area and he had sort of a muddy hole. I mean, I knew what a water buffalo was because they had them in where we lived in Kahalu'u. And they love to be in the water. That's why they're called water buffalo. And I've never seen another water buffalo,

like the poor one at the zoo was in this dry pen. And so my father said, "Okay, why don't you write to the zoo keeper?" So he helped me write a letter to Mr. Paul Breese. You know, "We noticed that the water buffalo doesn't seem to have a pond. He doesn't look too happy. Think could make a pond for him because I know [where] we live water buffaloes had running water, you know, when they're not working because some of the farmers in the back of Waiāhole Valley, had taro and other crops that require water." And he actually wrote back to his credit and he said, "Oh, thank you for writing and we'll, we'll think about it. It's true. You know, where they come from in the Philippines and other places in Asia, they do work in water. But this one, you're right doesn't have water." So he didn't promise, you know, he was gonna fix it. But at least he responded, which I thought was amazing. And unfortunately I lost that letter. I don't have it now, but probably that was it, actually writing to somebody in authority to seek some restitution or remedy for some perceived problem.

Horie says that her stance is "not anti-establishment." That is illustrated in her activism as detailed in the oral history, and above, in how she addressed the first instance during which she felt compelled to act in the pursuit of justice. Luckily, there can still "be room within institutional agendas for political activism" (Accardi, 2013, p. 68), and therefore, there is room for both proestablishment and anti-establishment stances in activism. It makes sense conceptually that a cataloger would be more willing to work within existing structures. When asked about library neutrality, Horie said:

²¹⁹ The zoo director.

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Cataloging includes efforts to recognize and acknowledge diversity in how authors and others express themselves. An example would be the way several different terms used over time for "African Americans" are still preserved in Library of Congress subject authority records... I feel that the rules for subject headings

enable catalogers to convey information to library users regarding changes in how

ethnic groups are named over time, in a neutral format.

She sent me the below example, and said to "Notice also that the "scope note" instructs us that "Blacks" is the preferred term for members of the same ethnic group outside the U.S."

LC control no.: sh 85001932

LCCN Permalink: https://lccn.loc.gov/sh85001932

LC classification: E184.5 E185.98

Topical subject heading: African Americans

Variant(s): African Americans -- United States

Afro-Americans

Black Americans

Colored people (United States)

Negroes

See also: Africans -- United States

Ethnology -- United States

Blacks -- United States

Subdivision African Americans under individual wars, e.g. World War, 1939-

1945--African Americans; and headings beginning with African American

Scope note: Here are entered works on citizens of the United States of black African descent. Works on blacks who temporarily reside in the United States, such as aliens, students from abroad, etc., are entered under Blacks---United States. Works on blacks outside the United States are entered under Blacks--- [place].

Subject example tracing: Example under United States--Race relations

Note under Blacks--United States

As a follow-up to the question regarding library neutrality, I asked, "How would you describe power (not a dictionary definition; your definition, or word association, or feelings about it)?" Horie replied:

Power is the ability to get things done by influencing others. It can be acquired by gaining knowledge, rising in a hierarchy, gaining wealth, attaining political office. With power or the exercise of power come accountability and the potential for good or bad consequences.

When asked how she would personally describe "knowledge," Horie said:

This is probably too simple, but I would describe knowledge as a fact known through personal experience or scientific study. It could range from a single fact (plants need water to grow) to a whole cultural practice (certain varieties of taro grow best in a *lo'i*, which is similar to a rice paddy). Knowledge is connected to expertise (knowing how to grow taro), and can be transmitted to the younger generation or to those wanting to acquire it.

After discussing such big-picture items, there were several current issues that have particular salience in Hawai'i that I wanted to ask Horie about. For example, genetically-

modified organisms (GMO) are more contested in Hawai'i than anywhere else in the United States (Gupta, 2017) because here the issue is sometimes articulated and enacted as biocolonialism, the commandeering of "knowledge and biological resources from an indigenous people without compensation" (Segen's Medical Dictionary, 2011). Horie says that she is "aware that patents have been awarded to certain hybrid varieties of plants that researchers have developed for commercial use." I asked Horie, rapid-fire style, her opinion on several additional social justice issues that are currently in the news, nationally and locally:

Q: Gun control/the Second Amendment

A: I'm in favor of (1) universal and timely background checks, (2) enforcement of existing laws on restricting certain classes of people from using, purchasing or owning guns, (3) making such laws consistent across the country, and (4) banning the use, purchase and ownership of military style assault weapons. I respect the Second Amendment but I believe its misinterpretation along with the "stand your ground" laws and insidious racism have led to many preventable deaths.

In response to this question, she elaborated, and I found it extremely worthwhile to include her response in its entirety:

When I was living at home I didn't really think about gun control. My father taught me and my brother about gun safety. I did target shooting but not hunting. I wasn't in favor of big game hunting. I ate anything that my father shot and my mother cooked... My father learned to shoot in the Army. Later he took up target shooting, then hunting on Moloka'i for deer and goats. He also helped the local "dump" on the windward side by shooting rats at night. He helped farmers in Waihe'e Valley by shooting nuisance (non-native) birds such as doves and pheasants. His ability to

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clean and keep guns in good repair qualified him to get a job as a gunsmith at

Honolulu Sporting Goods. As part of my family's move to the mainland in 1974

my father's boss arranged a transfer to another sporting goods store in New Mexico.

Once there, he told me he turned down many requests from owners of semi-

automatic rifles to convert their weapons to fully automatic action, which would

fire many more bullets each time the trigger is pulled. He felt it was not only wrong

but could get him arrested and fired because the conversion was illegal. In an effort

to mitigate the effects of mass shootings there are now proposals in various parts

of the country to ban "bump stocks," which essentially enable that same type of

conversion without the necessity of going to a gunsmith.

Q: Black Lives Matter (BLM)

A: I agree.

Q: Would you tell people to vote?

A: Yes! Everyone should vote if they are eligible.

Q: Should incarcerated people be able to vote?

A: Yes.

Q: #MeToo

A: It's about time!

Q: Donald Trump

A: No comment.

Q: Some allege that Airbnb and other similar rental properties are negatively

affecting the availability of housing for Native Hawaiians and other residents of

Hawai'i. Do you agree?

A: I agree.

Q: Advice for anyone living in Hawai'i

A: Don't be afraid... make friends, join in activities and keep [your] eyes and ears open; and like any other host culture, try to be respectful and try to learn... attend events and get involved... look at what you're doing in terms of recycling and wasting and buying stuff on Amazon instead of locally. Buy local, shop local. I think that's going to help us in the long run in any society.

Q: Use of Hawaiian language; to this day the use of the Hawaiian language continues to be a fraught and oft-contested issue (Boneza, 2018)

A: I believe Hawaiians in particular and people who understand Hawaiian in general deserve the right to use the language as they wish, given that Hawaiian is one of the two official languages of the State of Hawai'i. I commend the Legislature and the Judiciary for their recognition and support of Hawaiian language use.

Q: Hawaiian Sovereignty²²⁰

A: I believe Hawaiians deserve to have sovereignty and they should be empowered to determine what form it would have.

When asked what she would hypothetically do if Hawaiians were to gain sovereignty—an outcome she would support, but also thinks would be unlikely due to economic concerns and the fact that not all Native Hawaiians desire sovereignty—Horie said:

²²⁰ In 1993, a resolution was introduced in the United States Senate to "acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii"; it was passed into law the same year. In 2005 a bill was introduced in the United States Senate to "express the policy of the United States regarding the United States relationship with Native Hawaiians and to provide a process for the recognition by the United States of the Native Hawaiian governing entity" (Civic Impulse, 2018). However, in 2018 when Hawai'i marked the 125th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy, sovereignty had not yet been re-implemented, nor has the United States formally recognized a Native Hawaiian governing entity.

... it's my home, but I feel like the Hawaiians should be in charge. I'm just gonna wait and see, I really don't want to move to Japan or the mainland, the U.S. mainland. I'd rather stay here. If there's an opportunity to gain citizenship in the new government, I certainly would want to be a citizen of whatever government there is and see how it is. Basically, I think, you know, I just have to deal with whatever comes to pass.

Hawaiian Sovereignty deserves some additional consideration, since the Indigenous perspective is crucial to any intersectional feminist analysis and since Horie's activism revolved in large part around Native Hawaiian issues. In addition to supporting Native Hawaiian self-determination, Horie has dedicated her career and personal life to advancing the use of and access to Native Hawaiian language, materials, and culture.

There are two seemingly conflicting interpretations of the geo-political history and present situation in Hawai'i. The first is that Japanese Americans have overcome adversity to achieve the American Dream in the fiftieth state (Okihiro, 1992), and the second is that everyone non-Native is displacing *Kanaka Maoli* in their homeland (Fujikane, 2008). While these interpretations might appear to be mutually-exclusive, it is my opinion that both can be true simultaneously. From a critical intersectional feminist analysis standpoint, regardless of whether or not we individually support *Kanaka Maoli* right to self-determination and self-governance, in Hawai'i, every non-Native resident possibly "benefits from the colonization of the Hawaiians, the theft of their lands and resources, and the commercialization of their culture" (Kosasa, 2008, p. 203). Importantly, individuals such as Horie are not personally guilty of colonization, but rather, they may inadvertently find themselves within its pre-existing structure

²²¹ And are.

(Fukjikane, 2008). Addressing the wider context and legacy of colonial domination in which Horie's life and work occurred—and, notably, against which she intentionally and tirelessly worked—does not diminish her extensive efforts toward social justice. Conversely, I point out colonialism here to underscore the importance of her accomplishments.

In terms of settler colonialism, Horie acknowledges a tension between her identities as a local and a settler; she says she sometimes almost feels guilty because Hawaiians felt land was stolen from them, but she also feels like this is her culture too, because she was born and raised here, and her grandparents arrived here in the 1800s.

The Japanese American men were making inroads into the political and business hierarchies²²² and there was some point where I kind of felt, almost... somewhat apologetic, maybe, or... I didn't want people to think that I took it for granted that we had these opportunities just *because* we were Japanese American. And this is now being talked about more and more... in regards to, for example, white privilege. In Hawai'i it's almost like Japanese American privilege.²²³

Horie is demonstrably aware of the complex and sometimes contradictory history and social strata of these islands, probably because she highly values lifelong learning and self-awareness. She has absolutely been successful in not obstructing Native Hawaiian struggles for justice, which is the most-important corrective that settlers can achieve (Fujikane, 2008). She has also gone beyond that minimal aspect: Horie acknowledged her own possible relative privilege—which does not negate any struggle, discrimination, or adversity she also might have experienced—and spent her entire life and career serving *Kanaka Maoli*, the most

The "democratic revolution" of the 1950s put many Japanese locals into power (Rohrer, 2010, p. 8).

²²³ Japanese Americans in Hawai'i can in some ways be considered a privileged group, including those whose families came here originally to work on plantations (Rohrer, 2016).

disenfranchised population in her home. She stated unequivocally that *Kanaka Maoli* deserve the right to self-determination, and she takes concrete actions that support her claim; for example, she does not vote for Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) representatives, even though it is her legal right, because she believes doing so would be disrespectful to Native Hawaiians. Horie views her pursuits and accomplishments in Hawaiian Studies as a way for her to give back to her community, and it is true that educating themselves is the first and crucial step locals in Hawai'i can take to ensure that they are informed regarding Hawai'i's history and ongoing struggle for self-determination (Fujikane, 2008). Horie understands and can speak Hawaiian, which is a major commitment and highly unusual; Hawaiian is a "critically endangered" language (Moseley, 2010) and only 5.7% of all multilingual people in the state of Hawai'i speak Hawaiian (Hawaii State Data Center, 2015). Language 2015).

Horie has participated in the revitalization of Hawaiian language and culture throughout her life, notably during the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1960s and 70s. She worked tirelessly to correct the official historical record, removing inaccuracies, falsehoods, and bias regarding Hawai'i, its Native people, and its history. What Horie chose to do when confronted with inaccuracies and misleading information and standards pertaining to Hawai'i in the official LC records is particularly inspiring considering that it was not necessarily her responsibility to address those issues, and "Few question the authority base of the collections for which they have

²²⁴ In 1996 Freddy Rice, on a ridiculous reverse racism premise, argued that it is unconstitutional for the state to restrict voting to Hawaiians only in elections for OHA (Fujikane, 2008); he won Supreme Court Case *Rice v. Cayetano*, 528 U.S. 495 (2000), but Justices Stevens and Ginsburg dissented (Horie clearly sides with the dissenters). Rice's argument is a textbook example of "the most egregious of ironies" in which "settlers proclaim that Native Hawaiians are depriving them of their civil rights, but they do so in order to use the argument of equal rights to take from Natives their rights and resources as indigenous peoples" (Fujikane, 2008, p. 15).

²²⁵ This is on a scale of vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered, critically endangered, extinct (Moseley, 2010).

The survey asked what languages other than English were spoken at home.

a social responsibility" (Wiegand, 1989, p. 106). Horie has obviously spent—and continues to spend—significant time and effort, almost entirely uncompensated, on activities and projects the goals of which are to preserve, make accessible, and disseminate Hawaiian language, culture, and materials. She has personally initiated Native Hawaiian-specific advocacy, and has been integrally involved in initiatives, groups, grants, and organizations that advocate for Native Hawaiian language, culture, and materials, and access to them. While Horie might be structurally implicated in the displacement of Native Hawaiians via settler colonialism—and, critically, I mean she along with all non-Native Hawaiians residing here—as demonstrated, she chose a social justice stance toward Hawai'i, *Kanaka Maoli*, and their culture, and her work is especially important for precisely that reason.²²⁷

Issues and Shortcomings

Tokenism

Even it if exists, it is not always obvious where to find information about women in the public record (Bogadóttir, 2013). As I made clear in the methodology section, biographies of Asian American women librarians are extremely difficult to come by, if they even exist at all. Horie is clearly not well-represented in the literature. My hope is that this thesis helps chip away at that historical omission. However, sharing one person's story is not enough, and I hope that Horie's story will not stand alone. Horie ought not to have the burden of speaking for all Yonsei librarians, nor all Japanese American librarians, let alone all Asian American librarians. While

Especially in LIS, where the majority of librarians are in a position of relative privilege as highly-educated white women, providing Horie's experience serves as an example of someone who might have enjoyed relative privilege in a certain context, but wielded it both gracefully and responsibly.

her life is presented here in overview and analyzed within a broader context, she is nevertheless an individual.

Authorial Credit

"All biography is an attempt to take possession of the subject" (Lee, 2009, p. 135) and that would endanger my feminist mission. As a potential solution, I used feminist oral history, not pure biography, as my methodology. While this project aims to empower the woman whose life story is shared in these pages, a clear shortcoming is that in some ways power is necessarily skewed [in my favor, as the oral historian], due to the academic format. It is my name that is credited with this work, despite the fact that Horie met with me for around 30 hours, and spent additional (uncounted) hours collecting information, doing research, preparing for the interviews, and providing feedback. Despite the fact that I have called this a collaborative process throughout, in fact, my name appears solely as the author of this paper. While the practice of feminist, ethnographical, or oral history research positions "the researcher and her informants in a collaborative, reciprocal quest for understanding... the research project is ultimately that of the researcher, however modified of influenced by the informants" (Stacey, 1991, p. 114). This places ultimate control in my hands, as the author/researcher, since although Horie chose what to tell me and what to omit, ultimately I decided what of that to include or omit here, how to organize it, how to interpret it, etcetera. This imbalance is partially negotiated in the following additional issues.

Conflicting Interpretations

It is essential to emphasize that this thesis is my framing of Horie's narrative, and is informed not only by contemporary feminism but also by my own particular views, experiences, knowledge, and shortcomings (Borland, 1991). Therefore, the final authority of this project is mine, but I have respected her wishes throughout the process and presentation. We have disagreed at times, regarding interpretation of her experience; the ultimate authority should be hers. However, not all "disagreements" are final nor representative of actual conflict. Often any differing interpretations we had resulted instead in mutual learning. For example:

VBS: Do you agree with this identity categorization of you: upper middle-class, multilingual, cisgender, woman, able-bodied, neurotypical, heterosexual, person of color, Yonsei, American? Please correct, omit, and/or elaborate as you see fit.

RH: These are ok except I would say middle-class, and Asian-American.

She calls her parents working-class, but also at one point said of her mother, who had a career in finance, "She was a professional worker, definitely." Her father worked for many years at a garage, and later as a repairman at a retail store. She addressed her own fluid and sometimes conflicting interpretations of her family's socioeconomic status:

Well, we were aware of the rich people, and since my father ran a gas station, service station garage, he dealt with all kinds of people rich, poor and whatever, in between... I sort of compared, maybe compared our family to some of the people we saw and I kind of knew we weren't rich and we weren't poor. We were sort of in between, but I really didn't know how to process that, I guess.

I did not ask her what criteria she considered in her estimations (then, as a child, and now, as an adult). While I completely respect her right to self-determination, especially where

identity is concerned, I offhandedly suggested more than once that Horie is upper-middle class, and she always replied that she is not. To me, her extensive formal education, home-ownership, lack of dependents (children), and significant pension intuitively indicated upper-middle class status. Technically, if only accounting for income, Horie is correct that she is middle-class (however, it is not a government- or legally-defined category, and it is contextually-dependent). After following up with her on this, I felt that my initial perception of her was possibly inaccurately skewed by my own positionality as a Millennial. Journalist and author Eddo-Lodge (2017) notes that "many consider their class to be about their preferred culture and politics, rather than their relationship to assets and wealth" (p. 194), and at first, I wondered if that applied to Horie, who has described herself several times both as middle-class and workingclass. Later, she added that, looking back on it, in the 1950s her family was upper middle class, but then after her father's car accident, their total income was reduced, and they became middle class. Horie had also told me that catalogers are the blue-collar workers of the library world, so that might frame her opinion as well. It is true that catalogers, considered technical services librarians, are regularly paid less than other librarians (Reser & Schuneman, 1992; Triumph & Beile, 2015), but luckily for Horie, foreign language proficiency and fluency is highly-valued in cataloging (Triumph & Beile, 2015) and the UHPA negotiated on all UH employees' behalf for minimum salaries, regular increases, and special salary adjustments. But, that does not necessarily mean that the salaries kept up with Honolulu's high cost of living. The real estate market is volatile in many places, but especially in Hawai'i, and Horie bought her fee simple condo with a high interest rate loan, but at a time when real estate prices were "reasonable." All my thinking is framed by my own positionality, so both of us are looking through lenses of our own particular positionality, which are subjective and constantly changing. These class

categories are not fixed nor clearly-delineated, so there is room for various interpretation.

Additionally, class definitions change contextually, which accounts for our differing interpretations of her socioeconomic status (which also might or might not have changed over the course of her life). This applies to any and all interpretive disagreements we had, which were really very few. Horie providing additional details, context, and her own interpretation often helped reframe my understanding. Another similar example in the opposite direction was when Horie read my initial draft and responded to my interpretation of her experience with a borderline sexual-harasser work supervisor: "I did say "borderline sexual harasser" but in hindsight, Valerie's characterization that he "created a hostile work environment" may be more accurate."

Insights and Themes

Key phrases "arise on the surface of the text as formal markers that accent the narrative" and serve to illustrate the conflict between society and the self who is speaking (Chanfrault-Duchet, 1991, p. 79). Myths "reveal speakers' value-judgements of their life experience" and allow them to communicate the way they give meaning to their experience (Chanfrault-Duchet, 1991, p. 81). Myths are stories we tell ourselves; they shape our lives by defining what is possible. As I will elaborate on next, themes, motifs, and the way Horie told her story can reveal deeper layers of meaning. However, any interpretation I present is my interpretation of her interpretation of her lived experience, so it is partial, subjective, and imprecise. For Horie, key words and phrases I noticed were related to humility and an aversion to self-congratulation, such as "didn't deserve," "not interested," "they saw _____ in me." When asked about her sense of humility and group-orientation, Horie attributes it to her innate sensibility and personality. I

interpret it as additionally possibly emblematic of some combination of Japanese/Japanese American culture, Hawai'i/local culture, and socialization or learned behavior as a female in patriarchal societies.

A motif in her life story is Horie's aversion to pressure, and a feeling of not working up to her potential, albeit a potential that was identified and/or defined by others. This constant recognition seemed to irritate her; whenever acknowledgement of her intellectual achievement was offered, she insisted that it had been effortless, and was therefore underserved. She feels that because she just enjoys learning for its own sake—an approach that ironically is likely what makes her so successful—she does not deserve recognition for such pursuits or related achievements.

Horie's oral history testimony is ultimately a case study of the power of empathy. Since childhood, she observed other people and imagined what it might be like to stand in their shoes. She then took concrete action to work toward a more equitable future for those who were most disenfranchised. In June 2018, Horie said she thinks "it's only a matter of time before the Hawaiian language reaches a critical mass... of people who want to use Hawaiian on a daily basis." That same month, language-learning app Duolingo announced²²⁸ it would be adding Hawaiian to its offerings, making it accessible and free to learn for any person with access to the internet. When asked whether the onus is on individuals or structural institutions to implement Hawaiian language, Horie says, "I think both things would need to go on for the language to thrive and succeed and continue." She encourages everyone to try to use Hawaiian, even if they butcher the language; she notes that television news and other media play an important role in reviving the Hawaiian language and notes cheekily that all languages get butchered on the news,

 $[\]underline{\text{https://forum.duolingo.com/comment/27728072/Hawaiian-is-coming-to-Duolingo}}$

anyways. Her impressive capacity for human empathy is evident again when she responds to a question about why using the Hawaiian language is important:

I think it's important because there are still Hawaiians alive, and it's a Hawaiian language and [part of] Hawaiian culture and we are in Hawai'i. So to me that's why it makes sense... Hawaiian Studies is very broad. It can include Hawaiian language, but it doesn't have to, necessarily—you can learn about Hawai'i, you know, totally in an English context, but in order to talk about the food, cultural elements, place names, etcetera, you must say those in Hawaiian, and so it makes sense to learn Hawaiian along with Hawaiian Studies.

In addition to her impressive professional accomplishments, Horie is a refreshing example of someone who lives within a capitalist society but is not seduced by it; she was never greedy and never wanted more than her fair share (e.g. her salary). I believe this was another result of her excellent capacity for empathy, and was perhaps also transferred to or from her opinion regarding how libraries are run:

I believe that if you just start sloughing off things that you don't think are conducive to the bottom line, ultimately it's going to degrade the quality of the library and its quality as a resource.

Just one example of her selflessness is when she paid her own way to take a UH course even though she should have received free tuition, as a UH employee, because otherwise the course would have been cancelled. Another example of Horie's capacity for human empathy, justice, and lack of personal greediness emerged tangentially—in the following statement, she manages to clearly describe her experience and her opinion, which is that one should try to do what is right over what is personally most-beneficial, but she also extends understanding and

compassion to those who are unable to make that choice, due to systemic constraints and disadvantages:

I really feel sad sometimes when I see things happening like the demise of Aloha Airlines, one of the two major airlines, Hawaiian being the other one, just because of the emergence of a third airline that was undercutting both of them. Aloha just succumbed because they didn't have deep pockets enough. And some of the people I used to work with would say, "Oh yeah, we're going to fly on that airline because it's so cheap." But I [would] try to point out, "Or what about Aloha Airlines? They've been here, they're established," and [their response was] "Oh well, who cares, it's just cheaper." I mean, that really is the bottom line for a lot of people and that's what's probably unavoidable, maybe, but I believe there are other systemic issues going on in politics and the economy and the inequality of wealth and earning power to where you really can't ignore the fact that you have to buy things the cheapest, no matter how damaging that might be to other companies or other environmental factors.

Horie's life is also a case study in affecting positive organizational change. She is a lifetime member of the UHPA, the NEA, and the HSTA. As mentioned, there is room within activism for both anti-establishment and pro-establishment action, and Horie was firmly pro-establishment. Because of the consistency of her stance across time and contexts, she provides a great example for others who wish to take a similar stance in their own activist endeavors. Horie knows that she has accomplished a lot, but she believes that anyone who is determined can make a change. Regarding cataloging specifically, Horie hopes to empower other catalogers via education:

Sometimes when I'm invited to speak to a class and the professor has already primed the students with this big story about how I went up against the Library of Congress and whatnot, I always try to tell the students, yeah, this may have been an exceptional event, but you can do similar things. It's not antiestablishment. This is built into what is called Cooperative Cataloging. And there's a Library of Congress bureaucracy... they don't know everything, they don't collect everything. They don't catalog everything. That's why they created this program for Cooperative Cataloging, because they want to empower catalogers, [put them] back in charge of local subject headings, knowledge of languages, knowledge of whether this is a name of an organization or this is a name of a musical group or things like that... catalogers all over the country are empowered, actually, by default. It's just a matter of getting aware and learning how to do it.

Narrative Production as a Pedagogical and Research Tool

The feminist theory informed practice of oral history did, as hoped, provide unique and multilayered insight.

We are both actor in and co-author of our own life-story, our (individual and collective) actions can be perceived as enacted narratives. Identity cannot be grasped by a list of characteristics that informs us about the 'what' of a person. It is about 'who' someone is, and that, as Hannah Arendt (1998) aptly remarked,²²⁹ can only be shown through storytelling. (Prins, 2006, p. 281)

²²⁹ And as I cited in the methodology section.

Listening to the interviews between Horie and myself has been immensely instructive on multiple levels. Not only have my interview and active listening skills improved—you can hear the progression and improvement over the course of the 20 plus hours of recorded interviews—but by spending so much time together, Horie and I were able to establish more of a comfortable rapport. Often—and this is not always accurately reflected in the interview transcripts—we would talk over one another, an organic phenomenon common in collaborative communication settings (Minister, 1991).

The process truly was collaborative in every sense of the word. Horie did work for this project; she researched her own past, often providing me with dates, names, links, and materials, such as emails, newspaper clippings, and more. She and I were both actors in, and affected by, the process.

In the interviews, multiple layers of meaning were generated. For example:

RH: He²³⁰ moved when he was fifteen, to New Mexico, and then graduated from high school in New Mexico and then after he got his college degree he moved to Texas and—

VBS: He has a Southern accent and everything?

RH: He does. He has a *Texan* accent. And to me it's very disconcerting. I mean, I'm used to it, of course, but... I'm learning from him too, how to understand Texans. [laughs]

VBS: Hm...like, culturally?

²³⁰ Here she is speaking about her brother.

RH: Culturally, yeah, and speech wise. I do know that because I visit Texas so often, when I'm there I do consciously change my speech somewhat, in order to be better understood.

VBS: Ok. Do you mean by that, like, the actual words that you use? Or, more the cadence, or..?

RH: Yeah. Plus, you have to speak louder. [laughs]

VBS: Hm yeah ok. Just to compete with all the other voices?

RH: Just to compete, yeah. Just to get somebody's attention.

VBS: Hm, interesting. That to me illuminates how language and culture are different but also the same. Cuz yeah there's something about the culture of needing to take up space, but also, maybe people aren't listening, if you aren't speaking loudly. So—

RH: You have to assimilate somewhat. Otherwise you're going to continually struggle.

From this small snippet of an interview, first, factual information is obtained via the content of what Horie is saying (her brother has lived in these places; she visits often). Second, we learn that there is some process by which a person can go from performing their "localness" (Hawai'i localness) to losing that performance (their accent, or how they sound), perhaps unconsciously, but noticeably to observers (here, Horie observing her brother's transformation). Third, the interviewer (me) demonstrates learning; my understanding of an idea or concept is affected by what the interviewee has said (when I connect language and culture). Fourth, we learn about what it might be like to have family move between states; we learn about processes of belonging, and also of communication (or cultural barriers to communication between groups

of/from/in different geographical locations). Finally, and perhaps most interestingly, we learn that the interviewee, while just relaying something she has noticed about a place ("you have to assimilate...otherwise you're going to struggle") has possibly revealed something essential about her character, attitude, or worldview. By giving us what might appear to be information about someone else (here, her brother), by hearing it in her own words, we learn so much more, about her lived subjectivity and positionality. In this brief conversation, we can observe her approach and attitude in addition to the content of her words.

Horie's narrative has also provided insights regarding Hawai'i, specifically. This is a potential remedy for the fact that many of the narrative productions in Hawai'i have been by colonizers (explorers, missionaries, sugar planters, soldiers, tourists), who often tend to judge what Hawai'i has to offer them, and what it lacks, from their perspective (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997). In direct contrast, Horie seems to view Hawai'i for what it is, not for how it could benefit her: Horie does not appear to "read" Hawai'i (nor anyplace else, for that matter) through the lens of her own desires.

Horie's unique subjectivity has provided interesting and illuminating insights into multiple histories and across a wide range of areas. Completing this project has enabled me to engage with material in a way that would not have been possible without Horie sharing her story. Collaborating with her was a rewarding learning experience for me, and a process I would recommend to others. Horie's experience can serve as a successful model for how a librarian can effectively take a social justice stance in her career. Her professional output is almost unbelievable in that it is at once broad and voluminous, yet of quality, depth, and importance. She is awe-inspiring in that she did so much and still found the time to correct old injustices whenever she encountered them—this is no simple task, especially when considering that any

such encounter and acknowledgement was inherently an interruption of her regular and ongoing work. Her unwavering commitment to accuracy is a form of social justice, and is something we must all aspire to accomplish, despite the immensity of the task, despite the fact that it "in the past has probably seemed too difficult or insufficiently pressing to confront due to the sheer volume of traffic, of other things to do" (Berman, 1971/1993, p. xiv). The LC subject headings are but one small aspect of librarianship, yet they reflect the way information professionals are organizing the information of the world, and unfortunately, they reflect "a host of untenable indeed, obsolete and arrogant—assumptions with respect to young people and women" (Berman, 1971/1993, p. x).²³¹ If we do not right injustices when we come upon them, we instead reinforce them. As librarians, "the burden is fully and immediately upon us to at least recognize the worst features of all aspects of library practice" (p. x). What is at stake is twofold: We risk providing incorrect information, and we risk perpetuating harmful, universalizing hegemonies that obfuscate or otherwise erase entire groups of people (Drabinski, 2008). As previously detailed, classification schemes are inherently limited, structurally; power is ineluctably centralized in the first term, at the top of the hierarchy (Drabinski, 2008). Correcting the catalog might be a Sisyphean task, but regardless, "simple honesty and our own commitment—as professionals—to elemental decency require that we try" (Berman, 1971/1993, p. xi).

Berman originally wrote during the 1970s, but in 2005, Knowlton checked to see what progress since then had been made; he found that "36% of Berman's suggestions show some patterns of thought that persist in the Library of Congress—for example, many subject headings pertaining to the Christian religion remain unglossed...The main biases found in this study are the persistence of the assumption that unglossed religious headings refer to Christian topics, and unglossed terms relating to United States history and geography" (p. 128).

Social Justice Impact

While I have outlined perhaps idealistic and lofty goals for this project, I must concede that whether or not this thesis will have any immediate social impact is unclear; the only thing I can say certainly is that it has expanded my own thinking, awareness, and knowledge, and that adding Horie's story in her own words to the academic and historical record is itself a social justice project that succeeds upon completion. As outlined in the preceding sections, representation is crucial because it is inspiring and instructive, and Yonsei, Asian Americans, and Japanese Americans in general, women in general, and Yonsei, Asian American, and Japanese American librarians, are underrepresented in the historical records. Additionally, "Even short-term exposure to the past experience of women... has the most profound psychological effect on women" (Lerner, 1986, p. 3), so if women read this thesis, its social justice impact will expand.

When I initially invited Horie to be my collaborator in this project, I did not offer her anything in return; so, after the interviews concluded, I wondered what the implicit benefit of this project was—she must have perceived some benefit, because otherwise, why spend the time, money, 232 and energy to participate? After hearing her story in her words for the better part of a year, I guessed she would say that she felt it was her duty to participate if it was useful, and that if she had been identified as a candidate for this project, it must be because she had something useful to offer. But I wanted to see what she would have to say, so I emailed her this question: "Why did you decide to participate in this project?" and she replied that there were several reasons. Dr. Asato, one of the thesis committee members, thought the thesis was a good idea. She wished to be supportive when an LIS student expressed interest in pursuing the thesis option.

²³² Parking fees.

And, she has been encouraged to write about herself, "so now is [a] good opportunity to collaborate on it."

Reflection of the Interviewee

In this thesis, I have attempted to balance human sympathy—a stance that "should fuel an ideal biography"—with honesty and critique, since what can go wrong when writing life stories include "flattery, idealization, flatness, inaccuracy, distortion" (Lee, 2009, p. 3). The oral history interview process can force us to confront our own social roles as interviewers (Olson & Shopes, 1991). By being reflexive in our practice we can "move toward a more sensitive research methodology" (Borland, 1991, p. 65) and "reflection itself is a feminist act" (Accardi, 2013, p. 76). This thesis has prompted me to be more considerate of my own context and kuleana than I have ever been before. My own extensive reflections are included in the previous "Author Self-Identification" section. I asked Horie to reflect not only on her life, during the course of the oral history interviews, but also to reflect upon the process, after we had completed the interviews and she had read my thesis draft. It is important to note that "it would be illusory and ethically questionable to use the narrative as a means to transform the conceptions held by the interviewed woman. This would be to practice a kind of savage social therapy" (Chanfrault-Duchet, 1991, p. 89) and is not my intention in asking Horie to share her reflections on this process. In order to include her in the full scope of this collaborative process, I asked Horie if, after the interviews were complete and she had read my draft, she had any thoughts, feelings, concerns, questions, or reflections to share, but she did not feel the need to write a response for inclusion here.

Conclusion

This oral history biography covered the life and work of Ruth Horie (1950-), a Japanese American librarian in Honolulu, Hawai'i whose work centered mainly on preserving and providing access to Native Hawaiian culture, language, and materials. Horie grew up and lived during significant events in Hawai'i and in American history. She earned her undergraduate degree in Hawaiian Studies and two master's degrees, in Library Studies and Linguistics, from the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. She worked for a decade as a reference librarian at the East-West Center and then Bishop Museum, and then spent twenty-two years as a cataloger at Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Horie was one of the rare non-Indigenous librarians who deliberately studied and understood Hawaiian, a critically endangered language. While focused primarily on Hawaiian language and culture, and providing access to it, over the course of her career, Horie proactively assumed leadership roles, often unprompted, and was successful, despite her claimed aversion to such roles. Several examples include when she spearheaded the plan for the EWC's libraries' consolidation; when she became a de facto coordinator after the UH flood of 2004; and when she took it upon herself to provide information to UHPA members regarding the possible NEA disaffiliation. She continues to volunteer significant time and expertise to various projects, grants, and organizations.

The intersectional feminist analysis examined the unique positionalities Horie embodied and attempted to extract insights from her experience. A mutual learning process was enacted, in which introspection was required of both parties (both the interviewer and interviewee). Because of her extensive intentional activist pursuits, Horie's life and work turned out to be an excellent example for all who wish to take a social justice stance in their careers; her myriad impressive

accomplishments provide one possible blueprint for best practice not only in cataloging, but for all aspiring activist librarians.

Further Questions

When examining someone's entire life, there is always more that can be told, more that can be asked, more that can be reflected upon—especially when the person is still actively engaged in living. Given that Horie shared the story of her entire life, which spans nearly seven decades, and I provided historical context, there is plenty of detail that I hoped to include, but could not, due to time and space constraints.²³³ Additionally, there are many things Horie shared that require follow up interviews. For example, the possible or "borderline" sexual harasser was a person in her life whose actions deserve further investigation and analysis, especially since society's understanding of harassment and consent changes over time.²³⁴

A question there was insufficient time to address in this thesis is whether Horie has done more than possibly anyone else to provide access to materials in Hawaiian. Further analysis of Horie's mentors is warranted; how did those relationships develop, and what were their outcomes? What were the demographics of her mentors, and what can we learn from that? Volunteering has always been part of Horie's life; where did that ethos come from? There are several further questions I have for Horie, specifically:

- 1. Do you consider yourself a progressive librarian?
- 2. What does "progressive librarianship" mean to you?

²³³ In fact, that is an understatement.

²³⁴ "As biography is always involved with the social and cultural politics of its time and place, so its assumptions change about what is major or minor, permitted or shocking, mainstream or alternative" (Lee, 2009, p. 126).

- 3. Is there anything you wish to say to other women, Japanese Americans, catalogers, etc. (advice, encouragement, warnings, etc.)?
- 4. What was this oral history project like for you? What would you have done differently? How do you think it fits into your life's work and story?
- 5. What do you hope readers take away from this thesis?

Follow-up research is required to directly address and reassess Irvine's 1985 finding that even when women have become administrators—which, historically, is not often—they have been associated with the smaller and less-prestigious research libraries.

Horie's story is important, and as mentioned several times in the "Methodology" section, more life-stories, biographies, autobiographies, and oral histories are needed not only of women in general and librarian women specifically, but especially of Indigenous librarians and librarians of color, including but not limited to Asian American and Japanese American librarians. More research is needed on Indigenous librarians, who are especially marginalized; research "less frequently discusses librarians who are American Indian, Alaska Native, First Nation, or affiliated with another indigenous community than it does Black, Latino/a or Spanish Speaking, or Asian librarians" (Roy, 2015, p. viii). More on/from/about Asian American, Japanese American, and Indigenous librarians in Hawai'i in particular, over a diverse range of time periods, would be ideal.

More research is needed on not only the processes of racialization in Hawai'i but also of what those processes look like in people's lived experiences. Humans everywhere have constructed complex systems of power and control, and Hawai'i of course is not unique in that regard. However, as established, Hawai'i is unique in in terms of its multi-layered, ethnically diverse, historicity. For example, when talking about her Japanese family, Horie said:

I'm aware there's a certain racial prejudice among Japanese and local Japanese, Japanese Americans, some of us, or some of them, I'm not sure, have some prejudice against Okinawans. And, but see, I really didn't feel that way, even though I was aware of it, cuz we had so many, I believe Okinawan friends in school. And to me, they were just like anybody else. They weren't really different. Like, you can tell who's white, you know, that a Caucasian student is white, or a black student. We had very few black students in the school.

She defines her ingroup first as Japanese, then as local Japanese, then as Japanese

Americans. These are all accurate in describing her and her family. And yet, they are also all
different groups of people. A Japanese tourist in Hawai'i is different from a local Japanese
person whose family has lived here for generations, and those are both different than Japanese

Americans in the continental United States. Yet, Horie is also all three designations. The
complexity is further muddled when Horie mentions the prejudice between Okinawans and
Japanese, despite the fact that Okinawans are Japanese. 235 Processes of racialization are also
implied in the above passage, when Horie points out that people who visibly appeared different
could therefore be treated differently. While the processes of this racialization might not be
colloquially analyzed or understood by locals 236 the demarcations and attendant expectations and
prejudices are known, observed, and reinforced en masse. The implications are diversity and
multiculturalism on the one hand, and discrimination and systemic disadvantage on the other.

²³⁵ Horie later added: "Okinawa used to be a kingdom, just as Hawai'i was. And Okinawans are an ethnic group, just as Hawaiians are. This idea was shared with me by members of a group from Okinawa visiting the Bishop Museum a few years ago. When I spoke of Okinawans to you, I was referring to members of the ethnic group."

²³⁶ Here only, by "local" I mean any person who has resided in Hawai'i for long enough to understand local culture, groups, dynamics, customs, and biases.

The processes of racialization in Hawai'i are currently best summarized in Rohrer's (2010) ethnic triangulation of Indigenous / local / haole. Additional categories will possibly need to be accounted for in future scholarship because there are new behaviors and trends, people acting and existing in ways that allow them to be grouped together, though they are not ethnically or racially homogenous; these people might try to self-identify as local, but they are not local. For example, the military families who are stationed here are not uniquely accounted for in Rohrer's triangulation; tourists, especially those who own second homes in Hawai'i, are increasing in number and frequency; and foreign investors, who have business and own property in Hawai'i, but only live here part-time, are increasing. Because islands are inherently limited in terms of geographical capacity, and increased demand for homes in Hawai'i drives up costs for all, rightly or not, these groups are implicated in Indigenous—and, perhaps for the first time in recent memory, local—displacement. Who is defined as *haole*, local, or Indigenous depends on the relations between those groups, so if there are new categories introduced, that will likely have implications, whether they manifest as changed definitions, power redistribution, both, or something else entirely.

In this project, I engage in feminist pedagogy in action, which "seeks to bring about social change by raising consciousness about oppression and that values personal experience and testimony" (Accardi, 2013, p. 25). Women's voices have historically been silenced, and their lived experiences invalidated; to combat this, feminist pedagogy

seeks to reclaim women's experiences, voices, feelings, and ideas in educational settings... Instead of the teacher serving as the ultimate authority on all knowledge and information, knowledge is collaboratively discussed and created by the students and the teacher together. (Accardi, 2013, p. 25)

In the case of this thesis, rather than assert my knowledge as the "master" of information, I have engaged in a collaborative process (with Horie) to produce new knowledge and understanding with a research participant who is consequently humanized and empowered. Further feminist pedagogical projects that aim to empower the research "subjects" by transforming them from subject of inquiry to co-producer of knowledge, as collaborators, is encouraged.

Further questioning about low-stakes personal issues seems to me an effective way to gain insight into important personal views and experiences when interviewing. At the end of the process I was left with the impression that the most effective way to gain insight into Horie's life and experiences was indirectly, such as when I asked her about her favorite books and formative reading experiences. Not only did she talk for the longest stretches of time, in response to that particular prompt, but she shared her experiences in a way that more deeply illuminated her thinking and feeling vis-à-vis her relationship with various texts at various points of her life. For example:

So those, I think were the influential books and, and going back to existentialism in high school the thing I got out of it, unfortunately it was probably said to me, maybe it was tied into the nuclear bomb threat, but you know, I had already started doing, I'm not going to live to adulthood, right? So nothing really matters. It doesn't matter what I do when I grew up, I don't think gonna grow up, but this sealed the deal about existentialism and, and maybe nihilism, that nothing really matters... things just happen. There's no divine guidance. There's faith, yes. But there's no luck, right? And I may be totally misrepresenting what, what some of these authors

were trying to get at with their writing about existentialism, but that's what I got out of it.

This particular style of question (open-ended, tangential, personal) also allowed me to learn and think about Horie as a whole person, as a human with a rich inner life (in addition to the facts of the events and situations that occurred over the course of her lifetime). This approach allowed her to reflect and share her narrative regarding the effects that certain experiences had on her, both personally and professionally. Further questions can always be asked, and I conclude this project with the sense that all the questions I asked Horie are only the smallest portion of what I wish we had time to cover.

"Biographers may - and probably ought to - end their work feeling that there were many things they never discovered" (Lee, 2009, p. 138). This is how I feel, and an inconclusive conclusion is the only logical end to this project because "what can be said/written/understood is always already interacting with what-can be seen/grasped/seized in ways that are both mutually constitutive and condemned to incompleteness" (Turnbull & Ferguson, 1997, p. 99). And, a "desire for narrative closure, the quest for a life that is unitary and whole is like the longing for a lost paradise; it will remain unfulfilled" (Prins, 2006, p. 288). "Indigenous genealogy suggests that we look to the past to guide us in the future and that we attend to interrelations between people and place" (Rohrer, 2016, p. 176). This thesis cannot be easily categorized as belonging to feminist theory methodology. Everything about this thesis complicates the academic borders and territories it inhabits and traverses. This might make it more difficult to catalog, classify, or even to accept, for some scholars, but I think it is productively complicated. Just as this project cannot be easily classified, neither can it be neatly concluded. This is the oral history of a person—a person who is still living. A neat conclusion would undermine the feminist

methodology of the project, as a neat conclusion would close it off to further questioning, conversation, and possibilities. Due to these constraints, my whole project might be uncomfortable, but it is a productive discomfort. We cannot fix what we cannot admit exists. Learning to face and then accept and live with—or, ideally, correct—our own contradictions is profoundly uncomfortable, but it is also the necessary foundation for progressive social change.

While my aim was to provide space and an audience for people who are less likely to come by privileges—which is why I chose a woman of color—my own privilege showed in that I at first only considered my own subjectivity, which is as an American woman living in the United States.²³⁷ Once I began to delve deeper into the geo-political-historical context of this specific place, the setting of Horie's story, I realized that I had privileged the colonial/American version of the story before I had even begun my project. While that might be one failing of this project, I believe it also demonstrates the usefulness, importance, and ultimately the necessity of this type of work.

With its diverse population, Kanaka Maoli cultural foundation and strength, and hybrid local culture, Hawai'i is an ideal location for practicing intersectional, rather than strict identitarian, politics. Among other things, this means *mining one's own multiple mobile subjectivities for resources to build understandings and points of convergence for political action* [emphasis mine]. This, of course, is genealogical, knowing who we are and from whence we came. We are the set of stories we tell

²³⁷ When I set out to identify someone to collaborate with on this project, I focused on finding a collaborator based on three criteria: 1) the person would identify as a woman; 2) the person would have significant social justice and library related achievements; 3) ideally, this would be a person of color, since librarians are mostly Caucasian. While part of my goal was politicized, in that I wanted to highlight a woman's story in a feminized profession that still manages to undervalue women, and I would ideally highlight a woman of color's story, since white women are at the top of the female hierarchy, I did not think about this in the specific context of Hawai'i until the project was already well underway.

ourselves, the stories that tell us, the stories others tell about us, and the possibilities of new stories... All stories are political; they involve power that has structural underpinnings and material consequences. (Rohrer, 2016, p. 189)

My story is political, as is Horie's, as is the reader's. My hope at the conclusion of this project is that other librarians, particularly but not limited to those in Hawai'i, will heed this call to productively locate their own frameworks, subjectivities, and genealogies. This involves many layers, including but not limited to the profession of librarianship; biological and chosen families and their histories; and, especially, geo-socio-political and economic contexts. Horie herself said, in general, she tries "to understand different points of view and there's usually more than two points of view on any given issue."

This practice of self-reflexivity has the potential to help librarianship progress, if not transcend, its white Judeo/Christian patriarchal beginnings. Especially in Hawai'i, our *kuleana* as librarians starts here, with awareness and knowledge of the self, before we can turn our attention toward others. Only with a baseline of self-awareness will we be able to serve our communities from a place of cultural awareness and sensitivity, rather than imposition, imperialism, and prescription. It is how we will be able to empower our library users and communities, rather than submit them to outside hegemony.²³⁸ It is how we will be able to identify systems of oppression, and our space—which is likely to include complicity—within them.

Acknowledging our positionality, recognizing there is no innocent/pure location... these steps are key to reconceptualizing/rearticulating the world we want to live in. And there is no way to get there but together. (Rohrer, 2016, p. 189)

²³⁸ "Coalitional politics cannot be built from positions of innocence" (Rohrer, 2016, p. 188).

A vital aspect of librarian epistemology is that, as professionals, we must challenge ourselves to reflect upon our "own culture, heritage, and identity" (Irvin, 2016, p. 152). I further propose that reflexivity, especially telling our stories, situating ourselves, and identifying our complicity, is the first step forward, particularly as activist librarians. Horie told me: "I don't count myself as being totally non-imperialistic either... but just being aware, I think, of the issues, and thinking them through, and trying to avoid knee jerk reaction[s]" is our best way to move forward. As Horie's impressive life, work, and words demonstrate, there are many things we can start working on right now toward social justice ends, specifically, reviving endangered languages, and promoting representation, access, accuracy, and equity. As activist librarians, we must advocate for a multiplicity of stories and subjectivities; work to give marginalized peoples space for their own voices; provide access to cultural heritage materials, especially to and for the peoples from which that culture originates; and identify the most marginalized members of our communities, so that we can provide equitable, not homogenous, service.

Glossary²³⁹

- **1.** *Hānai:* nvs. Foster child, adopted child; foster, adopted. Keiki hānai, foster child. Lawe hānai, to adopt a child. Makua hānai, foster parent. Kāna hānai, his adopted child.
- **2.** *Kalo*: n. Taro (Colocasia esculenta), a kind of aroid cultivated since ancient times for food, spreading widely from the tropics of the Old World. In Hawai'i, taro has been the staple from earliest times to the present, and here its culture developed greatly, including more than 300 forms. All parts of the plant are eaten, its starchy root principally as poi, and its leaves as lū'au.
- **3.** *Kama'āina*: nvi. Native-born, one born in a place, host; native plant; acquainted, familiar, *Lit.*, land child.
- **4.** *Kanaka Maoli*: n. Full-blooded Hawaiian person.²⁴⁰
- **5.** *Kuleana*: nvt. Right, privilege, concern, responsibility, title, business, property, estate, portion, jurisdiction, authority, liability, interest, claim, ownership, tenure, affair, province; reason, cause, function, justification.
- **6.** Lo'i: vt. To look over critically; to look at as through searching for flaws, scrutinize.
- 7. 'Ōlelo: nvt. Language, speech, word, quotation, statement, utterance, term, tidings; to speak, say, state, talk, mention, quote, converse, tell.

Does not include individual people or place names. All definitions from Horie and the *Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Library*: http://wehewehe.org/.

²⁴⁰ This is not reflective of how I use the term in this thesis. My usage reflects anyone of any percentage Hawaiian blood/ancestry who also self-identifies as Indigenous to the Hawaiian Islands.

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Appendix A: Oral History Association's Principles and Best Practices for Oral History

Best Practices for Oral History²⁴¹

Pre-Interview

- 1. Whether conducting their own research or developing an institutional project, first time interviewers and others involved in oral history projects should seek training to prepare themselves for all stages of the oral history process.
- 2. In the early stages of preparation, interviewers should make contact with an appropriate repository that has the capacity to preserve the oral histories and make them accessible to the public.
- 3. Oral historians or others responsible for planning the oral history project should choose potential narrators based on the relevance of their experiences to the subject at hand.
- 4. To prepare to ask informed questions, interviewers should conduct background research on the person, topic, and larger context in both primary and secondary sources
- 5. When ready to contact a possible narrator, oral historians should send via regular mail or email an introductory letter outlining the general focus and purpose of the interview, and then follow-up with either a phone call or a return email. In projects involving groups in which literacy is not the norm, or when other conditions make it appropriate, participation may be solicited via face to face meetings.

²⁴¹ Retrieved from: http://www.oralhistory.org/about/principles-and-practices/#best.

6. After securing the narrator's agreement to be interviewed, the interviewer should schedule a non-recorded meeting. This pre-interview session will allow an exchange of information between interviewer and narrator on possible questions/topics, reasons for conducting the interview, the process that will be involved, and the need for informed consent and legal release forms. During pre-interview discussion the interviewer should make sure that the narrator understands:

*oral history's purposes and procedures in general and of the proposed interview's aims and anticipated uses.

*his or her rights to the interviews including editing, access restrictions, copyrights, prior use, royalties, and the expected disposition and dissemination of all forms of the record, including the potential distribution electronically or on-line.

*that his or her recording(s) will remain confidential until he or she has given permission via a signed legal release.

- 7. Oral historians should use the best digital recording equipment within their means to reproduce the narrator's voice accurately and, if appropriate, other sounds as well as visual images. Before the interview, interviewers should become familiar with the equipment and be knowledgeable about its function.
- 8. Interviewers should prepare an outline of interview topics and questions to use as a guide to the recorded dialogue.

Interview

- 1. Unless part of the oral history process includes gathering soundscapes, historically significant sound events, or ambient noise, the interview should be conducted in a quiet room with minimal background noises and possible distractions.
- 2. The interviewer should record a "lead" at the beginning of each session to help focus his or her and the narrator's thoughts to each session's goals. The "lead" should consist of, at least, the names of narrator and interviewer, day and year of session, interview's location, and proposed subject of the recording.
- 3. Both parties should agree to the approximate length of the interview in advance. The interviewer is responsible for assessing whether the narrator is becoming tired and at that point should ask if the latter wishes to continue. Although most interviews last about two hours, if the narrator wishes to continue those wishes should be honored, if possible.
- 4. Along with asking creative and probing questions and listening to the answers to ask better follow-up questions, the interviewer should keep the following items in mind:
- interviews should be conducted in accord with any prior agreements made with narrator, which should be documented for the record.
- interviewers should work to achieve a balance between the objectives of the project and the perspectives of the interviewees. Interviewers should fully explore all appropriate areas of inquiry with interviewees and not be satisfied with superficial responses. At the same time, they should encourage narrators to respond to questions in their own style and language and to address issues that reflect their concerns.

- interviewers must respect the rights of interviewees to refuse to discuss certain subjects, to restrict access to the interview, or, under certain circumstances, to choose anonymity.

 Interviewers should clearly explain these options to all interviewees.
- interviewers should attempt to extend the inquiry beyond the specific focus of the project to create as complete a record as possible for the benefit of others.
- in recognition of the importance of oral history to an understanding of the past and of the cost and effort involved, interviewers and interviewees should mutually strive to record candid information of lasting value.
- 5. The interviewer should secure a release form, by which the narrator transfers his or her rights to the interview to the repository or designated body, signed after each recording session or at the end of the last interview with the narrator.

Appendix B: Interview Questions (from the thesis proposal)

Childhood through high school (1950-1968)

- 1. Tell me about your childhood
 - a. What are your family's origins in Hawai'i? What is your racial/ethnic makeup?Can you please tell me a bit about your family's background and heritage?
 - b. What economic class was your family part of?
 - c. Who raised you / who did you live with at home? What sort of impact did that have on you?
 - d. What language were you raised speaking? Were any other languages spoken at home?
 - e. Were you aware of your race/ethnicity as a child? What was your experience growing up as a non-white American in Hawaii? Did you consciously think about or identify with ethnicity or race or nationality, as a child? What did you identify as? Were you conscious of race or gender as a child? How did you experience being a girl?
 - f. What messages about how you should live your life, or about what you could or could not do as a girl or woman, were you exposed to, and by whom? Did your mother work?
 - g. Was anyone in your family an activist (growing up)?
 - h. Did you have exposure to anything related to social justice or injustice, as a child?
 - i. Did you parents work? What did they do?
 - j. Where did you go to school? Did you enjoy school?
 - k. What was your favorite subject?

- 1. Did you have any memorable teachers?
- m. Growing up, how did you imagine your adulthood? What were your dreams and goals? What did your kindergarten self tell people you wanted to be when you grew up?
- n. What were the adults in your life's expectations for you and how did those expectations impact you?
 - i. Were expectations the same or different for you and your younger brother?
 - ii. You mentioned that your family wanted you to become a teacher; where do you think that expectation came from?²⁴²
- o. If you enjoyed / excelled in school: are there any specific noteworthy achievements you can mention?
- p. Who did you consider your community?
- q. Were you ever the victim of violence or the beneficiary of preference based on your gender or ethnicity?²⁴³ Please know that you do not have to respond, and that I only ask in case it shaped your experience or perception of identity. If you are comfortable responding, can you please tell me more about those experiences?
- r. What extracurriculars were you involved in?
 - i. What did you do for fun, growing up?
 - ii. What media influenced your childhood or stayed with you?

²⁴² See Table: Ratio of Ethnic Occupancy of Teachers, by Sex and Ethnic Group, 1910-1950 in Tamura, 1994, p. 19.

²⁴³ This question applies to and should be asked about throughout the lifetime.

Undergraduate education

- 1. Tell me about your decision to continue your education at the University of Hawai'i.
- 2. Did you enroll in UH directly after high school? What factors influenced your decisions around this time? Did you apply to other universities or programs?
 - a. Did anyone encourage or discourage you from continuing your education?
 - b. Were your female friends, classmates or family members also enrolling in college or university?
- 3. Did you choose your major right away? Did you ever switch majors?
- 4. Did you have any influential or memorable courses, professors, assignments, etc. that influenced you?
- 5. Where did you live during university?
 - a. What was that like?
 - b. What year did you have to move out of your parents' house, and why? How old were you? Where did you move to?
- 6. How did you pay for university?
- 7. Was your undergraduate degree in Hawaiian Studies? (The University of Hawai'i established the Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge in 2007, long after her undergraduate education.) What department did you complete your undergraduate degree with?

Graduate education

1. Tell me about how you decided to become a librarian.

- a. When did you enter library school? How did you learn of the program? How did you choose to pursue the degree?
- b. What was your experience with and in libraries up to that point? Do you have memories related to libraries and/or librarians from earlier in life?
- c. What was your impression of libraries and librarians at that point in time?
- d. How did you decide to pursue this degree? What were some other alternatives you were considering? What ultimately influenced your decision?
- e. What were your long-term goals, if any?
- f. Were your friends or family pursuing graduate degrees at this time or before you?
- g. Did you personally know any librarians at the time?
- h. Did you envision librarianship as a form of activism?
- 2. How did you pay for your LIS degree? Did you work?
- 3. Where did you live during that time?
- 4. What else were you engaged in/with during that time?
 - a. Were you involved in any student groups?
 - b. Did you participate in any extracurricular activities?
- 5. When you earned your master's degree in Library Science from the University of Hawai'i in 1981, what was your plan for after graduation?
- 6. Had you heard of, read, or otherwise interacted with Sanford Berman, or any other influential librarians who were concerned with subject headings regarding people?
- 7. Throughout your entire education, did you have academic mentors?
 - a. Did you have any influential or memorable courses, professors, assignments, etc. that influenced you? Maack & Passet (1994) have documented the importance of

- mentorship and role models as "agents of inspiration, catalysts to move in new directions, ad sources of support" for aspiring women in academic environments (p. 148).
- b. Do you remember any particular courses, professors, assignments, experiences, etc. that you would like to share?
- 8. Which librarians, Hawaiians, activists, and / or scholars influenced you during your studies? And since then?
- 9. Can you tell me more about who your personal and professional role models are, and why?
- 10. Which public or revered figures (within or outside of LIS) did or do you take issue with?
 Why?
- 11. Can you describe any other students or faculty?

Early career

- 1. How and when did you end up employed at the East-West Center?
 - a. You mentioned previously that this was like training for future career work; can you please explain and elaborate on that?
 - b. What was your title there and what did your job entail? Did you get promoted?
 How much were you paid?
 - c. Are there any specific situations, people, accomplishments, experiences, you can mention?
- 2. How and when did you come into employment at Bishop Museum?

- a. What was your title there and what did your job entail? Did you get promoted?
 How much were you paid?
- b. Are there any specific situations, people, accomplishments, experiences, you can mention?
- c. You previously mentioned several gender-related factors (divorce, unaware that women were "allowed" to ask for a raise) that contributed to you unfortunately needing to leave this job; can you please explain? Did personal factors influence these decisions, and if so, in what ways?

Tenure at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (1991-2012)

PART 1: CAREER

- 1. Please describe an overview of your academic library career.
- 2. When did you teach a course in the Library and Information Science program, what was it, and how did it go?
 - a. Did you like or dislike teaching?
 - b. Why did you only teach one semester?
 - c. Do you remember any of your students or what you wanted to impart to them?
 - d. Did teaching this course have any impact on your previous conceptions of teachers (you previously mentioned that as a child, she saw how much work it was being a schoolteacher, and that this deterred her from pursuing teaching as a career) or on your future involvement in the state Department of Education issues?
- 3. Were you interested in advancing your career or in leadership roles?

- a. What career and professional development opportunities did you perceive available to you?
- b. What did you pursue and accomplish, or choose not (or were barred from)?
- c. What factors inhibited or advanced these efforts?
- d. You mentioned that in a previous job you didn't know you could ask for a raise.

 Did that assumption persist throughout your career (Satter, 2017)?
- 4. Please tell me about the 2004 flood in Hamilton Library. What happened? How did affect you and your work? What was your role in the aftermath? How did it impact your work going forward?
- 5. Did you serve on the University of Hawai'i Professional Assembly (UHPA) Board? Can you tell me about your involvement?
- 6. What led you to become involved in the union and support strikes?
- 7. Were you involved in the University of Hawai'i Library Faculty Senate?
- 8. Do you remember when, or were you involved in, the University of Hawai'i establishing the Hawai'inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge in May 2007?

Tenure at University of Hawai'i at Mānoa (1991-2012)

PART II: GRADUATE STUDIES

- 1. When did you decide to pursue a second master's degree, in Linguistics from the University of Hawai'i?
 - a. Did personal factors influence these decisions, and if so, in what ways?
 - b. You completed the degree in 2000; when did you start the degree?
 - c. Did you work full time? Part time? How did you pay for your graduate degree?

- d. Did you only study Hawaiian language at this time?
- e. Was this the only way to study Hawaiian at the time?
- f. Were you interested in sociolinguistics, or anything else in particular about the Hawaiian language?
- g. What was it like studying Hawaiian language (and culture) as a non-Hawaiian?

 Who were your fellow students? Who were the faculty and what were they like?
- h. Did your friends and family support this endeavor?
- i. Please tell me about your master's thesis.
- 2. You considered a Ph.D. in the Americanization of Hawaiian Language and were accepted into program but ultimately did not pursue it; when was this?
 - a. Why did you initially apply?
 - b. Why did you not enroll in the program? Did personal factors influence these decisions, and if so, in what ways?

Vice President of Hawai'i Library Association

- 1. What was your initial involvement with/in HLA?
- 2. What was the atmosphere like in HLA?
- 3. Who was the leader or President?
- 4. When and how did you become Vice President?
 - a. How long did you hold that post?
 - b. How else were you involved, both before and after that post?
 - c. Usually a Vice President is expected to become President the next year; was this an exception? Why?

- 5. Were you in the American Library Association (ALA)?
 - a. Did you go to ALA conferences or other conferences? What were they like?
 - b. How did you travel?
- 6. Tell me about the partnership with Pacific Islands Association of Libraries, Archives and Museums (PIALA); was that a grassroots initiative or influenced strongly by ALA's similar efforts at the time?
 - a. What did the partnership involve and when was it?
 - b. What did it accomplish?
 - c. Did you travel for PIALA or attend any of their conferences? What was that like?

Activism

- 1. You were involved in changing some Library of Congress subject headings.
 - a. Tell me about when you first noticed subject headings that you believed to be inaccurate. Please describe their inaccuracies or misleading nature.
 - b. Roughly how many erroneous or incorrect subject headings did you identify?
 - c. Was it just Hawai'i subject headings?
 - d. What inspired you to take action?
 - e. Did you spearhead the effort?
 - f. What did it involve?
 - g. Who else was involved?
- 2. Tell me about the Statewide Hawai'i Department of Education Strike in 2001.
 - a. What were the issues?

- b. How did you become involved in the University of Hawai'i Professional Assembly strike?
- c. In what way/s and why did you support the concurrent Hawai'i State Teachers Association strike?
- 3. Tell me about when, in 2006, you made a successful effort to have the UH Mānoa Council of Chairs officially include library department heads.
 - a. What was the impetus for you to work on that?
 - b. How were you able to make the attempt successful?
- 4. Additional questions TBD: the majority of these questions will be dependent on previous responses.

Retirement

- 1. What year did you retire and how did you decide that it was time? In general, women are poorer than men in all racial and ethnic groups, especially elderly women. Did you feel that you had saved up enough money for retirement? Did you retire at an ideal time?
- 2. You succeeded in convincing the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa to change the title of the cataloger position to Hawaiian Cataloger at the University of Hawai'i, but they were unable to find a qualified candidate to fill the position. Can you please tell me more about that process?
 - a. Please describe why it was important to you to have the position renamed.
 - b. What did you envision for the role? Or, how did it already fit that title?
 - c. How did you succeed in convincing the University to rename the role? Was anyone else involved? Was there a formal process in place for such a request?

- d. Was there widespread support, apathy, or opposition toward this effort?
- e. Does this position still exist and if so, who is in the role?
- f. No cataloger with the word "Hawaiian" explicit in the job title is currently listed on the Hamilton Library website as of February 3, 2018.
- 3. In 2015 you served on a thesis committee for the thesis: *Toward a Hawaiian Knowledge Organization System: A Survey on Access to Hawaiian Knowledge in Libraries and Archives* (Matsuda, 2015). Can you please tell me about that?
- 4. Did you feel that you had accomplished everything, professionally, that you wanted to?
- 5. What do you do now?
 - a. What sorts of activist and non-activist activities/events/organizations/initiatives are you currently involved in, or were you involved in after retirement?
 - b. Do you still consider yourself to be an activist?
 - c. Can you please tell me about your ongoing volunteer work at Hamilton Library, The Bishop Museum, the Judiciary History Center, and Ulukau (as well as any additional/ongoing work and/or activism)?
- 6. You received the PIALA Lifetime Achievement Award in 2014.
 - a. The mission of PIALA is to enhance the quality of leadership in order to support and strengthen libraries, archives, and museums across the Pacific Islands. How did you feel you had contributed to that mission? Was it intentional or incidental to your other work?
 - b. Were you nominated by someone for that award or did you apply, or was it otherwise bestowed?
 - c. Can you tell me about receiving the award?

- d. How did it make you feel?
- e. Was there a ceremony or event?
- 7. What is your opinion on current socio-political events such as #MeToo, Donald Trump,
 Black Lives Matter, Hawaiian Sovereignty, controversy regarding the use of Hawaiian
 language, etc.?

Questions to be applied to entire lifetime

- 1. Did you clash with anyone during your studies? At your first job? The following ones? Why? Can you tell me what happened?
- 2. Did you ever feel antagonism (or racism, or sexism, etc.) toward you?
 - a. In kindergarten, grade school, middle or high school?
 - b. In undergraduate or graduate school?
 - c. In X job? (all jobs)
 - d. If so, can you tell me more about that?
- 3. Conversely, did you receive support from various communities, networks, or individuals?
 Can you tell me more about that? If so, did you seek out those supports, or did they originate organically?
- 4. Can you tell me a bit about your romantic life beginning in youth and up through the completion of your LIS degree?
 - a. What were your parents (or other influential people's) attitudes toward your love life?
 - b. How did those opinions influence and impact both your personal and professional trajectories?

c. How did your romantic relationships influence and impact both your personal and professional trajectories?

Questions about the interview/to be considered at the conclusion of the interviews -

Possibly, but not necessarily, asked to Horie; adapted from Ritchie (2015, p. 18), regarding how to consider the credibility of the interviewee

- 1. Was Horie in a position to experience events firsthand or was she passing along secondhand information?
- 2. What biases might have shaped her recollections?
- 3. What might she have forgotten and why?
- 4. Does Horie feel differently now about any of the events that she described, compared to how she felt about them at the time?
- 5. What subsequent incidents might have shaped the way Horie now thinks about the past?
- 6. How closely does her testimony agree with other documentary evidence from the period/s?
 - a. Are there discrepancies, and if so, why?

Appendix C: Copyright Release Form

I, Ruth Horie, hereby give and grant to Valerie Shaindlin the absolute and unqualified right to the use of my oral history conducted by her from October 2017-December 2018. I understand that the purpose of this research project is to fulfill the thesis requirements for a masters degree in Library & Information Science at the University of Hawaii at Manoa.

In signing this contract, I understand that I am conveying to Valerie Shaindlin all legal title and literary property rights that I have or may be deemed to have in my interview as well as my right, title, and interest in any copyright related to this oral history interview that may be secured under laws now or later in force and effect in the United States of America. This does not preclude any use that I myself wish to make of the information in these transcripts and recordings. I consent to use of my name in this project.

I have the right to respond to all questions in my own time, language, and style, and the right to refuse to divulge any information at any time for any reason, but will in good faith provide the requested information. I have the right to correct factual inaccuracies in the recordings and transcripts but not the interpretation. I will receive no compensation for this project other than a copy of the final result.

Frim 15 P Nov. 16, 2017
Sign Date

Appendix D: Human subjects Research Release

Consent to Participate in Research Project: Dr. Andrew Wertheimer, Principal Investigator Valerie Brett Shaindlin, Student Investigator

Ruth Horie Oral History Research Project

My name is Valerie Brett Shaindlin and I am a graduate student in the Library and Information Science program at the University of Hawai'I (UH). My thesis committee chair is Dr. Andrew Wertheimer, an Associate Professor in the Information and Computer Sciences Department at UH. I am conducting a project to collect and save recollections of an activist librarian. I am asking for your participation in this project, because you meet this qualification.

Activities and Time Commitment: If you agree to participate, I will interview you up to 15 times at a time and place convenient to you. The interviews will last about 90 minutes each. I will record the interviews using a digital audio recorder. The interviews will be informal and conversational. I want to get your personal recollections of your career and life.

After the interviews, I will type a written record of the interviews and then check and edit the transcript for accuracy. The final transcript may be typed later for publication. At a future date, bound volumes may be distributed to libraries for use by other oral historians and the general public.

Users will be permitted to use excerpts from any of the transcriptions without obtaining permission as long as proper credit is given to the interviewee (you), interviewer (me), and the UH Center for Oral History. At the completion of the project, I would like to store the digital audio files of my interviews with you in the digital archives of the Center for Oral History. The purposes of storing these files are to:

- (a) Maintain a "living" audible file of the interviews, as they sounded, and
- (b) Permit students, faculty, researchers, and the public to listen to the interviews.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this project is voluntary. You may withdraw from participation at any time, until the completion date of this project which is expected to be December 31, 2018. During the interviews, you can choose to not answer any question(s) at any time for any reason. If you disapprove of, wish to change, add to, delete, or otherwise change the transcripts or the audio file of the interviews, you may do so at any time up to the completion of this project. If you decide that the transcripts and/or audio files should not be archived, we will end the project.

Benefits and Risks: There is no direct benefit to you in participating in this research project. Your participation will contribute to the historical record. We want to create an authentic record and make available it to scholars and the general public as a reliable historical document. To do that, it is important that your actual name appear as the interviewee on the transcript. In addition, the transcripts and audio files of the interviews will include your name and personal recollections. Thus, one potential risk to you is a loss of privacy. Another possible risk is that some topics you discuss during the interviews might bring back painful or unpleasant memories. In such cases, we can take a break, skip that topic, and/or you may choose to stop participating altogether.

Privacy and Confidentiality: In order to accurately document this historic event, it is important that your name appear as the interviewee on the transcript. However, you retain the right to change, delete, or add information in the transcripts and audio-video files.

Questions: Please contact me, Valerie Brett Shaindlin, at (808) 754-4579 if you have any questions regarding this project. You may contact the UH Human Studies Program at (808) 956-5007 or uhirb@hawaii.edu to discuss problems concerns, and questions; obtain information; or offer input with an informed individual who is unaffiliated with the specific research protocol. Please visit https://www.hawaii.edu/researchcompliance/information-research-participants for more information on your rights as a research participant.

Agreement to Participate in

Activist Librarian Oral History Research Project

"I certify that I have read and that I understand the information in this consent form, that I have been given satisfactory answers to my questions concerning the project, and that I have been told that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation in the project at any time without any negative consequences to me.

I herewith give my consent to participate in this project with the understanding that such consent does not waive any of my legal rights."

Ruth Horie

Signature of Interviewee

1/1/18

Date

Keep this copy of the informed consent for your records and reference.

If you consent to be in this project, please sign the signature section below and return it to Valerie Brett Shaindlin.

Signature(s) for Consent:

I give permission to join the research project entitled, "Ruth Horie: Oral History of an Activist Librarian".

Please initial next to either "Yes" or "No" to the following:

_MYes	No	I consent to be audio-recorded for the interview portion of this research.	246
PH Yes	No	I give permission to allow the investigator to use my real name to be used for the publication of this research	
Name of Participant (Print): Ruth Hone			
		min 150	
Signature of the Person Obtaining Consent:			
Date:	11/18		

Appendix E: UH IRB Approval Protocol 2017-00907



Office of Research Compliance Human Studies Program

TO: Wertheimer, Andrew, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Library and Information Science Program

Shaindlin, Valerie, BS, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Library and Information Science Program,

Library and Information Science

FROM: Rivera, Victoria, Interim Dir, Ofc of Rsch Compliance, Social&Behav Exempt

PROTOCOL TITLE: Ruth Horie: Oral History of an Activist Librarian

FUNDING SOURCE:

PROTOCOL NUMBER: 2017-00907

Approval Date: April 11, 2018 Expiration Date: December 31, 2999

NOTICE OF APPROVAL FOR HUMAN RESEARCH

This letter is your record of the Human Studies Program approval of this study as exempt.

On April 11, 2018, the University of Hawaii (UH) Human Studies Program approved this study as exempt from federal regulations pertaining to the protection of human research participants. The authority for the exemption applicable to your study is documented in the Code of Federal Regulations at 45 CFR 46.101(b) 2.

Exempt studies are subject to the ethical principles articulated in The Belmont Report, found at the OHRP Website www.hhs.gov/ohrp/humansubjects/guidance/belmont.html.

Exempt studies do not require regular continuing review by the Human Studies Program. However, if you propose to modify your study, you must receive approval from the Human Studies Program prior to implementing any changes. You can submit your proposed changes via email at uhirb@hawaii.edu. (The subject line should read: Exempt Study Modification.) The Human Studies Program may review the exempt status at that time and request an application for approval as non-exempt research.

In order to protect the confidentiality of research participants, we encourage you to destroy private information which can be linked to the identities of individuals as soon as it is reasonable to do so. Signed consent forms, as applicable to your study, should be maintained for at least the duration of your project.

This approval does not expire. However, please notify the Human Studies Program when your study is complete. Upon notification, we will close our files pertaining to your study.

If you have any questions relating to the protection of human research participants, please contact the Human Studies Program by phone at 956-5007 or email uhirb@hawaii.edu. We wish you success in carrying out your research project.

1960 East-West Road Biomedical Sciences Building B104 Honolulu, Hawai'l 96822 Telephone: (808) 956-5007 Fax: (808) 956-8683

ctive Action Institution