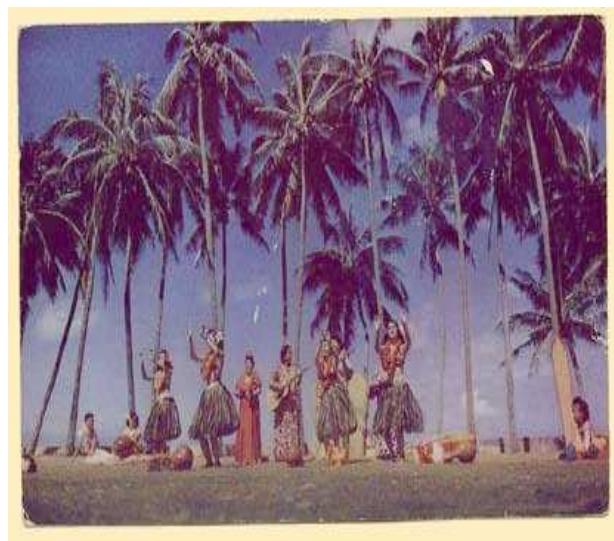


I ka wā mamua, ka wā mahope

The future is in the past



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The future is in the past

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1. Introduction

In today's globalised world tourism is one of the leading industries. Holidays and travelling were first only for a selected few, now it is accessible for far more people, especially in the western world. The travelling distance has increased, while more and more people are travelling to far destinations. The tourism industry has also seen a change in its offer. First, the standardized, mass-packaged holidays were popular. Currently, a form of tourism is on the rise in which mostly western tourists are looking for authentic, historical experiences from 'authentic people and countries'. Academic scholars believe that the quest for authentic experiences originates from a belief by tourists that these experiences come from and represent an unchanged world, a world not yet influenced by globalization. Such a world is frequently sought within the former colonies with which most western countries still have connections. The legacies of the colonial period, such as colonial heritage, colonial lifestyles and the 'exotic peoples and customs', have become tourist attractions. It is, as Duval (2004:57) points out, "this historical connection that serves as the foundation for the surge of tourism in many of these postcolonial environments and localities".

Colonialism has its roots in the 15th century and originated out of the quest for power, domination of trade and military advantage (Palmer 1994). It were mainly European countries, particularly the Netherlands, Great Britain and French, that fought for colonies in Asia, Africa and the Americas. However, North America and Japan also have their share in colonialism, predominantly in the Pacific. Nowadays, the majority of the former colonies belong to the developing world in which poverty and lack of basic needs and resources are the order of the day. In order to improve their (economic) situation, tourism has been introduced within the former colonies. Hence, due to the attractiveness of such destinations (i.e. their environment, history, way of life and its people) postcolonial tourism destinations take on an important role in the current tourism industry. Postcolonial scholars argue that this new form of tourism is a continuing form of colonialism. These postcolonial scholars are mostly concerned with the economic, cultural and political consequences imposed by tourism on ex-colonies and its associated processes of identity formation and representation (Palmer 1994; Hall & Tucker 2004). Postcolonial scholars claim that colonialism was and still remains of influence on the western interpretation and

interaction with people from other, non-western cultures. Moreover, postcolonial studies investigate the relationship between the ‘colonizers and the colonized’. Finally, postcolonial scholars look at power structures that are constructed and maintained through the postcolonial relationship (Echtner and Prasad 2003). According to postcolonial scholars, postcolonialism can refer to a lot of different things. First, the word ‘post’ refers to a position of no longer being a colony. Postcolonialism can also be applied to states that remain in a peripheral position, and to groups and/or minorities which are under the dominance of a more powerful group. Finally, it can refer to a stance against imperialism, capitalism, globalization, colonialism and the West. This last stance is also being called neo-colonialism in which scientists argue that (independent) states or groups of people are still under the influence and control of foreign state intervention or a dominant group. Or as Ashcroft argues: “Postcolonialism is used to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day. This is because there is a continuity of preoccupations throughout the historical process initiated by European imperial aggression” (In: Hall & Tucker 2004:3).

The colonial period has left its marks on former colonies that are still present nowadays. For instance, colonialism caused displacement and cultural denigration of the native population. This occurred due to processes of colonial settlement and migration, the transportation of convicts or slaves and by deliberately oppressing and inferiorize the locals’ cultural practices and beliefs (Hall and Tucker 2004). The native population has been subject to a hierarchy of identities in which their identity ranked lowest and that of the colonial power superior. Colonialism made that the identities of the colonizers were associated with modernity and progress, while the natives’ identities were positioned as old-fashioned and backwards (Medina 2003). As a result, natives increasingly adapted to the identity of their colonizers and distanced themselves from their own native identity. In this way, they hoped to move up the hierarchical ladder and gain a better social and economic position within their society (Medina 2003). Consequently, issues of identity and representation are of major importance in postcolonial societies. With the current demand from tourists for heritage or the past, including the colonial past, and displays of authentic traditions and customs, the past is being (re)-constituted and used in tourism (Hall and Tucker 2004).

One example of a state that has a colonial past is the archipelago of Hawaii. The archipelago consists out of six major islands; Hawai'i (also called the Big Island), Maui, Lana'i, Moloka'i, O'ahu and Kaua'i. The islands are situated in the middle of the Pacific Ocean between the USA and Japan and is considered to be the most remote island chain of the world. In total, 1,288,198 people live on the different islands. The first people on the Hawaiian islands arrived 1500 years ago. In 1820, the first Protestant missionaries arrived and Hawaii became an important haven for sea-men and traders. The influence of the west continued to grow and by 1893 a flourishing economy existed due to sugar and pineapple plantations. These plantations were almost all in hands of foreigners, specifically Americans. Ultimately, the Americans made an end to the Hawaiian kingdom and annexed the islands as US territory. In 1959, Hawaii officially became the 50th state of the USA (Hawaii Visitors and Convention Bureau 2010). After this, Hawaii experienced an development which ultimately resulted in the Hawaiian cultural renaissance. This renaissance initially started out of political protest from native Hawaiians who were against the encroaching development of Hawaii which meant alienation from their lands, natural resources and their claim of native Hawaiian ethnic identity. This Hawaiian renaissance produced the revival of native Hawaiian cultural histories, traditions and practices , such as performances, arts and crafts and the resurgence of Hawaiian language (Stillman 1996). As with many postcolonial societies, the Hawaiian cultural renaissance shows that native Hawaiians are still dealing with issues resulting from their (colonial) past.

Currently, there is no other American state that is as dependent on one single industry as Hawaii is on tourism. In 2008, 6.713.436 tourists visited the islands of Hawaii. They accounted for a total of \$11.182 million. Most of the tourists (4.303.094) visited the island of O'ahu known for the famous Waikiki beaches. The tourists are primarily coming from the US mainland, followed by Japan. However, compared with 2007, Hawaii sees a drastic decrease of its tourists (-10.4%) and its revenues (-11.1%) (State of Hawaii 2010). Even though tourism provides a lot of economic benefits, it also has its disadvantages for Hawaiian society. One of the main problems facing Hawaii are its social problems. Housing prices have risen immensely mainly due to the tourism industry, making Hawaii the most expensive state to live in America. Although the situation has improved in the last years, the education in Hawaii is still lacking behind compared to other states. In addition, about one third of the younger generation is leaving the state when they grow up. Finally, the cost of living lies 25% higher than on the mainland (unknown 1993).

1.2. Problem statement

Although postcolonialism has been linked to tourism in more recent years, there is still a lack of understanding about what the contribution of tourism studies can do in order to understand the postcolonial experience of native peoples and the influence it has on their lives. It is important to identify how native people deal with the aftermath of colonialism with its potential social and cultural problems and which role tourism plays in this (Hollinshead 2004). Moreover, postcolonial scholars claim that the tourism industry has a lot of power on postcolonial societies in that it can decide which information can be used in the promotion of tourism and thus, how a country, its history and its people are being represented. Or as Hollinshead (2004:31) says: “In terms of postcolonial states it will be important to assess how the field of tourism is being made use of in the fresh or correct representation of particular societies. Tourism could prove to be an important piece of armoury on the part of postcolonial states and populations in their efforts and freedoms to articulate the felt nationalism and the cherished endearments which hold them together as people. Thereby, tourism could/would/should prove to be a vital field through which revered or targeted ‘strategic essentialisms’ can be clarified and codified for internal consumption and otherwise announced and articulated for external digestion”.

Moreover, despite the increasing attention of tourists for the past the tourism industry does not yet fully recognizes the potential of this past. Therefore, it is important to examine how ‘the’ history of a country is represented and to know the meaning behind tourist attractions that are based on that history. This because the (colonial) past of a society plays an important role in the tourism industry, since most tourist attractions are based on ‘the’ history of a country, be it by visiting a heritage site or by witnessing how the native people used to live in the old days. Thus, as Duval (2004:58) argues: “An examination of specific and overt elements associated with (...) tourism requires an acknowledgement of the specific histories of culture and traditions being presented. One needs to be conscious of the larger historical processes that have shaped the very performance, culture or attribute under scrutiny”. In addition, a critical stance has to be adopted when looking at the historical accounts of a society, something that has often been ignored. Finally, in order to grasp the processes going on in a society and the reaction of the local people towards this, a global historical perspective is needed (Friedman 1992). Consequently, the (colonial) history of a society has to be analyzed in a critical manner in order to find out what lies behind contemporary practices, ways of thinking, frictions and struggles.

1.3. Research objective and research question(s)

If we want to understand how the past is represented for tourism and to know the different versions of history within a society, we have to take a closer look at how history is produced and why (Friedman 1992). For that reason, I would like to explore and compare the different histories of Hawaii represented in scientific historical accounts and represented for tourists. This research objective has been standardized in the following main research question:

Which histories of Hawaii are represented within scientific historical accounts and which for tourists?

This main research question has been operationalized into the following sub research questions:

1. How is history being constructed?
2. How is the history of Hawaii being represented within scientific historical accounts?
3. How is the history of Hawaii being represented for tourists?
4. What are the similarities and discrepancies between the scientific historical accounts of Hawaii and the history as it is represented for tourists?
5. What are the reasons behind these similarities and discrepancies?

1.4. Outline

In chapter 2 is the process of this thesis described. Here, I describe how I have handled the research starting with the methods and ending with the theoretical framework which forms the basis of this research and on which the analysis is based. The theoretical framework deals with constructivist theories about history and the construction of history. The next chapter answers the first research question. Here, the history of Hawaii as told in scientific historical accounts is illustrated, ranging from the first settlement of the islands to the first contact with the western world and, finally, the emergence of tourism. Chapter 4 describes the history of Hawaii as represented for tourists. This information is abstracted from tourist information sources, such as the Hawaii Visitor and Convention bureau, the Lonely Planet, and observations made during my fieldwork period. In addition, this chapter describes two major tourist attractions: hula shows and the 'Iolani Palace. Chapter 5 contains the analysis of the

observations and the information gathered from the previous chapters. In addition, it mentions any discrepancies and similarities and tries to explain these based on the theoretical framework. Finally, a conclusion is given which answers the main research question.

2. The Process

“Science never solves a problem without creating ten more” (George Bernard Shaw)

This quote is very representative for this thesis and the process associated with it. In my initial thesis proposal I had comprehensively explained how I wanted to research the relationship between tourism and the ethnic identity of native Hawaiians. I had decided to go to Hawaii for three months to do fieldwork. There, I wanted to interview native Hawaiians about their identity, ethnicity, the role that tourism played in their lives and what they thought about ‘their’ traditional practices being used in tourism. I thought that I could contact organizations associated with native Hawaiians and approach Hawaiians working in the tourism industry. Oh how different things were once I had arrived on Hawaii...

Once arrived on Hawaii I encountered a lot of reluctance from both organizations as well as Hawaiians to cooperate with my research. Organizations told me that it was a very interesting and actual topic, but that they could not help me further. In addition, Hawaiians expressed the same, but when I wanted to make appointments for an interview they dropped out or I simply heard nothing anymore (for email correspondence see Annex 1). I found this all quite frustrating and odd, while I had the impression that Hawaiians were proud of their history and cultural practices. Why then, did they not want to inform me about their ‘Hawaiianess’ and their cultural practices, so full of history and meaning? How come that they seem very proud and happy when performing for tourists, but when being asked what they think about it, they remain silent? Could it be that the turbulent past of Hawaii, specifically the colonization of Hawaii by the United States transforming the islands into a modern and western society, caused this silence? While I could not get any information for answering my initial research question, another interesting research question emerged which is now the main focus of this thesis (see Chapter 1.3).

2.1. Methods

In order to get an answer to my main research question, it has been operationalized into sub research questions (see Chapter 1.3). The data for answering these research question is gathered by using two main methods: literature research and observations. In order to answer the research questions based on this data, they have to be analysed. All these steps are described in more detail below.

The first step that I undertook was a literature research. This literature research answers the first research question and deals with how history is being constructed, established and used, specifically for tourism. Here, I argue that history is a social construction that serves certain power practices. This literature research is the theoretical framework. The result is shown in Chapter 2. The second step was to find out how scientific historical accounts represent ‘the’ history of Hawaii. With the second step a literature research has been conducted as well. The results has been described in Chapter 3 and tell about the period before, during and after the colonisation of Hawaii and the emergence and consequences of tourism. The literature for both literature researches was found by searching for information in scientific articles and books using different databases, such as Google Scholar, EBSCO Host and Scopus. Furthermore, I contacted people who know a lot about Hawaiian history and asked them which sources were best to use. These people were teachers from the University of Hawaii and employees of the Bishop Museum, Hawaii’s Polynesian anthropological museum. It might seems ironic that in the theoretical framework I argue that history is a social construction and (re)-created for peoples’ own ends, while at the same time I base chapter 3 on precisely those historical accounts to give an indication about Hawaiian history. That is absolutely true, but the scientific historical accounts used in chapter 3 is the history that is represented for the people of Hawaii and the rest of the world and the history upon which current historical tourists attractions are based. Furthermore, it is important to know how ‘the’ history of Hawaii is being represented in scientific historiographic literature in order to compare it with ‘the’ history that is being represented in tourism. In this way, any discrepancies can come to the forth. Finally, I do not claim that the scientific historical accounts used are representing the correct version of Hawaiian history.

Most historical accounts written about Hawaii in the 20th century try to describe the most important and influential events and figures in some sort of chronological order, a cause and effect chain reaction, which reads like a novel. Those events or figures are often chosen because they seem undeniably important and real that to leave them out would make the

historical account seems like a joke. These historical accounts almost all start with the arrival of Captain James Cook to the islands, i.e. the first Western contact of Hawaii and thus the ‘beginning of modern life’. According to Buck (1993:13), this shows “not only one of the dominant epistemological assumptions of modern historiography but also western views of non western civilizations, particularly those that have been incorporated into the historic destiny of the west”. This western imperialism in historical accounts has not only been applied to Hawaii. Almost all historical accounts of non western countries start with some form of western imperialism. As a result, most of the scientific historical accounts of the history of non western countries, including Hawaii, have been written from a western perception and based on western observations and interpretations. In addition, this information is extracted from sources written in the language of the imperialist. Hence, in the case of Hawaii in English. The historical accounts of Hawaii prior to western imperialism were based on stories of explorers and impressions from missionaries who almost always came from the west. These sources report only those events and mention only those people that the west thought were noteworthy to mention. Yet, their opinion can and often does differ greatly from the opinions of in this case Hawaiians. This has major consequences for relationships of power. In other words, it determines how the history of these countries is being written down and taught. When historical accounts about Hawaii do mention the period before western contact, they often only bring up how primitive, strange and barbaric life was like before the arrival of westerners. Hence, historical accounts are inscribed with western assumptions that determine the most important events and figures in Hawaiian history. Moreover, it are accounts that are inscribed with western notions of social progress and principles and fail to include development caused by Hawaiian inventions (Buck 1993). If we want to grasp and understand Hawaiian history, we first and foremost have to look at the decisive social forces and how these are embedded in social practices and relationships over time. This, for example, can show how relationships of power strengthen social inequalities (Buck 1993).

The third step of this thesis includes the exploration of ‘the’ history of Hawaii that is being represented for tourists and answers the third research question. The information for answering this third research question has been gathered during my fieldwork period which took place from March 31, 2010 till June 30, 2010 on the island of Oahu. During this fieldwork I have kept a diary in which I wrote down personal thoughts, but also notes and observations. For instance, the dairy included notes about tourists activities that I visited. During these tourist activities I watched the behaviour of tourists and their composition

(gender, age and nationality). Furthermore, I made notes about what the performers and/or guides did, said, how they looked and behaved. Finally, I collected leaflets, advertisements, magazines and brochures about the most popular tourist attractions. All the yielded information is described in Chapter 4.

The final steps resulted in answering research questions 4 and 5. During this stage, the information derived from Chapter 2 and 3 were compared and analyzed. In order to do this, I wrote down the most important points from the scientific historical accounts regarding ‘the’ history of Hawaii and did exactly the same with the information that is represented for tourists in brochures, magazines and with the tourist attractions. Thereafter, I compared the most important points with each other and looked where the points were similar and where not. I have tried to explain the results using the information derived from the theoretical framework. All in all, it meant a lot of reading and (re)reading of the collected information.

Finally, it has to be noted that as any researcher, I brought my own identity with me. This influences my observations, but also my environment. In Hawaii, I was not simply a tourist visiting hula shows or the ‘Iolani Palace. I was also a researcher which means that I look differently at these tourist attractions, noticing and paying attention to things that tourist might not do. It also means that other researchers exploring the same topic, might pay attention and notice other things than I did.

2.2. The future is in the past

“Reality is merely an illusion, albeit a very persistent one” (Albert Einstein)

In this thesis I will use a constructivist and postmodernist way of thinking to explain the construction and formation of history. I argue that history has a social aspect to it and can not be viewed as static, unchangeable or without any interference of human interaction. It are people who (re)make and (re)interpret history. But before coming to this point, first take a look at how people actually construct the world and create a sense of history. In order to do this a distinction is being made between reality and actuality. Later, the semiosis process will be explained and Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness will be discussed.

2.2.1. Reality and actuality

With reality is meant the factual world that people presume is there. Reality depends on actuality. With actuality is meant the world how people experience it and how people see it in their mind. Actuality and reality are thus not the same in that people can experience and interpret their factual world differently (Duineveld 2006). For example, when I look outside the window, I can see a tree. In my mind I already made the interpretation that the object that I observed, i.e. a long, tall, brown, thing with alcoves that contain green oval shaped things, is a tree. Other people who look outside at the same window, can also interpret it as a tree, others maybe interpret it as a Birch or something completely different. One reason why reality and actuality are not the same is because peoples' experiences and observations about the outside world are influenced by limitations of humans' perceptions and the restraint of information processing in the human brain. Moreover, the way people experience actuality also depends on the mental content of the human brain and the cultural historical background of the individual. Therefore, different people have different actualities and as a result truths, facts, norms and values are no fact, but differ per person. In addition, reality always differs per person and a factual representation of reality can simply not exist. For that reason, reality is a social construction. (Duineveld 2006). The process that lies behind the construction of actuality and reality is the interpretation process. Within this process, people use their existing knowledge, frameworks and categories to interpret a part of reality as actuality.

This process has been described by Peirce (1958) as semiosis. He argues that the semiosis process involves different signs and different relationships between those signs. The signs can be positioned in relation to each other within an extremely extensive and complex signsystem. Underlying the semiosis process, Peirce identifies three different selves: Firstness, Secondness and Thirdness. Firstness implies the selve of the potential. It can be seen as a kind of essence, as the reality. It is something that triggers a certain thought. Firstness exists only from the possibility that something is being interpreted as a sign, which ultimately leads to further semiosis. It is a category that resembles an intrinsic characteristic that we consider without relating it to a second one. Secondness implies the selve of the current. It is the actuality as how an interpreting person experiences it. Secondness is a potential sign that is interpreted as a sign and by this way an individual considers it as something real. It implies something that we consider as long as it relates to something else, but without implying a third. From this you can conclude that Secondness implies Firstness, because Secondness actualizes the sign. Thirdness can be regarded as a law or rule, but it always remains an intersubjective construction. Thirdness is the knowledge that we have at a certain moment about an interpreted phenomenon. Concluding, with these three selves Peirce means that there is the possibility that a phenomenon can become the object of human thought. Moreover, the three selves involve the characteristics of the existing thoughts and finally it shows the practical consequences that the thoughts imply.

Furthermore, the semiosis process runs via three types of signs, i.e. the symbol, the object and the interpreter. These three different types of signs can be ordered, categorized and positioned within a triangular relationship. The symbol belongs to Firstness, because it has a potential. The potential symbol will only become a true symbol when it is being constructed as such. The object belongs to Secondness. It is a real thing, the actuality for the interpreter, but it does not have to exist in reality. Thus for other people the object does not have to be the actuality. It can only exist for the interpreter. The interpreter belongs to Thirdness and consists out of all the meanings that the object evokes. Or in other words, the sign of the interpreter is the interpretations that are related to the object (Duineveld 2006). From this semiosis process we can conclude that the actuality is not a true and real reflection of reality, but actuality is constructed within an interpretation process. However, this does not mean that there are infinite actualities and that there are infinite ways to deal with reality. The actualities that people can construct are bordered by reality. Moreover, according to Nietzsche, Foucault and Flyvbjerg, the production of actualities is inextricably related to power. They all argue that those with power, be it people, institutions or the state define what humans classify as

knowledge and eventually determine what humans interpret as actuality. Therefore, the way how certain signs are being interpreted and the signs that people use to construct actualities have to be seen as constructions that are being produced within power practices. It are these power practices in which factors such as science, institutions and organisations determine the reality and are all influencing the production of actualities. This explains why certain statements within some practises are being accepted as the truth, while others are being denied. Within every human-, institutional-, and economical relationship, power is always present. Power practices are relationships in which one tries to steer and influence the behaviour of the other. These power relationships can be found at every level and in every shape; they are moving and thus subject to change. Power relationships are thus always connected to a certain goal and that makes them intentional relationships. (Duineveld 2006).

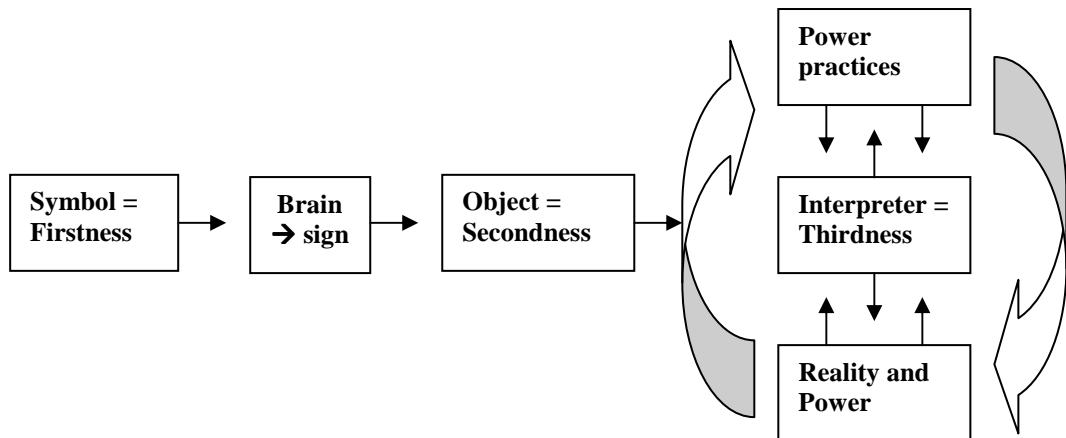


Figure 1. Interpretation process of reality

In sum, the actuality and reality that people have is constructed by the semiosis process, which starts with Firstness. Here, a potential symbol is recognized as a sign by the brain. However, there is still no meaning attached to this sign. With Secondness, the sign is actualized and distinguished as an object. With Thirdness, the interpreter interprets and assigns meanings to the object. Yet, there is a limit to the number of actualities that a person can construct. This depends on the factual reality and power practices. These power practices also influence Thirdness, or more precisely, power practices influence the meaning and knowledge that is being awarded to the object in Thirdness.

2.2.2. Construction of history

In the above section, we came to the conclusion that people have different actualities and as a result they have also different realities, truths, facts, norms and values. None of these are simple facts in which everybody believes in and acts to. This also applies for historical facts. The production of history and the desired usage of history by professionals is not only being influenced by the frameworks and categories from which reality is being interpreted. Even the most common everyday political, scientific and social practices influence the production of history. These influences are often unconsciously, because they relate to thinking and acting of people which are embedded in scientific and non scientific practices, rituals and cultures. It are the conscious influences that can make facts, events or objects be remembered while others are being forgotten. Furthermore, conscious influences can also be used for political- and social purposes and can be used to communicate social values, ideas and ideologies, to maintain social control and to legitimize political parties. The conscious influences are always present and exercised within power practices. Hence, power practices are embedded in the construction of history. For example, in Ukraine the media, politics and science have created a partially false history about the origin of the city of Kiev and the land Ukraine. Within the education system, this falsified history is being represented as the truth. This illustrates that power practices, in this case the media, politics and science, have the power to construct history for their own advantages (Duineveld 2006:86).

Within the scientific world there is a lot of debate about the construction of history. On the one hand you have those that belong to the modernist discourse. They claim that history is a simple fact based on historical records and that “conceptions of the past are facts of the present” (Peel 1984:112). Besides, modernists argue that there is only one version of the truth and that the history as represented within scientific historical accounts is *the* truth. Modernists say that “there is a real, narrative history which is the source for all historical scientific research” (Friedman 1992:849). In addition, modernist state that historical accounts are written by competent academics and should not be questioned. This automatically means that the (oral) history of natives is not the real truth, but a mere folktale. The modernists acknowledge that the natives maybe view their history in a certain way, but their side of the story is not of any scientific value. One the other hand, there are people who argue that it are the people themselves who (re)make history partially because of certain present interest/power practices (Friedman 1992). The latter position is that of the postmodernist and will be emphasized in this thesis.

It would be wrong to think that historical accounts can be correctly regained and described. This because all historical data are filled with (western) ideologies and power practices. This is even true for first-person accounts, because people always differ in their own perceptions of reality and therefore think, tell and experience their reality different. Hence, individuals determine what is worth mentioning and what not and thus what history they tell, display and describe. In other words, “We need to take into account the possibility that our contact with the past will always pass through the imaginary and through its ideologies” (Buck 1993:11). Historical accounts, even scientific ones, are therefore social constructions only showing what those that constructed them view as reality (but which in fact is actuality). This ‘reality’ can totally differ from other’s perception of reality. Besides, when thinking about the past we automatically think about the past in contemporary ideological constructions. “It is difficult enough to understand our own histories; it is particularly difficult to grasp the historical experiences of non-western cultures because we are not only constrained in our thinking by the present but by the historical experiences of the West and dominant interpretations of those experiences” (Buck 1993:18).

The construction of history is a never-ending process, because it is continuously being reproduced within social and historical frameworks. Consequently, history is no longer an unchangeable fact. History is continuously being transformed and given new meaning, especially within the tourism industry (Duineveld & Kolen 2009).

There are a lot more other factors that influence the construction and usage of history. However, a full encompassing list is hard to make, because the influence of different factors on the construction of history is context depended and constantly subject to change. This because the relationships between the factors, the construction of and the handling of history are not connected with each other in a clear one cut way. They sometimes influence each other and sometimes they simply do not (Duineveld 2006). But then the question remains why people are themselves engaged in (re)constructing history?

2.3.3. Why?

Peel argues that “an interest in history is associated with some degree of social hierarchy and political centralization”. This can be explained by the fact that present forms of social hierarchy and political power are often established in the past. Hence, they are “products of a past in the present” (Peel 1984:127). A constant re-evaluation of the past is necessary in order to maintain and legitimize the current social hierarchy and political power. Moreover, the interest from people for the past can also be explained by the role of identity construction.

Ethnic groups reinterpret, manipulate and integrate history for their own advantage. They do this in order to define themselves in a given situation through the use of the past and the remains of heritage. With this, ethnic groups can make a legitimate claim on their version of history since it is still visible in the landscape and so proves the presence of the ethnic group in the past. It are the collective notions of the past that links an ethnic group with a shared inheritance. Likewise, heritage represents a common history. Thus, ethnic groups create their own version of history, but this does not mean that their version is the correct one (van Assche 2006). Ethnic groups can go very far in manipulating historical facts and reinterpreting history for creating collective belongingness and political advantages. The type of history ethnic groups acquire can be tragic as well as heroic. Consequently, it is possible to argue that history is being used in the contemporary construction of ethnic identities (Eriksen 2002). Besides, ethnic groups also use the past in determining the cultural meaning of their group. The elements of the past that ethnic groups use are reconstructed by using “cultural reconstruction techniques” (Nagel 1994:162). The reconstruction of elements of the past is done by revival and restoration of historical cultural practices and institutions. These reconstruction techniques are ongoing group processes in which new and renovated cultural symbols, activities and materials are continuously being added to and removed from the existing culture. (Cohen 2004). The revival and restoration of elements of the past occurs when lost or forgotten cultural practices are reintroduced, or when former or occasional cultural practices are reinterpreted and reintegrated into the current culture. Here you could think of education programs informing about cultural history, tribal museums or cultural traditions (Nagel 1994). This cultural reconstruction technique serves to define ethnic boundaries and create a common, collective ethnic identity. Moreover, it serves as a basis for group solidarity which could result in ethnic group mobilization. Hobsbaw refers to the construction of ethnic cultural meaning as “the invention of tradition, i.e. the construction or reconstruction of rituals, practices, beliefs, customs and other cultural apparatus” (Nagel 1994:163). Hobsbaw claims that it is necessary to try to find out what really happened in history by making the distinction between invented traditions and real traditions. The invention of traditions should establish social cohesion in ethnic groups, establish institutions, relations or socialize beliefs, values or behaviours (Nagel 1994) (Eriksen 2002). However, Hobsbaw is a modernist and making a distinction between invented and real traditions is difficult if not impossible, because all traditions are based on an imaginary past and hence it is impossible to say which traditions are invented and which are real.

Every society is involved in reconstituting and integrating parts of the past in order to claim their existence and power. As a result, everybody is actively engaged in efforts to keep the past alive through conscious present practice. In this way, societies are automatically involved in the process of stereotyping; “They strive to make history repeat itself” and ultimately create a static past” (Peel 1984:113). But not every group within society wants to remember the same history. This is especially the case in colonial societies. On the one hand, they want to forget their colonial past, but simultaneously they keep this past alive in their memory in order to achieve their ideals. “Where possible, present practice is governed by the model of the past practice and, where change does occur, there is a tendency to rework the past so as to make it appear that past practice has governed present practice” (Peel 1984:113).

In sum, the future is in the past, because people (re)construct and (re)use the past for ethnic identity formation, group cohesion and power interests. It are people themselves, due to various reasons made clear above, that (re)make history. In other words, history is a social construction. Due to the fact that history is a social construction, it is wrong to claim that any version of the history is true or false. In the eyes of the people who ‘make’ history and the ones who are taught about this history, their version is the truth. It is the version in which they believe and that makes their version the truth in their eyes. Or as the Samoan author, Albert Wendt says: “A society is what it remembers; we are what we remember; I am what I remember; the self is a trick of memory” (Friedman 1992:854). Additionally, history not only plays a huge part in present social and political structures and self-identification. Nowadays, history plays an enormous role in the tourism industry.

2.2.4. Constructing history for tourism

Historical facts and historical value are no natural, taken-for-granted facts, but are always constructed by people and through power practices. Within different settings people can produce different actualities and thus also different histories (Duineveld 2006). One such an occasion where history is being used for certain ends is within the tourism industry. The history of a certain area or a country has always been a major attraction for tourists. These tourists often want to learn about another time and place. Moreover, it is a way for tourists to experience a different way of life; to be able to escape from daily life and routine. It also provides tourists with a sense of knowing the country, i.e. why the country has developed as it has or why the people react to certain things differently. It gives them a sense of understanding the country (Mooney-Melvin 1991).

As mentioned in the introduction, it are often the governments of former colonies that see tourism as the way to improve their economic situation. Since ‘the’ history of certain countries is perceived as a valuable and attractive tourist attractions, these governments view ‘their’ history as a potential tourist attraction and a good way to generate profit. Most of these countries are economically depended on the tourist potential of their history. Consequently, these governments are investing a lot of money in the preservation and advertisement of ‘their’ history for tourism. However, in order to attract as many tourists as possible historical facts, events or heritage are often being manipulated. For instance, certain (important) facts are left out or twisted. In other words, tourism offers “a bogus history which ignores complex historical processes and relationships, and sanitizes the less savoury dimensions of the past” (Johnson 1996:190, quoting Lowenthal). The economic influence can thus be a major motivation to conserve, reproduce and create certain histories and to neglect others. The things that are neglected are often facts that are not so positive for the country itself and could potentially harm the tourist influx (Duineveld 2006; Johnson 1996). But as we have come to realize, the historical facts that are represented for tourists and visitors are often not complete. However, this should not pose any big problems since it has been argued by Mooney-Melvin (1991) that tourists do not necessarily want a correct representation of history. All that tourists want is to experience some kind of past life, they not care too much about the correctness of it. This gives developers and those interested the space to manipulate history. As a result, history is often being reworked in order to attract as many tourists as possible. Consequently, every historical site, how well intended to preserve and represent the past, is actually a ‘collection of pasts’. With the preservation of historic sites, a lot of different interests are involved that all have their own thoughts about the past and the way it is supposed to be represented for tourists. These factors all influence what the tourists get to see as representing the past (Mooney-Melvin 1991).

In addition, historic sites and facts used for tourism represent a static past. This means that preservationist and conservators create a world that is far removed from the ‘real’ past or that they neglect the multiplicity and social character of history. As a result, preservationists, conservators and all others involved in the representation of history are continuously idealizing a nostalgic past in order to be attractive in the present. One person who is against using history for touristic ends is Morrill. He argues that “the challenge today is to stop the use of historic preservation to further ends that are not directly tied to history, such as the promotion of tourism” (Mooney-Melvin 1991:44). If we do not do this, Morrill is afraid that we eventually will have a past without any meaning and a loss of credibility for the entire

preservation movement. Hence, the challenge for the conservators and preservationists of historic places and heritage sites is to hold on to the demand of tourists while at the same time informing tourists correctly with a high level of historical accuracy. But that is simultaneously the problem, while it is difficult and rather slippery to fully and correctly recreate and represent the correct past. Thus, tourism should not aim for perfection, because that is simply impossible. According to Mooney-Melvin (1991:47) “We must grow adept at knowing where and when to compromise and where and when to draw the line”.

2.2.5. Conclusion

This theoretical framework deals with the issues of how and why history is being constructed and what that means for the representation of history for tourists. People are continuously engaged in interpreting and assigning meaning to signs and objects to create a sense of reality and to make sense of the world they are living in. Besides, the construction of history is infringed with power practices that exist to serve certain interests, for instance the tourism industry. Given that ‘the’ history of a country is a tourist attraction, power practices manipulate and influence the representation of this history. Moreover, ‘the’ past is being used by ethnic groups that define, determine and legitimize themselves using ‘their’ past.

Hence, to illustrate how and why people, groups and/or power practices construct, reinterpret and represent ‘the’ history of a country, the following chapters show, compare and explain how and why histories of Hawaii are constituted and represented.

3. ‘The’ history of Hawaii as represented in scientific accounts

This chapter demonstrates how historians represent ‘the’ history of Hawaii. This chapter is divided into three different periods that resembles the distinction being made by the scientific historical accounts used for this literature research. ‘The’ history of Hawaii starts with the period before western contact in which is described how the first Hawaiians came to the islands and how Hawaiian society was organized. This period is followed by the arrival of the first westerners and the changes that occurred during this period. In addition, the Hawaiian monarchy is introduced. After that follows the period after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the current state of affairs in Hawaii. Finally, this chapter ends with telling about the emergence of tourism and its consequences for Hawaii.

3.1. Before western contact

There are several theories about the settlement of the Hawaiian islands, but the most accepted and used one claims that the islands were inhabited by two groups of settlers. The initial settlers came from the Marquesas Islands, the second group of settlers from the Society Islands, including Tahiti, Moorea and Bora Bora. Compared with the first wave of settlers, the second wave had more impact on the social structure of Hawaii. It is thought that the settlers from the Society Islands brought with them a new line of chiefs and a more complex system of hierarchical relations. However, it has been questioned whether the second wave of settlers really had caused changes in the social structure or if it rather was the result of local, internal processes, such as more warfare and competition among chiefs (Buck 1993). The archaeologist Patrick Kirch identified four major phases of social development in Hawaii. The first phase consists out of the first settlement, occurring roughly from A.D. 300-600. Here, Polynesians began to settle on the coasts of the different islands, living primarily from the available resources and simple cultivation. Research has shown that these Polynesians made intentional, long distance voyages. During one of those trips, the Polynesians stumbled across the Big Island of Hawaii. The leader of this trip, Hawai’iloa was so impressed by the island that he decided to name the island after him and settled there. In the following years, more Polynesians settled on the islands or were born there and the population increased, starting the beginning of an actual society (MacKenzie 2006). This new society consisted out of people

who lived together in descent groups from which the eldest member became the chief. Moreover, they established Polynesian concepts of religion. In the second phase, lasting from 600 to 1100, people improved and adapted their cultivation techniques. According to Kirch, the gap between chiefs and commoners slightly became bigger, however, not big enough to cause a distinct class system. The third phase (from 1100 to 1650) is labelled the expansion period, because it was characterized by intensified agricultural production and a population increase. This led to technological, social, cultural and political changes, slowly turning Hawaii into a strict hierarchical society. The fourth and final phase lasted from 1650 till 1795 when King Kamehameha I conquered the island of O'ahu and established the first centralization of political control. In this phase, the changes continued and spread further, dominated by the battles for status and power by different chiefs. Moreover, it was the phase of the first contact with the west (Buck 1993).

One hundred years before the arrival of the first westerners were the islands of Hawaii characterized by a highly complex and stratified social structure. The power was in the hands of so-called ali'i's (chiefs). Acceptance into the ali'i class was determined by birth and must be able to show a traceable genealogical link with other preceding papa ali'i and/or gods. Within the ali'i class different ranks existed. The highest and most important ali'i rank was called the mo'i. He stood at the top of the hierarchical ladder and often ruled large pieces of land or even an entire island. The second ali'i on the ladder was called the ali'i nui (the high chief). The ali'i nui ruled one or several territories within an island. In order to strengthen, organize and maintain such a territory, the ali'i nui had an administration which included advisors and organizers. Of major importance to the ali'i nui were the senior military adviser (kalanimoku), the chief's executive officer (ilamoku). Finally, of major importance for the ali'i were the priesthoods. (Harfst 1972:449). Those priesthoods were guided by a kahuna pule (priest that specialized in praying). The two most important priesthoods that existed were the priesthoods dedicated to Ku (the god of war) and to Lono (the god of peace and fertility). But priesthoods dedicated to other gods also existed, such as family gods who were worshipped by both ali'i and maka'aina (commoners), outside the confines of the highly institutionalized religious structure. (Buck 1993; MacKenzie 2006; Harfst 1972).

Another important social class within Hawaiian society were the maka'aina. However, the term maka'aina has several meanings. First it can refer to "the common stock of the archipelago" (Harfst 1972:443). Here, the term is used to make a distinction between native Hawaiians and foreigners such as Tongans or Tahitians, but also Europeans and Americans. Second, the term maka'aina is used to determine a social class. To this social class people

belonged who did not had a genealogical link with an ali'i, it were the 'commoners'. While there were no different ranks within the maka'aina class as was the case with the ali'i, there were differences related to status. Here, status was determined upon residence and occupation. When a maka'aina lived close to the court, this person had a higher status than those who lived farther away. "The principle which governed the attribution of status can be stated positively; proximity to the court, by birth or residence, granted higher status within the class, degree being governed by placement along a continuum from the court to the socially defined rural areas" (Harfst 1972:443). Those maka'aina who had a high status were called kanaka. The third and final meaning of the term maka'aina was that of 'fixed residents of the land'. These people were considered of lower status than the kanaka, but were in the majority. According to Harfst, "they were skilled in agriculture, fishing, hunting, temple- and house construction, canoe building and tapa productions, as well as many other crafts" (Harfst 1972:443). The people within the maka'aina class with the lowest status were called the ku'aina (back country people). Although it seems that moving to another class was impossible there were some exceptions, such as place of birth, political relationship to a ruling chief, adoption or the holding of chiefly land grants. In this way, maka'ainas were able to belong to the ali'i class, albeit it that they would have a low status within that class. The people within the lowest class were called the papa kauwa, which means something like servant, slave or outcast. Some scholars believe that the papa kauwa were primarily used for human sacrifices in heiaus, while others think that it was simply a social group that was alienated from the rest of society (Harfst 1972:444).

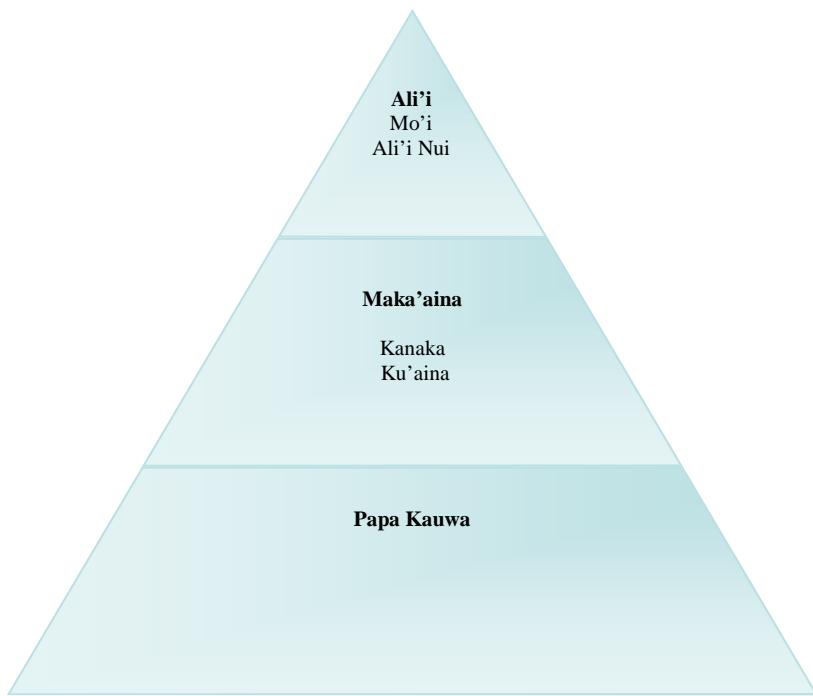


Figure 2. Hierarchical ladder

Despite the social differences between the classes, the way of living was quite the same. For all, the collection of households were most important. The collection of households ('ohana) consisted out of a complex of houses (hale) with different meanings, such as a men's eating house (hale mua), a women's eating house (hale 'aina) and a cooking house (hale kahu wnu). The 'ohana could include the extended family, adopted family, secondary spouses and servants. The head of the 'ohana was in the hand of one man, called the haku. According to Harfst, the 'ohana was "a combination of households preferentially but not entirely linked by agnates, dispersed throughout a land area which 'ohana members identified as their home land or 'aina" (Harfst 1972:446). The 'ohana of the ali'i was quite similar, but additionally included a meeting house (hale nua) and store houses which were usually not found in the 'ohana of the maka'aina. Besides, the 'ohana of the ali'i's were often larger since they included more non-family members (Harfst 1972).

The daily lives of Hawaiians were intrinsically related to the notions of mana, kapu and noa. Mana has been described as a power originating from the gods which was channelled through the ali'i who received it through their sacred genealogical links with the gods. This power could for instance be found in the forces of nature, that is in the weather, the sea, the land or the volcanoes. In addition, mana was also manifested in the social well-being of a

community. The successes or failures of an ali'i were an indication of the strength or weakness of his mana. In order to maintain their privileged position, ali'i's were constantly engaged in protecting, showing and increasing their mana, their power. The related notions of kapu and noa maintained the hierarchical relationships that characterized the Hawaiian social structure. Kapu decided what was sacred and forbidden, noa decided what was divine and what not. In other words, noa determined what was free from kapu. Ali'i's were considered noa. This meant that "the food, the shelter, the clothes, the very ground upon which the ali'i walked were invested with the power, the charge with which they themselves were heritably imbued" (Harfst 1972:442). According to Buck (1993:34) kapu contains "the sacred prohibitions and privileges that determined how an individual or groups related to the gods, to each other, and to the material resources of the islands (e.g. who could eat what, wear what, go where and who could appropriate and use various natural and societal resources)." However, at the beginning of the 19th century the kapu system began losing its importance. The high priest of that time and other important figures agreed that the "old gods should be overthrown, the heiau burned and the kapu abolished" (Potter et all 2003:38). When the then reigning King Kamehameha I died, his son and successor King Liholiho decided to break the kapu by eating together with women. This meant the end of the strict kapu system and changed society forever. One way to see what the abolishment of the kapu system meant to Hawaiian society can be illustrated using the meaning of land. Land, together with its accompanied resources, were determining factors for the status and power of an ali'i. In addition, kapu decided who could use and eat certain natural resources from the land. At last, Hawaiians regarded themselves as the people of the land ('aina means land), it distinguished them from outsiders. The territories of an island were divided into different ahupua'a's. An ahupua'a was a piece of land ranging from the sea to the highlands in the mountains. These pieces of land were inhabited by multiple 'ohana's, all working together. Through the shape of the land (from sea to mountain), the 'ohana's were able to get everything they needed to survive, from fresh fish out the sea to crops that grew on the fertile lands of the mountains. As a result, 'ohana's were totally self-sufficient in producing their own food, but also worked together to fulfil the demands of the ali'i for labour and support. The 'ohana worked together under the directions of the 'ohana leader. The ali'i was responsible for managing an ahupua'a commissioned by the reigning mo'i. As a reward for managing the land and securing power for the mo'i, the maka'aina that worked the land had to pay the ali'i and ultimately the mo'i and provide them with resources, the precursor of taxes. When the maka'aina could not provide the ali'i with the necessary resources, penalties were fined. However, in return for

their hard work, maka'aina got usage rights of the ahupua'a that maintained in the family for generations, despite shifts in power by different mo'i's. Besides the 'economic' benefits, this ahupua'a system also provided the maka'aina with religious and psychological benefits (Friedman 1992; Harfst 1972). Furthermore, kapu determined social relationships for the maka'aina. For example, men were always included in the sacred aspects of life and therefore free from kapu. However, women not and therefore, they were not free from kapu.

In sum, "political and religious power were virtually one and the same in Hawaii. Power was institutionalized in the elaborated hierarchical system of Hawaii, legitimized by ali'i genealogy, protected by kapu, and demonstrated in and through material manifestations of mana" (Buck 1993:36). Hence, by the time the first westerners had set foot on Hawaiian soil, Hawaii had already undergone immense structural transformations of its society. From a society based on traditional, rather peaceful Polynesian norms and values brought by the first Polynesian settlers, to a society based on a strict hierarchical structure with common warfare among chiefs and a form of social class divisions, Hawaii had already experienced what the arrival of new people could do. However, how did the Hawaiians respond to the arrival of the first westerners and the changes that they brought?

3.2. The arrival of the first westerners and its accompanying changes

The first westerner on the Hawaiian islands was Captain James Cook who discovered the islands during an expedition with his ship the "Resolution" on January 18, 1778. He decided to call the islands the Sandwich Islands, after the sponsor of his journey, the Earl of Sandwich. When Cook set his first foot on Hawaiian land, the people treated him as a god. Two weeks later, Cook left to discover the North American coastline. However, his ship got damaged during a storm and Cook had to return to Hawaii. This time, he was not welcomed so friendly. His prior visit left Hawaiians with barely any food left and therefore they stole some of his supplies. Fighting broke out and Cook was shot dead. Four years later, other European explorers began to visit the islands who introduced new livestock, plants and trees. The islands got their currently known name decades later as most of the western contact was based on the biggest island called Hawaii. Ultimately, this name became synonymous for the whole archipelago (Herman 1999; Potter et all 2003).

Hawaiian society had already experienced change in its social structure before Captain Cook and other westerners arrived. However, this change remained within the boundaries of

the acceptable for the maka'aina, which made that they could cope in some way or another with this change. The change in the social structure that occurred with the arrival of the first westerners had a lot more impact than the maka'aina had envisioned and could cope with. The change had to do with a new mode of production, i.e. capitalism. The introduction of capitalism was quite problematic, because “in contrast to capitalist societies, where economic factors are dominant, in non-capitalist societies the ideological level of the social structure is dominant” (Buck 1993:25). Thus in Hawaii, it was the social structure that determined the relationships between humans; between men and women, leader and follower. Moreover, the social structure established the type and kind of religion that prevailed within society. And religion in Hawaii “inscribed virtually all social practices and interprets every aspect of reality (...) Religion, which prescribed the lived relations of the social structure, is active at the level of daily life, as well as in highly formalized, socially charged rituals that sanctify power and domination” (Buck 1993:25). Hence, the prevailing social structure had an important role in daily lives of Hawaiians, determining social, economical, political and hierarchical relationships. Although in our (western) eyes, the power structures in Hawaii might have appeared to be unfair, it seemed to work and be accepted by the maka'aina. Even though there was an unstable political world the maka'aina were almost completely self sufficient in the essentials of life and conflicts between maka'aina and ali'i rarely existed. So, there seemed no reason and no need in changing this hierarchical social system. While it might have seem wrong in the eyes of the first missionaries, “this dialectic of stability and change – the articulated axes of the diachronic and the synchronic – afforded both social stability and ontological security.”(Buck 1993:56). With the arrival of the westerners, this social stability and security was all about to change: together with new political, ideological and cultural reforms, power was reallocated: from Hawaiians to westerners.

While capitalism in Europe did cause essential social change in society, the change had not much to do with a reformation of the “forms and content of ideological practices and cultural systems as it was in Hawaii” (Buck 1993:60). The introduction of capitalism in Hawaii caused major changes in the hierarchical social structure that was so familiar, accepted and reliable. As we know from the previous part, life in Hawaii at that time was centered around this hierarchical structure and all aspects of life were intrinsic to it, so any change in this structure meant automatically changes in the way of life. Hawaii had a system in which money was not present. Exchange of products and services took place in a system of tribute, in which the maka'aina produced goods or delivered services for the ali'i. The products were based on agriculture and the possession of land was the determining factor for

power and status. Nevertheless, the Hawaiians not began to feel the real changes of capitalism until the 19th and 20th century. Even 40 years after the first contact with the west, few contact and trade existed between Hawaiians and the west. The factor that changed Hawaiian society more in the 19th century were the changes initiated by King Kamehameha I. Kamehameha was born on the Big Island, around 1753-1760. His parents were both high status ali'i's and his uncle ruled the Big Island. Shortly before his death, Kamehameha's uncle named his son his successor and Kamehameha had to take care of the family war god. This resulted in a bitter rivalry between the two cousins and a few months later, Kamehameha and his cousin were at war. In 1782, during one of the battles, Kamehameha's cousin was killed and Kamehameha took control over the island. One of the reasons for the successes of Kamehameha was his strong leadership skills, but also the usage of weapons and skills of foreigners who had joined him. For the next nine years, the Hawaiian island were engaged in a civil war which ultimately ended with the unification of all the islands by Kamehameha. King Kamehameha I based his new government on the old Hawaiian land system, rewarding high ranking chiefs with pieces of land from which they had to collect taxes, receive food and other gifts from the maka'aina. He also hold on to the kapu system, believing that this would recover 'old Hawaii'. Finally, King Kamehameha I also began adopting western technologies while during his reign the trade with foreigners began. This trade started out with the trade in fur, but this was soon replaced by the trade in sandalwood by 1812. On May 8, 1819 King Kamehameha I died. He had one daughter and two sons. His first born son, Liholiho would become King Kamehameha II and his second son, Kauikeaouli would become King Kamehameha III (Potter et all 2003). All in all, the unification of the islands meant that changes occurred in the "centralization of religious, political and economic institutions and changes in chiefly land tenure" (Buck 1993:61). It was Kamehameha I by uniting the islands and creating peace, who paved the way for the missionaries. According to Potter et all (2003:34): "he would probably not have welcomed their efforts to destroy the old ways. To the very last he held firmly to the old kapu and the worship of the Hawaiian gods".

Hence, the changes brought by Kamehameha I in the 19th century had more impact than the new practices of the westerners in that period. This is not to say that the westerners did not have any influence at all. As said before, western food, goods and technologies were introduced, but also more and more foreigners settled in Hawaii to profit from the overabundant resources that the islands had to offer. In addition, traders went directly to the maka'aina surpassing the ali'i, creating a market economy. And off course we can not forget

the influence and consequences of the arrival of the missionaries (Buck 1993; Potter et all 2003).

Hiram Bingham was the leader of the first missionaries that arrived in Hawaii in 1820. His first impression of Hawaii clearly shows how the west at that time thought about the islands: “Darkness covered the earth and gross darkness the people. This, for ages, was emphatically applicable to the isles of the Great Pacific Ocean. But the voice divine said, ‘Let there be light’ ”(Buck 1993:149). Although the goal of the missionaries was clear, it took more than twenty years to convert the Hawaiians to Christianity and before Hawaii officially became a Christian nation. The initial contact between the missionaries and Hawaiians was good and friendly. Historical records show that Hawaiians valued the ‘greater knowledge’ of the missionaries, mainly caused by the introduction of writing. Moreover, missionaries tried not to interfere with decisions made in the Hawaiian government. Although this last point was quite impossible, since Hawaiian kings and other important political figures turned to missionaries to gather information about western politics and economy. Although the missionaries were few in number their influence was big in several ways. Not only were they there to convert Hawaiians to Christianity, some were also there to ‘civilize’ Hawaiians into a western style economy and way of life (Buck 1993). The missionaries wanted to teach their religion using the Bible. However, Hawaiians were unable to read. So the first task of the missionaries was to learn Hawaiians to read. In order to achieve this, the missionaries adapted Hawaiian speech sound to the English alphabet, started a school system and developed a printing press. According to Potter et all (2003:65), the work of the missionaries can be divided into three periods. The first period ranges from 1820 to 1831. Here, the Hawaiian language was transformed into a written language, textbooks were printed and the first Hawaiians learned to read and write. The second period is from 1831 to 1840. In this period, schools for children were build and teachers were recruited and trained. The last period ranges from 1840 to 1863 and is characterized by the involvement of the Hawaiian government. The government started public schools and the missionaries gradually gave up their control of education. Another factor that changed Hawaiian society forever that can be attributed to the missionaries and contact with other westerners, was the introduction of diseases and epidemics. Accurate death records do not exist, but it is believed that nearly 40-60% of the population died because of diseases (Lyons 2004). The first plausible population count was done by the missionaries in 1832 and estimated that about 150 000 Hawaiians were living on the islands. The first official population count, in 1852 reported 73 000 Hawaiians. Twenty-five years later, another count only counted 58 000 Hawaiians. The worst year was in 1848

when three epidemics (the measles, whooping cough and influenza) reached the islands. As a consequence, the population of Hawaii declined in great proportions. It was not until 1878 that the population began expanding again, primarily due to the arrival of guest workers (MacKenzie 2006; Buck 1993).

In the period of the first missionaries and more and more foreigners came to settle in Hawaii, the islands were undergoing a lot of change and uncertainty. Under the reign of Liholiho (Kamehameha II) the kapu system was abolished, a new religion was introduced, foreigners arrived bringing new goods and technologies, but also new diseases. Finally, Great Britain and the USA were sending consuls and commercial agents in order to increase their influence in Hawaii. After King Liholiho died in July 1823, the missionaries became more and more important. Moreover, a whaling industry developed, replacing the sandalwood trade. This continued to be the major source of income until the 1860s. In order to find new sources of income after the sandalwood industry had collapsed, experiments were held with producing sugar and coffee. This proved to be very successful. New irrigations and growing techniques made it possible to produce sugar and foreigners increasingly started sugar plantations. Due to the increasing demand of labour on these sugar plantations, but at the same the demise of the Hawaiian population through diseases, guest workers were imported. Immigrants began arriving from all around the world: Norway, Germany and Portugal. But the largest numbers of immigrants came from Asia; China, Japan, Korea and the Philippines. By 1900, the population had tripled mostly due to the immigrants. Although Hawaii is known for its diverse ethnic population and the few problems that this has caused, not everybody was as accepting of the immigrants. Prejudice and discrimination were sometimes the order of the day, especially towards the Chinese. The arrival of the immigrants led not only to an increase of the population, but it also led to an increase in mixed marriages. Nowadays, most of the population of Hawaii is of mixed ancestry (MacKenzie 2006; Buck 1993; Lyons 2004; Potter et al 2003). The sugar industry began to inhabit the most important place in Hawaii, with even the government turning almost all their attention to improving the sugar industry. Nonetheless, not only the sugar industry on Hawaii was increasingly influenced by the west, but also the Hawaiian government and kings. They began to take over American notions of individualism and governing. In March 1833, Kamehameha III became king of Hawaii. During his reign, Hawaii changed from “a strong Polynesian monarchy into a modern constitutional monarchy in which haole (foreign) advisers and lawmakers played a leading part” (Potter et al 2003:60). Moreover, other important reforms were introduced that changed Hawaiian society forever. First, the missionaries and other settled foreigners established a

stable business economy, introduced a new schooling system and began making more demands. For instance, in July 1839, the French Captain Laplace arrived in Honolulu. Immediately, he began making demands: “He demanded that no Frenchman was to be tried for any crime except by a jury of foreign residents chosen by French consul, French wine and brandy were to be admitted with a duty of not more than five percent and he also demanded a site for a Catholic church and the release of all Catholic prisoners” (Potter et all 2003:82). The Hawaiian government had no other choice than to give in, while the captain kept the king’s secretary hostage. Besides the French, the British also began to seek more control and making more demands. Furthermore, there came an end to the traditional landholding system. Foreigners did not understand the relationship of Hawaiians with their land and began demanding ownership of the land so that they could establish capital. King Kamehameha III gave in to this pressure and in 1850 the Penal Code was introduced. This law required maka’aina to pay taxes. This time not with services and products generated from agriculture, but with money. This meant that the maka’aina could no longer live on and from their land, but had to enter the market economy. Another major change occurred that involved land and which dramatically affected Hawaiian social structure. This was the fact that it was now also possible for foreigners to posses land on Hawaii, something that remained impossible until 1840. Private landownership has always been thought to have been necessary for capital investment. Therefore, the most influential westerners began to lobby with the government to allow foreign investors to posses land. Finally, the then reigning King Kamehameha III gave in and established a commission that had to develop a system of how to divide the land, resulting in the Mahele Act (Buck 1993). The commission proposed the following. The king kept all his private land, but renters of his land were able to own one-third of the land that they worked on. One-third of the remaining lands went to the Hawaiian government. This government-land was redivided in which one-third went to chiefs and the other one-third was set aside for the maka’aina who already worked on the land. However, this division only took place when one of the parties asked for it. Each land division (called mahele) had to be approved by the king and a chief. After this, a further division had to be made between the king and the government. Here, the king agreed to donate a larger part of his lands for the benefit of the government. The lands that the king kept for himself were called crown lands. After the overthrow in 1893, the crown lands were confiscated and turned into public lands. According to Potter et all (2003:99) the last step in the Mahale was to provide land titles to Hawaiian tenants. In order to get these titles, the tenants had to “prove that they actually improved the land they lived on and depended on it for their living”. These lands became

known as Kuleana lands. Nonetheless, many tenants did not know about this new rule, were not able to pay the taxes or did not continue to live on the land anymore. What happened was that foreigners bought those Kuleana's. This development was not without uprising while more and more Hawaiians were concerned about the increasing influence of foreigners as the following letter shows:

“ To his Majesty Kamehameha III and the Premier Kehauluahi, and all the Hawaiian chiefs in council assembled: on account of our anxiety, we petition you, the father of the Hawaiian kingdom, and the following is our petition.

1. *Concerning the independence of your kingdom*
2. *That you dismiss the foreign officers whom you have appointed to be Hawaiian officers*
3. *We do not wish foreigners to take the oath of allegiance and become Hawaiian subjects*
4. *we do not wish you to sell any more land pertaining to your kingdom to foreigners*
5. *We do not wish taxes in a confused obscure manner to be imposed in your kingdom*
6. *This is the cause of our wishing to dismiss these foreign officers* (Buck 1993:69).

Consequently, the meaning of land totally changed for Hawaiians. In the years before western contact, land meant sustenance, taxes for ali'i, but also connection with different gods and generations of family. After the introduction of the Mahele, land stood for property, something that could be owned. The central role that land had played in the Hawaiian social structure, now changed as land was no longer related to society, but to economy. The powerful position of the ali'i and mo'i that was intrinsically related to land, shifted to the new owners of land, the foreigners. The maka'aina that were lucky to maintain a piece of land, had difficulties in paying the high taxes or to sustain themselves from the land, because the divisions had completely disregarded the traditional ahupua'a system that had worked so well. "In effect, instead of securing land for Hawaiians, as the missionaries had hoped and so convincingly argued, the Mahele alienated Hawaiians from the land" (Buck 1993:72). Now that land was privatized, the way was paved for US expansion.

After the death of Kamehameha III, Kamehameha IV took over. He became especially known for the establishment of a reciprocity treaty with the US in which Hawaiian and American goods could be exchanged without the payment of taxes. King Kamehameha IV thought that this treaty would diminish the threat of annexation and at the same time keep the

US close. Kamehameha V was the last monarch of the Kamehameha dynasty. Since he was never married and had not appointed a successor, the Hawaiian kingdom had to choose its king for the first time. Two candidates were up for election, William C. Lunaliho and David Kalakaua, both high chiefs. Lunaliho easily won the elections, but did not do much for the Hawaiian Kingdom. After Lunaliho's death, Kalakaua again announced his candidature and this time he won. King Kalakaua was not happy with the way Hawaii was developing. While he was not against 'modernising' Hawaii, King Kalakaua did think that the power was too much in the hands of foreigners. Hence, he introduced the slogan 'Hawaii for Hawaiians' and reintroduced old Hawaiian practices and entertainment, such as the hula which was suppressed by the missionaries. Moreover, King Kalakaua and other influential Hawaiian figures began stressing the technological discoveries of Hawaiians. Americans felt threatened and feared their economic and political control due to the popularity of King Kalakaua, the re-emergence of Hawaiian identity and uprising of Hawaiians (Buck 1993). In January 1887, a group of such Americans formed a secret political group which they called 'The Hawaiian League. This group was in favour for a constitutional monarchy and some even wanted the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the annexation of Hawaii to the US. They started to forbid Hawaiian cultural practices and Hawaiian language. Finally, the League began criticizing King Kalakaua and his style of governing. When King Kalakaua resisted to give Pearl Harbor to the US in return for a renewed Reciprocity Treaty, the Hawaiian League organized a meeting. During this meeting, they began demanding the formation of a new cabinet. King Kalakaua agreed to form a new cabinet which had to be selected by the 'Committee of Thirteen'. What the King did not know was that this Committee was made up of members of the Hawaiian League. Five days after the formation of this new cabinet, the members forced King Kalakaua in signing a new constitution which ensured the limited power of the Hawaiian monarchy. He was not allowed to give any orders without the approval of the cabinet (Buck 1993; Potter et all 2003). On January 20, 1891 King Kalakaua died. Before his death he appointed his sister Queen Lili'uokalani as his successor. The Americans realized that the queen would govern in the same way as her brother did, which again could threaten the position of the Americans. Meanwhile, the US had changed its tariff policy concerning sugar. Hawaii had no longer the advantages it had under the reciprocity treaty and the sugar industry began to collapse. American businessmen living in Hawaii began pressuring the queen and the government for annexation. The struggle for political power started all over again. Queen Lili'uokalani had written several new constitutions which all assured power for the Hawaiian monarchy and Hawaiian people and diminished the power of

foreigners. The constitutions were all voted down by the cabinet. The opponents of the queen had written a plan that explained how they wanted to overthrow the monarchy, set up a provisional government and apply for US annexation. They had asked US minister John L. Stevens to land troops the day before the overthrow which he did. On January 17th, 1893, a Committee of thirteen 'haole' (white) businessmen (often plantation owners) and army troops from USS Boston overthrew the then reigning Queen Lili'uokalani and made an end to the Hawaiian kingdom. The Committee declared themselves the new government of the Republic of Hawaii with President Dole as the ruler. Queen Lili'uokalani wanted to avoid any bloodshed and therefore refused any military action. She believed that the American government would condemn and refuse to acknowledge the new government. The then reigning American President Benjamin Harrison did not succeed in annexating Hawaii and his successor, President Grover Cleveland withdrew the annexation. After sending an investigator to Hawaii, President Cleveland even ordered that the queen must be reappointed as the monarch of the Hawaiian Kingdom. President Dole, however, refused and Cleveland dropped the case. Because it seemed that the Hawaiian monarchy would not be reinstated, supporters of the queen plotted an overthrow. Nevertheless, President Dole and his followers found out and arrested everybody involved, including the queen. The queen was tried before a military court and sentenced to five years imprisonment at hard labour and a fine of \$5000. But President Dole found this sentence to hard and changed it into eight months imprisonment in a room in the 'Iolani Palace. After her imprisonment ended, Queen Lili'uokalani moved to Washington Place in Honolulu where she died on November 11, 1917. On July 7 1896, US President McKinley approved the annexation of Hawaii to the US (Potter et all 2003; Herman 1999; Desmond 1999; Walker 2005). In 1959, Hawaii officially became the 50th state of the United States of America. The annexation of Hawaii was part of an expansion policy of the USA that was fueled by the Spanish-American War in 1898 and could be compared to what previously had occurred in Guam, Cuba, the Philippines and Puerto Rico (Desmond 1999; Buck 1993).

Concluding, although western contact had some influences on changes in the Hawaiian social system, it was not until the mid 19th century that western domination became apparent. With the paying of taxes and the redivision of lands, Hawaiians were forced to enter the market economy. The meaning of land for both maka'aina as well as ali'i changed dramatically. While not all American interferences were accepted and insurgence increasingly appeared, Hawaii was not able to stop the overthrow of their monarchy and the becoming of an American state. Whenever one country colonizes another, processes of social alienation,

questions about ethnic identity and cultural, social, political and economic alterations take place. This was not different for Hawaii.

3.3. Hawaii after the overthrow and in the present

By the 20th and into the twenty-first century, Hawaii has become part of the western world, including all the accompanying characteristics of western culture. For instance, English is now the dominant language within Hawaii. American and western expansion in Hawaii made that the most important figures in Hawaiian government had to speak English in order to do business with foreigners. When Hawaii was annexed by the USA, English was established as the official language in all aspects of life, including education. The introduction of English also meant that western values and notions were introduced and adopted. “With English came revaluations and devaluations of Hawaiian practices and knowledge that altered relationships of power between Hawaiians and westerners” (Buck 1993:129). While Hawaiian language continued to dominate all over the 19th and 20th century, this changed when English became the dominant and taught language. Slowly, new generations of Hawaiians began losing their ability to speak and write Hawaiian. As a result, the declining use of the Hawaiian language and Hawaiian traditional practices coincided with the changes that occurred within the political and religious system of Hawaii. Accordingly, Hawaiians from younger generations had never been taught to make and understand chants or perform the hula and, gradually these Hawaiian practices began to disappear. This was not a process that happened instantly, but a process that started by the first contact with the west and is still ongoing. The first resistance against this decline in Hawaiian practices occurred after the 1840’s with the nationalists Kamehameha Kings and King Kalakaua (1874-1891) initiating revival of Hawaiian practices. These kings viewed traditional Hawaiian practices as symbols of Hawaiian sovereignty. Although, these kings could not stop the west from getting more and more influence, less formal forms of Hawaiian practices continued to exist, especially in the more rural areas (Buck 1993).

Hundred years after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, the USA has acknowledged its wrongs and the complex situation in the Apology Resolution. Furthermore, the US government has admitted that Hawaiians never freely surrendered their sovereignty (MacKenzie 2006). Despite this apology, Hawaiians are still struggling against their position, criticizing and opposing the existing social structure and the paths of the future. This can be

explained by the fact that most Hawaiians are excluded from the main political and economic arenas. In the 1970s the dissatisfaction with Hawaiians' position within society led to the so-called Hawaiian renaissance. This movement rose at the same time that on mainland USA, in Europe and in New Zealand, other ethnic groups and minorities protested against their unequal position and demanded equal rights (Walker 2005). Hawaiians began (re)-identifying themselves as native Hawaiians and were especially involved in establishing rights for the preservation of their culture and lifestyle. In addition, protests often involved issues about land ownership and development, while land had always played a major part in Hawaiian culture and society. These actions triggered Hawaiian ethnic consciousness and traditional Hawaiian practices were reintroduced and reinvented. Increasing interests was shown in chant and hula, music, sports and the demanding of Hawaiian language programs within all levels of education. Ultimately, Hawaiian activists were able to launch the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA, a semi-autonomous government office), established right of usage of abandoned lands, housing and infrastructure on Hawaiian Home Lands, access to social services, established Hawaiian language programs from preschool to university and the University of Hawaii established the Hawaiian Studies Program (Buck 1993; Friedman 1992). Although Hawaiians have received more equal rights than a few decades ago, even till this day they are struggling for more equal rights or some kind of sovereignty. According to Buck (1993:185), "The notion of sovereignty challenges the taken for granted acceptance of Hawaii as a state within the US." In other words, the fact that Hawaiians are still busy with fighting the presence of America, must make it clear that the annexation of Hawaii was and still is not totally accepted. Nevertheless, "the very fact that Hawaiian sovereignty is argued within the rules, codes and assumptions of US legislative and legal systems and the declarations of Hawaiian sovereignty are presented within documents that are models of western constitutions makes conceptualizations of Hawaiian independence problematic." For now, it is impossible to say whether Hawaiians will be granted some form of sovereignty. Until that is the case, Hawaiians will continue to protest against the continuing western imperialism of their islands, in one way or another (Buck 1993).

3.4. Tourism: its emergence and consequences for Hawaii

Before we take a look at how the history of Hawaii is represented for tourists, we first have to understand how the tourism industry has emerged in Hawaii and what the consequences of tourism development have been, especially for Hawaiians.

After World War II, the sugar industry on which Hawaii had depended so much started to decline. Sugar plantations were abandoned and the trade diminished due to cheaper sugar products from other countries. The Hawaiians and immigrants that had worked on the sugar plantations, had to find a new source of income. There was more demand for jobs than there was supply, which increased job competition between Asian, American, European immigrants and Hawaiians. Around the same time, the tourism industry in Hawaii began to grow rapidly. Consequently, Hawaii could no longer rely solely on its local resources and capital and had to seek it elsewhere. As a result, tourism businesses and the government began to seek capital investment from the US mainland and other nations, primarily Canada, Britain, Australia, Hong Kong and Japan. Ultimately, the competition for jobs ended for Hawaiians in the lower paid jobs within the tourism industry as entertainers and service providers, while Asians and Americans got the higher income jobs. Presently, around 60% of Hawaiians work in the low paid jobs in the tourism industry and earn on average less than \$15 000 a year. That is \$5000 below the state's average income. Hence, the surfacing of this new, dominant, western tourism industry made that Hawaiians' economical and social status for the umpteenth time decreased (Halualani 2002).

Furthermore, the emergence of the tourism industry within Hawaii went hand in hand with the introduction of western perceptions about performance and the role culture could play in that. In other words, singers, dancers or other performers now could earn money in return for their performances. In this way, "performance became commodities and observers became consumers. As a result, the relation between creation, reception and meaning of symbolic production underwent a major change, from a patron system supported by the ali'i or communal practices among maka'aina to one paid for by an audience" (Buck 1993:106). Hence, when the westerners discovered that Hawaiian culture could generate money, they reintegrated the prior prohibited practices for commercial entertainment and profit. Or in other words, "local Hawaiians materially struggle in an industry marketed on their history, their images, and their colonialist dispossession" (Halualani 2002:144). But in order to make these Hawaiian practices attractive, they had to be altered. Chants and hula, for example, were

made less complicated so that everybody was able to understand their meaning. Obviously, this changed the meaning and ritual that these practices had entailed for Hawaiians. Due to the new form and meaning of these traditional Hawaiian practices which were more adapted to western notions, these practices became more attractive and easier to understand for foreigners, most important tourists. This was the start of performing Hawaiian practices for tourists. Besides this, the loss of land for tourism development caused serious negative impacts for Hawaiians. As we know, land ownership determined and still does determine status and power. Now that most of the land is in the hands of foreigners (especially Asians and Americans) developing tourism, make Hawaiians feel powerless and unimportant. As a result, Hawaiians distanced themselves and became hostile against the foreigners that had taken away their land and ultimately their power and status (Buck 1993).

Although the actual tourism industry began to bloom in the late 19th and early 20th century, the basis for tourism began way earlier. In fact you could say that with the arrival of Captain James Cook and the first missionaries, the fundaments for a tourism industry on Hawaii have been laid. It was through their stories and pictures that native Hawaiians were displayed as hospitable and serviceable, wanting to please all foreigners. Nowadays, these images still prevail contemporary thinking about Hawaii, especially within the tourism industry (Kaomea 2000). By the early 20th century, the promotion and advertisements of Hawaii as a tourism paradise had created essentialist and demeaning images of Hawaiians as exotic, tropical, happy and sensual people. These advertisement images are part of American and European fascination with all things ‘exotic’ and are still present in the contemporary world. “Tourism, as aestheticized ethnographic travel, brought the discourses of modernity and primitivism together with the commodification of new colonial possessions, such as Hawaii, as pleasure zones” (Desmond 1999:465). Thus, Hawaii provides its tourists the chance to experience a land believed not yet to be influenced by modernisation. It offers tourists the chance to experience “that heady feeling of encountering a new, virgin land, ripe for conquer” (Schroeder & Borgerson 2005:5). Through these essentialist images of Hawaiians, their limited and static roles within the tourism industry are being confirmed and fixed. In addition, these images have become part of the perceptions of tourists and even to some extent the perceptions of Hawaiians themselves. When coming to Hawaii, tourists expect to see Hawaiians in these positions which again makes it difficult for Hawaiians to break this image. This because they and the rest of the Hawaiian islands are depended on tourism. When tourists are not satisfied with their vacation on Hawaii, they won’t return and eventually, the tourism industry could collapse. This would have even more devastating

consequences for Hawaiians, while they won't have any income at all. According to Buck (1993:179), "Tourism is an industry based on image; its overriding concern is to construct, through multiple representations of paradise, an imaginary Hawaii that entices the outsider to place himself into this symbol-defined space. In the process of image and sign construction, Hawaiian culture is used and positioned in ways that give new meanings to their presentation and performance." The imagery of Hawaii in promotional and advertisement materials, automatically leads to fixed ways of behaviour that determines social, political and economical relationships. However, creating a static and fixed image is part of the tourism industry in general and not specific for Hawaii. The tourism industry (re)produces such images on which tourist attractions are based.

During the next part of this thesis, two of such tourist attractions will be discussed. These are the hula shows in Waikiki and the 'Iolani Palace in Honolulu. Scientific historical accounts state that the hula was a type of storytelling dance, accompanying chants. Chants have always been complex. They constituted what was socially relevant, what was important to remember and to be remembered over time. Often, chants entailed genealogical accounts to be able to establish an ali'i's past and hence legitimize its power and status. Before the arrival of the west, hula complemented chants. The movements that were contained in the hula were bodily expressions of the words from the chants, or "a form of poetry in motion" (Buck 1993:112). Was chant first the most important of the two, in the 19th, 20th century and at present times, hula has increased in importance in which chants play a subordinate role or are sometimes even left out. Hence, the hula told a story by using dance movements that displayed hierarchical relations. In 'ancient Hawaii', the hula was primarily exercised by men, because they were free from kapu. During the invasion of the west, the hula transformed from a sacred dance to a dance that became an object of embarrassment and ultimately an object of entertainment. The hula dance was banned and neglected, primarily by missionaries. They took offense of the scarcely clothed dancers and their movements. In the 20th century a renewed interest in hula and chants emerged during the Hawaiian cultural renaissance and with the arrival of tourists, re-establishing hula dances and chants (Lewis 2003; Schroeder & Borgerson 2005; Stillman 1996; Buck 1993). Hula dances were more and more executed and began to represent the period of Hawaii before western intervention. Hula dances were no longer performed for ali'i, but at all occasions that dealt with 'old Hawaii'. In addition, through the Hawaiian cultural renaissance, Hawaiians have become more interested in learning about their traditional cultural practices, including the hula. This resulted in the increasing establishment of schools specialized in teaching hula, i.e. the hula halau. Here,

especially younger Hawaiians learn about their history and culture through the hula dance, taught by a kumu hula (teacher) (Buck 1993).

Another tourist attraction that is being analysed in this thesis is the ‘Iolani Palace. The palace was build in commission by King Kalakaua who lived there together with his wife Queen Kapi’olani and his sister Queen Lili’uokalani. King Kalakaua was born on the Big Island from a mother and father who were both high chiefs. Therefore, he received good schooling and spoke both English as Hawaiian fluently. During his reign, King Kalakaua wanted to reinstitute ‘ancient’ manners and practices. This included the revival of old traditional practices, such as chants and hula and give back some power to ali’i’s. Through his way of governing, people saw Kalakaua as a new ali’i nui. In 1881, King Kalakaua was the first Hawaiian monarch to make a world trip in order to meet other rulers, learn about their ways of governing and hoped to achieve more protection from other countries for the more increasing threat of annexation. Before he left, King Kalakaua named his sister, Queen Lili’uokalani as his successor. During his trip, the king visited San Francisco, Japan, China, Thailand, Birma, India, Egypt and Europe. While Kalakaua was in Europe he ordered furnishing for his new palace that was being build while he was away. The ‘Iolani Palace was finished in 1882, the same year that the King arrived from his trip around the world. He organized a coronation ceremony in order to celebrate his return and the establishment of the new palace. During this ceremony ‘ancient’ customs and traditions, but also new western technologies were displayed. For instance, King Kalakaua had installed electric lights in the palace, the first electricity on the Hawaiian islands (Potter et all 2003). After King Kalakaua’s death in 1891, his sister Lili’uokalani became the new queen of Hawaii. Moreover, it was in one of the rooms of the ‘Iolani Palace that Queen Lili’uokalani was imprisoned after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. After the establishment of the Hawaiian Republic in 1893 the ‘Iolani Palace served as the capitol building until 1968, when the state capitol moved to a new build across the street. After this, the ‘Iolani Palace was neglected and fell into disrepair. However, in 1978 the palace got a complete renovation and till this day tourists are able to experience the way of living of the Hawaiian monarchy (Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau 2010).

In sum, after the boom of tourism development after WOII, Hawaii was not able to cope with it on its own. Consequently, foreign investment was needed with the result that Hawaii’s economy, again, has become increasingly dependent on foreigners. Furthermore, the battle for jobs was lost by Hawaiians who ended up in the low-paid jobs in the tourism industry. In addition, ‘traditional’ Hawaiian practices have changed in order to be more

comprehensible for foreigners and native Hawaiians are often displayed and advertised as friendly, serviceable and exotic people which limit the roles that they can occupy in the tourism industry. Nevertheless, it is this image of Hawaiians that is being used in tourists attractions, such as in hula shows or at the 'Iolani Palace.

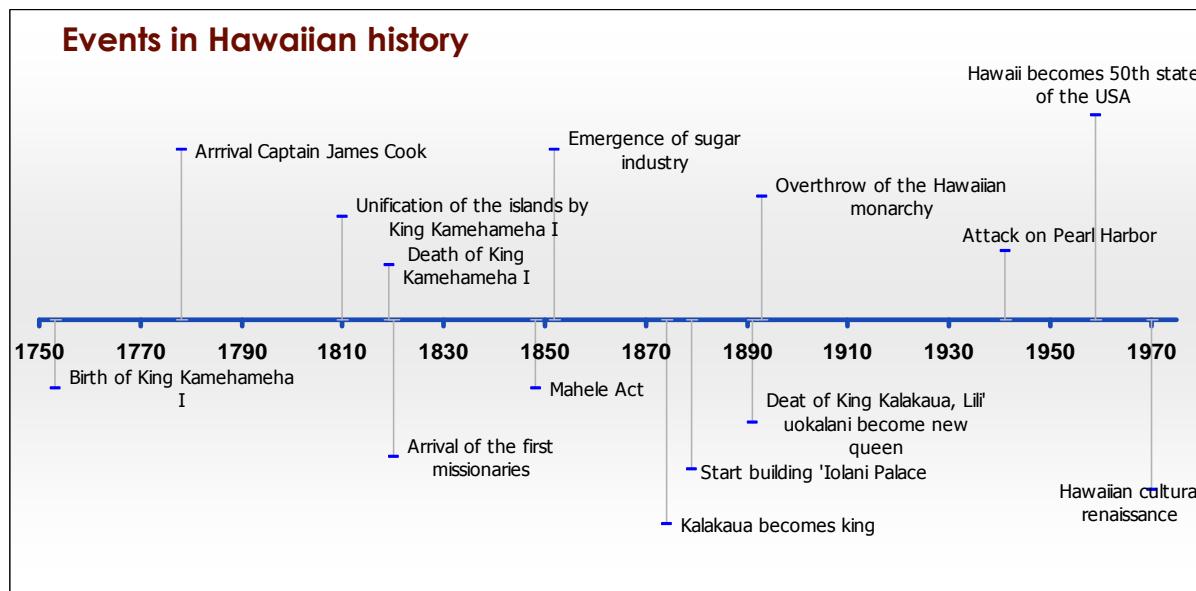
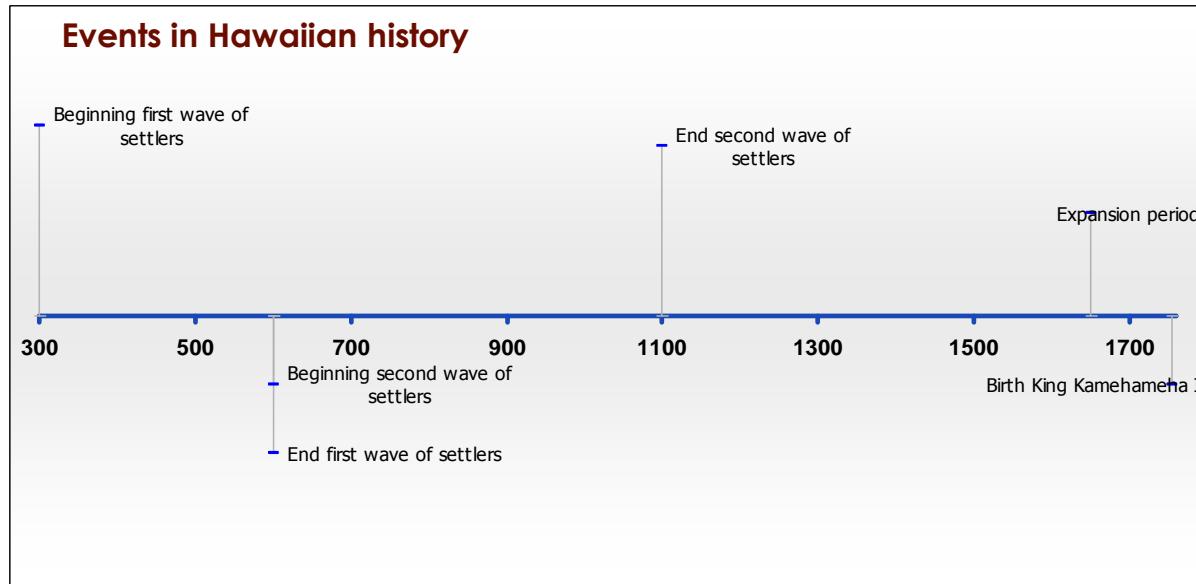


Figure 3. Events in Hawaiian history

4. ‘The’ history of Hawaii as represented for tourists

Hawaii is popular with tourists because of its tropical climate, pretty beaches and beautiful nature. Besides this, Hawaii is popular for its historical images in which particularly the traditions and customs of ‘precolonial and traditional Hawaii’ play a major part. The most popular tourist attractions offered on the island of O’ahu are (besides nature-based activities) almost all related to ‘old traditions’ of Hawaii, such as watching hula performances, attending a luau (a Hawaiian dinner theatre), visiting the ‘Iolani Palace, the Bishop Museum or the Polynesian Cultural Centre. By visiting these tourist attractions, tourists are able to learn more about and experience ‘ancient, pre colonial’ Hawaii. It are tourist attractions like these that are important in finding out which histories of Hawaii are being represented for tourists. This chapter uses different touristic information sources as well as tourist attractions themselves, specifically Hula Shows and the ‘Iolani Palace.

4.1. Touristic information sources, tourist attractions and ‘the’ history of Hawaii

In this part, we take a closer look at what different touristic information sources tell about ‘the’ history of Hawaii in general and ‘the’ history of hula shows and the ‘Iolani Palace in particular. The touristic information sources used are the Hawaii Visitor Bureau, the Lonely Planet, 101 Things To Do magazines and official websites.

4.1.1. Hawaii Visitor Bureau

‘The’ history of Hawaii

The website of gohawaii.com is the official website of the Hawaii Visitor Bureau. The first thing you notice when visiting this website are different pictures of the islands of Hawaii, accompanied by the following text:

“*The PEOPLE OF HAWAII would like to share their islands with you*” (Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau 2010).

The homepage contains information about geography, facts, tips, FAQ's and activities. The link to Hawaiian history can be found under the heading 'Travel Information'. When you click on this a photo of King Kamehameha I appears, followed by one page of information about 'the' history of Hawaii. The Visitor Bureau starts its historic information with Hawaii (or the Aloha State as they call it) becoming the 50th state of the US. After that the story goes 1500 years back in time when the first Polynesians from the Marquesas Islands arrived on the Big Island with nothing more than the stars to navigate them. Then the Visitor Bureau tells about Tahitians arriving 500 years later, bringing with them their religious and hierarchical system based on kapu. The website argues that in this time, "Hawaiian culture flourished over the centuries, giving rise to the art of the hula and the sport of surfing" (Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau 2010). Moreover, the Visitor Bureau mentions that in this time, conflicts about land were common. After this, the website mentions the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778, followed by the period of unification of the islands by Kamehameha I to the arrival of the first missionaries in 1820, who introduced new diseases. In addition, the website mentions the arrival of immigrants to work on the sugar and pineapple plantations and end with the attack on Pearl Harbor by the Japanese. Finally, the website of the Hawaiian Visitor Bureau tells about the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy:

"Western influence continued to grow and in 1893, American Colonists who controlled much of Hawaii's economy overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom in a peaceful, yet still controversial coup (...). Today, Hawaii is a global gathering place for visitors to share in the spirit of aloha. Beyond the sun and surf of the islands, we urge you to discover the rich cultural history of Hawaii to add even more depth to your visit" (Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau 2010).

'The' history of the hula

Furthermore, on the website of the Hawaii Visitor Bureau, there is a heading called 'Essential Hawaii'. It is under this heading that you can find more information about the hula:

"Hula is a uniquely Hawaiian dance accompanied by chant or song that preserves and perpetuates the stories, traditions and culture of Hawaii. Hawaiian legends tell stories of hula beginning on the islands of Molokai and Kauai. Today, this enchanting art form has become a worldwide symbol of Hawaiian culture and the beauty of Hawaii's people" (Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau 2010).

The Hawaii Visitor Bureau also tells that the hula dance is unique to the Hawaiian islands and that the hula was “born in early Hawaii and is still a powerful way to share myths and legends, as well as everyday life” (Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau 2010). Multiple stories exist about the origin of the hula. According to the Hawaii Visitor Bureau there are legends that say that the hula was born on Moloka’i. Here, the goddess Laka was the first to perform the dance and she was the one who spread it to the rest of the Hawaiian islands. However, others argue that the hula originates from the island of Kauai where ali’i Lohiau danced for his beloved Pele (goddess of the volcano). Till this day, both spots are still regarded as sacred and yearly hula festivals are held on these spots. Furthermore, the Hawaii Visitor Bureau mentions the Merrie Monarch Festival. This is the world’s biggest and most famous hula competition, held each year in Hilo, on the Big Island. The name of the competition is derived from King Kalakaua, who was called the Merrie Monarch, since he reintroduced and revived the hula in the 19th century. According to the website, the king often used to say:

“Hula is the language of the heart, therefore the heartbeat of the Hawaiian people” (Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau 2010).

The Hawaii Visitor Bureau also tells about the distinction between ‘modern’ and ‘ancient’ hula and claims that tourists are more likely to experience the modern hula since the ancient hula is rarely performed in public. Moreover, the website informs visitors about kumu hula’s and hula halau’s and give information about the different festivals held throughout the year on the different islands. Besides this historical information about the hula, the Visitor Bureau also advertises hula shows.

‘The’ history of the ‘Iolani Palace

According to the Hawaii Visitor Bureau, there is perhaps no other place in whole Hawaii that displays ‘its’ history more than the ‘Iolani Palace. The ‘Iolani Palace is the only official palace of a monarchy within the whole of the United States. Likewise, the Hawaii Visitor Bureau argues that:

“The palace was a symbol of promise for the Hawaiian Kingdom built by King David Kalakaua, “The Merrie Monarch.” Influenced by European architectural styles, this royal residence included Hawaii’s first electric light system, flush toilets and intra-house telephones. The rich interior features a beautiful Koa staircase, dramatic portraits of Hawaiian royalty, ornate furniture and royal gifts and ornaments from around the world” (Hawaii Visitor and Convention Bureau 2010).

Surrounding the palace is a plot of land on which several huge Banyan trees stand which are said to have been planted by King Kalakaua’s wife, Queen Kapi’olani. Moreover, the ground houses the former Royal Household Guards barracks, where you can buy tickets for a guided tour or decide to venture out on your own with a self-guided audio tour. Finally, you can find a small round pavilion which was built for the coronation of King Kalakaua. According to the Hawaii Visitor Bureau (2010),

“One of Oahu’s most important historical places, ‘Iolani Palace plays an integral part in understanding the history and culture of Hawaii.”

4.1.2. Lonely Planet

‘The’ history of Hawaii

Besides the Hawaii Visitor Bureau, the touristic information about Hawaiian history can also be found in guide books. The guide book that I analysed, is the Lonely Planet guide book. After some facts, maps, short itineraries and an event calendar, ‘the’ history of Hawaii is described. Here, the Lonely Planet reconstructs a chronological history starting with the Polynesian voyages, ancient Hawaii, to the Hawaiian monarchy, the overthrow and annexation and ending with the Hawaiian cultural renaissance. In addition, the Lonely Planet gives a timeline dating from 40-30 million BC till 2008 and recommends books to read when you are interested in certain phases of Hawaiian history. Finally, the Lonely Planet contains boxes that highlight certain moments in Hawaiian history that they consider important.

The Lonely Planet begins its history chapter with the arrival of the first Polynesians between AD 300 and 600 who had nothing more than their double hulled canoes “fashioned without the benefit of metals” (Campbell et all 2009:36). The Lonely Planet claims that there is hardly any information about this first wave of migration, except that the Polynesians were

probably from the Marquesas Islands. Another wave of settlers arrived 400 years later, who brought new plants, animals, religion and a new form of social structure:

“A second wave of Polynesians from the Tahitian Islands began arriving around AD 1000, and they conquered the first peoples and obliterated nearly all traces of their history and culture” (Campbell et all 2009:36)

Around 1300 Polynesians unexplainably stopped their long distance voyages and Hawaiian culture was able to develop. This development resulted in a highly stratified Hawaiian society led by ali’i (chiefs) “whose right to rule was based on their hereditary lineage to the gods” (Campbell et all 2009:36). Intrinsic in this society were loyalty to the ali’i and the gods and striving for status. The Lonely Planet also mentions the land division system of the ahupua’ā and explains that this pie-shaped piece of land runs from the sea to the mountains and encompasses all necessary resources for a chiefdom to live from and on which it were the maka’aina (commoners) who worked the land. The Lonely Planet calls the culture of this period a culture of “mutuality and reciprocity” and argues that this was a period of peace and stability where “change was only marked by the seasons” (Campbell et all 2009: 37). In addition, the guide book mentions the kapu system as “a very strict code of ritualized behaviour” that determined daily life (Campbell et all 2009: 37). At the end Lonely Planet concludes that:

“Ancient Hawai’i was both a gracefully unselfish and fiercely uncompromising place” (Campbell et all 2009: 37)

After dealing with ancient Hawaii, the Lonely Planet continues with the arrival of Captain James Cook and the discovery of Hawaii by the west. The book argues that with the arrival of Cook the period of isolation for Hawaii ended and that “it’s impossible to overstate the impact of this, or even to appreciate now what this unexpected appearance meant to Hawaiians” (Campbell et all 2009:38). Moreover, the Lonely Planet mentions how, when and where Captain Cook landed and that the Hawaiians first saw him as the embodiment of a god. The Hawaiians greeted him and his entourage with a smile and because the Hawaiians were so “unrelentingly gracious, in fact – so fair in their dealings, so agreeable in every aspect, including the eagerness of Hawaiian women to have sex – Cook and his men felt safe” (Campbell et all 2009:38). Finally, Lonely Planet mentions the conflict that James Cook got

himself into which resulted in his death. After this, the Lonely Planet spends a portion on King Kamehameha the Great, the chief that was able to unify all the islands under one government. They acknowledge that he did this during five years of bloodshed, but after that, Kamehameha was able to establish the most peaceful era in Hawaiian history. Moreover, Kamehameha I was able to integrate growing foreign influences while keeping Hawaiian traditions alive. However, at the same time, Hawaiians increasingly started to doubt their strict hierarchical rules and religion when they saw from foreigners that it also could be different. After Kamehameha's death in 1819, his son Liholiho took over control and was the first one to intentionally break the kapu system by eating together with women.

The next step in the history of Hawaii described in the Lonely Planet is that of the arrival of missionaries and whalers in the early nineteenth century. According to the Lonely Planet:

“The missionaries arrived expecting the worst, and that’s what they found: public nakedness, ‘lewd’ hula dancing, polygamy, gambling, drunkenness, fornication with sailors” (Campbell et all 2009:39)

Furthermore, the missionaries thought that the Hawaiians were lazy and the process of conversion to Christianity was a slow one. Nonetheless, the missionaries did attract the attention of Hawaiians with something else, i.e. literacy. The missionaries established an alphabet for the Hawaiian language and taught Hawaiians how to read and write. Besides the arrival of the missionaries, the Lonely Planet also mentions the arrival of the whalers. According to the Lonely Planet the whaling industry “became the economic backbone of the islands, especially in ports like Honolulu and Lahaina” (Campbell et all 2009:40). With the arrival of sailors from the whaling boats, the agriculture of the islands also changed, since they introduced new products such as potatoes, vegetables and meat. All in all, the ali’i of that time began to understand that adopting western culture and practices could potentially enhance their status and power.

The next phase in the Lonely Planet concerning Hawaiian history has to do with the Hawaiian monarchy. Lonely Planet introduces King Kauikeaouli (Kamehama III), “born and raised in Hawaii after Western contact”, who passed laws in which maka’aina could get representation in the government and who developed the Mahele Act. This act made that the lands of Hawaii were divided into crown lands, chief lands and government lands (for the general public). Although King Kauikeaouli had hoped that this act would lead to more

freeholder farmers, it only led to confusion among Hawaiians. Hawaiians were not used to own private property, pay taxes or they were unable to “follow through on the paperwork to claim their titles” (Campbell et all 2009: 41). As a result, much of the land intended for Hawaiians fell into the hands of foreign investors:

“Within 30 to 40 years, despite supposed limits, foreigners owned three-quarters of Hawaii, and Hawaiians, who had relinquished so much of their culture so quickly, had now lost their sacred connection to the land” (Campbell et all 2009:41).

Next described in the Lonely Planet is the sugar and plantation era. Due to the collapse of the whaling industry and the increasing demand for sugar in the western world, Hawaii turned to sugar plantations around 1850. With the help of King Kalakaua who established a reciprocity treaty with the USA, profit could be made by producing and selling sugar. Caused by a decline in the population, guest workers from China, Japan, Portugal and the Philippines were recruited to work on the plantations.

“These immigrants, along with the culture of the plantation life itself, transformed Hawaii into the multicultural, multiethnic society it’s known as today” (Campbell et all 2009: 42)

Besides establishing the reciprocity treaty, King Kalakaua was also known for restoring Hawaiian cultural practices and traditions and enhancing native pride. Despite his interest in Hawaiian culture, King Kalakaua also oriented himself towards the west. For instance, he wanted the Hawaiian monarchy to be equal to all the other monarchies and thus decided to build the ‘Iolani Palace, stored with all the mod cons of that time. The Lonely Planet also describes how King Kalakaua was forced to sign a renewed reciprocity treaty, leaving Hawaiian monarchy without much power. After his death, his sister Queen Lili’uokalani tried to fight the increasing foreign intervention and control, even writing “a new constitution to restore Hawaiian voting rights and the monarchy’s powers” (Campbell et all 2009: 44). However, before installing this new constitution, Queen Lili’uokalani was ordered to withdraw by the ‘Committee of Safety’ and a provisional government was formed. In addition, the Lonely Planet states that the then reigning US president G.Cleveland convicted the overthrow as illegal, against the will of the Hawaiian people and demanded that Queen Lili’uokalani would be reinstated. Instead, the Committee established their own government,

called the Republic of Hawaii. During this time, Queen Lili'uokalani fought for reinstatement, but without any result. Under the control of a new president in 1898,

“the US approved a resolution for annexing the Republic of Hawaii as a US territory. In part, the US justified this colonialism because the ongoing Spanish-American War had highlighted the strategic importance of the islands as a Pacific military base” (Campbell et all 2009: 44).

The strategic importance of Hawaii for the US became evident in the Second Word War. Specifically, on December 7, 1941 when the Japanese made a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor, instantly forcing the USA into WWII.

Hereafter, the Lonely Planet continues with Hawaii becoming the 50th state of the USA. The Republic of Hawaii has lobbied for statehood since its existence, but it wasn't until 1959 that this actually happened. According to the Lonely Planet: “statehood bills always failed mostly because of US political reluctance to accept its multi-ethnic, Asian-majority population on equal turns” because, according to the USA, the more Asians the bigger the change of the introduction of communism (Campbell et all 2009: 45). After all, on August 21 1959, President Eisenhower signed the bill making Hawaii the 50th state of the USA. Right after the bill had been signed the economic impacts were visible with the growing influx of tourists.

Finally, the Lonely Planet deals with the Hawaiian cultural renaissance. In this final part of Hawaiian history, the Lonely Planet argues that the rapid growth of Hawaii led to questions about Hawaiian identity:

“Native Hawaiians turned to elders and the past to recover their essential selves, and by doing so became more politically assertive” (Campbell et all 2009: 46)

This resulted for instance in the formation of the Polynesian Voyaging Society which tried to prove their ancestors' capabilities by building a replica of an ancient double hulled canoe, called Hokule'a, which they sailed to Tahiti using only the stars to navigate and thus proving their ancestors capabilities. Moreover, in 1978 laws were passed making Hawaiian, along with English, the official state language and also made teaching Hawaiian culture in public schools obligatory. All these efforts led to an increasing interest in Hawaiian culture. Lately, there has been more acknowledgment by political figures about the wrongdoings of the US during the overthrow and how the USA has treated native Hawaiians after that. In 1993, 100

years after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, President Clinton signed the Apology Bill in which the US government recognizes its role in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom. In 2000, senator Akaka introduced the Akaka Bill, where he asked for federal recognition of Native Hawaiians as the native people of the Hawaiian islands.

'The' history of the hula

"In ancient Hawaii, hula was as much a way of life as a performing art" (Campbell et all 2009:58)

Here, the Lonely Planet states that the hula was not only related to respecting and honouring chiefs, establishing and telling chiefly genealogies, but it was also a dance executed for fun and leisure, in which "amateur and professional, chief and commoner, danced together" (Campbell et all 2009:58). According to the Lonely Planet, hula personified the community and in dancing the hula, Hawaiians told stories about themselves as well as celebrating themselves. In addition, the Lonely Planet says that the hula in those times was taught in halau's under the strict rule of the kumu hula. The Lonely Planet acknowledges the importance of chants with hula dance, in which chants give "intention and meaning to the movements" (Campbell et all 2009:58). The meanings and expression of the hula were not well received by the missionaries. The missionaries tried hard in suppressing the dance which succeeded with some help of the converted Christian Queen Ka'ahumanu who prohibited the hula in 1830. When King Kalakaua came to the throne in 1880, he revived the hula by advocating that "hula is the language of the heart and therefore the heartbeat of the Hawaiian people" (Campbell et all 2009:58). However, after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy hula disappeared from the main stage until the cultural renaissance of the 1970s and still maintains there till this day. In addition, the Lonely Planet also makes the distinction between kahiko (old) and 'auana (modern) hula types:

"Kahiko performances are raw and primordial, accompanied only by chanting and thunderous gourd drums; costumes are traditional, with ti-leafs leis, primary colors and sometimes a lot of skin. 'Auana can include all manner of western, contemporary influences. English singing, stringed instruments, pants, pop culture jokes, sinuous arm movements and smiling faces – all may be included" (Campbell et all 2009:58)

Concerning hula, the Lonely Planet also mentions the festivals that contain hula performances, which you can find in their event calendar. This includes the famous Merrie Monarch Festival: “This week-long celebration of Hawaiian culture culminates in the Olympics of hula competitions; hula doesn’t get any better” (Campbell et all 2009: 27). Besides this, the Lonely Planet also mentions less famous hula festivals and celebrations around the different islands. Ultimately, the Lonely Planet sees the hula as the ‘touchstone of everyday life’, as something that distinguishes Hawaii from other (Polynesian) tropical islands and as a way to get to know the soul of Hawaii. Moreover, according to the Lonely Planet, it is one of the must do’s when visiting O’ahu: “Let yourself be mesmerized by hula troupes performing on the beach” (Campbell et all Planet 2009:148). Furthermore, the Lonely Planet claims that attending a hula show is a good place to learn about Hawaiian culture.

‘The’ history of the ‘Iolani Palace

The Lonely Planet states that the ‘Iolani Palace is worth a visit when you are interested in ‘the’ history of Hawaii:

“Perhaps no other place evokes a more poignant sense of Hawaii’s history than this royal palace, where plots and counterplots simmered” (Campbell et all 2009:116)

Moreover, the Lonely Planet states that the royal Hawaiian family had a lot of interest in other royal families and their way of life, especially those from the west. King Kalakaua would often travel abroad to meet with other royalties or invited them to the ‘Iolani Palace. In order to impress his guests King Kalakaua equipped his palace with modern and luxurious gadgets, however, “it did little to assert Hawaii’s sovereignty over powerful US influences business interests, who overthrew the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1893” (Campbell et all 2009:116). After this, the Lonely Planet continues with the nine month imprisonment of Queen Lili’uokalani in her own home after she was convicted by the new Hawaiian Republic of treason. The Lonely Planet mentions that after the overthrow the palace served as the capitol of the republic, later the capitol of the territory and later that of the state of Hawaii. In 1969, one year later than the Hawaii visitor bureau claims, the ‘Iolani Palace was replaced for another state capitol, “leaving ‘Iolani Palace a shambles” (Campbell et all 2009:116). Nowadays, ‘Iolani Palace is open for the public since “it has been painstakingly restored to its former glory, although many of the original royal artifacts were lost or stolen over the years” (Campbell et all 2009:116).

4.1.3. 101 Things To Do magazines

‘The’ history of Hawaii

Besides the information from the Hawaii Visitor Bureau and the Lonely Planet, tourists also can get information from brochures advertising tourist activities and excursions. As in any popular tourist destination, these brochures are distributed in hotels, on the streets, at stalls and at free kiosks. One of the most extensive tourist brochure in Hawaii is the ‘101 Things To Do’ magazine. This magazine is distributed every four months and is freely available at all major hotels, stalls and kiosks. As the title suggests ‘101 Things To Do’ is a magazine that tells tourists about what to do in Hawaii. The magazines are published on four islands, i.e. Kauai, Maui, the Big Island and Oahu. The information represented below is based on two magazines published in Oahu (the January-May and May-September issue). The magazines contain maps of the several districts of the island and is divided into different sections that contain different activities, such as Uniquely Oahu, Dining & Shopping/Diversions, Waterworld, Pearl Harbor, Air tours, In the country, Honolulu, Waikiki and Golf. In the introduction, the magazines enlighten some geographical information about Oahu and about what to do on the island. Moreover, the magazines dedicate some lines about ‘the’ history of Hawaii. Here, they mention the 50th anniversary of Hawaiian statehood and refer to the fact that Hawaii was a monarchy before statehood. Moreover, the May-September issue talks about King Kamehameha I and his role in the unification of the islands and the important role of the ‘Iolani Palace in Hawaiian history. Finally, the 101 Things To Do magazines say:

“Walking tours of downtown Honolulu, Waikiki or Chinatown, as well as visit to Pearl Harbor, are a good way to get in touch with the island’s unique past” (101 Things To Do 2010:11).

‘The’ history of the hula

The introduction of both the ‘101 Things To Do’ magazines do not mention hula shows or performances, however in the section ‘Shopping & Dining/Diversions’ they do. Here, the magazines start with the image of the hula popularized by Hollywood:

“Long before statehood in 1959, the grass-skirted hula dancer, hips swaying, hands persuading, had emerged as the pop symbol of the Islands. The ancient Hawaiian dance form was minimized and synthesized and brought to the Silver Screen by stars like Clara Bow, Shirley Temple, Dorothy Lamour and even Minnie Mouse” (101 Things To Do 2010: 46).

The magazine continues by saying that this hula form has nothing in common with the authentic form. According to the 101 things to do magazines, the authentic hula is the most powerful expression of native Hawaiian culture. The chants are the reason for dancing and express the oral history of Hawaii and its people. Moreover, “passed down from one kumu hula (teacher) to another, the stories have survived Western contact, early missionary censure, U.S. take over and statehood” (101 Things To Do 2010: 46). The magazine also tells about King Kalakaua who is awarded with reviving the hula, after the illegalisation by the missionaries. However, the total revival of the hula was not until 1970 with the beginning of the Hawaiian cultural renaissance. In addition, the magazines make a distinction between hula kahiko and hula ‘auana. The first hula form is performed with ‘ancient instruments’, the latter with ‘ukulele’s and guitars. Moreover, the magazine mentions the Merrie Monarch Festival and ends with advertising hula performances:

“You don’t have to buy a ticket to watch dancers. In the Hawaiian tradition, there is hula performed somewhere at no charge almost every day. Free hula shows are performed four nights a week at the Kuhio Beach Park hula mound. Shows run from 6.30 to 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday” (101 Things To Do 2010: 46)

‘The’ history of the ‘Iolani Palace

The 101 Things To Do magazines also mention the ‘Iolani Palace. The magazines mention that the ‘Iolani Palace was built in 1882 by King Kalakaua and highlights the fact that

“Iolani Palace is the only restored royal palace in the United States” (101 Things To Do 2010:38)

Until the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, the palace was the home of King Kalakaua and Queen Lili’uokalani. After the overthrow, the palace was “stripped of its furnishing” and used as a government building. During this time, “more than 10,000 artefacts were sold at auction. About 4,000 of them have been recovered” (101 Things To Do 2010:38). When the new state capitol building was completed in 1969, the Palace was abandoned and The Friends of ‘Iolani Palace began restoring the palace to its original, costing about \$7.5 million. Visitors to the palace “learn quickly that they are expected to enter the palace with proper respect for

both its past and present" (101 Things To Do 2010:38). After this, the 101 things to do magazines begin to explain how the tours to the palace work and where they start:

"The tour begins in the Visitor Center located in 'Iolani Barracks were a short video of the palace history is shown. Once inside the palace, a magnificent curved staircase made of hand-carved Hawaiian woods and leading to the second floor living quarters of the royal family comes into view. Built at a cost to the Kingdom of Hawaii of \$360 000, the palace features 7,000 feet of Koa wood. The first floor contains the state dining room, the throne room and the blue room. The throne room, decorated in crimson and gold, was the scene of royal balls and receptions. But it was not always used for merry-making. In 1895, Queen Lili'uokalani was put on trial in this room after she was accused by the Republic of Hawaii of misprision (knowledge) of treason. She was imprisoned for eight months in a bedroom on the second floor of the palace" (101 Things To Do magazine 2010:38)

After this short introduction of the palace and its history, the magazines continue with giving some practical information about visiting the 'Iolani Palace. Other tourist brochures or leaflets about visiting the 'Iolani Palace are rare. Mostly the 'Iolani Palace is part of a tour that explores Honolulu, including the palace.

4.1.4. Official website

Of the two tourist attractions described in this chapter, only the 'Iolani Palace has an official website. This website is a good source to find out how 'the' history of Hawaii and that of the palace itself is being represented for tourists. That's why the website is also being described in this chapter. The homepage of the official website of the 'Iolani Palace starts with the following:

"Iolani Palace, the official residence of Hawaii's monarchy, is a marvel of opulence, innovation, and political intrigue. Meticulously restored to its former grandeur, this National Historic Landmark in downtown Honolulu tells of a time when their Majesties, King Kalākaua, who built it in 1882, and his sister and successor, Queen Lili'uokalani, walked its celebrated halls. Today, you can enjoy one of the most spectacular living restorations in all of Polynesia and immerse yourself in Hawaii's royal heritage. E komo mai! Welcome!" (Iolani Palace 2010)

The ‘Iolani Palace is currently a museum that is managed by the ‘Friends of ‘Iolani Palace. On the website it is claimed that the ‘Iolani Palace was built to “enhance the prestige of Hawai’i overseas and to mark her status as a modern nation” (Iolani Palace 2010). In order to achieve this goal, the government of that time reserved some money to build the new palace. The construction work started on December 31, 1879 and was completed exactly three years later in December 1882 when King Kalakaua and his wife Queen Kapi’olani moved in. In order to serve as ‘the status of a modern nation’, the ‘Iolani Palace was equipped with the most advanced facilities of that time, such as indoor plumbing, electricity and a telephone line. Accordingly, the ‘Iolani Palace had “the best of the modern world” (Iolani Palace 2010). The palace was one of several residences of King Kalakaua, but it was the only and official palace in which:

“They performed official functions, received dignitaries and luminaries from around the world, and entertained often and lavishly. It was the center of social and political life for the Kingdom of Hawai’i” (Iolani Palace 2010)

Inextricably related to the history of the ‘Iolani Palace is King Kalakaua. According to the website, the genealogy of King Kalakaua can be traced back to ali’i’s from Kona, the Big Island who had helped King Kamehameha I in unifying the Hawaiian islands. He had been taught both Hawaiian as well as English and “he was comfortable in both Hawaiian and Western society” (Iolani Palace 2010). In 1874, Kalakaua became the King of Hawaii and was the first Hawaiian King to visit the United States where he lobbied for the reciprocity treaty concerning Hawaiian sugar entering the USA duty-free. In 1881, he was also the first king who travelled around the world. Despite his foreign interests, King Kalakaua was also concerned with the increasing loss of Hawaiian culture and traditions. Therefore, he “encouraged the transcription of Hawaiian oral traditions, and supported the revival of and public performances of the hula” (Iolani Palace 2010). King Kalakaua died on January 20, 1891 during a health recovery trip to the United States. He was succeeded by his sister Queen Lili’uokalani. She reigned in the same way as her brother did and was determined to keep the power in the hands of the Hawaiian monarchy. However, this did not work out:

“Her attempt to promulgate a new constitution galvanized opposition forces into the Committee of Safety, which was composed of Hawaii-born citizens of American parents, naturalized citizens and foreign nationals, many of whom were businessmen, sugar plantation owners, and businessmen. This group, with the support of the American Minister to Hawaii, orchestrated the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the establishment of a provincial government” (Iolani Palace 2010).

Although the queen did not agree with this decision she gave up her authority in order to avoid any bloodshed or loss of lives. Meanwhile, she was trying to restore her power in a legal way, but in 1895 this resulted in her arrest and conviction of “having knowledge of a royalist plot”. Throughout her imprisonment, Queen Lili’uokalani was not allowed to receive any visitors “other than one lady in waiting”. To pass the time, the queen started reading, quilting and composing music. Ultimately, she wrote about 165 songs of which Aloha ‘Oe is the most famous and popular one.

After this, the official website of ‘Iolani Palace tells about the palace becoming the State Capitol after the overthrow. In this time, furniture and other useless artefacts for the government were sold at auction and the palace slowly fell into disrepair. After the completion of the new State Capitol, across the ‘Iolani Palace, the Friends of ‘Iolani Palace began restoration and “continue to manage ‘Iolani Palace as an historic house museum and to share the history of the Hawaiian monarchy” (Iolani Palace 2010). Besides restoration, the Friends of ‘Iolani Palace are also working hard at retrieving lost furniture and artefacts. In addition, more about the palace’s interior, its surrounding ground and practical information can be found on the website.

4.2. Hula Shows and the ‘Iolani Palace: Observations

Currently, hula shows and the ‘Iolani Palace are one of the most popular tourist attractions on Hawaii. All around the world people know the image of the Hawaiian hula girl, who wears a grass root skirt, coconut bra, a lot of flowers and who is performing an exotic and sensual dance. On the island of O’ahu, these hula performances can be viewed and experienced almost every night. Hula dances are also performed during other excursions or attractions. In addition, tourists are able to learn how to dance the hula. These hula lessons take place in several shopping malls, hotels, restaurants and during sunset dinner cruises (Lewis 2003; Schroeder & Borgerson 2005; Stillman 1996; Buck 1993). Attending hula performances are advocated by almost all touristic information sources. In addition, these touristic information sources also stress the fact when you want to learn more about Hawaiian history, you have to make a visit to the ‘Iolani Palace. Honolulu is the state’s capital and the city where three out of four of the inhabitants of Oahu live. The city is a mix of modern high rise and old Victorian buildings, it resides the government, but also the most homeless people and immigrants. It is a city in which modernity and history are intertwined. Honolulu has been the most important city of Oahu ever since King Kamehameha I had conquered the island and trading ships arrived in its port. Moreover, Honolulu inhabits an important place in Hawaiian history since it was the stage for the rise and fall of the Hawaiian monarchy.

4.2.1. Hula shows



Hula show on Kuhio Beach, Waikiki.

On O'ahu you are able to attend a hula performance almost every night. This can be in a bar, hotel, in a restaurant, in shopping malls or on the beach and are almost all free. Furthermore, classes in hula dancing are offered weekly at shopping malls, such as the Waikiki Beach Walk and the Royal Hawaiian Center. The first occasion that I witnessed a hula show was in Waikiki at the beach during the Kuhio Beach Park hula show. I must admit that the Kuhio Beach Park hula show is quite impressive. This has a lot to do with the hula performances, but the setting might also help. The hula show is held at one of the Waikiki beaches, called Kuhio Beach. It starts around 6.30 p.m. just when the sun is about to set. Besides the sunset, you are surrounded by palm trees that gently wave in the breeze of the trade winds. You are surrounded by white sand while waves are gently rolling on the beach. This is a good start of the show. On the podium, three men are positioned. The man on the left has a normal guitar, the man in the middle plays the 'ukulele and the man on the right is holding a contrabass. The man that plays the 'ukulule sits on a chair. He says because of his age, but I reckon it has more to do with his weight. There are quite a lot of people, as far as I can see only tourists. The audience is mixed ranging from Asians, Americans, Australians and some Europeans, to families and couples.

When the place is full and the band is ready, the 'old' man starts to welcome everybody with the so often heard and famous word: 'aalllooohhhaa'. The tourists already

know what to do and reply in the same manner. The man compliments the tourists and continues his welcome speech. Here, he thanks the Waikiki Improvement Association, the Hawaiian Tourism Authority and the City Council of Honolulu for making this possible. After he is done, the show starts with the lightening of the surrounded torches and the blowing of the conch shell “to carry on the tradition of ancient Hawaii”. Two men only wearing a cloth around their waist appear. One starts lightening the torches, holding a burning torch in his hands. The other man runs on the podium holding the conch shell in its hands. At the far right of the stage he stops, shouts something in Hawaiian and starts to blow the conch shell. This makes a hard and low sound. All in all, this takes about one minute and when the man is done lightening the torches, the other stops blowing the conch shell and both leave again. The audience applause. With this ceremony the hula show is about to start and the ‘old’ man begins to talk again: “Now, we are going to take you back to old Hawaii and present to you the hula kahiko accompanied by the ol’i, Hawaiian chants, that are stories about our gods and goddesses, Kings and Queens, our many ancestors and sacred places in the Hawaiian Islands”. In addition, the ‘old’ man argues that through the chants and hula kahiko the history of Hawaii and its people is preserved. After that he introduces the first performance of the evening and says that this performance is a welcome chant.

The performance starts with a man sitting on the ground, holding some kind of wooden vase and has a microphone in front of him. He starts chanting in Hawaiian, which sounds like a combination of speaking and singing. While he is doing this, a woman enters the stage and begins to dance the hula. She is not wearing the stereotypical outfit of a hula girl, but simply a yellow cotton shirt and skirt, but she does wear a lei made of ti-leaves around her neck. She moves elegant, relaxed and moves her feet, hips, arms and fingers. Occasionally, she is saying something in Hawaiian, by which it seems that the man is repeating those words. The dance takes about two and half minutes and after its completion the audiences gives a big round of applause. After that, another hula dance is performed this time with a man and a woman. During their performance they introduce different types of instruments within their dance. The first instrument that they use is some kind of rattle fashioned with red and yellow feathers at the top. Both the man and the woman are shaking and rattling this instrument. After a minute or so, they exchange the rattles for two wooden sticks, which they tap on top of each other, but also on their shoulders. Finally, they take the same wooden vase in their hands as the man from the first performance. While the man from the first performance slapped the vase on its sides, in this performance they hold the vase by its neck and clap on the bottom. They hit it with both the ball of their hands and their fingers. This produces a mat

drumming sound. After this, the man and woman continue to perform other hula dances, this time without any instruments. It seems to me though, that the movements are changing in that they are performed more faster and even new movements are introduced such as slapping on the upper legs. Meanwhile, the band is playing most of the songs, in which the chanting form is not coming back, they only sing now. The band plays songs with both Hawaiian and English lyrics. The songs with the Hawaiian lyrics are translated, although not every time. This translation sometimes comes before the actual song has started. For instance, the band is about to play a song that tells about the story of Goddess Pele, where she has come from Tahiti to settle on the Big Island in Kilauea. At other times, the man translates Hawaiian sentences during the song, unfortunately hard to understand due to the hard music. At the end of the show, the ‘old’ man of the band, thanks the audience, the other members of the band and finally “the Hyatt Regency that makes this performances possible, provides us with apartments and other amenities”. Finally, the shows ends with the following words: “Take Hawaiian culture with the respect that it has given to you and that you may share aloha with everybody you meet everywhere in the world. Mahalo and Allooohhhaa!”

During my fieldwork period I have visited this hula show several times and not totally surprising, the shows were often quite the same. They all started with the welcoming of visitors by shouting ‘Allooohhhaa’ which was backed up with the same response, over and over again. It was always advocated that the Hawaiians wanted to share their custom, their tradition and their way of life, i.e. the hula, with their guests. Although the composition of the band changed once in a while, there was always the presence of the band that played live music and accompanied the hula dancers. Moreover, they always thanked the institutions and organizations that made this show possible. Furthermore, the torch lightening and the blowing of the conch shell was always included to “carry on the tradition of ancient Hawaii”. The instruments were also used every time and by some of the ‘old’ Hawaiian chants that were played, explanation was given, be it before or during the song. Actually, this not only applies for the Kuhio Beach Hula Show, but for all the hula shows throughout Waikiki. Another well-known and popular hula performance is given at the Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center. Although the setting of these shows is not as spectacular as the show at Kuhio Beach, the performances are comparable. The hula show at the Royal Hawaiian is held every night, except Sundays, at the main stage of the Royal Hawaiian shopping mall, called the Royal Cove. This is a little courtyard within the Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center on the ground level. It is situated right in the middle of the shopping center so that it is not possible to miss when you enter it. The Royal Cove is a little grassy hill with places to sit that are shaped in

the form of rocks. The Cove is surrounded by large palm trees. The performance also includes a band that plays live music, consisting out of three people. Again, one plays the normal guitar, the other the ‘ukulele and the last person the contrabass. In this case, the female hula dancers do wear the stereotypical hula outfit, including grass skirts, aloha shirts and flower leis wrapped around the head, the neck, wrists and ankles. The male hula dancers wear a black short and an aloha shirt, with a flower lei only around their neck. Here too, the tourists are welcomed with ‘alooooohhhaaa’, and they respond in the same manner. One of the band members (often the one in the middle, with the ‘ukulele) starts thanking the Royal Hawaiian Center and a small introduction about the hula is given in which is said that “the hula is part of Hawaiian tradition since thousands of years and thanks to the hula Hawaiian culture and traditions have been preserved.” Yet again, the band plays songs with English and Hawaiian lyrics in which the meaning of the Hawaiian songs are explained. Finally, the ‘traditional Hawaiian’ instruments are also here present, i.e. the rattle with feathers, the wooden vase and the wooden sticks. The show ends with “Mahalo and Allooohhha”. Different than with the Kuhio Beach Hula Show, the tourists are able to have their picture taken with the hula dancers.

Besides the daily hula shows where you can watch the hula dancers, you are also able to become a hula dancer. Different shopping malls and centers offer free classes teaching aspects of Hawaiian culture, such as Hawaiian language, lauhala weaving, ‘ukulele playing, and hula dancing. For instance, the Waikiki Beach Walk offers every Friday hula lessons:

Friday 10 - 10:45 am

Hula Lessons by Germaine Haili

Everybody does the hula - especially when Germaine is around! Germaine is a wonderful hula instructor, and she'll get everyone moving - and laughing. Hula is a great way to connect to Hawai'i nei. You'll get to practice basic steps and learn a simple hula while you're at it
(Outrigger Hotels Hawaii 2006)

This also applies for the Royal Hawaiian Center, that not only offers hula shows but give tourists the opportunity to learn it, every Tuesday and Thursday morning. These hula lessons are quite popular, especially among Asian tourists. The times that I witnessed hula lessons, the majority was of Asian descent. For example take a look at this note that I made during such a hula lesson:

“At 11.00 am there are about 25 people present of which I guess four of them are white. The rest are from Asian descent, most probably Japanese”.

The fact that a lot of tourist in Hawaii come from the Asian continent is very clear. Besides being the majority in a lot of tourist excursions, papers, brochures and even street signs are in Japanese. It is therefore no wonder that during the hula lessons a Japanese tour guide is present to translate the most important things. However, the complex Hawaiian cultural practice of the hula is now being translated into another language which automatically leads to a different interpretation of the hula.

When the hula teacher arrives, she starts to welcome everybody by saying: “Here is where the aloha comes alive! The Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center is offering these hula lessons for over 30 years now and is the oldest in Waikiki!” After her welcome speech, people are lined up in four rows, each row containing about 10-15 people. The contenders are mainly women in their twenties till forties and some small children. Husbands remain seated with their cameras ready. After everything has been said and done, the hula lesson starts with learning the most basic and common step of the hula, the paholo. Here, the hands have to be placed on the hips and the hips are moving to the right and to the left while taking two steps to the right and two steps to the left. The hips have to move outside of the shoulders, so the movements have to be large. The next step that is being taught is called the ‘Umauma’. This is a movement of the arms and goes as follows: the hands are held before the chest, the elbows have to be up. Next, the hands have to be moved in a rolling movement to the side. Then back to the center again, before the chest and make the same movement to the other side of the body. Always look at the side your hands are going and do not forget to smile! “It is very Hawaiian to smile”. After most of the tourists have these two movements under control, the music starts. This music is in Hawaiian. During the dance, the teacher tells about the meaning behind the movements: “Use your hands to speak and look at your hands. Hereby, you acknowledge your words”. Moreover, she learns how to display a rainbow, the movement that means ‘yes, it is’, and the movement that illustrates ‘sun’ (ika): “stretch your arms way up high and make a sun sign. This sign has to be big, as the sun in Hawai‘i is big and always present”. Although the tourists were very serious in learning the dance, not everybody has the talent to become a hula dancer. This shows that the hula is not a simple dance that can be learned in one hour. It is a complicated dance with different parts of the body moving

together at the same time. It also shows that the movements made during the dance, indeed try to tell a story.

4.2.2. 'Iolani Palace



'Iolani Palace, Honolulu

'The' history of Hawaii is hard to miss when you walk around downtown Honolulu. Right in the centre of the city a large, old palace like building surrounded by a courtyard immediately catches your eye. The building is made out of grey stone, has big pillars on both two floors which create a galley space. It occupies almost an entire block and is surrounded on three sites by buildings with the same grandeur of the olden days, such as the Hawaii State Library, Ali'iolani Hale and St. Andrew's Cathedral. Within the courtyard, huge Banyan trees are situated, accompanied by large palm trees. Right in the middle of the courtyard is a drive that leads towards the palace entrance. You can enter the palace grounds on two different ways, from the back and the front. The front of the palace faces the new State Capitol, while the back of the palace faces one of the three King Kamehameha I statues of Hawaii and the Ali'iolani Hale only divided by a busy road. To enter the palace, you have to go to the front entrance. Here, you walk up a stair to arrive in the palace's galley. This is where your journey of 'the' Hawaiian royal history starts.

When I visit the 'Iolani Palace it is around 3 p.m on Tuesday. The place is empty and makes a deserted impression. I walk over to the ticket booth which is located in the former

Royal Household Guards barracks. Again, I cannot spot other visitors, but fortunately I do see someone selling tickets. This young man tells me it is too late to join a guided tour, but if I am still interested I can go on a self-guided audio tour. I choose for this last option and make my way over to the entrance of the palace. Still nobody insight. As I walk up the stairs of the palace, an older woman is waiting for me. She clearly has a Hawaiian background and wears a yellow ‘aloha-dress’, called mu’umu’u, with a flower lei around her neck. She asks for my ticket and points to a chair a little further down the galley where I can take a seat. Here, another woman from Hawaiian descent dressed in the same type of dress, only in red, is sitting behind a table. She greets me with ‘aloha’ and begins to explain the rules. I have to wear galoshes over my flip-flops in order to protect the floor, which is made of special Koa-wood and which is the original one. She hands me the audio-set and explains how it works. After that she says: “When you walk through these doors, you enter the palace of King Kalakaua, his wife Queen Kapi’olani and of the last monarch Queen Lili’uokalani. You will immediately enter the grand hall where you will notice the impressive wooden staircase, made out of Koa wood. There, you can start the audio and the self-guided tour will start.” I thank her for this information and enter the hall.

Indeed, the first thing I notice is the Koa-staircase which occupies almost the entire width of the hall, with only about two meters on each side of the stair leading to the galley. Placed at the bottom of the left and right railing are two woman figures. However, it is not only the staircase that is made out of Koa wood, also the floor, the panelling and the doorframes are made of this Hawaiian wood. The wood is pretty dark and has a reddish shine to it which offers a good contrast with the plain white walls. Multiple paintings hang on these walls which are, according to the audio-tour, the different Hawaiian kings and queens, ranging from King Kamehameha I, to his descendants and ultimately to King Kalakaua, his wife and his sister Queen Lili’uokalani. Adjacent to the hall are four doors on each side. The walls between the four doors each contain two alcoves, some of which are filled with vases or statues. The ceiling is decorated with cornicing and on each side of the hall four chandeliers hang from the ceiling.

The first room that the audio-tour is telling about is the room at the far end on the right and is called the ‘Blue Room’. According to my self-guided audio tour, this room was used for informal audiences and smaller receptions. The room is fairly small and on the wall hang paintings from King Kalakaua and Queen Lili’uokalani. This is the first time that I can clearly see the images of the so-often mentioned King Kalakaua and Queen Lili’uokalani. They are painted in the same way European monarchy of that time were painted, although something

about the paintings make me feel like if the Hawaiian royalty were more approachable, less elite-like. Especially the painting of Queen Lili'uokalani has a sad feeling to it, like she does not feel comfortable with the situation. She looks like she is at a dress-up party wearing an European dress. Moreover, special attention is given to the painting of a France king given by the French government in the nineteenth century. From the Blue Room, the tour continues with the room next door; the State Dining Room. It is in this room where the king and queen and their guests enjoyed dinner. In the middle of the room a square dinning table is set with around it four chairs on each site. The left site of the table is slightly different since centred in the middle is a throne chair. The audio- tour explains that King Kalakaua wanted to be able to speak to all of his guest and wanted to show that he was one of them. The only way to do this was by positioning himself right in the middle of his company. The table is decorated with plates, glasses and vases as at any moment a diner can take place. Again, the walls are filled with paintings of different foreign royalty and against every wall stand cupboards that houses the royal plates, glasses and cutlery. The next room on the tour is the Throne Room which occupies the entire space at the other side of the hall. Everything in the room is decorated in red; the carpets, the wallpaper, the curtains and the seat cushions. At the far end of the left, two big red thrones are situated that overlook the entire room. Multiple chairs are positioned against the walls and paintings of the Hawaiian royalty are visible. It was in this room that the king held official balls and receptions and where Queen Lili'uokalani was put on trial.

Now that the audio-tour has treated the first floor, you may go to the second floor where you can find the bedrooms of the royal family. As present and impressive the staircase is, you are not allowed to use it to go upstairs. Instead, elevators are placed between the Grand Hall and the Blue Room that will take you up. The second floor is not as impressive as the first floor, but again the wooden floors and stair gives it a royal impression. The most important room on this floor must be the room at the far end on the left. This is the room of Queen Lili'uokalani. In the middle of the room is a glass box that contains a quilt made by the queen during her imprisonment that she set out in this room. Moreover, in the corner of the room stands a simple single bed, a small desk with a chair and the queen's piano. The audio explains that during her eight-month imprisonment, Queen Lili'uokalani also used to write chants, that even till this day are being used and treasured. In addition, the tour tells about the conviction of the queen for treason while she was writing a new constitution. During her imprisonment, the queen was not allowed to receive any visitors or to have contact with the outside world. As a way to past her time, she started writing chants and picked up the art of quilting.

After you are done visiting the first and second floor, the audio-tours is finished. You leave the palace through the same doors as you entered it. Once at the galley, you have to hand in your audio-tour appliance and thereafter, if you want, you can visit the basement of the palace where you can find some of Hawaiian royalty's ancient objects, such as jewellery, clothes, swords and presents from other royal family. Moreover, the basement contains the kitchen and other employee rooms.

To get a clearer picture of what the different touristic information sources have told about 'the' history of Hawaii, the hula and the 'Iolani Palace, see Annex 2.

5. Comparison of the scientific history and the touristic history

In the previous chapter it has been shown how the tourism industry on Hawaii constitutes and represents ‘Hawaiian history’ within certain touristic information sources and tourist attractions. This chapter will show the similarities and discrepancies between how these touristic information sources and tourist attractions are represented and how the scientific historical accounts represent ‘the’ history of Hawaii. Furthermore, this chapter explains how and why these similarities and discrepancies exist. I will call ‘the’ history of Hawaii as represented for tourists, the ‘touristic history’ so that there is a clear distinction between ‘the’ Hawaiian history constituted for tourists and ‘the’ Hawaiian history constituted in scientific historical accounts, labelled as scientific history.

5.1. Similarities & discrepancies

Comparing ‘the’ scientific history and ‘the’ touristic history of Hawaii, it becomes clear that a lot of events and figures are mentioned by both, see Annex 3 for a complete overview. For instance, the settling of Hawaii by two waves of Polynesians are similarly described, whereby it is stressed that the Polynesians only used the stars to navigate their way to Hawaii. Moreover, this last fact is also mentioned concerning the period of the Hawaiian Renaissance. In this period, the Polynesian Voyaging Society build a replica of a double-hulled canoe which they sailed from Hawaii to Tahiti in order to prove their ancestors intelligence and resourcefulness. Moreover, I encountered this ‘historical fact’ multiple times during tourist excursions, such as in the Bishop museum. The Bishop museum has its own Planetarium where a daily show is presented in which the story about the first Polynesians and their navigating skills is shown. During this show it is explained which stars the Polynesians used in order to find their way from Tahiti to Hawaii. Besides proving their ancestors capabilities, the stressing of this historical fact is also intended to demonstrate that native Hawaiians have ‘a history’, which links them as an ethnic group with a common past, i.e. legitimizing their existence as an ethnic group. Ultimately, this could result in the claiming of rights or forming a sovereignty movement. Furthermore, both the ‘scientific history’ as well as the ‘touristic history’ mention that Hawaii was a hierarchical society, the arrival of Captain James Cook, the missionaries, the plantation era, the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the fact that Hawaii is the 50th state of the USA. Nevertheless, although these above mentioned historical events and facts are mentioned, they are not similarly reproduced and represented. The

discrepancies between the scientific-, and touristic history have primarily to do with how ‘the’ history of Hawaii is being represented.

First, historical information stated by the scientific history and the touristic history contradict each other. For example, the touristic history states that after the unification of the islands by Kamehameha I a period of modernisation and achievements began. In contrast, the scientific history claims that during this period civil war was the order of the day. This point can also be illustrated by the role appointed to chants during the hula shows. While the touristic history claims that chant accompanies the hula, the scientific history says that is exactly the other way round; hula accompanies chant. Moreover, within the hula shows and lessons it becomes clear that it is the dance that is now the primary focus and chants not. Another observation that I made is that during hula performances both men and women danced or even danced together. While, according to the scientific history, in ‘ancient Hawaii’ only men danced the hula. In contrast, the touristic history shows that women are now the primary focus of the dance. In addition, the touristic history makes a distinction between hula kahiko and hula ‘auana while the scientific history does not. However, the distinction between these different hula forms does not become clear during hula shows themselves. For instance, during one of the hula shows at Kuhio Beach, the presenter clearly said: “we are gonna take you back to old Hawaii and present to you the hula kahiko”. Moreover, the different hula shows displayed hula dances accompanied with traditional percussive instruments and at the same time also with a band that consists of ‘modern’ instruments. Likewise, some of the dances are clearly accompanied by chants, others are accompanied by songs in Hawaiian and even some songs in English. In addition, the clothing of the dancers was not ‘typically’ related to the hula kahiko while during the Kuhio hula shows the dancers were wearing ‘modern’ aloha t-shirts with skirts (women) or shorts (men), while at the same time the performers worn ‘old, traditional’ ti-leave leis. With the Royal Hawaiian hula show the performers worn the ‘traditional’ grass skirt, but a ‘modern’ aloha shirt and flower leis. At last, it seems that the distinction between the movements that both hula forms are supposed to characterize were blurred and even new dance types were introduced. For example, hula dancers also slapped their upper legs, a movement that is derived from Samoan and Maori dances.

Second, underlying processes and plots behind certain historical events are not always mentioned. For example, the influence of the second wave of settlers has been awarded more impact on Hawaiian society and culture by the touristic history than by the scientific history. While the touristic history states that it was the second wave that caused the development of

‘original, ancient’ Hawaiian culture, the scientific historical accounts claim that although the second wave of settlers indeed had some impact especially on the social structure, it is not really clear whether these social changes only occurred because of the second wave of settlers, or whether it could also have been caused by internal processes. In addition, the formation of a strict hierarchical society was a gradual process, taking over more than 1300 years (300 till 1650). Therefore, to state that it were the Polynesians from the second wave of migrants who changed and developed Hawaiian society into a harsh hierarchical one is to neglect and leave out other potential sources and impacts. In addition, it seems that the touristic history represent the growing influence of the west in Hawaii (with its accompanying values, behaviour and inventions) as *the* factor that changed Hawaiian society from a primitive and simple society into a modern, on western values and principles based society. The touristic history represents Captain James Cook as the one who paved the way for western explorers. This point can be further illustrated by the role that the touristic history awards to the arrival of the first westerners, Captain James Cook and the missionaries. For instance, the Lonely Planet writes that the missionaries expected the worst and that that was what they found, i.e. a society full of ‘lazy, criminal and seductive’ people. Although conversion to Christianity went slow because of the ‘lazy and unintelligent’ Hawaiians, the missionaries still were able to teach them how to read and write and thus the missionaries had transformed Hawaiians in ‘good and civilized’ people and a society ready for modernisation. Nonetheless, the historical accounts from Chapter 3 argue that it was not primarily the west that changed Hawaiian society. For instance the actions of King Kamehameha I had lot more impact on Hawaiian society than the arrival of the first westerners. Likewise, the introduction of the Penal Code and the Mahele Act, both introduced by a Hawaiian king had major influence. Hence, it were not solely the westerners that changed ‘ancient’ Hawaiian society into a ‘modern’ one, but Hawaiian chiefs and kings also had their share.

Third, details are left and there is not any critical note. Although the touristic history argues that both tourist attractions are good ways to learn about ‘Hawaiian history’, the information provided at these tourist attractions lacks in detail and is simplicized whereby tourists get a confusing picture of ‘the’ history of Hawaii. For instance, the audio tour of the ‘Iolani Palace mentions the period of King Kalakaua till the imprisonment of Queen Lili’uokalani; only covering about 75 years of history. When former Hawaiian kings are mentioned during the audio-tour nothing is said about when they lived and what their role has been in ‘the’ history of Hawaii. Moreover, nothing is said about the structure of Hawaiian society and how the maka’aina lived. All the emphasis is on the royal family and their modern

and luxurious lives. Although the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the imprisonment of Queen Lili'uokalani are mentioned, the audio-tour does not go into detail about the preliminary processes that led to that moment in history. At last, there is not any critical note about the royal Hawaiian family. This seems reasonable while tours of palaces often focus on representing the status and successes of a royal family. Therefore, these tours in general only represent the local history of the place and the royal family (Johnson 1996).

Fourth, historical events are selectively mentioned which means that certain facts are stressed while others are not referred to. The touristic history does mention the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, however they do not elaborate about what happened before the overthrow with the forcing of King Kalakaua to give up most of his monarchical rights and the American conspiracy behind the overthrow. Also, it is the Hawaii Visitor Bureau that decides not to say anything about the banning of the hula by the missionaries and the disappearing of the hula from the main stage after the overthrow of the monarchy and having its revival due to the cultural renaissance in the 1970s. The touristic history makes a distinction between ancient and modern types of hula, but it does not explain why this distinction exists.

Fifth, the histories differentiate between 'the' past and 'the' present. The past is being represented as something that once was, but will never be. Hereby, it confines precolonial Hawaiian practices as fixed, static historical images. It are these fixed historical images that are used within the tourism industry. According to Halualani (2002:135), the attraction of these tourist activities lies in the fact that 'the modern world' is able to enter and travel through 'the' past which makes "the narratives circulating at (these tourist attractions) much more naturalized and disarming". For example, the 'Iolani Palace is solely represented as "a window to the past" in which the past of the Hawaiian Kingdom has been made static and time has been fixed. (Johnson 1996:201). It shows how the royal Hawaiian family lived in the 19th century, how they entertained other royal families, which furniture and artefacts they used and possessed. The 'Iolani Palace is idealizing a nostalgic past. 'Iolani Palace treats visitors as guests of the royal Hawaiian family. The ticket is an invitation for a royal ball, you enter the palace through the main door, music is playing and the arrival of the king and queen is announced. Overall, the museum tries to give you the feeling as if you were entering the historical time of King Kalakaua. Visitors are offered the chance to step back in time to experience the royal Hawaiian way of life. This also concerns hula shows. These shows represent how Hawaiians were supposed to live in precolonial Hawaii. During these shows,

ancient Hawaiia is celebrated and idealized. However, it has to be said that this is not only the case in Hawaii, but it also applies for almost all tourist attractions around the globe.

5.3. Why?

The discrepancies described in the previous section show how people, organizations, institutions, governments etc. (re)produce, reinterpret and represent ‘the’ history of Hawaii in different ways and for different purposes. The different histories that exist can practically be explained claiming that the touristic history has not the time and space to go into details of ‘the’ past. The goal of the touristic history is to represent ‘the’ history as clear as and to the point as possible. One of the primary goals of the tourism industry is to offer a great and unforgettable experience for tourists during their stay. This is in accordance with Mooney-Melvin (1991), who claim that tourists rather want to experience ‘the’ past, than getting a detailed, correct version of historical facts. Therefore, it could be that the touristic history does not want to ‘bother’ tourists with complicating, detailed stories. As a result, the touristic history focuses more on offering a memorable experience whereby the tourists brochures, advertisements, guide books and attractions have been made more visual and experience-able. For instance, the ‘Iolani Palace makes you feel like if you were a guest at the palace. In the State Dining Room the audio plays some background music through which you hear people talk, laugh and eat. When you are in the Throne Room you hear an announcement of the king and queen, hear people clap and music that starts to play. In the room of Queen Lili’uokalani, the audio plays one of the chants composed by the queen. In addition, the entrance ticket is not just a ticket. It replicates a ticket from 1882 that is “a partial facsimile of a dance card used at Royal Balls” as the ticket explains (See annex 4). Hence, the ‘Iolani Palace tries to give you the feeling as if you were entering the historical time of King Kalakaua. Although historical information is given, it is the experience that counts.

The same applies for hula shows where the performance and meaning of hula and chants have changed in order to make the show more spectacular and experience-able. Chants are replaced by songs in English or when the Hawaiian language is used they are translated. Besides, the movements are more graphic and visual. However, from the scientific history we can conclude that these changes can not only be attributed to the tourism industry, but they can be traced back to ‘pre-colonial’ Hawaii. Here, chants and hula represented reality, but they were drained with power interests. Hence, it was often the reality in the benefit of chiefs. For instance, as Buck (1993:46) shows, “The Kumulipo, the great Hawaiian creation chant, is

a composite work that was revised and reworked many times to incorporate new genealogies to older genealogies and cosmological accounts of the universe". Thus, chiefs reinterpreted, manipulated and transformed chants in order to claim and legitimize their power. Later the form and meaning of chants and hula changed with the arrival of the missionaries. First, it were the missionaries who learned Hawaiians how to read and write. This made that chants lost their importance, were less being used, finally losing its 'original' purpose, i.e. the oral tradition of telling about 'the' past. Second, the missionaries prohibited the performance of the hula since they thought it was too provocative. In a sense you could say that it were the missionaries who were the first to sexualize the hula. This meant that for a long period hula and chants disappeared from the main stage which should have had an impact on its meaning and content for Hawaiians. Although some Hawaiian kings have tried to regain the popularity of the hula, their motives can be called twofold while they also wanted to belong to the modern world. And this modern world was not a world in which chant and hula could play a role. Presently, it is the tourism industry that has major interests and impacts on the production, presentation and meaning of current hula shows. This becomes clear when in the Kuhio hula show, the performers start to thank the Hyatt Regency Hotel and the Hawaii tourism bureau "who made this show possible". Furthermore, the music and the clothing of the hula have changed due to the increasing popularity of the dance by tourists. Here, the music has become more Americanized and the clothing more sexualized. As a result, the hula shows are now more exoticed, sensualised and simplisized in which women are turned into the focus of the dance and the movements are being made more visual. This all makes hula shows more attractive for tourists. Hence hula and chant have been injected with new meanings reflective of different power practices.

Another explanation for the reasons behind the discrepancies between scientific-, and touristic history could be that the touristic history, and in particular tourists attractions, offer Hawaiians the means to legitimize and claim their existence as an ethnic group. Through tourism, native people can articulate and perform 'their' traditions and culture, and ultimately their felt nationalism. Moreover, the very existence and popularity of these tourist attractions can generate a sense of pride with Hawaiians. The tourists attractions offer Hawaiians a link with 'their' past. In order to legitimize the existence of an ethnic group, a static image that keeps 'the' past alive in the present is necessary. Therefore, Hawaiians try to create a static past so that they can deny historical, social and primarily cultural changes. Hereby, Hawaiians can claim that traditions from 'the' past that are still active in the present have never changed or have been (re)constituted. Even if traditions from the past are no longer used for present

practice, they do serve as native traditions which indicate a common history (Hollinshead 2004; Buck 1993). For instance, Hawaiians claim that the hula has not changed since its origin in ‘precolonial’ Hawaii. It is acknowledged that there has arisen a new type of hula (hula ‘auana) which is assigned especially for outsiders such as tourists. The ‘original’ hula form (hula kahiko) is then automatically intended for native Hawaiians and is claimed never to be performed for tourists as was stated by the touristic history, but which was contradicted by my observations. Thus, stereotypic reproduction makes ‘the’ past static so that it can be used as an ethnic marker. Native Hawaiians have constituted and reconstructed a stereotypic and static past that they date back to the precolonial era. It is the society and culture of ‘precolonial and ancient’ Hawaii that Hawaiians have begun to idealize and believe it represents the true Hawaii of the past.

The discrepancies between the scientific and touristic history indicate that people, institutions, organizations and industries manipulate and reconstruct ‘the’ Hawaiian past for certain ends. The power interests of governments, institutions, organizations or people determine the course and content of ‘the’ history of a country and the representation of this history for tourists. These actors are served with representing a certain (well-known, popular and simple) image of Hawaii.

6. Conclusion

This thesis explored the histories of Hawaii as reproduced and represented within the scientific- and touristic history. Through the use of a constructivist and postmodernist stance, I have argued that history is a social construction. Moreover, the way history is reinterpreted, reproduced and represented depends on the interpretation process of an individual and the power practices that influences the interpretation. Hence, history can be constructed for certain ends. First, one of those ends lies within science. Scientific historical accounts aim to represent ‘the’ history of a country, area or person in a chronological, precise and truthful manner. Second, history is also used within the tourism industry. Popular tourist attractions are often based on ‘the’ past. The touristic history of Hawaii especially focuses its attention on the period of ‘ancient’ Hawaii in which they claim that the culture of Hawaii started to develop. It are products from this period, such as the hula dance that became popular with tourists. In addition, the touristic history associates the arrival of the first westerners with the end of ‘ancient Hawaii’ and the beginning of a new, modern period.

However, the touristic history and scientific history are not similar in representing historical events. What became clear is that although the touristic history mentions certain historical events and figures in ‘Hawaiian history’ which are in accordance with the scientific history, the touristic history does not provide underlying processes and plots. Moreover, some of the historic information stated by both histories contradicts each other. Besides, it becomes clear that historical facts and events are selectively mentioned and that they differentiate between ‘the’ past and ‘the’ present. This can be practically explained arguing that tourists rather want a memorable experience than elaborate historical facts. The other explanation lies in the fact it could offers Hawaiians, especially native Hawaiians with the means to legitimize their existence as an ethnic group. To represent ‘the’ Hawaiian history in a positive and heroic light, means that Hawaiians can identify themselves in the same way.

The histories represented for scientific purposes and for touristic purposes are not totally similar. Although most historic events and figures are mentioned by both, the way how these histories are represented differ. In addition, there also lie discrepancies in the reasons why these histories differ. The scientific history aims to represent, in a chronological order and informative way, the ‘most important’ events and figures from ‘the’ past. For the scientific history it is mainly informing about historical facts and events in history that counts. For the touristic history this is slightly different. Although the touristic history also wants to

inform tourists about ‘the’ past, another factor plays a role as well. This factor is the experience of tourists. Besides representing historical facts, the touristic history is depended on the positive experience of tourists concerning ‘the’ past. Without a positive experience, tourists will not be satisfied and the attractiveness and popularity of the tourists attraction will diminish.

In Chapter 2, I explained that during my fieldwork period I was not able to gather data to answer my initial research question. Hawaiians did not want to speak to me about their ethnicity and the role tourism had in their lives. I wondered why that was the case. Why did they not want to share their opinion and certain information with me, with an outsider? Has something happened (in the past or is still going on today) that causes this reluctance? Although I focused my thesis on another topic these questions remained present in my head. Therefore, I tried to find an answer on these questions using the information from this thesis.

According to Buck (1993:184): “Most of the people who select their Hawaiian identity as their primary one for census takers have been politically mobilized since the early 1970s.” In the period of the cultural renaissance, images of ‘traditional Hawaiian culture’ were often based on tales from elders. However, their stories not necessarily represented ‘actual facts’: “In the cultural renaissance, isolated facts have been transformed into symbols of Hawaiianess and accorded a significance without precedent in native Hawaiian society” (Linnekin 1983:245). In other words, native Hawaiians currently base their knowledge about ‘their’ past and ‘their’ cultural traditions on reconstituted and reproduced historical facts, which most likely do not represent ‘the truth’. To illustrate this point, during the Hawaiian cultural renaissance the word ‘ohana has been reintroduced, which means extended family. According to Linnekin (1983), the extended family has been idealized, representing a traditional family unit living in close harmony and cooperation. However, scientific historical accounts have revealed that ancient Hawaiian society was quite the opposite, based on a strict hierarchical family structure. In this light you could argue that native Hawaiians have derived their manners, ideas, norm, values etc from the 1970s in which Hawaiians reacted against the irreversible change of Hawaiian society in which native Hawaiians more and more reached a subordinated position in society. As a consequence, these native Hawaiians feel like if westerners, especially Americans, have taken away their traditional society and culture and caused their current inferior position within society. Then, the only way to hang on to their past and cultural traditions, is by keeping certain aspects of their past and traditions to themselves. Native Hawaiians do not want to share ‘their’ past and its associated

characteristics with outsiders since it is this past that makes their ethnic identity, that identifies them as Hawaiians, that defines who they are. Therefore, Hawaiians are actively engaged in the preservation and protection of their past, including the hula. Indeed, as Buck (1993:7) argues “the remaining vestiges of this hula are relatively few and represent a precious legacy (...) Hula resources who possess this cherished gift, guard it well and are *justifiably selective in its sharing.*” Consequently, native Hawaiians are making a distinction between insiders and outsiders; between those who belong to their ethnic group and those who do not; between those that they share anything with and those that they do not share things with. This reasoning is just hypothetical and needs more exploring and researching. However, it could explain why native Hawaiians were so reluctant to speak to me about their ethnic identity. Hawaiian saw me as a white (European) woman, i.e. as an outsider. I belong to an other ethnic group that was partly responsible for the demise of their Hawaiian society and culture. When they would have told me about their ethnicity, about what it means to be Hawaiian, it would have meant that they, once again, would have given an outsider the power to define who they are.

Concluding, Hawaiian history, just as any history, does not exist in the fact that it is a chronological story of events. There exist multiple histories of Hawaii in which different power interests come to the forth. For native Hawaiians, the history of Hawaii is predominantly characterized by the precolonial era from which ‘their’ cultural traditions are derived. In order to avoid what had happened in the past, certain aspect of Hawaiian ethnic identity are deliberately kept hidden for outsiders.

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Appendix

Annex 1. Email correspondence

RE: question

RE: question



You replied on 4/22/2010 7:31 AM.

Dorien [Dorien@NaHHA.com]

Sent: Tuesday, April 20, 2010 5:05 AM

To: M
Pijnappels, Saskia

Attachments: NaHHACSR unedited input.pdf (412 KB) [[Open as Web Page](#)]

Aloha Saskia,

You are taking on a very complex and important project. Who are you working with here in Hawaii? You will find that there are as many views on this subject as there are Native Hawaiians, so any meaningful report would require dozens, even hundreds of interviews. We are not in a position to provide those contacts, but for background, here are some materials to start with:

Reading:

Huki Like `Ana: this is a report on our website, based on meetings we held with the Hawaiian community, Native Hawaiian organizations and cultural practitioners in 2005-2006.
http://www.nahha.com/docs/Huki_Like_Plan.pdf

Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen, Dismembering LaHui by John Osorio, Shoal of Time by Gavan Daws, and check the website: www.nativebookshawaii.com. Better yet, visit Native Books, which is in Ward Warehouse, 1050 Ala Moana Blvd. They have a wonderful selection of books (not as many as they offer online, but you can browse).

Best of luck with your project,

Dorien

Dorien Smith McClellan
Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association
P.O. Box 700790
Kapolei, Hawai`i 96709-0790
Direct: (808) 628-6373
Fax: 628-6973
Mobile: (808) 306-3668

re: request

re: request



info [info@malamahawaii.org]

Sent: Thursday, May 20, 2010 10:42 AM

To: M
Pijnappels, Saskia

Aloha,

Thank you for your message. You have chosen a very interesting topic for your research. We are unable to accommodate your request but suggest that you start at the University of Hawaii's Hawaiian Studies Department. There is also the Office of Hawaiian Affairs that you could consult. Starting there will lead to other avenues for sure.

Thank you and best wishes

From: "Pijnappels, Saskia" <saskia.pijnappels@wur.nl>

Sent: Wednesday, May 19, 2010 1:00 PM

To: info@malamahawaii.org

Subject: request

Dear Malama Hawaii,

I have a request/question for you. Let me briefly introduce myself first. My name is Saskia Pijnappels and for my master's thesis at the University of Wageningen (the Netherlands) I am conducting research here in Hawaii about the relationship between tourism and ethnic identities of native Hawaiians. Specifically, this means that I would like to find out what the ethnic identity is of Hawaiians, which aspects of their culture are important for them and how they feel about some of these aspects being used within the tourism industry. To get answers to these questions, I am looking for Hawaiians who would like to talk to me about these issues. And that is where my request comes in. I was wondering if you might know people who would be willing to talk to me about this and/or if you could forward this message to all of your members? For any questions you can contact me by sending an email or call me at 808-383-2949

Thank you and kind regards,
Saskia Pijnappels

RE: request

RE: request



You replied on 5/22/2010 1:22 AM.

leimana@fastnethi.com [leimana@fastnethi.com]

Sent: Thursday, May 20, 2010 9:26 PM

To: M
Pijnappels, Saskia

Aloha Saskia,

Thank you for contacting the Aha Kiole Advisory Committee. And yes, I believe we can answer some of your questions. The issue you are contemplating is a complex and intriguing one. Our modern history (begun after the western world discovered the Hawaiian islands in 1778) is relatively new in terms of understanding the Hawaiian people through the eyes of the rest of the world. We are a simple, yet truly sophisticated culture that was thriving using "Hawaiian science" before most of Europe began their navigational journeys. The ethnic identity of Hawaiians has long been debated - I, myself, am considered a Native Hawaiian descended directly from the Tahitians who discovered Hawaii thousands of years ago. The focus of your thesis, interestingly enough, is the focus right now of the Hawaiians. To address that focus, the Aha Moku Councils were formed in 2006 and became Hawaii State law in 2007. That in itself is a tremendous and historic feat since it entails bringing the most expert natural resource elders in land and ocean traditional methodology together. These were the families around which the Hawaiian culture revolves - and they went "underground" after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. You see, Hawaii is made up of 8 islands and 43 traditional land districts called moku, once ruled by different chiefs. All were very territorial and survival was based on how well one took care of the natural resources by which they lived. When the western world discovered Hawaii, they tried to change our culture from one of sustainability to a western way of living.

To survive, Hawaiians adapted and "went underground" with their cultural practices. Only the practices that were considered acceptable by westerners, such as our hula (our dance) was eventually accepted in the most shallow way - the way of entertainment. And, because tourism is the way of Americans who use our geographical places as their monetary assets, Hawaiians did not bring forth their true way of living. So to understand the effect of tourism as a whole on the Hawaiian culture, one can easily say that it was devastating overall. But to truly understand the scope of tourism on the moku of the people, one must understand and learn about the 43 different land districts. There are differences in the natural make-up of the districts that include snowy mountains to deep sea - all of which have a distinct impact on the culture. One cannot separate the Hawaiian from the land and ocean. They are tied together physically, emotionally, spiritually and religiously. Fortunately for Hawaiians, western ways were not able to totally destroy the lands and oceans even with overdevelopment on some of the islands. And today, since the trend internationally is to focus on sustainability, the Hawaiian way of managing resources have begun to come forward. This impacts tourism because people no longer want to see "Waikiki" and dancing hula girls, but are more interested in the way Hawaiians relate to their environment in a true sense. Tourism is now becoming more "eco-tourism" here. And that, in itself is both rewarding and detrimental.

I hope this helps you. I am attaching the Hawaii State statute for your review. As I explained, deep cultural knowledge has not been released by the Hawaiians and one must work moku by moku to understand the different philosophies of the district families. You

have reached the right organization however. We are made up of the most respected and expert resource practitioners of each of the 43 moku. Good luck with your thesis, and we have been happy to assist.

Mahalo nui loa,

Leimana DaMate, Executive Director
Aha Kiole Advisory Committee
Phone: 88-497-0800
Email: Leimana@fastnethi.com

RE: Request - research tourism and ethnic identity of Native Hawaiians



The sender of this message has requested a read receipt. [Click here to send a receipt.](#)
You replied on 6/16/2010 3:01 AM.

Ramsay Taum [ramsay@leiofthepacific.com]

Sent: Friday, May 21, 2010 12:04 AM

To: M
Pijnappels, Saskia

Cc: M
'Ana Currie' [acurrie@hawaii.rr.com]

Hello Saskia:

Thank you for your note and interest. It sounds like a very interesting and timely research effort. I have included PFH Executive Director Ana Currie in my response in the hopes that you might communicate with her as well. It turns out that we are convening a community of Native Hawaiians who are having this very conversation. It may be that some of them would be

interested in speaking with you. What we might do is inform them of your work and interest and let them decide on how they would proceed assuming there is an interest. In the meantime, I'd be interested in speaking with you but it would have to wait until after next Wednesday.

Thank you again for your email and interest, and I look forward to hearing from you.

Best Regard

Ramsay Taum, President
Pasifika Foundation Hawai'i

Contact Info:

Ramsay Taum, President
Life Enhancement Institute (LEI) of the Pacific
520 Lunalilo Hm. Rd. #6304
Honolulu, Hi 96825

Direct: (808)228-8148
email: ramsay@leiofthepacific.com

Fwd: Fw: Request



You replied on 6/1/2010 10:40 PM.

Peter Apo [peterapocompany@gmail.com]

Sent: Tuesday, May 25, 2010 6:34 AM

To: M
Pijnappels, Saskia

Cc: M
Marilyn Leimomi Khan [mkhan@hawaiiantel.net]

Attachments: PETER APO SHORT BIO JUNE 2~1.doc (37 KB) [Open as Web Page]

Aloha Sasika:

You have chosen a very, very difficult subject for your thesis. Your question is far too narrowly framed. To try and write about Hawaiians and tourism will require you to research and write about the history of the relationship between Hawaiians and Hawai'i since the overthrow of the Kingdom in 1893 and the controversial and probably illegal annexation of Hawai'i to the United States. The relationship of Hawaiians and tourism is a very, very small part of a much larger drama being played out today. Tourism is just another economic growth industry from which Hawaiians were disenfranchised and rendered irrelevant. Same for every major growth industry in Hawaii beginning with fur trading/whaling, sugar/pineapple, U.S. military-industrial, and now tourism. Growth in all of Hawaii's major industries has come at the expense of Hawaiians, their culture, their places, their values, their dignity, and their well being. It didn't have to be that way. Hawaiians and their culture has always had a lot to offer more sustainable growth strategies to all of Hawaii's industries but Hawaiians very seldom were afforded legitimate opportunities to participate in shaping the growth or having a seat at the table. Waikiki, the very mecca of Hawaii tourism, was created by destroying hundreds of acres of wetland farming, draining the land, cutting off life sustaining streams that flowed from mountain to sea in order to create the largest real estate project in the history of the Hawai'i by drying up the land, dividing it into small lots that sold for \$5,000 a lot. This occurred in the early 1920's. At the time, Waikiki wasn't about tourism. It was about creating places for the wealthy to purchase and develop. Which they did.

So, It will be very difficult to single out tourism and Hawaiians as a subject of study without including the rest of the history. If you are still interested in pursuing your paper after reading this let me know and I can at least provide you with a bibliography of 6 or 7 must read books on Hawaiian history that you need to read to gain any real understanding of what it is you want to write.

If I seem a little skeptical it's because such projects as you are proposing always get it wrong. But, I'm willing to help if you're willing to really work hard.

So you know who I am I'm attaching a short bio to establish my credentials.

Me ke aloha,

Annex 2. Similarities and discrepancies of the touristic history

2a. Similarities and discrepancies of 'the' history of Hawaii

	Hawaii Visitor Bureau	Lonely Planet	101 Things To Do Magazines
First wave of settlers	X	X	
Second wave of settlers	X	X	
Hierarchical society (ali'i/kapu)		X	
King Kamehameha I	X	X	X
Captain Cook	X	X	
Arrival whalers & sailors		X	
Arrival missionaries	X	X	
Plantation era	X	X	
Mahele Act		X	
Overthrow Hawaiian monarchy	X	X	
Cultural renaissance		X	
Pearl Harbor	X	X	
Hawaii 50th State USA	X	X	X

2b. *Similarities and discrepancies of 'the' history of the hula*

	Hawaii Visitor Bureau	Lonely Planet	101 Things To Do Magazines
Unique Hawaiian dance	X	X	X
Chants and its meanings	X	X	X
Symbol of Hawaiian culture	X	X	X
Originates from ancient Hawaii	X	X	X
Merrie Monarch Festival	X	X	X
Other hula festivals	X	X	
Hula Kahiko and hula 'Auana	X	X	X
Kumu hula and hula halau	X	X	X
Suppression by missionaries		X	X
Revival by King Kalakaua		X	X
Disappearance after the overthrow		X	X
Reappearance during cultural renaissance		X	X

2c. Similarities and discrepancies of 'the' history of the 'Iolani Palace

	Hawaii Visitor Bureau	Lonely Planet	101 Things To Do Magazines	Official Website
Importance in Hawaiian history	X	X		X
Only official palace in USA	X		X	X
Built by King Kalakaua	X	X	X	X
Influenced by European style	X			
Modern features	X	X		X
Interior	X		X	X
Imprisonment Queen Lili'uokalani		X	X	X
Role of palace after the overthrow		X	X	X

Annex 3. Similarities between scientific-, and touristic history

- First & second wave of settlers
- King Kamehameha I
- Highly stratified society (ali’I, kapu, ahupua’ā)
- Captain James Cook
- Arrival missionaries
- Plantation era (immigrants)
- Mahele Act
- King Kalakaua
- Queen Lili’uokalani
- Overthrow Hawaiian monarchy
- 50th state of USA
- Hawaiian renaissance
- Pearl Harbor
- Chants and hula; its meaning and origin
- Suppression of hula by missionaries
- Disappearance of hula after the overthrow
- Renewed interests in hula through cultural renaissance and tourism
- Hula halau
- Role of King Kalakaua with the ‘Iolani Palace
- ‘Iolani Palace influenced by European style
- Modern features ‘Iolani Palace
- Imprisonment of Queen Lili’uokalani
- Role of the palace after the overthrow

Annex 4. Entrance ticket 'Iolani Palace'

