



WAGENINGEN
UNIVERSITY & RESEARCH

Master thesis – Knowledge, Technology and Innovation

PERSPECTIVES ON THE SOCIOCULTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF MASS TOURISM ON NATIVE HAWAIIANS

Fleur Stevens

First Reader: dr. R. Lie

Second Reader: dr. ir. J.R. de Vries

Student Number: 930607805010

7 June 2018

Wageningen University
Knowledge, Technology and Innovation
MSc thesis
Academic year 2017-2018

Fleur Stevens

Perspectives on the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism on Native
Hawaiians

Supervisors dr. R. Lie and dr. ir. J.R. de Vries
June 2018

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
Master of Life Sciences

Cover photo: Pinterest (z.d.). Previous poster of 'the Hawaii Tourist Bureau'
[online image]. Downloaded on 20 November 2017, on
www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/469078117415873459/?lp=true

© Wageningen University 2018. All rights reserved. No part of this publication
may be reproduced without the written permission of the copyright holder

Contents

Abstract	8
Preface	9
List of figures	10
List of tables	11
1. Introduction	13
1.1 Background	13
1.2 Problem Analysis and Aim	15
1.3 Relevance	16
1.3.1 Summary Literature Review.....	17
1.3.2 Societal relevance	18
2. Conceptual Framework	19
2.1 Commodification	19
2.1.1 Cultural commodification	19
2.1.2 Authenticity.....	20
2.1.3 Staging	21
2.2 Marginalisation	22
2.2.1 Identity Developments	24
2.3 The Framework	26
2.4 Research Question	29
3. Methodology	30
3.1 Research Methods	30
3.1.1 Interviews and Observations.....	30
3.2 Research Participants	32
3.2.1 Ethical considerations	33
3.3 Analysis	33
3.3.1 Empathy map.....	34
4. The creation of mass tourism in Hawai'i	36
4.1 Terminology	36
4.1.1 Tourism	36
4.1.2 Native Hawaiian	37
4.1.3 Hawaiians.....	37
4.1.4 Local.....	38
4.1.4 Malihini	38
4.1.5 Ha'ole.....	38
4.2 Before the fall of the monarchy	39
4.3 After the fall of the monarchy	42
4.3.1 During and after the World Wars	44
4.4 Today	47
4.4.1 Tourism	47
4.4.2 Cultural Diverse Society.....	50
4.4.3 The shift	53
4.4.3 Bitterness and Activism	54
5. Perspectives	58
5.1 Native Hawaiians	58
5.1.1 Perspective	58
5.1.2 Guiding principles and values	59
5.1.3 Summarizing.....	68

5.2 Hawaiians	70
5.2.1 Perspective	70
5.3 Tourists.....	74
5.3.1 Developments and perspective	74
5.4 Government and Tourist Industry	76
5.4.1 Developments and perspectives	76
6. Conclusion.....	79
6.1 The Framework.....	81
7. Discussion	84
7.1 Evaluation.....	84
7.2 Future research	85
Bibliography.....	87
Appendix 1	90
Appendix 2	92
Appendix 3	94
Native Hawaiians	94
Hawaiians	95
Tourists	95
Tourist industry.....	96
.....	96

Abstract

The aim of this study is to create a better understanding of the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism on the Native Hawaiians by looking at the historical context and perspectives of mainly the Native Hawaiians. For data collection, old and new annual reports and academic literature have been revised and combined with 10 conducted interviews and observations made in a period of two-and-a-half months. In order to gain better in-depth insights of the topic and in order to better organize the data, a framework centralizing around terms and indicators 'cultural commodification' and 'marginalization' has been created. Since the overthrow of the monarchy and especially statehood, Native Hawaiians have become a marginalized people, adapting to the new circumstances by dampening their traditional culture and adopting the American culture. The current Native Hawaiians aim to reconnect with their traditional culture and are heavily identifying themselves as Native Hawaiians. They have become anti-phatic towards the tourist industry and tourists as being marginalized, they have no say in especially the tourist industry; dislike how tourism degrades the environment which is essential to their culture, and they dislike how tourism has transformed their cultural aspects into something it is not causing misinterpretations and degradation of authenticity. While marginalization and cultural commodification have disempowered the Natives by degrading the value of cultural aspects and being treated like third rank citizens, in a way they have also been empowered as it gives the Natives a certain 'uniqueness' and commodification and marginalization eventually led to investments in preserving and retrieving parts their original culture. As the tourist industry has become mature, interests of tourists have shifted towards seeking more 'authentic' experiences, and the residents of Hawai'i are becoming less hospitable, the tourist industry of Hawai'i seems to be headed in a more cultural responsible direction. Recommendations of future research are suggested.

Preface

I would like to thank the Hawaiians that have helped me with my research. Once a connection with a local or Native Hawaiian was made, it is very easy to come in contact with others. Without the willingness of some Native Hawaiians to talk about an issue as difficult as marginalization, their history, and the transformation of their culture, this thesis could not have been written. The openness with which people have spoken with me was absolutely incredible.

I would also like to thank my supervisor Rico Lie for being so flexible and patient with me. Dropping this thesis for at least half a year due my internship, helping me pick it back up and working on a tight schedule to finish the thesis: I might not have been the smoothest student writing a thesis under your care. I hope you enjoy reading the thesis.

List of figures

Figure 1: Framework.....	26
Figure 2: Empathy Map.....	35
Figure 3: Activism	56
Figure 4: Protestors	62
Figure 5: Evolved Framework	82

List of tables

Table 1: Residential Population Growth	46
Table 2: Authenticity Survey	70
Table 3: Impact of Tourism	71
Table 4: Expense of Tourism	72
Table 5: Visitor Arrivals Growth.....	76
Table 6: Daily Spendings Tourists	77

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

Hawai'i is the newest State of the United States and has been a dream vacation destination for millions of people globally for years (Mak, 2015). However, Hawai'i has not always been a part of the United States. United States officials participated in 1893 in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i and annexed Hawai'i and obtained all public and crown lands of Hawai'i (loc.gov, 2009). The islands of Hawai'i officially became a state of the United States not much later: August 21, 1959 (archives.gov, 2016). In 1959, the United States granted their government all lands it already had obtained in 1893. In 1993, a joint resolution by the U.S. Congress apologized for their involvement in the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy (loc.gov, 2009). Up till this date, there are regularly cases in court for Hawai'i's independence and rights and it is debated, especially by Natives, whether Hawai'i was legally recruited by the United States or not (Hawaiiankingdom.org, 2016).

Hawai'i is aside from tourism, also known for its cultural diversity. The number of Native Hawaiians has drastically decreased for various reasons, especially in relation to the total current population. Historians estimate that in the late 18th century there were between 300,000 and 400,000 Natives, also named 'kanaka maoli' (To-Hawaii.com, n.d.). This number declined however by 80 to 90 per cent due to externally introduced diseases. In the late 19th century the Native population was estimated at 40,000 to 50,000 Hawaiians, and still made up about 75% of Hawai'i's total population (To-Hawaii.com, n.d.). Nowadays, Hawai'i's population is very racially diverse. In 2010, 23,6% of the residents of Hawai'i claimed to be of multi-ethnic backgrounds (two or more races), which is a far bigger percentage than any other American state (number two is Alaska with 7,3%). Today's estimation of 'pure' Native Hawaiians that identify themselves with this title is approximately 80,000, though the number of part-Hawaiians increases as most Native Hawaiians have less than 50% 'pure' Hawaiian blood and is now estimated at 290,000 people (Hawai'i.gov, 2010). From 2000 to 2010, the population of the islands increased more than three

times faster (35%) than the population of mainland United States (9,7%). The Census of 2010, shows that Hawai'i has the most resident with multi-ethnic backgrounds of the United states with a percentage of 23.6% of all Hawaiian residents. The second place of the United States is Alaska, with only 7.3%. 38.6% of the residents is Asian, 24.7% is Caucasian and only 10% is Hawaiian or from other Pacific islands. About 9% is Hispanic, 1.6% African American (to-Hawai'i.com, n.d.). This decrease in percentage of Native Hawaiians as a consequence of namely migration, can have effects on how the Natives develop their culture or whether they marginalize or not and in what way.

Not only did the population consistency change during the years, there have also been changes and developments in tourism. Since the 1800s, Hawai'i has been a target for tourism (Mak, 2015). Since the early days, foreign governments have had influence on the way tourism in Hawai'i developed by subsidies, local funding for tourism promotion and the protective legislation on domestic shipping of America (Mak, 2015). About the time of statehood, Hawaiian residents outnumbered tourists by more than 2 to 1 (Nordyke, 1989). About 15 years ago, tourists outnumbered residents by 6 to 1 and outnumber Natives of Hawai'i by 30 to 1 (Nordyke, 1989). Nowadays, tourism is the number one industry of Hawai'i with about 700.000 tourist visits each single month and approximately a total of 8.8 million tourists in 2016 (Hawai'i.gov, 2016a, 2016b). Things are changing however for the tourist industry, as the growing rates of tourism have become flat and the global environment and demands of tourists have changed.

Aside from economic consequences, tourism has also had other consequences for the residents of Hawai'i, like the increase in crime, increased rate of homeless people, and noticeable migration shifts (Trask, 2000). Nordyke (1989) suggests that the political, economic, and cultural reality for the Hawaiian residents, but mostly Natives, has become very hard. She states that the multinational corporations that came to Hawai'i, namely because of the booming tourism that brings forth economic advantages, demolish their Hawaiian lands and culture. In *From a Native Daughter*, Native Hawaiian scholar and activist Haunani-Kay Trask

states that the Natives “... are not Americans”, nor do they want to be American (Franklin & Lyons, 2004).

1.2 Problem Analysis and Aim

This thesis will put the sociocultural consequences of a Native Hawaiian under a loop and put them in context, and most importantly as the title suggests, will look at the perspectives of especially the Native Hawaiians on the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism on their islands. The thesis aims to uncover what role Native Hawaiians have played, still play, and want to play in the tourist industry. Another aim is to discover in what way the mass tourism has affected the Native Hawaiians socio-culturally by having lived amongst the many foreign tourists and under an American regime for the past few centuries. Even though some could argue that the booming tourism industry has positive consequences like economic growth for the residents of Hawai'i, there are also residents and scientists that raise questions whether or not tourism brings forth mostly positive consequences. There is a distinct difference between 'Natives' and 'locals' on Hawai'i, as Hawai'i is as discussed, racially diverse. The Hawaiian assets that are portrayed and 'sold' to the outside world, think of the hula dance and lei necklaces, are part of the Native Hawaiian culture.

The statistics of present Native Hawaiians on the islands as discussed in the introduction, indicate that the percentage of 'pure' Native Hawaiians is vastly decreasing or mixing with people of a different cultural background. This could imply the occurrence of changes on the identity people give themselves, each other and the Hawaiian culture. Possible unrest amongst Native Hawaiians concerning the vast tourist industry, influence of the United States on the islands and the clash of the American and Hawaiian cultures could also exist. Mostly people that are not Native Hawaiians sell the Hawaiian culture to the outside as something exotic, as the 'Other'. It is questionable whether or not the Natives agree with the masses of tourists on their islands and the commodification of their culture and what it means for their culture. It appears as if the Native Hawaiians are closely involved with the tourist industry as they are the face of most of the marketing campaigns. While commodification can also enhance a

culture and empower the Natives, it could also damage the Native Hawaiian culture and its participants in various ways. It is not widely known what parties truly have the most influence on the tourist sector of Hawai'i, if it includes the Native Hawaiians and other residents. Often the only voice heard concerning tourism in Hawaii, is the voice of the tourists and not the entertainers. Having been exposed for decades to the streams of tourists, as well as the immense population growth and overthrow of the monarchy, there must have been serious impacts on the Native Hawaiians socio-culturally.

Summarized, while the political, ecological and economic situation is often discussed; many overlook the sociocultural contexts of mass tourism on Hawai'i and how 'selling' the traditional Hawaiian culture has influenced the practitioners. The aim of this thesis is to sketch the big picture and create an understanding of the socio-cultural situation of Native Hawaiian people in relation to the changes on the islands since tourism was introduced. The thesis wishes to peek behind the curtains of the so-portrayed laid back and exotic tropical island inhibitors, give a voice to possible concerns and wishes to analyse the sociocultural consequences academically.

1.3 Relevance

Academic literature about tourism and concerns about the consequences of tourism have grown after the Second World War (Echtner & Jamal, 1997). In 1981, Jafari and Ritchie identified five academic disciplines of tourism research that overlap when studying tourism: anthropology, economics, geography, psychology and sociology (Echtner & Jamal, 1997). Remarkable is the fact that prior to 1990, almost no literature concerning environmental but also sociocultural sustainable tourism existed, while nowadays high profile tourism-related organizations and/or corporations like the 'United Nations World Tourism Organization' or 'TUI' are involved with sustainable tourism (Weaver, 2007). This change in tourism indicates a paradigm shift as Kuhn (1970) describes (Weaver, 2007). However, subjects of ecological, political and social (cultural) responsible tourism are still underdeveloped (Weaver, 2007). Few academics have researched the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism in

Hawai'i. The research available on the topic is often out-dated, does not have a focus on the impact on Native Hawaiians, and does not focus on the sociocultural consequences in the discourses of cultural commodification and marginalization. Nowadays, a lot of reports can be found on statistics of tourism in Hawai'i, created by the Hawai'i Tourism Authority, government departments or the Honolulu University. These reports include surveys of residents and their attitude towards tourism and what sociocultural consequences are. This thesis will use this information, combine it with own information gathered by conducting interviews and observations, and use it as a framework to discover what the positioning of Native Hawaiians towards tourism is and why it is like that. The thesis wants to bring together not just interviews and reports, but also academic research. This thesis hopes to bridge the knowledge gap between academic research on sociocultural consequences and academic terms like 'commodification' and 'marginalization', and knowledge of Hawai'i its current situation.

1.3.1 Summary Literature Review

This sub-chapter shortly reviews previously conducted research concerning the topic of this thesis. In 1982, a research existing of 636 questionnaires on the subject of resident attitudes to the sociocultural, ecological and economic impacts of tourism development were conducted. The findings of this study state that respondents agree tourism provides economic and cultural benefits, but are unsure about environmental benefits (Liu & War, 1986). Moreover, respondents are hesitant to talk about social costs to tourism. Respondents do view environmental protection as a more important priority than the ecological benefits tourism provides, but do not want to change their way of living for this purpose. According to the respondents, tax money should first be spent on crime prevention, then environmental protection and only then tourism promotion (Liu & War, 1986). Knox draws a link between crime and tourism, suggesting that tourists are more likely to be the victim of crime, especially larceny-theft, than residents (Knox, 2004). Mostly the political, economic, environmental and somewhat social consequences of tourism in general have been written about, but the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism in Hawai'i and its cultural

commodification form the current knowledge gap. Moreover, since the 80s, commercialisation of the culture of Hawaiians has increased drastically, so a lot of research is outdated.

1.3.2 Societal relevance

The societal relevance of this thesis is giving the suspected minority, the Native Hawaiians, a voice as well as create a clear context sketch. By creating a better understanding of the current sociocultural situation of Hawai'i and looking at various perspectives on the matter, ignorance can be fought and an understanding can be created between various parties that are not on one page, like the tourist industry, the government and the Native Hawaiians. Possible future cooperation and the tension between groups can this way be diminished. It seems that few people realize the importance of the role of history in today's complex situation. This thesis will link historic happenings to the current situation and possible future scenarios of tourism in Hawai'i and the circumstances and attitudes of residents and Native Hawaiians towards tourism. This thesis attempts to draw attention to not just the possible consequences of mass tourism for Natives in general, but also to the value and preciousness of differences within society and preserving original cultures, especially in this global environment.

2. Conceptual Framework

This thesis uses a conceptual framework in order to analyse the immense and broad data of tourism developments and its sociocultural effects on Native Hawaiians. Two main chosen concepts help analysing the subject: Cultural commodification and cultural marginalization. Cultural commodification in the context of sociocultural consequences of tourism on Hawai'i has not been discussed before and will address the main issue of this thesis: The sociocultural consequences of mass tourism on Natives and the commodification of their culture. Commodifying a culture can adjust the value given to the culture. Another very important part when sketching an overview of sociocultural impacts of mass tourism, is aside from looking at context, looking at whether the Native Hawaiian community is marginalized or not. This, because the shift to a minority and social exclusion affects the development of identities of Natives and thus their cultural values. Marginalization is seen as an indicator of how strongly tourism has affected the Natives socio-culturally. The cultural marginalization could have caused a (power) rift between the Natives and the other parties.

These two main concepts have subdivisions of other concepts: empowerment, authenticity, staging, identity developments, and participation. The following paragraphs will explain the concepts of the framework and why they contribute to gaining the right knowledge and how the concepts are linked to one another.

2.1 Commodification

The terms commodification, empowerment, staging and authenticity are frequently discussed in academic literature and are closely interlinked. While tourism and its commodification could cause pride and create a form of identity, commodification could also evolve a culture into something it is not and it can have the power to use tourism as a political resource to manipulate (Cole, 2007).

2.1.1 Cultural commodification

Tourism can lead to 'commodification' (Cohen, 1988). A culture becomes commodified when cultural assets, like the 'Otherness' of the exotic culture of a country is refined as consumables for tourists (Cole, 2007). In the Hawaiian case study, performances for participants like the Luau or hula dances and other

'colourful' local costumes and customs, rituals, feasts, folk and ethnic arts, are turned into shows for tourists (Cohen, 1988; Cole, 2007). Another example of commodification is tourist-oriented prostitution (Cohen, 1988). Commodification can be practiced by anyone with or without the consent of the participants and thus it can exploit the locals (Cohen, 1988). While touristic commodification regularly leads to the *disempowerment*, it can also have the opposite effect of building a foundation for social, psychological and political empowerment (Cole, 2007). In the case of Hawai'i, characteristics and attributes of their Native culture has been turned into a performance for touristic participants, into a show. There is currently no further academic research on what the consequences of this cultural commodification are in Hawai'i. Empowerment in this thesis refers to the capacity of people to determine their own affairs and the control over aspects of their own lives (Cole, 2007).

It has long been recognized that the commodification of a culture should not destroy the meaning of cultural products for especially locals (Cole, 2007). Unfortunately, literature suggests that tourists have negative consequences like commodification of culture (Cole, 2007). Even though commodification does not necessarily destroy the meaning of a culture or its products, it could alternate it (Cohen, 1988). Cultural commodification could also be used by the holders of this culture by using their culture as a political instrument and as a way to use it to construct their identity (Cole, 2007).

2.1.2 Authenticity

Closely linked to cultural commodification, is authenticity. Authenticity is defined as something real, genuine, the sincere; the search for something 'real' while believing modern society is inauthentic (Cohen, 1988; Orvell, 1989). By defining a culture as an object of tourism which cultural commodification causes, it is expected that the authenticity of this culture is reduced because cultural products lose their meaning for the Natives (Cohen, 1988; Cole, 2007). A remote destination like Hawai'i modernizes because of tourism and migration and becomes a tourist's society, shaping its identity along the way (Cole, 2007). The problematic notion of "authenticity" should be accepted in this case study in order to look at the cause and effect relationship between cultural

commodification and tourism. This, because the commodification of culture in relation to mass tourism assumes that a traditional authentic culture is of value and is assumed to work independently (Shepherd, 2002).

2.1.3 Staging

When an occurrence or supposed reality (e.g. tourism or authenticity) is staged, one creates a certain impression for a (targeted) group. Cultural systems create worlds and authenticities that are experienced as realities. These realities are sometimes pitted against one another. Staging authenticity refers to the staging of a local culture to create a certain impression for tourists (MacCannell, 1973). Tourists want to travel to specific areas because of an arranged and produced impression that may not even be the reality (MacCannell, 1973).

Cultural products of the Natives are increasingly 'staged' for tourists and are made to look authentic (Cohen, 1988). An example of this is fake airport art as if it were a genuine cultural product (Cohen, 1988). Another example of staging is when a region is portrayed as a 'back' area, a remote authentic area, when in fact it is staged to be non-touristic and remote to give tourists the feeling that they have discovered an authentic area and are part of something genuine (Cohen, 1988). In short, 'staged authenticity' spoils the tourist's honest desire for authentic experiences. The more tourism flourishes, the more it becomes mass deception. This could suggest that commodification, engendered by tourism, does not solely destroy the meaning of culture and its products for locals, but also for the tourists (Cohen, 1988). Aside from the increasingly staged nature of tourism, the tourists themselves also (re)produce tourist space (Edensor, 2001). By doing this, places and certain actions are dramatized. The production of tourism can be defined as "*a series of staged events and spaces and as an array of performative techniques and dispositions*" (Edensor, 2001). Staging (re)produces certain performances in certain areas enacted on the same stage for tourists. Tourism is located within certain meaningful spatial contexts that provide an understanding about what kind of activities should take place at that stage (Edensor, 2001). An example of organized stages can be beaches, mountains or (heritage) cities and sites. The performances that tourists undertake are influenced by materiality, aesthetic and sensual qualities and the way it is

organized. Distinctive performances, like the exotic hula dance, can be identified at most sites partly because of the process of commodification: Tourist spaces have the potential to become intensively stage-managed and regulated due to the commodification of culture (Edensor, 2001). However, tourist performances also have the capability to renew existing conventions, provide opportunities and also challenge them (Edensor, 2001).

The fact that some Native Hawaiians claim themselves to be Native Hawaiians and not American while they do have adopted aspects of the American culture, could point at possible cultural hybridity and authenticity issues. Statements of being a Native and thus different and more 'unique' than other inhabitants of the island can empower the Natives by claiming Native cultural and political identities and rights (Franklin & Lyons, 2004). It is the question whether the Natives view a 'Native Hawaiian' person as something pure and authentic, and whether they are seen by others as another ethnic group of America or stand apart as 'Native Hawaiians' (Franklin & Lyons, 2004).

2.2 Marginalisation

Marginalization in this paper includes two different interpretations: The forming of a third rank community concerning topics like participation, and the more cultural side of marginalization where people culturally assimilate.

Tourism can lead to the forming of marginalized communities (Cole, 2007). Marginalisation in this case speaks of the phenomena that a person or a group has no to little interest in the maintenance of their culture (Berry, 1997). Aside from this, there is also little to no interest in having relations with people outside of their community. A community is marginalized when they are left out politically, economically and socially (Berry, 1997). In short, when a group is marginalized, a group does not hold much power or is denied this power by another group. For example, Native Hawaiians would be a marginalized group if they were to be treated as a 'third class citizen'. When Hawai'i and its culture are promoted in order to boost tourism without regard and *participation* of the Native people, it can lead to antipathy to tourism and the marginalisation of the communities on Hawai'i (Sindiga, 1996). Participation of the Hawaiian

communities in the tourist sector should be present as the impacts of tourism is mostly felt at the local destination area, and community participation recognizes the Natives as an essential ingredient of the 'hospitality atmosphere' (Simmons, 1994). The way a community participates with or does not participate with mayor changes made in their direct environments has influence on identity developments, and the other way around. These two concepts of identity developments and participation show how a community views themselves in relation to the rest and the possible changes throughout the years. This thesis will try to uncover those changes concerning identification developments of the Native Hawaiians as a group, their participation level on tourism and see their relation and effect on marginalisation.

Janet Bennett described two possible outcomes of a marginalized culture: Encapsulated marginality and constructive marginality (Bennett, 1993). Encapsulated marginality describes according to Bennett a person feeling loneliness, alienation, self-segregation and internal distress. The more different the two original cultures are, the more a person can have an 'internal culture shock'. This can be related to the sense of self, to an identity crisis, between the environment of a person and the person's own internal sense of self (Kim, 1996). The internal struggle can easily be escalated when the two cultural groups have opposing views (Bennett, 1993). The practitioners of the original culture can accuse a person of rejecting and abandoning his or her original roots, while the mainstream culture is pressuring the person to abide by their culture and its beliefs in order to be accepted in the mainstream community. This tug of war between cultures can make a person feel culturally homeless without a sense of belonging, resulting in high levels of distress (Bennett, 1993).

Constructive marginality describes a person taking an active and conscious role in constructing her or his identity (Bennett, 1993). They shift effortlessly between various cultural identities and integrate the two into a multicultural existence. Bennett describes the ideal situation as one where people are aware of their mixed identity and thus thrive in between two different cultures, living without constraints of already established cultural

confines. People that are constructively marginalized are intercultural sensitive (Bennett, 1993).

2.2.1 Identity Developments

When discussing the term 'marginalization', identity developments is a topic that cannot be overlooked. Researchers have discovered that the presence of tourists transforms performance, crafts, hospitality and *identity* of the residents (Cole, 2007). A response of the Natives to the commodification of their culture could be the awareness and affirmation of local identity and sometimes the recreation of ethnicity (Cole, 2007). Identity is defined by (...) as *a set of expectations related to ourselves and others that is grounded in the interplay between similarities and differences and pertains to the personal, relational and communal aspects of our lives*. Identities have three different levels:

- Personal: The understanding of who we are as unique and idiosyncratic beings.
- Relational: The understanding of who we are in terms of relationships with others.
- Communal: The understanding of who we are in terms of a large-scale community (e.g. ethnicity, gender, nationality etc.).

People can take on multiple identities. These identities do not always remain the same and can be contradictory, locating people differently at various moments (Hall, 1991). Cultural identity has according to Hall (1990) at least two different approaches. The first defines cultural identity as one shared culture, a collective 'true self' that resides along with many other imposed 'selves' (Hall, 1990). People with a shared history, ancestry and shared cultural codes share this identity. The second approach of cultural identity recognizes that aside from the points of similarity, there are also important differences that define 'what or who we really are and have become' (Hall, 1990). This second approach speaks more of what an identity, a person, has 'become' instead of 'is'. Identities are constantly (trans)formed. The process of normalisation and the exercise of cultural power can make a group experience themselves as 'Other', like how 'black' people saw themselves as lesser beings, slaves, during the dominant regime of 'whites' (Hall, 1990). This thesis will most of all focus on the second

approach of Hall's as it is necessary to see certain changes in the identification of communities and individuals during the years and discover what triggered those changes. It would be interesting to see changes in the definition of a Native Hawaiian between generations and by what they are affected.

2.3 The Framework

Figure 1 illustrates how culturally and socially responsible tourism is researched with the concepts of cultural commodification and cultural marginalisation. The sub-concepts are in its turn indicators of both cultural commodification and marginalization and are used to gain an in-depth understanding of the cultural commodification and marginalization of the Native Hawaiians and their culture. In order to commodify a culture, it often has to be seen as authentic, something interesting and unique to see. However, for the practitioners of the culture, the authenticity may be reduced or increased by the commodification of the culture, indicating how commodification and thus tourism have affected the Native Hawaiians socio-culturally. In order to sell authenticity, the tourist industry will have to stage performances and experiences. Cultural commodification has the power to empower or disempower the practitioners of the commodified culture as this way they can become unique resulting in special investments and treatments or could result in a loss of value and (social) standing.

Marginalization has been split up in two concepts: Identity development and participation. By being treated as a minority and being exposed to different cultures, a formation of multiple identities affecting the socio-cultural ways of the people could arise. The developments of identity can explain why and in what way people are marginalized and how this resulted in present the socio-culture consequences.

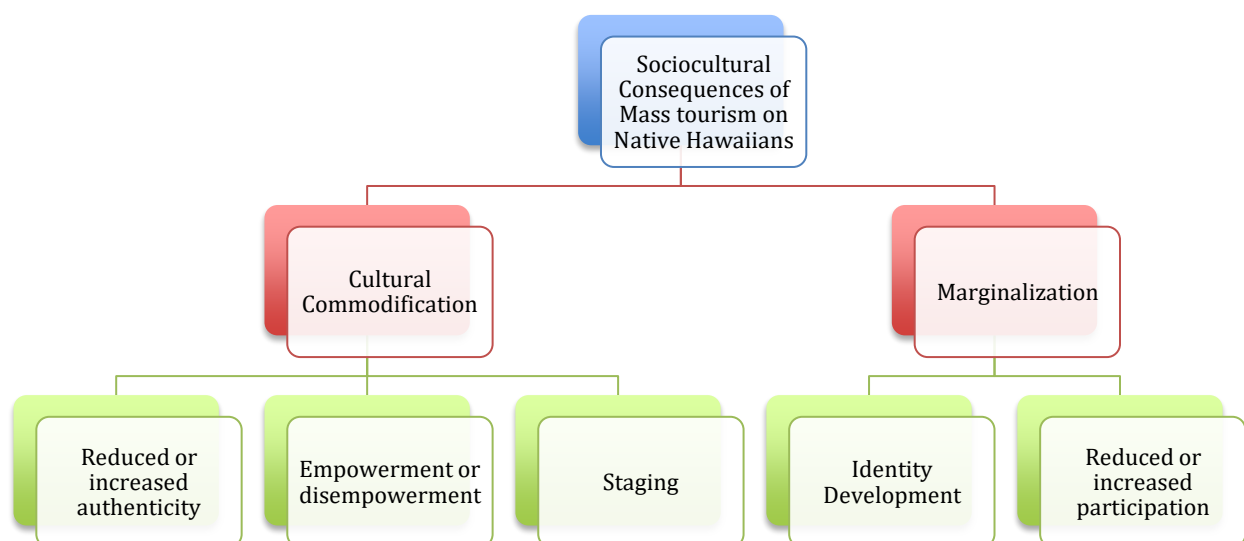


Figure 1: Framework 'sociocultural consequences of mass tourism on Native Hawaiians'

It is interesting to see the perspectives of the Native Hawaiians on the cultural commodification of their culture, as it speaks of the social situation of the Natives and also indirectly says something about participation and marginalization.

The concepts are all in various ways interrelated with one another. For example, the two concepts of identity development and participation show how a community views themselves in relation to the rest and the possible changes throughout the years. It speaks about the marginalization of the community. Another example, the fact that Native Hawaiians now have adopted certain American characteristics or parts of their culture indicates identity developments of Native Hawaiians as a whole, but also says something about the authenticity of Native Hawaiians. This is also related to the concept of 'empowerment'. Claiming to be Natives, apart from the rest of the residents, can empower the Natives politically and provide certain rights (Franklin & Lyons, 2004). Authenticity, staging and empowerment are closely related concepts and can indicate the consequences, the tools and the weight of the commodification of a culture. While plenty literature focussed on 'authentic places', this thesis will try to see if it is possible to see tourism as an enforcer of local culture and identity and discover the role of authenticity, interwoven with mostly the concept staging, on cultural commodification and eventually provide a better overview on the general sociocultural consequences of tourism. Staging can be seen as a consequence of cultural commodification, using the need of authenticity of tourists to sell the culture of the Natives to the tourists. Participation of the Natives has an effect on the level of empowerment of the Natives as well. The logical effect would seem to be the more the Natives participate in the touristic sector, the more the Natives would be empowered. In this way, the sub concepts shown in the last row on the right are interlinked with one another.

Once an overview is created of the current situation of the sociocultural consequences of tourism when considering commodification and marginalization, a conclusion can be drawn whether the current touristic scene

is culturally responsible or not. If not, advice can be drawn considering possible future culturally responsible tourism.

In practice, the framework provides direction with data collection and making an analysis. It ensures that a clear overview can be drawn on sociocultural consequences concerning commodification and marginalisation. Cultural commodification and marginalisation can indicate and illustrate changes like progress or stagnation of the consequences of tourism. While the concepts can be seen as a consequence of mass tourism, it can also be the other way around by the concepts being a tool to realize mass tourism. By looking at changes in marginalisation and the use of commodification throughout the years, indications can be made of the consequences of mass tourism on specifically the culture and social position of Native Hawaiians.

2.4 Research Question

This thesis has one main question:

What are the perspectives of Native Hawaiians on the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism in relation to cultural commodification and marginalization?

The main research question will answer how Native Hawaiians and shortly other key players in relation to Native Hawaiians perceive the sociocultural consequences of the developments of tourism over the years. Two results chapters will answer the main research question.

Because today's situation is complex and historically sensitive and context is necessary in order to understand the current perspectives, the first chapter looks at the developments of tourism and Native Hawaiians socio-culturally throughout the years. The sub-question that will be answered in this chapter is:

How has today's tourism been shaped throughout the years and what effect has it had on the Native Hawaiians?

The second chapter discusses the perspectives on the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism in Hawai'i, with a main focus on the perspective of Native Hawaiians. Other mayor stakeholders however also had to be included, in order to understand the bigger picture and where tourism in Hawai'i is headed. These other discussed stakeholders are Hawaiians or locals, tourists, the tourist industry and the government. The sub-question that guides this chapter is:

What are the perspectives of Native Hawaiians and various key stakeholders on the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism in Hawai'i?

3. Methodology

This chapter discusses the more practical issues of the thesis: The way the research was conducted and with what considerations and limitations in mind observations were made. Aside from the main data gathering method, the research participants and stakeholders are also discussed.

3.1 Research Methods

For a period of two-and-a-half-month November 2016 to January 2017, own research was conducted based on observations and interviews. In order to gain as much data as possible, multiple stakeholders in the tourist industry of Hawai'i were interviewed, by means of a semi-structured interview. In order not to get biased in any way, the researcher stayed at three different locations throughout this period of time. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions allow a certain level of flexibility during interviews and thus help gather as much information on the subject as possible and at the same time allow unpredicted situations to surface.

3.1.1 Interviews and Observations

The observations were mostly naturalistic and participant observations of situations for the full two and a half months, studying the spontaneous behaviour of participants in natural surroundings with and without participation of the researcher (Mcleod, 2015). These include making notes of thousands of informal conversations with tourists, people working in the tourist industry and locals. The hardest part was to get in contact with Native Hawaiians and to speak someone from the government as they appeared not to be very willing to discuss this particular topic. The focus stakeholder group of official interviews were Native Hawaiians. The conducted official interviews each lasted for about two hours. The ten semi-structured interviews were held with:

- a young Native Hawaiian student (Nov. 22, 2016)
- a young Native Hawaiian walk-tour guide (Nov. 24, 2016)
- an older Native Hawaiian Uber driver (Dec. 15, 2016)
- a Hawaiian university professor of the travel industry department (Dec. 8, 2016)
- an immigrated American worker, considered manihili (Dec. 11, 2016)

-a manihili assistant university professor of the travel industry department (Dec. 8, 2016)

-a Native Hawaiian teaching the Hawaiian language at a private school (Dec. 16, 2016)

-another Native Hawaiian teaching Hawaiian culture at a private school (Dec. 16, 2016)

-a immigrated American worker, considered local (Jan. 10, 2017)

-a PhD HTA/government tourism researcher (Jan. 11, 2017)

These people were selected as they represented various groups: Younger generation and older generation of Native Hawaiians, active and passive practitioners and believers of the Hawaiian culture. They also included 'middle class' residents and professors in order to gain data from multiple perspectives instead of just the Native Hawaiian perspectives, giving this thesis all the angles.

Next to these interviews, many observations were made of mainly tourists, locals, people working in the tourist industry and Native Hawaiians. A good mix between organized interviews and observations was the preferred method as this provides the most balanced information: Not only is learned from pointed questions in the few interviews, but also attitudes towards certain subjects are discovered by observing many people and interactions. The framework discussed in the previous chapter will provide bullet discussion points of the interviews. Appendix 1 shows the topic list of the interviews.

Observations were made at various key points on the island of O'ahu where the stakeholders could be found separately and together, such as: The biggest and busiest mall of Honolulu 'Ala Moana Center'; at very touristic Waikiki beach and Waikiki dining area; at Waianea where generation old Native Hawaiians come together and manihili are not very welcome; at the Polynesian culture centre where both tourists and Native Hawaiians come and work together; at the Northern surfing villages and many more key points. Observations were made and written down in the form of notes on interaction between themselves and other stakeholders, on their attitudes and non-verbal communication, on their interests and on behaviour that could be linked to the terms discussed in the

literature chapter. At almost all times in the two and a half month did the researcher have a note book at the ready or in case of emergency would write down notable behaviour on the mobile phone, as well as snap pictures of relevant items.

3.2 Research Participants

The main research participants are Native Hawaiians as they are the target focus group of this thesis, providing information on every single concept described in the conceptual framework. The Natives research participants were found and approached through connections made on the island and by being referred and introduced within the circles of the Native Hawaiian. Once the first connection was established, it was very easy to be referred to other people. Notably, about fifty per cent of the interviews planned with Native Hawaiians was either cancelled or re-scheduled due to their busy schedule. Native Hawaiians were not hesitant to voice their unhappiness with issues and other stakeholders.

In order to draw an overview of the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism on Hawai'i and to create context, viewpoints of other key stakeholders aside from the Natives were included in the research. These stakeholders include locals/Hawaiians, the tourist industry, tourists and the governmental. Aside from these stakeholders, many other stakeholders are also involved in the tourist industry of Hawai'i, however the selected ones are seen as the most important key players. If this thesis were to involve all stakeholders, the thesis would have had an impossible scope for the given amount of time to finish the thesis and would have taken away focus from the Native Hawaiians.

Locals or Hawaiians were included in the research as they are the residents of the island, feeling impacts of tourism as well as the Native Hawaiians. They have lived alongside the Natives for decades, form the biggest part of the population on Hawai'i and have integrated to some level to way of life on the island, thus have knowledge of the situation of the island and can provide information on identity developments of being a (Native) Hawaiian. Locals were approached on

the streets, in some cases were Uber drivers, shop assistants, or were contacted through already existing contacts like roommates and their associates.

The tourist industry as stakeholder was included in this thesis by establishing a link to someone in the tourist industry with a lot of reports on the developments, goals and struggles as well as conducted surveys. They are included in order to give an insight in their side of the situation and in order to provide information on various practical issues like participation, commodification and staging. In a similar way was the government included: Retrieving many reports, surveys, strategy plans and look at developments throughout the years. It seems like the government and the industry are very closely working together and in general on one page. The governmental researcher was asked questions about participation and empowerment, tourist industry goals, facts of the current economic situation and struggles and positive developments in the past few years. Gathering annual reports, retrieving surveys and reading other relevant theses on tourism in Hawai'i is crucial to understand the current situation and where tourism like today's is headed.

3.2.1 Ethical considerations

The participants of this research were all voluntary participants and the interviewed participants have granted their approval of publication of the data. Participants can withdraw any time during the data collection period and the period of actual writing of the research. All data will be treated with full confidentiality and anonymity, when desired by the participant or deemed necessary by the researcher.

3.3 Analysis

The interviews were after receiving permission recorded and later digitalized and coded with the programme 'Atlas'. The coding system can be found in appendix 2. The retrieved surveys and reports have also been coded and organized in Atlas. All the topics concerning the different boxes of the framework like 'staging' and 'marginalization' got their own colours, as well as topics concerning ancestry and tales about the past and present. This way of coding worked very well, as it was easy to find parts of interviews, reports and

observations that touched a certain subject. However, there often is an overlap between terms and this way of coding enhanced the separation between terms instead of help find overlaps and correlations. It was also sometimes hard to decide what information to put in what chapter, as it often in a way touches both context as perspectives.

The results on the perspectives of mentioned stakeholders will be discussed in this thesis per stakeholder instead of per vision, as the majority of the stakeholders have the same view and the three strong perspectives are: Pro tourism, neutral and against tourism.

3.3.1 Empathy map

The following figure is called an empathy map and helps creating a clear overview of obtained data when it comes to perspectives of the stakeholders. An empathy map its purpose is to enable researchers and readers to understand perspectives and actions of other parties made in a complex environment and helps understanding the core of perceived problems. The map is often used in large organizations as part of design thinking strategies, in order to sketch a clear context and understanding, so that various stakeholders can see eye to eye better and analyse (problem) situations. In this case, the map helps illustrate the many findings on the cultural commodification of the Native Hawaiians and its sociocultural consequences. The pain and gain areas summarize the biggest concerns and focus points of particular stakeholders when it comes to tourism and the areas to work with in the future. Of each stakeholder, an empathy has been made and can be found in appendix 3.

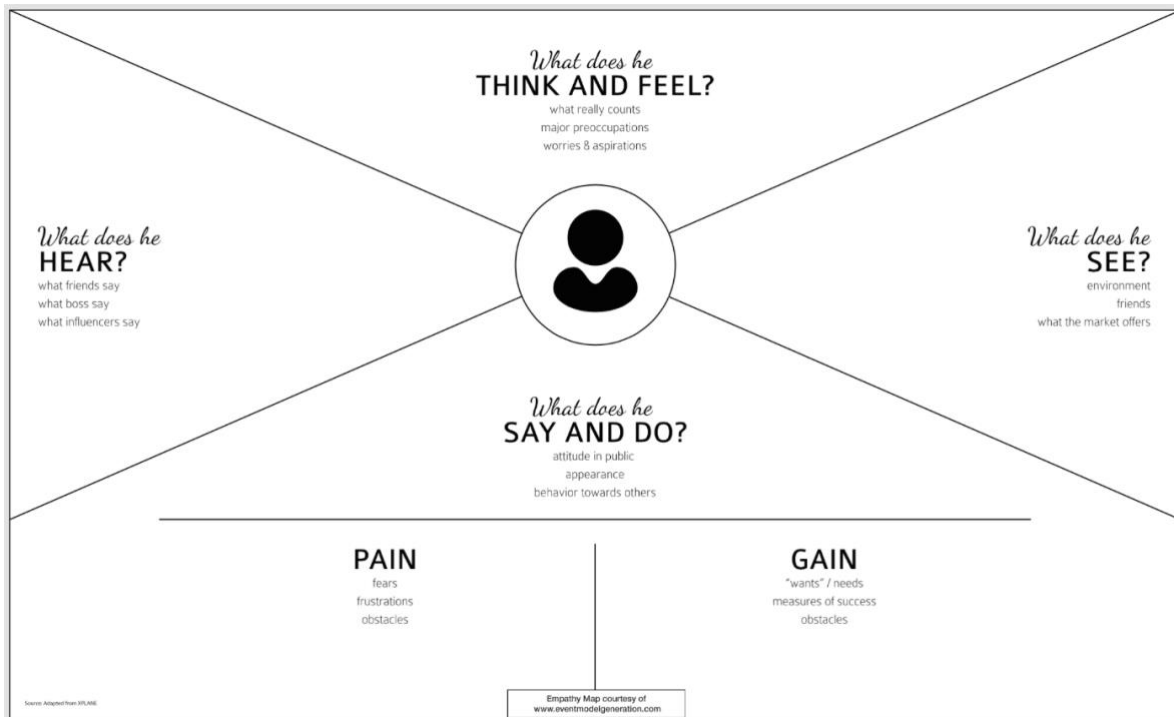


Figure 2: Empathy map, bmttoolbox.net 2018

The thesis starts with looking at the developments of tourism and Native Hawaiians through time in order to create context for understanding the perspectives of the stakeholders.

4. The creation of mass tourism in Hawai'i

In order to try and understand the various perspectives of stakeholders of tourism in Hawai'i, context is needed. This chapter examines not only the creation of the touristic paradise named 'Hawai'i', but also discusses the current situation on the islands touristically and socio-culturally for mostly the Native Hawaiians with help of the framework. This chapter uses academic literature as source, as well as information gained from the interviews and observations. First, a few terms and its definitions used by Native Hawaiians and this thesis are discussed.

4.1 Terminology

There are a lot of discussions revolving around terminology and how various residents of Hawai'i want to be addressed. This subchapter shortly discusses the definition of the terms used throughout this thesis.

4.1.1 Tourism:

The exact time when the first tourists came to Hawai'i is a subject up for discussion, as tourism can be defined in different ways. This thesis defines tourism in the same way as the Swedish writer Carl Almqvist and Orvar Lofgren: *"Tourism is a new mode of consumption based on the idea of leaving home and work in search of new experiences, pleasures, and leisure"* (Lofgren, 1999). Another definition is the one given by the United Nations World Tourism Organization: *"The activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes"*. According to this last definition of tourism, early explorers like the British James Crook discovering Hawai'i in 1778 would have been considered the first tourist of Hawai'i (Mak, 2015). The biggest difference between the two definitions, is that Lofgren's one defines tourism as a way of consumption and a way to seek new 'touristic' experiences, not including businesses like setting up pineapple farms or other purposes.

4.1.2 Native Hawaiian:

According to research participants that have a few family members who resided generations long on the islands of Hawai'i, one has to have Native blood somewhere down the bloodline to be able to call him or herself Native Hawaiian, as well as know of the Hawaiian culture. Hawaiian language teachers of a school in Honolulu note that generation old Hawaiians are referred to in the Hawaiian language as 'kanaka maoli', meaning 'true people'. Before the nineteenth century when there were almost no foreigners on the islands, everyone was 'Kanaka Maoli' (pers. comm, Dec. 16, 2016). The foreigners that came to the islands were referred to as 'malihini', defined as 'stranger', 'foreigner', 'newcomer', 'tourist' or as someone unfamiliar with the place or its customs. These people however have the chance to become a 'Hawaiian' when they become acquainted with the land and the culture. Other 'Native Hawaiian' interviewees agree with these statements, saying to be able to be Native Hawaiian, you have to have as much Native blood as possible and can dislike being called 'local' as they do not believe they share all of the same values, especially when it comes to how to treat the land (pers. comm., Nov. 22, 2016). It was however also noted that the meaning of being a 'Native Hawaiian' has changed over the years. A professor of the University of Honolulu predicts that within 30 years, there will be no pureblood Native Hawaiians (kanaka maoli) anymore, endangering the continuation of the correct Hawaiian culture (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). Nowadays, almost no one outright claims to be 'Native Hawaiian', as there are almost no 'pureblooded' kanaka maoli anymore, but people with various mixed roots like Hawaiian, Japanese, Chinese, European and American. What matters the most is that modern 'Native Hawaiians' value and to a degree correctly practice the Hawaiian culture, taught to them preferably by ancestors, and have Hawaiian roots (pers. comm., Nov. 22, 2016).

4.1.3 Hawaiians: Same definition as 'local'. People that moved here in their lifetime or a generation back. The saying 'nahua kupa aina' applies to being 'Hawaiian': I've lived and I've become so familiar with the Hawaiian ways, that I am now a citizen of Hawai'i (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). Hawaiians do not necessarily have to have Hawaiian blood.

4.1.4 Local: The same definition as 'Hawaiian', from the perspective of 'Native Hawaiian' interviewees. Mannerisms are very important like taking off slippers when entering a home and understanding local terms like 'mauka', towards the mountains, and Makai, towards the ocean (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). You are referred to as non-local, malihini, when you do not try to learn the 'Hawaiian way'. "*Being a local comes with time, not with location*", quote by Native Hawaiian language teachers (Dec. 16, 2016).

4.1.4 Malihini: Defined by the terms 'foreigner', 'stranger', 'tourist', 'newcomer'. People that do not value the Hawaiian culture and mannerisms, despite the amount of time people have lived in Hawai'i (pers. comm., Nov. 22, 2016; Dec. 16, 2016; Dec. 8, 2016). Not just tourists are considered 'malihini', most of the many American military forces on the island are considered Malihini, even though they live on the island of O'ahu for at least four year.

4.1.5 Ha'ole: Similar to 'malihini'. The term Native Hawaiians use to refer to individuals who are not of Native Hawaiian descendants who were brought to the islands of Hawai'i to work in agriculture, like Puerto Ricans, Chinese, Japanese and Filipino. Nowadays, ha'ole also refers to Caucasians. Ha'ole has evolved into a word being used in contempt, often replacing the word 'malihini'.

4.2 Before the fall of the monarchy

Before the invention of steamships in the early 1800s, tourist travel to Hawai'i was not encouraged as boarding sailing vessels was not without risks and had unpredictable schedules. From the early 1800s and on, an estimation of all visitors to Hawai'i was made by Crampon. Until approximately 1850, most visitors of Hawai'i were on the islands for economic reasons, instead of touristic ones. Approximately 90 percent of the visitors in Hawai'i between 1850 and 1869 were whalers (Crampon, 1976). The sailors on board of those vessels could be seen as tourists, as they saw their time on Hawai'i as a necessary 'break' in between work, according to Hawai'i historian Kuykendall. He described the now famous Waikiki as roads crowded by dust and mud, filled with drunk cursing sailors in search of recreation, ongoing street brawls and frequent clashes between the local authorities and sailors (Kuykendall, 1968).

The true beginning of the Hawaiian paradise as we know it today, started a bit later in the 1870s. However, not just the statistics on tourism in Hawai'i in the late 19th century and early 20th century are very hard to find, very little research can be found on the beginning of successful tourist destinations in general. Mak was able to find qualitative information (journals, annual reports, newspaper articles) about the earliest periods of tourism in Hawai'i, saying that the first tourists to visit a destination in general are often ones seeking authenticity and new experiences. In 1867, the U.S. postmaster and California provided a steady mail service between Honolulu and San Francisco, marking the beginning of regular travel between the islands of Hawai'i and the mainland (Kuykendall, 1968; Mak, 2015). In the late 19th century, Hawai'i was part of a trans-Pacific route with Honolulu as a natural layover for ships to stock up, from the west coast of the United States to Australia and Asia, providing Honolulu with many one-day tourists. In an annual written in 1894, Stindt writes how general trade has hit a depression, but notes that the islands still greatly benefited from these many visitors traveling between orientals (Mak, 2015; Stindt, 1982). The islands were well loved by these short visitors and written about in the late 19th century, attracting more and more tourists by this form of free publicity. The overall

attitude of the Native Hawaiians, especially their hospitality, was a famous subject they wrote about, today known as the 'Aloha Spirit' (Mak, 2015).

Since 1876, lots of trade deals were made between the U.S. and the Kingdom of Hawai'i, like the Reciprocity Treaty permitting duty free sugar to be grown in Hawai'i for the United States resulting in more and more ships going to and from the mainland to the islands of Hawai'i (Mak, 2015). In 1881, the observation was made in Thurston's annual report of Hawai'i that by then the islands were already fully dependable on the mainland as they imported nearly everything inhabitants of the islands consumed from San Francisco and other U.S. cities (Stoldt, 1982). More boats going to and from the islands, also meant more visitors and tourists with Hawai'i as final destination or Hawai'i as a transit to other destinations. The actual amount of tourists with Hawai'i as its true destination at the end of the nineteenth century was however disappointing to people working in tourist industry in Hawai'i, as the cost of visiting Hawai'i was very high: The average annual earnings of U.S. citizens in 1890 was about 500 dollars, while a trip of about three weeks to Hawai'i would approximately cost 270 dollars (U.S. Census Bureau, 1949). Since 1870, the government of Hawai'i wanted to increase the number of tourists and began actively promoting the islands by spreading photographs in magazines and at exhibitions all over the world and creating the first Hawaiian tourist guides. The focus of the marketing in the 19th century was already on the captivating and exotic Native Hawaiians culture, as this distinguished Hawai'i from other similar tropical competitors (Mak, 2015). Hawai'i's brand was and still is as described by the principals of the Brand Strategy Group in Honolulu: "A place of staggering beauty and extraordinary gentleness. A place that offers rest and restoration. A place of unique heritage and culture. A place of Aloha. *A place that is American, and yet it is not*" (Garvey & Gramann, 2003; Mak, 2015).

When one thinks of Hawai'i, one thinks of bright flower necklaces, gentle smiles and the hula dance. However, the Hawaiian culture was not always seen as warm and an added value with tourism and commodification possibilities. Early English missionaries who arrived in Hawai'i in the early nineteenth century

wanted to ban the hula as it was seen as an abomination, heathen and vulgar, encouraging adultery and idleness. In response to this, queen Ka'ahumanu banned the hula in 1830 ineffectively. In 1859 people were able to sway the government of Hawai'i to enact legislation so people could publicly perform hula when they had a license. In 1896, the requirement of having to have a license was lifted (Silva, 2000). Noenoe Silva argues that the only reason hula was fully allowed again, was because lawmakers of the republic started to see commercial hula as a way to boost tourism. Opposition to the hula and other Hawaiian cultural traditions were still a controversy however until the mid 1920s.

According to Mak, Hawai'i had several reasons for seeking out opportunities to grow tourism. The tourism industry was a business opportunity waiting to be exploited by local businessmen as it had a lot of promise. Lorrin A. Thurston also played a major role in the development of tourism. Thurston was the grandson of two Christian missionaries, born and raised in Hawai'i. He created the Hawaiian Bureau of Information (HBI) promoting the islands of Hawai'i. Nowadays the HBI is accused of making Hawai'i a white republic and part of the United States (Skwiot, 2010). Their strategy was to lure white tourists to Hawai'i and seduce them into becoming permanent residents. Thurston is also the man that orchestrated the overthrow of the Monarchy in 1893 and later was head of the commission in Washington negotiation Hawai'i's annexation by the U.S. He became the champion of the island's tourism development (Mak, 2015). Thurston later formed the Republic of Hawai'i after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, focussing on American interests, mainly on how to make Hawai'i more appealing for tourists.

4.3 After the fall of the monarchy

The initial way Hawai'i became a territory of the United States was according to not just Native Hawaiians, but also Hawaiians and locals seen as very controversial and disreputable, especially nowadays (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016; pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016). This was acknowledged in 1993 by president Clinton when he and the U.S. congress officially apologized for the major part the U.S. played in the overthrow of the monarchy of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1893.

After the overthrow of the monarchy, the Hawaiian Bureau of Information became inactive as the focus of creator Thurston now lay on seeking annexation by the U.S. This was however not the end of the promotion of Hawai'i. Another association formed in 1901, the Merchants' Association of Honolulu, and studied the merits of the promotion of tourism in Hawai'i. Their report of August 1902 in the *Paradise of the Pacific* said: *"It is up to the representative people of Hawai'i to decide whether or not this Territory shall or shall not secure a trade that is admittedly large and profitable in itself, besides being a business that properly directed cannot fail to result in bringing us ultimately an increased and permanent population of the most desirable character"* (Paradise of the Pacific, 1902, pp. 16-18; Mak, 2015). The mentioned 'permanent population of the most desirable character' refers to Caucasians, especially Americans, who are to be introduced to and seduced by Hawai'i's increase in tourism. The Caucasians were to boost not only the number of workers present on the islands, but also higher the level of demand of products and thus stimulate business. Not only the Merchant's Association of Honolulu had 'extremist views' of white businessmen in Hawai'i, but also other Caucasian businessmen and politicians (Mak, 2015). An illustration of these views is the response of the Cabinet on an issue addressing whether or not Chinese people should be allowed to settle down on the islands in 1889. The Cabinet responded with: *"In the light of history, with the experience of what has happened and is now happening in other countries, the Ministers feel justified in saying that unless adequate measures are adopted, Oriental civilization will extinguish, and be substituted for the Anglo-Saxon civilization of this country. The second proposition above stated is, that the perpetuation of Anglo-Saxon civilization is essential to the continuance of a free government and of political*

independence of this Kingdom” (Thrums’ Annual, 1889, p. 84; Mak, 2015). However, less than five years later, this exact ‘Anglo-Saxon civilization’ overthrew the Kingdom of Hawai’i themselves. After the overthrow, even if Hawaiians, Asians and American citizens all lived in bigger numbers on the islands, the Caucasians were the ones that held a stranglehold on economic and political power, as well as tourism promotion (Mak, 2015). During the late 19th and the early 20th century, Native Hawaiians were not allowed to speak Hawaiian and practice certain cultural practices. Students in Hawaiian schools were punished for speaking Hawaiian by the schools they attended, as they had to acclimate to the environment of now plenty of ‘malihini’, Americans. Even though this generation could still communicate in Hawaiian with friends, they rarely taught their children the Hawaiian language, as they wanted their children to function best in the current environment (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016).

The HBI was in 1903 replaced by The Hawai’i Promotion Committee (HPC), formed by the local business community. The HPC focused more on tourism than the HBI, and was funded by the Territorial Government and public funding. Promoting Hawai’i as a holiday destination in magazines, newspapers and leading journals was their method (Mak, 2015). In 1919, HPC changed its name into the Hawai’i Tourist Bureau which got suspended during the second World War, but got built up in 1944 again as the Hawai’i Travel Bureau and in 1945 as the Hawai’i Visitors Bureau. Since 1997, they are named the Hawai’i Visitors and Convention Bureau. The HPC not only promoted tourism in several countries, it also started research programmes to keep track of tourism statistics and most importantly aimed around 1903-1930 to make the islands of Hawai’i more attractive to tourists (Mak, 2015). Part of this goal were appointing a ‘city beautifier’, conducting researches, collaborating with various property owners and local households and giving the city of Honolulu a make-over. The first goal however was to make the island beautiful for its residents, as a beautiful home for residents would automatically translate into a beautiful destination for tourists. These new ideas for the islands were fully supported by Lorrin Thurston.

4.3.1 During and after the World Wars

During the World Wars, tourist travel to Hawai'i was paused. Around 1930, the government of the U.S. became concerned about the Japanese wanting to expand its empire and focussed politically even more on Hawai'i and decided to create a stronger military base known as Pearl Harbor. The suspicions ended up being right, when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941, marking the start of World War II.

Around 1930, the introduction to air planes and the interest in Hawai'i of cruise ships boosted the amount of tourists in Hawai'i. Aside from this, high profile visitor activities and attractions were created to promote tourism, like the Aloha Festivals where the Native Hawaiian culture is central. These shows and festivals were also broadcasted and aired by hundreds of radio stations around the world (Mak, 2015). A decade before the second World War, with as a highlight 1935, Hawai'i also gained a lot of fame and interest because of the production of various movies and musicals featuring Hawai'i and its culture. Tourism was however not yet the first largest industry of Hawai'i with 10.3 million dollars spent in Hawai'i in 1929. Sugar exports produced 69 million dollars in revenues and pineapple 38 million dollars (Mak, 2015). However, tourism was gaining ground quickly. Tourism on Hawai'i increased rapidly when traveling the Pacific Ocean became more doable and predictable by the replacements of regular sailing vessels by steamships (Mak, 2015). The steamships were gradually replaced by commercial flights and crossed the Pacific in a much faster and more efficient and comfortable way. When the jet plane arrived in 1959 and commercial flights became more accessible, tourism in Hawai'i became more accessible to a bigger audience. The foundation of this tourist industry and the interest in the islands, had however already been laid about a century earlier (Mak, 2015).

When Hawai'i became a colonized state, the Hawaiians thought they had to speak English and adopt the other culture. Some did not realize anything was wrong with their current situation and did not understand some parts of their culture was missing, while some secretly resented it (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016; Dec. 16,

2016). The Hawaiian language was almost officially declared a dead language. This generation wanted to successfully navigate through the new society they were living in and were very Western based. They were not taught some parts of their Hawaiian culture, as their parents wanted them to integrate easily into the society Hawai'i had become. This generation did not speak the Hawaiian language, for example. In this generation, if Hawaiians wanted a successful job, a lot of the jobs centred around the tourist industry. 45 year old Hawaiian language teacher said: *"You know, my father was the head of the Rest & Recuperation of the military. So, whenever the military would come to Hawai'i, he was the one in charge to show them a good time. Which pretty much meant putting on the Hawaiian show. My mother was in the travel industry her whole life. The hard thing was, in order to make it, they had to create a place for 'the Other' instead of for us. So, when growing up, this situation became normal to us. We did not see anything wrong with what most see nowadays as prostitution of our culture."* (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). The teacher speaks of how hundreds of people would come to the luau show catered by her family on their property and how they would cook and serve them Hawaiian food like pig. She also mentions how her grandparents did not see this happening in a way the current Native Hawaiians do.

Tourism affected the population growth on Hawai'i, especially O'ahu. Though no direct relationship can be assumed as the situation was very complex, there was definitely a simple correlation between annual growth in visitors and annual growth in residents. The following table illustrates the growth in the full-time residential population of Hawai'i between 1951 and 2003.

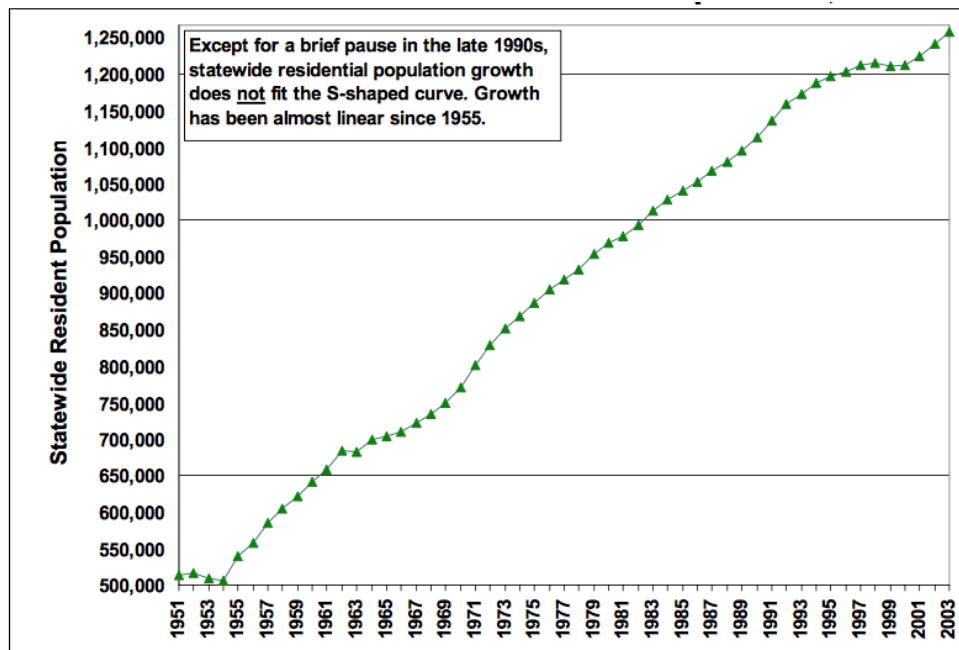


Table 1: Full-time residential population growth in Hawai'i from 1951-2003, Knox 2004 p. 21

Especially between the 1960s to the 1990s, rural Hawai'i transformed its traditional agriculture into an industry with a focus on tourists instead of just production. This both created jobs and boosted the economy, as well as overwhelmed many local communities as they could not provide enough workers for the work at hand. The very rapid population growth in Hawai'i transformed the local 'sense of place' into something else and caused major strains on infrastructure. A shift in power happened as mahilini, Americans, with a different culture and values gained a greater say in local decision making, especially after statehood (Knox, 2004; Mak, 2015).

4.4 Today

A conclusion can be drawn that throughout the years, an aim of the earliest businessmen in Hawai'i has been not just to create a popular tourist destination, but also to Americanize the islands and introduce many American citizens to the island.

4.4.1 Tourism

Currently, Hawai'i is the dream destination for millions of people of all nationalities. U.S. News and World Report rate the island of Maui as the best holiday destination of the United States, as well as the fourth best place to visit in the whole world, second best location for honeymoons and the number one summer holiday destination (Mak, 2015). Tourism is nowadays the largest single source of private capital for the economy of Hawai'i, with an annual visitor number in 2016 of almost 9 million visitors (Hawai'i Tourism Authority, 2017). The tourism growth rate between 1960 and 1990 used to be a steady 11 per cent per year, but since 1990 this number became almost flat (3.3%). According to the interviewed governmental PhD researcher, this means the tourist industry in Hawai'i has matured, meaning that the visitor growth will stay flat. The researcher predicts that the visitor growth will decrease to about 1.5%, as the islands only have a certain tourism carrying capacity. The annual 11 per cent growth in the late 20th centuries will not be repeated anymore or exceeded, according to him (pers. comm., Jan 11, 2017).

About 67% of the current visitors are repeating visitors with an average of 5.4 times. Only about 37% of incoming visitors are visiting Hawai'i for the first time (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017). The marketing of Hawai'i nowadays tries to diversify to boost the visitor rates by broadening the tourism market. In the past, more than 90% of all visitors were from mainland U.S., in 2016 only 62% (pers. comm., Jan.11, 2017). Before, the traditional tourist markets were the United States and Japan. Nowadays, people are also coming from Canada, Oceania, and from other Asian countries like Korea, China, Hong Kong and Singapore. The government of Hawai'i also tries to diversify by not mostly focussing on the tourist industry, but also on other industries like medical and other professional services (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017).

What is happening nowadays in the tourist industry, in the current knowledge invested environment, is that people are better informed, easier connected, and wish to look for truly as they believe, rare and thus authentic places (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016). For now, most Chinese and Japanese and other Asian tourists are not concerned with authenticity or naturalness and often come to Hawai'i just to shop. Most do not view staged scenes and commercialisation as offensive, as big cities in their home countries often have the same environment (pers. comm., Dec. 6, 2016; Jan. 11, 2017; Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). This shows in the very low number of Asian tourists visiting more rural neighbouring islands, and mostly visit O'ahu. However, locals and Western tourists realize how the current tourist industry is not authentic but is *staged*, and wish to discover the 'true' authentic places (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). These tourists wanting authentic places, do not want to stay in areas like Waikiki. The Native Hawaiian tour guide interviewee predicts "*we are going to be left with solely these tourists [looking for authentic experiences], and it is not going to make any money. They will leave disgusting ugly stains on the island*" (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016). This statement shows how complex this issue is. The search for authentic experiences, has led to for example the higher AirBnB demand as some tourists wish to reside in local residential areas instead of touristic ones, to the dismay of the locals (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016; Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). The cultures clash, rules are violated by tourists, residents complain of noise complaints and littering: The search of tourists for authenticity has the residents on edge and results in resentment of residents not just towards AirBnB operators, but tourists in general (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016; Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). By violating the concept of front stage and back stage tourism where front stages are touristic places like Waikiki and back stages are where locals can take a break from tourism, tension between visitors and locals have increased (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016).

The tourist industry has responded to this shift in interest of tourists by recognizing the value of preserving the traditional culture of Native Hawaiians. Aside from continuing their original way of tourist developments, they now focus on creating more authentic experiences. In the last 15 years, hotels in Waikiki

have hired cultural specialists that advise the hotel and its staff on various cultural issues (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). They are correcting previous inaccurately used Hawaiian language in the hotel as entertainment or marketing and provide the tourists with Hawaiian language classes.

The tourist industry puts an effort into creating a certain authentic impression for a targeted group of tourists by staging a supposed reality or occurrence. In general, one could argue the whole idea of the Hawaiian Paradise is staged. Many tourists come to Hawai'i with certain expectations, gained from movies like Disney's *Moana* or *Lilo and Stitch*, and expect to find a similar as-they-perceive-it authentic reality (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). If the tourists do not see these so perceived authentic experiences they saw in the movies like ukulele music, the hula and the costumes, they are often disappointed (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). Most of the things these tourists see are however arranged and produced impressions that are not the reality anymore. The general rule is, the more tourism flourishes, the more tourism becomes a mass deception of staging and commodification. Tourism in Hawai'i has flourished and has matured, resulting in the degradation of the meaning of culture for not just the Native Hawaiians, but locals and tourists as well (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017).

4.4.2 Cultural Diverse Society

Hawai'i is as mentioned nowadays a very cultural diverse place (to-Hawai'i.com, n.d.). Even though there are so many ethnicities present in Hawai'i, there is almost no integration between ethnicities and most ethnically identified communities stick to their own (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016). Even though there is separation between various ethnic groups on Hawai'i, acculturation is in a way rapidly happening according to the Honolulu university professor interviewee (pers. comm., Dec 8, 2016). As is academically known, tourism can lead to the marginalization of ethnic minorities. Since the 19th century, the Native Hawaiian culture has been struggling against the American cultural domination through assimilation. The Native Hawaiians have adapted a lot of American cultural traits like the language in order to survive. Tourism did not only traditionally affect the islands of Hawai'i in the way of population growth, Christianisation and institutionalization, it also partly caused economic and political marginalization (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). The Native Hawaiian inhabitants have, mostly because of tourism, become a minority group (John M. Knox @ Associates, 2004; pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017).

It could be stated that the current culture that is seen as 'Native Hawaiian' is a marginalized culture, as it is the margin of mainly two cultures, American and Native Hawaiian. Around the time of the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i and later of the statehood, when the Native Hawaiians started to be politically, economically and socially left out, they had become a marginalized community. In order to survive, the generation alive during statehood decided to become culturally marginalized as well, in order to survive within the dominant American society (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). The generation after them, their children, were born into it and given the status of a third rank citizen, not allowed to speak Hawaiian, automatically at birth. This generation had a distinct culture of their own, as they did not know Hawai'i and its traditional culture like their parents did, grew up in Hawai'i as part of the U.S., and were not taught important cultural Hawaiian things, like the language (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). Only about two generations later, today's seniors and baby boomers, did

the Native people of Hawai'i extensively study history and voice unhappiness with this marginalized status, both economically, politically as socio-culturally.

Several Native Hawaiians were asked to describe their family, what friends they hang out with, other social interactions and how they perceived their cross-cultural adaptation. Many culturally marginalized people experience a divided self with sometimes two separate identities, depending on the vastness of differences between the cultures. What was noticeable during the interviews and observations was that even though most young Native Hawaiians could also identify with other cultures as almost none of them are 100% Native Hawaiian, almost none of them chose to do this. For them, the values and norms of the Hawaiian culture as taught by their parents or taught at schools weigh much heavier than norms and values of other cultures. While they do recognize they have other ethnic roots as well and speak proudly of them, when asked who they socialized with, most answered solely with others that identified themselves as Native Hawaiians as well. They also however knew of some that had the same amount of actual Native Hawaiian roots as themselves, chose to solely hang "*with the Japanese kids*" (pers. comm., Nov. 11, 2016).

While it seems that people choose to identify with one of the roots, there is almost no integration between all the different present cultures on the island. According to Hall, it is possible for someone to have a collective 'true self' he or she identifies with, while this identity resides along with many other imposed 'selves' (Hall, 1990). People with a shared history, ancestry and cultural codes can share this identity: The communities on Hawai'i that identify themselves as 'Native Hawaiians' have chosen this Native Hawaiian identity as their 'true selves', but can also mix it with the other cultural identities with American and/or Japanese influences (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). The Native Hawaiian people have not become encapsulated marginalized as they do not feel lonely, the most of them do not alienate themselves from people outside their community and are not in vast internal distress (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). While in a sense, the Native Hawaiians often speak in a "us" and "them" version, it is certain they too have to a point acclimated and adopted parts of the American culture. However, a big part of the Native Hawaiians has also a strong

sense of belonging, especially today's seniors and the baby boom generation (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). They feel strongly as 'Hawaiian'.

Today's younger generation can be categorized as constructive marginalized: They effortlessly switch between traditional Hawaiian traits and American ones and have integrated the two. While they learn and regularly speak the Hawaiian language, they also speak with American street slang, say 'slippers' instead of American 'flip flops' and walk one day with a flower in their hair, while another with a Yankees cap (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). They are aware of their mixed identity, can easily switch, but mostly choose to identify as Hawaiians instead of Americans.

4.4.3 The shift

The presence of tourists did not only directly influence the identity of the locals by transforming performances, crafts and hospitality, but also indirectly: They kick-started the immigration flows, housing hundreds of thousands non-Hawaiians. Over the years, this has resulted into the acculturation of the local communities with the newer cultures and vice versa. Looking back at the Hawaiian timeline, the assumed identity of the Native Hawaiians has changed a lot. Identities are constantly (trans)formed. At first, the Native Hawaiians decided to drop parts of their cultural identity and adopt parts of the new American identity in order to survive in the new environment. They experienced themselves as the 'Other', less powerful and dominant than the dominant regime of 'whites' (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016; Hall, 1990). Then there was a generation of people with Native Hawaiian blood, growing up in the mainstream American culture and missing important parts of the Native Hawaiian culture like the Hawaiian language. Nowadays, the identity has changed again. From a very passive people that did not protest when their queen and their monarchy was overthrown, to a people that has reclaimed their cultural roots and is actively protesting and advocating for their rights and even sovereignty.

This change was according to Native Hawaiian language teachers triggered by a newfound curiosity of people to discover their roots by mostly hearing about it in school, reading about it in books and speaking of it with old ancestors (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). Just like with politics nowadays in general, they argue, people started to question what had become the status quo. With the fight to take back what was theirs, cultural practices, land battles and language issues arose. People took it upon themselves to reintroduce the Hawaiian language back into society. Where before people were ashamed of being and speaking Hawaiian, people nowadays have a very strong sense of pride (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016; Dec. 16, 2016; Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). Hawaiian was reintroduced at Hawaiian pre-schools in order to allow children to be raised with the language (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). This programme to reintroduce the language was initiated by a collaboration between community partners and schools, including the university of Honolulu. It also introduced the Hawaiian language at Hawaiian

high schools and eventually created a Hawaiian language undergraduate programme, MSc programme and a doctorate. Dissertations can nowadays also be written in Hawaiian (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). Even though there are almost no Native speakers of the Hawaiian language around anymore, by the use of books and the few Native speakers, the language was retrieved and reintroduced as an official State language. Along with trying to regain their language and cultural practices, people also started to battle about land and water rights and protection of sacred sites.

The current generations are curious about how their ancestors saw the world (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016; Dec. 16, 2016). They feel like they do not want to continue history, but want to embrace the cultural practices on their own terms and not because of monetary goals (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). They have a strong sense of feeling that they have to remember who they are as a people, Hawaiian people. The Hawaiian language teachers argue that over time, there has been a lot of confusion amongst Native Hawaiians, whether or not to take a stand (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). They argue that the identity of them and their recent ancestors was defined by the 'Other' and are now as a people in the process of discovery and re-awakening and defining themselves.

4.4.3 Bitterness and Activism

People respond in different ways to the shift of historical awareness. By boosting tourism through the promotion of the Native Hawaiian culture without any regard and participation of the Native people, the Native Hawaiian community on Hawai'i has become anti-phatic towards tourism and marginalized. Aside from the Native Hawaiians, other residents of Hawai'i also believe they do not have a voice in their island's development decisions, especially when tourism is concerned (OmniTrak Group Inc., 2010; pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017).

The building of tourist sites demolished and disturbed a lot of Native Hawaiian sacred sites, resulting in aggrieved people about the sociocultural price that Hawaiians have to pay for the tourist industry. Various decisions, historic

circumstances, conditions and attitudes have led to a diminished status of Native Hawaiians as decision makers in the economic future of Hawai'i. Big disproportions of Native Hawaiians are at an economic disadvantage because of the rise of the cost of living, as the demand increased drastically and the best and most patches of land are used to build resorts, instead of family homes (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016). Living in Hawai'i is also very expensive because most items, including food, are imported. A high percentage of the enormous homeless population of Hawai'i, are Native Hawaiians that cannot pay rent, because there is such a high demand for housing and a limited supply that makes affordable housing very difficult (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). Aside from this, there are almost no Native Hawaiians with high education degrees as this is also very expensive. Although a few movements have started to make living in Hawai'i more doable for its Native Hawaiian residents, the change is minimal (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016; Dec. 8, 2016).

While it is the Native Hawaiian culture that mostly provides Hawai'i with the most competitive advantage in the tourist industry, preserving this traditional culture does not seem to be a priority in Hawai'i and the benefits of tourism do according to Native Hawaiians and other locals not end up with them. On the contrary. When it comes to the political economy, the social relations, the power relations that constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources, the Native Hawaiians have barely to no influence (Mosco, 2009; pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). The impacts of tourism are mostly felt locally. This is why one could argue why Hawaiian communities should be able to participate in the tourism developments. The participation of local communities is an important ingredient when working towards a 'hospital atmosphere' for tourists (Simmons, 1994). Native Hawaiians are according to them low on Hawai'i's power scale (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016; Nov-Jan., 2016-2017).

The preservation of their culture is however recognized nowadays as an issue, resulting in many discussions and a few smaller projects, but no dramatic progress is made to preserve and treasure the Native Hawaiian culture (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). While some Native Hawaiians have accepted the current

political reality, others fight against it (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). There is a big Hawaiian sovereignty movement, existing of not just Native Hawaiians, trying to declare Hawai'i independent from the United States again: Keep Hawai'i Hawaiian. These activists are angry about the way the Hawaiian Kingdom was overthrown and declare for justice to prevail and to be declared an independent country again. The Hawaiian language and culture teacher interviewee however states that often these activists are controversially also entertainers working in the tourist industry. She says: *"I feel like we are trying to learn our position on things and find our way in society. Not compromise our values, but still make it in this world. It's a very complex time"* (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016).



Figure 3: Native Hawaiian fighting for sovereignty 2009, Marco Garcia/AP

As a response to this activism, projects were created by the government to increase involvement of Native Hawaiians in the development of the island. An example is the governmental department called 'Hawaiian Home lands' that works with Native Hawaiians on various issues like the affordable housing issue (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016).

Statements of being a Native and thus different and more 'unique' than other inhabitants of the island could empower the Natives by claiming Native cultural and political identities and rights (Franklin & Lyons, 2004). However, the fight to

be recognized as true Native Hawaiians and gain the same (land) rights as the Native Indians has initially failed and is still on-going (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). Some Hawaiians have secluded their Native Hawaiian communities as much as they can from 'mahilini', including touristic, influences. An example is the more than 50% Native Hawaiian community of Waianea on the island of O'ahu, where mahilini and their influence are not welcome to the point that Caucasian research interviewers are recommended not to go there solo without inside connections (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016). Another example is the seventh largest island of Hawai'i called Niihau that was sold to a Native Hawaiian family in 1864 by king Kamehameha for 10.000 dollars. A requirement to buy the island was that the buyers would promise to preserve the Native Hawaiian language on the island, the culture and Niihau's way of life (Herreria, 2016). To this day, the private island is very insulated from the outside world, without cars and shops, and without any tourists or other 'malihini' (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016).

5. Perspectives

This chapter discusses the various perspectives of mentioned key stakeholders of the tourist industry in Hawai'i on the sociocultural consequences of tourism in Hawai'i. The main focus will be on the perspective of Native Hawaiians, as they are the central focus-group of this thesis. Other discussed stakeholders are tourists, Hawaiians or locals and the government of Hawai'i and the tourist industry. The subchapters first describe who belongs to the stakeholder group, then discusses the perspectives. A summary and short analysis of these perspectives can be found in the empathy maps in appendix 3. The information provided in this chapter is mainly based on conducted observations and interviews, but also uses official reports and academic literature to support claims.

5.1 Native Hawaiians

As mentioned in the 'terminology' subchapter, Native Hawaiians are people that have *kanaka maoli*, pure-blooded Hawaiians, somewhere in their bloodline. Preferably a high percentage, which translates to a quarter or more. Native Hawaiians practice the Hawaiian culture as correctly as possible and have partly been passed on parts of the culture by their ancestors, the *kupuna*, or intensively studied them in books or with others.

5.1.1 Perspective

Native Hawaiian people are throughout history and by current Native Hawaiians themselves often described as very 'chill' people, fully embracing the Aloha spirit. This could also often be translated into a people that is very adaptable, changing to and accepting new circumstances easily (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017; Dec. 16, 2016). During the overthrow of the monarchy, the Queen Liliuokalani was without any violence or resistance imprisoned in her own home. This underlines the warm and hospitable non-violent nature of Native Hawaiians. At first, the *malihini* were warmly welcomed. After the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, the Native Hawaiian people adapted. Then, generations later, people learned about the past and with today's view, judged what

happened as injustice and unfair (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). The Native Hawaiians feel like they should hold all of the cards, but they do not. To a certain extent, whether they choose to push back politically or not, most of the Native Hawaiians feel “*screwed over*” by not only the tourist industry, but also the government and Obama, who was born in Hawai’i and promised to give Hawaiians the equivalent legal standing to American Indians and Native Alaskans (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016; Nov-Jan, 2016-2017).

5.1.2 Guiding principles and values

The Native Hawaiians value the following principles when it comes to guiding principles and values of the tourist industry: Harmony, nourishing the land, responsibility, hospitality and ‘welcome’ (Hawai’i Tourism Authority, 2005; pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017).

5.1.2.1 Lökahi

Lökahi, harmony, literally means agreement, unity or accord (Hawai’i Tourism Authority, 2005). The Native Hawaiians value working together toward a common goal with a positive impact for all parties involved. However, nowadays the Native Hawaiians miss this harmony between all stakeholders involved. They say the government bows down to the tourist industry and does not involve Native Hawaiians close to enough (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016; Dec 8, 2016; Dec. 15, 2016). They feel like the current situation is very top-down governed and does not represent Hawai’i in a true way. In government, but especially in the tourist industry, Native Hawaiians are often very low on the power scale. A Native Hawaiian tour guide said: “*I cannot name a single Hawaiian or Native Hawaiian person in the board of any place*” (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016). He went abroad to Japan to study, as following higher education is very hard for Native Hawaiians to do on the islands and notes that for his high ambitions, there are very few options outside the entertainment industry on the islands. He and also other Hawaiian interviewees note that in order to get most jobs in Hawai’i, they should keep nepotism in mind as this is often the only way to actually get a job (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016; Dec. 15, 2016; Jan-Nov, 2016-2017).

Native Hawaiians are in the tourist industry often not the organizers or planners of touristic activities or companies, but they are the entertainers with almost no say in what or how things are organized in the tourist industry (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016; Dec. 8, 2016; Dec. 15, 2016). In the beginning of tourism in Hawai'i and its cultural commodification, Hawaiians participated because of their sense of pride in their culture, willingly showing it to the outside world and believing it could truly contribute the audience (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). They organized their own luau shows, cooked their own traditional dinners for the audience and had control over the situation. A few decades later, external people, the ha'ole or malihini took over control of these shows, transforming the Native Hawaiians into the powerless entertainers we know today. The Native Hawaiians nowadays feel exploited, like their hands are twisted and they have not only no say in things, but also cannot refuse to work as an entertainer because there are too few other jobs they can do on the islands. *"Right now, it feels like we are prostituting ourselves and selling ourselves, because we have no other option"* said a Native Hawaiian interviewee (pers. comm., Dec. 15, 2016). Today, Native Hawaiians want not just if lucky a counselling role, but want to be able to make and enforce decisions on the islands as well. The Native Hawaiians nowadays are disempowered which resulted in the alternation of the portrayed culture and its products. While cultural commodification could be used by the holders of this culture to use as a political instrument or a way to construct their identity, the unique situation in Hawai'i where the commodified culture belongs to a minority group within the huge American culture, interferes with this.

5.1.2.2 Mälama yäina

Mälama yäina means 'nourishing the land'. The kanaka maoli saw themselves as the embodiment or stewards of the ocean and the land, nourishing life on earth (Hawai'i Tourism Authority, 2005). It is of utmost importance to Native Hawaiians that the fragile natural environment and its resources are carefully protected, nurtured and preserved in order for future generations to also be able to enjoy them. This principle, however, is not taken into account enough

according to the Native Hawaiians by the tourist industry. Because Hawai'i is a group of islands, there is a carrying capacity, a limit to how much buildings can be built. Nowadays, Native Hawaiians have the opinion that there is a bigger demand of tourist facilities and activities, than can or especially should be supplied (pers. comm., Nov. 22, 2016; Nov. 24, 2016; Dec. 8, 2016; Dec. 15, 2016; Jan. 11, 2017). The building of resorts and others demolishes or disturb sacred Native Hawaiian locations. Native Hawaiians feel like they pay a much higher price for the current huge number of tourists, than gain. There are signs all over the islands with statements like "*Keep Hawai'i Hawaiian*" or "*Keep the country country*", not wanting the countryside to also be swallowed by the tourist industry. A Native Hawaiian university student interviewee said: "*We value the land: You won't see Hawaiians littering. We believe in value and natural resources. I was taught to go places and harvest things and eat things right off the land. Hawaiians are very accountable. You see tourists and other visitors, and they are here only for a little while and they trash the place, because they are going away anyways*" (pers. comm., Nov. 22, 2016). He also suggests an incentive of sorts for Hawaiians to buy local land: "*We have all of the shitty land for our Hawaiian homes, far away in the mountains. New owners that are not residents should get a big tax when they want to buy land*".

Buildings built for the tourist industry like massive and expensive malls in Waikiki, cater solely the tourists. The mall Ala Moana used to be a mall for the Hawaiians. Now that the same mall has been rebuilt to cater the tourists, the mall has become too expensive for the Hawaiians. Native Hawaiians feel like anything traditional is being taken away to make it appealing to tourists. Native Hawaiian teacher said: "*They're trying to make Waikiki look like that street in New York with all these places and stores normal people cannot afford. I don't like this aspect of tourism.*"

The huge number of tourists not only disturbs the land, according to Native Hawaiian interviewees, but also the ocean. The jet skis and boats, the scuba divers and unknowing snorkelers destroy the corals and disturb the sea life (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). Although there are some projects addressing these issues, like the mandatory educative film tourists have to see before being

allowed to go to Hanauma bay to explore the reef, the counter actions are not yet enough to make a true impact. The continuation of the degradation of Native habitats and drinkable water resources as well as the disturbance and destruction of ocean life, increase the sensitivity of Native Hawaiians towards tourism notably (Cox et al, 2008).



Figure 4: Protestors in 2015 protesting against the build of a telescope on Native Hawaiian sacred ground, Cory Lum 2015

Native Hawaiian interviewees explain that the successful protest against the build of a massive telescope on ground sacred to Native Hawaiian was a huge turning point for the control they felt they had in their islands: *“It was also a symbol for other Native Hawaiians that were trying to stand up for things”* (pers. comm., Nov. 22, 2016). Nowadays, groups Native Hawaiians and locals are continuously fighting the expansion of the tourist industry by posting signs on the country site saying *“Keep the Country Country”*. They realize that a lot of damage has been done in the past and is irreversible. Sacred sites have either been demolished or degraded to a point where they have lost all the cultural significance (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). They wish to save whatever is left, and came through as citizens and voted for people they felt like would defend their rights as Native Hawaiians and stop the further designation of sacred sites (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016).

5.1.2.3 Kuleana

Kuleana means 'responsibility' in Hawaiian. This value revolves around the view that all visitor industry stakeholders have the responsibility to work on the future well-being of Hawai'i for all residents as a place to live, but also a place worthy to visit. This means there have to be active synergies and collaborations, participation and cooperation from all stakeholders necessary to achieve a sustainable tourist industry (Hawai'i Tourism Authority, 2005). As seen in the previous values, the Native Hawaiians think there is a lot to improve when it comes to the responsibility value. They think the values and needs of current residents should be more important than the values and needs of tourists (pers. comm., Dec. 15, 2016). They believe that if the residents live in a nice place, the tourists will want to come naturally to the islands. While environmental and social responsible tourism is on the rise in Hawai'i, it does not have an enough impact as of yet because of the huge numbers of tourism that as of today still increase with about 30.000 tourists a year (Hawai'i Tourism Authority, 2017).

The Native Hawaiians do not view the current tourist industry as sustainable in both sociocultural as environmental aspects and do not think the tourist industry initiates or takes enough responsibility to change this. The concern of the Native Hawaiians and other inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands translated in various actions, like the legislative initiative in 2007 to put a cap on the visitor numbers, as well as create opposition in Hawai'i to having or building short-term accommodations in residential neighbourhoods (Cox et al., 2008). Even though the government recognized the concerns by initiating a new task force focused on reaching a certain level of sustainability and self-sufficiency by 2050, the current strategic tourism plans still suggest expanding the scope of tourism development and does not focus on long-term cultural and environmental issues the Native Hawaiians addressed (Cox et al., 2008). They want the tourist industry and the government to not mostly prioritize economic benefits, but also take responsibility for the current sensitive sociocultural and environmental situation and work together with all stakeholders to put the mass tourism on the islands on a more sustainable path.

5.1.2.4 Hojokipa

Hojokipa means hospitality in Hawaiian. This value revolves around the traditional cultural value of Native Hawaiians to properly host visitors, invited or not. While the modern Native Hawaiians still enjoy educating and showing malihini their culture, the fact that they are feeling bitterness towards the same malihini shows how their culture is strongly affected by mass tourism. There is a movement of seclusion among the Native Hawaiians, where they try to reduce any contact with malihini and being everything but hospitable because of their bitterness towards malihini.

The number of visitors has become too massive according to Native Hawaiians, reducing the quality and hospitality the visitors get from Hawaiians but also the liveability of the Hawaiians on their own islands. Native Hawaiian teacher said: *“You can’t have tourists without all the hotels. But if we love the land, and we want to protect the land, then we have to stop building, because the land is completely topped out already, the infrastructure is already messed up and we have constant sewage spills. We cannot handle the population and the demand we have right now, yet they just keep building. There is only so much you can tax on an island.”* (pers. comm., Dec. 15, 2016). While it is in the Native Hawaiian culture to be hospitable, the Native Hawaiians have reached their limit and feel like they cannot *properly* host malihini, as these malihini they want to host, decrease their own livability also suffers by the vast amount of tourists. Native Hawaiians do recognize they nowadays need tourists as they are necessary for the economy and that too many changes have been made to go back to how it used to be. Hawaiians would love to host malihinis in the best way possible, but the number of manihili should be limited to a reasonable amount. While Hawaiians are very hospitable, they do not mean to be swallowed by tourism. Native Hawaiians want to live in their Hawai’i, and separate their residency from the tourism ‘madness’ (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016; Dec. 15, 2016). Nowadays, that has become impossible.

5.1.2.5 Aloha

Aloha means welcome in the Hawaiian language, 'alo' meaning to face or to join and 'ha' meaning the breath of life. This value refers to the Aloha Spirit, but mostly focusses on representing the spirit of the original people of the land, the kanaka maoli. The Native Hawaiians have always taken pride in hosting and entertaining malihini and showing them their culture, as they truly believe they have something worthy to teach and show the world (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). The tourist industry commodifies and highlights this 'Otherness' of the Native Hawaiian people. The hula has been transformed from a 'material commodity', into an abstract commodity mixing Hawaiian hula with the Tahitian more sexual dance, selling an experience: Romance (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017). The current tourist industry has likewise transformed many other Hawaiian cultural aspects into something that sells well. Many Luau shows actually portray other cultures than the Hawaiian culture, without informing the malihini audience of this fact (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). These misinterpretations of the Hawaiian culture keeps growing, to a point where going back to the pure hula is near to impossible. The Native Hawaiian people see this as "*a real shame*" and want to practice and show malihini their true culture (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). The fact that the shows sold to tourists as Hawaiian are not truly Hawaiian, contributes greatly to the current bitterness of Native Hawaiians towards tourism.

The commodification of the culture sells a feeling, sells new exotic experiences. There are many mixed feelings towards the commodification of the culture, not just among locals but also Native Hawaiians. Native Hawaiian language teacher mentions how she often heard the terms "prostituting your culture" at university in Hawaiian classes when discussing the tourism circumstances, while in the previous century this subject was not as common to discuss as openly (pers. comm., Dec. 24, 2016). The Hawaiians also perceive positive sides of the commodification of their culture, like how hula dancing has become much stronger, attracting a lot of curiosity especially from the Japanese (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016). This interest of the Japanese in the hula, has strengthened the hula in Hawai'i as it helped gain respect as a form of art outside of Hawai'i and

traditional hula gained financial support in this way (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016). Native Hawaiians and locals also see downsides of the commodification of the hula, calling the available plastic hula girls for dashboards a “*mockery*” of the sacred Native Hawaiian dance (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). Native Hawaiians view this as demeaning and disgraceful and want to sensitize business operators and owners to the need to preserve *authentic* Native Hawaiian culture (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). Aside from the hula, other parts of the Native Hawaiian culture commodified are parts of the traditional clothing and traditions like the leis and traditional food.

A big part of incoming and outgoing flights in Honolulu exist of tourists excited to visit the Hawaiian village, a tourist attraction. According to both locals and Native Hawaiians, it is one of the most misinterpreted places on the island, sketching a superficial picture of Hawai’i (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). The Native Hawaiians dislike how uninformed the tourists in Hawai’i are of what it means to carry various leis or what they represent. A Native Hawaiian student said: *“I used to sew leis for tourists. They stand for unity and branding ... Sometimes it is portrayed a little weirdly. They [tourists] just watch dances and don’t know the meaning behind it. It would be nice to be able to show more details and explain the meaning and story behind dances. Tourists just eat anything up, fake or not, it doesn’t really matter, as long as the story is good”* (pers. comm., Nov. 22, 2016). Other Native Hawaiians shared his sentiment, mentioning how tourists are educated on a different and untrue Hawai’i. If tourists were better educated towards the true culture and its uniqueness, like what according to them was still represented in the 1950s, the Native Hawaiians would not mind the commodification of their culture as much (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016). *“I went to the opening of the international market place in Waikiki ... They pointed to these artefacts, saying how they represented Hawai’i its rain and other things. They were untrue, they just made it up for the media. During the construction of the museum, they wanted to expose of a sacred Hawaiian tree. You take out the tree, everyone would have revolted. It shows their ignorance”*, said a Native Hawaiian Waikiki tour guide (pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016). While the Native Hawaiians do not hate the commodification of their culture when they have a say, the portrayed culture is practiced correctly and explained to tourists, people working in the tourist

industry and some locals and native Hawaiians mention the re-venting of the culture is alright as there is value too: *“No preachy things, it puts people off, especially when they are here only for a short while. Little small doses of education hidden away and not obviously educational is the best way to go. Going back to the original way is not the way to go”* (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016).

The Native Hawaiians prior reason to preserve their culture is not like the tourist industry for touristic reasons, but to embrace their traditional culture themselves and only then share it with others. Native Hawaiian language teacher stated: *“I feel when I am dancing the hula with my [deceased] mother, I am dancing with the right motivation, for her. I don’t know how it is received, but we’re presenting. We’re being as authentic as we can be. We are not just putting on a blingy show”* (pers. comm., Dec. 16, 2016). By defining a culture as something sellable, authenticity is reduced because in general, sold cultural products lose their meaning for the Natives (Cohen, 1988; Cole, 2007). This, in its turn, plays a part in *identity development*. As mentioned, there are authenticity issues among the Native Hawaiians: Many that claim to be Native Hawaiian have also adopted many American aspects like eating hamburgers at, pointing at cultural hybridity. Because their original culture has been commodified for centuries, it can be hard to determine what aspects of their so perceived Native Hawaiian culture exactly is truly authentic and what was not. The Native Hawaiians do in general feel exploited and as they say prostituted, as the cultural aspects commodified do not involve their say or approval and are often misinterpreted. They have noticed that only now, when tourism became more interested in true authentic experiences, the government and the tourist industry have decided to aid retrieving and preserving their traditional culture. They wish to preserve their authenticity for their own cultural and emotional gain instead of monetary reasons, but welcome the aid (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017).

5.1.3 Summarizing

The Native Hawaiians have a complicated relationship with the tourist industry. Native Hawaiians have a lower level of support for the tourist industry than any other stakeholder and are at the same time less aware of initiatives and available support (OmniTrak Group Inc., 2010). The tourist industry in Hawai'i does not have the reputation amongst especially Native Hawaiian residents, of representing, aiding and respecting the Native Hawaiian culture authentically. Many Native Hawaiians strongly believe that the tourist industry contributed to the degradation of their cultural values, compromised their cultural integrity in the global market place, diminished their presence in Hawai'i's visitor centers, devalued their sacred places, and compromised a Native Hawaiian sense of place in tourist places like Waikiki. Native Hawaiian musicians and dancers feel 'dispensable' because their services are the first ones to be ended when the tourist industry has to cut their budget. This is in a sense ironic, as Native Hawaiians are better at hospitality than anyone else, arising questions whether or not this form of tourism is sustainable. Native Hawaiians believe that the current model is based on 'customer first', instead of a good balance between tourist population, Hawaiian population and the environment. This distorts the Hawaiian culture and the landscapes, according to Native Hawaiians. They feel that even before the Hawaiian population, the place should come first in order to preserve the 'dignity and cultural landscape' of Hawai'i as essential assets for both populations.

In general, the Native Hawaiians are bitter towards the current tourist industry as the number of tourists is too vast, they have no real say or benefits but do suffer costs of mass tourism and their culture is miss-portrayed and exploited. The current way the tourist industry is organized is not sustainable in any way, and results in Native Hawaiians being less hospitable or not hospitable at all towards tourism. In some extreme cases, Native Hawaiians seclude themselves as much as they can from malihini influences. Native Hawaiians in general wish for the tourist industry to become a more sociocultural and environmental sustainable industry where the industry is organized around the terms of Native Hawaiians as it is in their eyes their land and their culture the tourists visit the

islands for. They do not want this for monetary reasons solely, but mostly because Native Hawaiians want *“to retrieve their lost history and want to continue on with it. They want to embrace their cultural practices and share them on their terms. The modern Native Hawaiians highly value that all of them remember who they are as a people”* (pers. comm., Dec. 15, 2016).

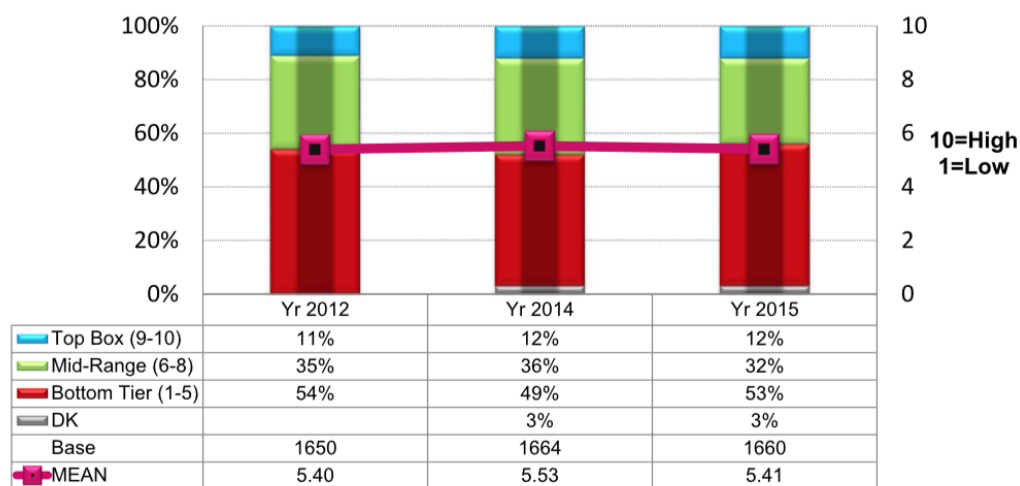
This means the culture and environment of the area and their traditional way of life should be taken into account much more; the local population should be involved and approve happenings in the tourist industry and they should have a certain degree of local control; benefits and costs should be distributed fairly unlike now where mostly mahilini profit from the tourist industry and the Hawaiians are stuck with economic disproportions like expensive housing; tourism should be managed in a way that regards the protection and preservation of the natural environment for future generations; other economic sectors should also be invested in and possibly integrated in the tourist industry; the impacts of the tourist industry should constantly be measured and evaluated to counter negative effects timely (Cox et al., 2008; pers. comm., Nov. 24, 2016, Dec. 15, 2016). A Native Hawaiian tourism advisory board member mentioned: *“Native Hawaiians would welcome culturally appropriate opportunities that tourism offers as a window to the world, as we [Native Hawaiians] believe we have something worthwhile to contribute to the betterment of conditions of mankind”* (John M. Knox @ Associates, p. 44, 2004).

5.2 Hawaiians

Hawaiians or locals are ones that do not necessarily have to be born on the island or have to have a high percentage of kanaka maoli blood, but have to be familiar with Hawaiian mannerism. They have to be willing to adapt to the Hawaiian way of living to a degree. Hawaiians are often of different roots and often identify as other ethnicities as well. In this subchapter, Hawaiians could be translated into the general population of Hawai'i. The sources of this subchapter are mostly recent surveys conducted by the government, the Hawaii Tourism Authority and the university of Honolulu, as well as interviews.

5.2.1 Perspective

The Hawaiians or locals mostly agree with the Native Hawaiians about the consequences of mass tourism on Hawai'i, and would be alright to put a cap on the number of visitors. The following table portrays the votes of hundreds of residents of the islands with different ethnic roots, whether or not they believe the current Native Hawaiian culture is displayed in a true authentic way. Only about 10% of the respondents truly believe it is, and about half of the respondents disagree.

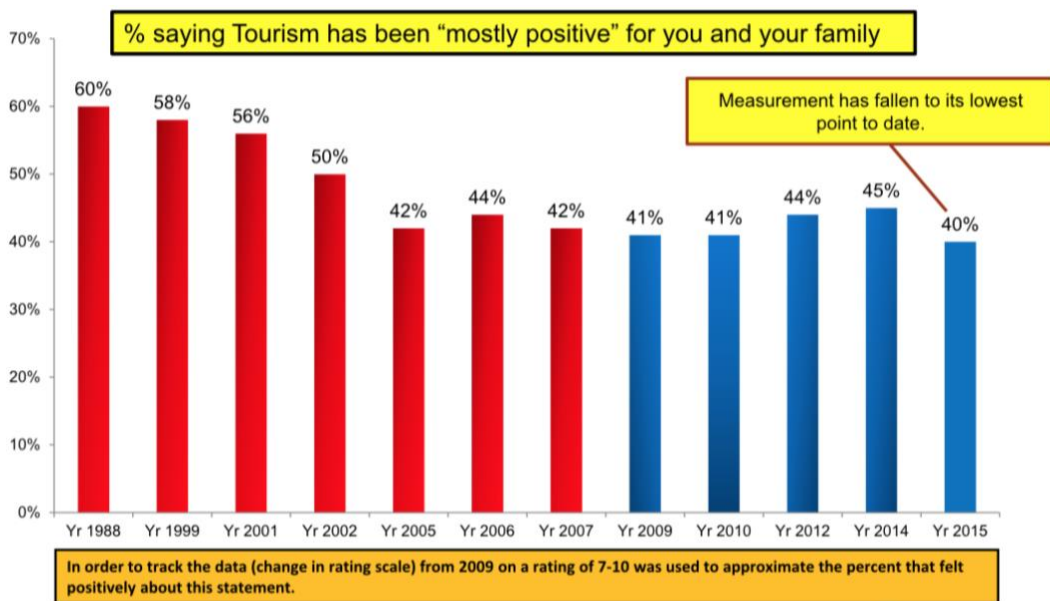


Q. Using a 10-point scale where 10 means Completely Agree and 1 means Do Not Agree at All, how much do you agree or disagree that...?



Table 2: Whether or not residents agree that tourism currently presents Native Hawaiian culture in an authentic manner, Qmark 2016 p.17

A big difference between Native Hawaiians and Hawaiians, is that Hawaiians are often introduced to the islands because of tourism in a way. The biggest struggles with consequences of mass tourism for Hawaiians are economical, instead of like Native Hawaiians sociocultural or environmental. The priority of the tourist industry and the government to cater to tourists is also notable to 'regular' Hawaiians. The majority of the houses in Hawai'i should be renovated, lots of public services like the maintenance of the sewage system are neglected and issues like flooding are not addressed enough according to Hawaiians (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). The following graph shows that more than half of the Hawaiian population would categorize the impacts tourism has had on their families as negative.



Q. Using a 10-point scale where 10 means Extremely Positive and 1 means Extremely Negative, how would you rate the overall impact tourism has on...you and your family?



Table 3: Impact of Tourism on residential families, Qmark Research, 2016, p.8)

The following table illustrates that more than half of the Hawaiians agree that the island is run for tourists at the expense of themselves.

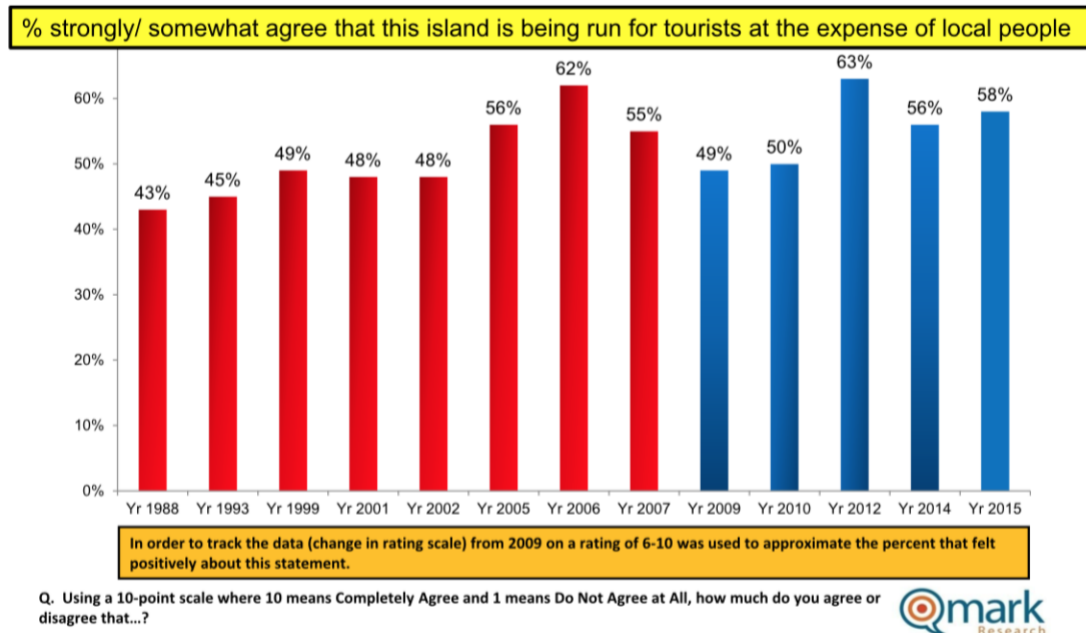


Table 4: Whether or not residents feel like this island is being run for tourists at the expense of local people, Qmark Research, 2016, p.14

There are aside from struggles with economic consequences of mass tourism, also sociocultural struggles Hawaiians have to deal with. Something lots of Hawaiians would like to see changed, is the attitude of tourists towards Hawaiians and other inhabitants of the island (pers. comm., Dec. 15, 2016). A Hawaiian Uber driver said in an interview: *“A lot of tourists like the Japanese come here, and walk across the street without checking for cars and making eye contact with the drivers and can be run over. It will be the driver’s fault if that happens. White people do the same ... I guess on the mainland, they are all incosiderate”* (pers. comm., Dec. 15, 2016). The Hawaiians also agree that the tourist industry should support the original Native Hawaiian culture, such as focussing on the true hula, lei-making and music (OmniTrak Group Inc., 2010). Unlike many of today’s Native Hawaiians, locals/Hawaiians see the beauty of Hawai’i’s multiple cultures as no one feels a stranger here and combine various cultures (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017). They feel, according to a Hawaiian PhD researcher, that one of the eventual sociocultural consequences of mass tourism is the birth of many festivals based on various cultural traditions, the Filipino culture being the biggest present culture.

A resident report shows that Hawaiians agree with the statement that less funds should be spent on the promotion of tourism than what is spent nowadays (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). Assuming that the majority of residents in Hawaiian neighbourhoods are Hawaiian, another resident survey summarized the overall attitude of residents (78%) towards tourism in 2009 as favourable however (OmniTrak Group Inc., 2010). Even though there are definitely some struggles according to Hawaiians with the current tourism industry, still close to 80% of residents agree that tourism has brought “more benefits than problems to the State”. They acknowledge that the major benefit is economic. The least favourable audience to tourism are as discussed Natives. Hawaiians recognize that the role of the tourist industry is inadequate when it comes to helping to preserve the Hawaiian culture and sustain natural resources. If Hawai’i were to culturally and societally transform into the Southwest California Islands, many mass-market tourists would feel a sense of loss, but the loss the residents would feel would be tremendous (John M. Knox @ Associates, 2004).

5.3 Tourists

This subchapter revolves around tourists, their interests and how they hope tourism in Hawai'i develops. This subchapter shortly discusses the perspectives of tourists in Hawai'i, what the tourists are interested in and what is most popular amongst tourists, in order to gain a better understanding of where the tourist industry in the future could be headed.

5.3.1 Developments and perspective

What tourists want greatly varies between nationalities and throughout time. In the 1980s, tourism planners were talking about contained tourist areas, which has become impossible today. Two modern factors increased this spill over effect: The increased interest of tourists in outdoor resources and the recreational real estate developments that allows off-resort building (John M. Knox @ Associates, 2004). Nowadays, a big percentage of especially Western tourists are look for authentic experiences and are on a mission to discover what no one else has seen before them (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017). Most tourists are repeating visitors and do not only want to go to resorts, the beach and Waikiki anymore. They are interested in the genuine traditional lifestyle of Native Hawaiians, which can be seen as ironic as the mostly Caucasian tourist industry has not prioritized the people practicing these traditions (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). These tourists look for genuine, new experiences like how residential areas look like, how locals live their actual lives, where they do their shopping and what local food places are popular amongst locals (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2016). The more authentic a culture *seems* to be, the more value (pers. comm., Nov-Jan, 2016-2017). An example of this is how an early movie about Hawai'i like *Waikiki Wedding* portrays Native Hawaiian-like workers banging on drums on a pineapple plantation. This ironic element of authenticity causes the reflexive desire among the audience to see this experience themselves, as it adds value to them because it is perceived as authentic, real or imagined. A local university professor interviewee philosophises how more everyone in Hawai'i tries to preserve the authentic culture of Native Hawaiians, the better off members of that culture are and the better off they are as a tourist destination as authenticity adds value (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). This development in interest

of tourists, means that the 'spill over' effect of tourists outside resort areas and areas like Waikiki is increasing, against wishes of Native Hawaiians and most Hawaiians. The Asian tourists are in general the biggest group interested in visiting 'artificial' and obviously staged tourist attractions like Waikiki, big shows with fireworks, today's luau shows, casinos or big malls with fancy stores (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017; pers. comm., Jan-Nov, 2016-2017).

Most tourists have no idea when something is truly genuine or when a situation is staged. The majority of 'new experience hunters' and other malihini living on the islands mostly care about Hawai'i remaining its exotic cultural "*main flavour*", often not knowing what is actually Hawaiian or not. Recent malihini resident, professor of the university of Hawai'i, noted: "*Even if Hawaiian culture loses some features, it is strong enough to remain its main flavour. That is alright. It is a cost of tourism, and that is ok. Instead of complaining, I think it is a good balance*" (pers. comm., Dec. 8, 2016). While this new shift of tourists, other malihini and the current tourist industry see what is perceived as the Native Hawaiian culture and the natural beauty of the islands as a true asset, the Native Hawaiians see it as a necessary and sabotaged part of their lives. Many first time tourists stay in resort areas and do the standard tourism activities. Tourists that have been coming to Hawai'i for years are however trying new things, far away from these tourist areas and notice the shift in hospitality when looking for this authentic experience in residential areas and especially in areas known for being Native Hawaiian like Waianea. Tourists coming to Hawai'i, expecting to hear the Hawaiian language spoken in casual conversations, see Native people climbing in palm trees and dancing the hula freely on the beach outside from shows, return home disappointed. While some tourists love the light shows in Waikiki, putting on leis and singing 'Tiny bubbles', other tourists try to stay as far away as possible (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017).

5.4 Government and Tourist Industry

The subchapter includes the policy makers, the relevant governmental departments and all 'higher-ups' in the tourist industry. These two different stakeholders, government and tourist industry, were put together in one subchapter as they share the same vision and enforce one another. The main sources of this subchapter are annual reports and interviews.

5.4.1 Developments and perspectives

The government is aware of the declining increase of annual visitors and is focussing on other industries besides tourism, like medical services and defence (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2016). There are two different agencies in the government that work with Native Hawaiians: The department of Hawaiian affairs and a department called department of Hawaiian home lands. These departments were created in order to protect and improve the lives of Native Hawaiians, and were created during Statehood, when the Native Hawaiian generations from that time were voicing complaints about the history between the U.S. and the former Kingdom of Hawai'i (Hawai'i.gov, 2018; pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017).

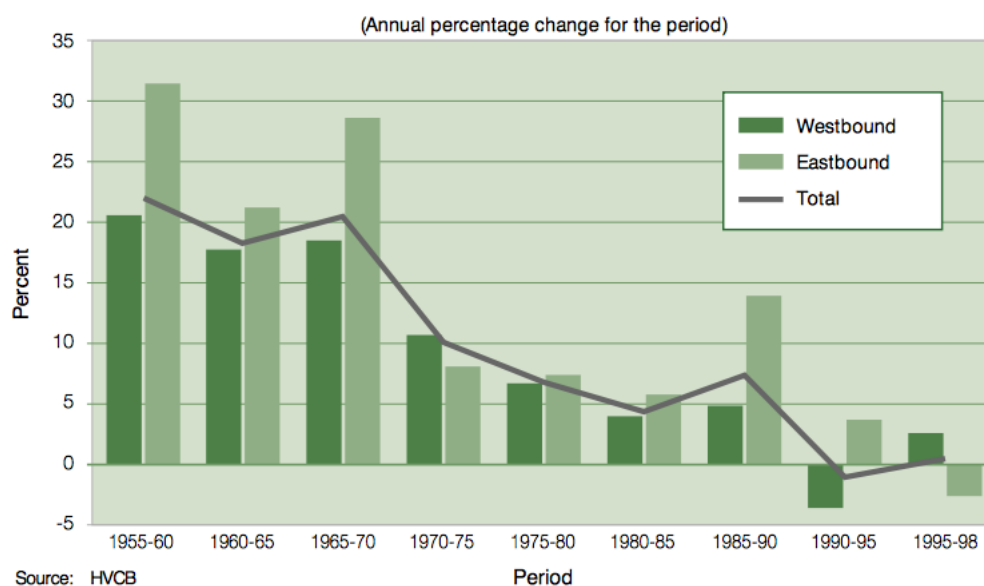


Table 5: Growth in Visitor Arrivals 1995-1998, Naya 1999 p.3

The government has realized new tourist activities had to be added and their strategy and priorities had to change in order to adjust to the status of being a mature tourist industry (table 5). They created the Hawai'i Tourism Authority as product of public-private sector, to review their approach to the economy, being

responsible for future development and marketing of tourism (Naya, 1999). This “New Beginning” for tourism launched by HTA, focussed according to them more on having a sustainable form of tourism and making tourism a positive benefit to all residents of Hawai’i.

The tourist industry was at crossroads in 1995-2010. They had to make a decision, whether to focus on domestic or international tourism. Domestic tourists showed signs of becoming ‘disenchanted’ with Hawai’i. While the mass-market tourists would feel the loss of authenticity, it would not sway them too much. The upscale market however would view the loss of identity of Hawai’i a very problematic happening (John M. Knox @ Associates, 2004).

The international tourists however, especially the Asian tourists, stay in tourist areas much more than the domestic audience. As can be seen in table 6, the Japanese and other Asian tourists are bigger spenders and include many first time visitors as there are many upcoming strong economies in Asia, like China (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017; John M. Knox @ Associates, 2004).

Arrivals by Air									Arrivals by Cruise
U.S. West	U.S. East	Japan	Canada	Europe	Oceania	Other Asia	Latin America	Other	
\$139.60	\$162.00	\$232.10	\$110.50	\$131.10	\$127.10	\$149.60	\$117.10	\$136.90	\$98.70
Source: DBEDT on-line monthly statistics: www.Hawai'i.gov/dbedt/monthly/2002exp.xls									

Table 6: Daily spending of different ethnicities in 2002, Knox 2004 p.26

The tourist industry decided to focus their marketing on international markets, with Japan, Korea and China as their focus markets (pers. comm., Jan. 11, 2017). Nowadays most domestic or Western tourists visit neighbouring islands, while the majority of Asian visitors visit O’ahu (Naya, 1999).

The tourist industry, led by the Hawai’i Tourism Authority, created in 2016 a new five-year strategic plan to develop tourism. The following four goals are centralized in their plan(Hawai’i Tourism Authority, 2016):

1. Improve the integrity of Hawai’i. With this, they mean to balance the needs of tourists, community members and the destination itself. Their

aim is to increase community support for tourism and with it increase hospitality.

2. Ensure stable economic benefits. This involves marketing and cultivating new arrivals and increasing the expenditures of the tourists by creating new spending opportunities and attracting tourists that have a high daily spending. The focus is on Korean, Chinese and Japanese tourists.
3. Elevate Hawai'i's value perception. They mean to increase the number of visitors by improving air access to Hawai'i, protect the hospitable, exotic and unique Hawaiian brand and meet the expectations of traveller's experience, accommodation and infrastructure wise. They want to differentiate Hawai'i by promoting authentic experiences unique to Hawai'i, living up to experiences and justification of value for costs.
4. Strengthen the reputation of HTA in order to be an effective tourism leader. Ensure transparency and accountability.

These goals show the shift of the tourist industry to Asian markets and back to creating *authentic* Native Hawaiian experiences as they seem to be necessary for the continuation of successful tourism in Hawai'i. The goals also show that the tourist industry has noted the dissatisfaction of community members. The goals however still focus on expanding the tourist industry, which means more tourists, continuation of building resorts and other buildings to the dismay of residents and especially Native Hawaiians. Policy makers responded to the concerns of Native Hawaiians and residents by creating the Sustainability 20150 Task Force that engages public participation and designing a vision of self-sufficiency. Today's climate on Hawai'i is however still economically focussed, taking away resources from the efforts to check cultural and environmental degradation, the insensitivity of the state and the tourist industry toward the social and cultural structure of Native Hawaiians. It also adds to the unease the residents of Hawai'i and the Native Hawaiians feel towards the status quo, which needs to be addressed according to them.

6. Conclusion

To analyse the current complex sociocultural situation of mass tourism on Native Hawaiians and understand various perspectives, the historic happenings cannot be overlooked. The exotic image of the paradise of Hawai'i people think of when thinking of Hawai'i was created centuries ago, when the commodification of the Native Hawaiian people was not an issue yet, as perceived by the Natives themselves. Their hospitable and politically passive attitude alongside with their willingness to perform their traditions, contributed to the marketing of Hawai'i as a peaceful, unique and romantic place. Decades of advertising the islands this way, shaped the assumptions of tourists. These assumptions are no longer accurate. Tourists in general do not test the images created by advertising with the reality, but test the reality by the image they perceive as authentic.

After the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai'i and eventually the statehood, Native Hawaiians began to lose their cultural Native Hawaiian identities, and became an encapsulated marginalized community as they stopped practicing essential parts of their original Hawaiian culture and adapted the culture of their new environment. This made the Natives feel like they were culturally homeless (pers. comm., Nov-Jan., 2016-2017).

Cultural commodification can be practiced by anyone with or without the consent of the participants. This has eventually resulted in the exploitation of the Native Hawaiians. The Native Hawaiians have for decades been treated like, and in turn felt like, third rate citizens, ashamed of being Hawaiian. Nowadays, the Native Hawaiians are trying to break this status quo and have started to re-awaken their traditional cultural identity as Native Hawaiians instead of a mix between cultures. They wish for their people to remember who they are and are once again proud to be true Hawaiians. This has transformed them from an encapsulated marginalized people, into a constructive marginalized people. They are taking an active role in constructing their identity and easily switch between their cultural identities, picking the Native Hawaii identity as the most important one.

Where the Hawaiians were once peacefully performing for audiences, Native Hawaiians have now become bitter towards the tourist industry and 'malihini' influences in general as a result of their low rate of participation and low place on the power scale. They dislike how the commodification of the traditional Hawaiian culture has transformed the culture into something it has never been and something that is not authentic, misleading the audiences and degrading their culture. Native Hawaiians wish to have more of a say in matters and to commodify their culture on their terms instead of the terms of people that know nothing of the true traditional culture they commodify. The Native Hawaiians feel that the only way to be truly heard and have a say, is by protesting and getting the attention of the media. The past decade, they have fought against projects of both the government and the tourist industry by publicly protesting.

The tourist industry and the government are starting to notice the resentment of Native Hawaiians and other residents towards the tourist industry and are trying to address this by creating associations protecting and preserving Native Hawaiian culture and conducting surveys amongst residents. The tourist industry of Hawai'i has matured, especially amongst the Western tourists, resulting in a shift of the tourist industry to Asian tourists and the focus on creating more authentic experiences for other tourists like the International Market place.

The Native Hawaiians and many locals wish for the tourist industry to stop expanding and put either a cap on visitor numbers or stop funding tourism marketing so massively. While the tourist industry is nowadays trying to diversify economically, tourism remains the number one industry. It is predicted that within years, the growth rate of the tourists will however become even more flat, putting an end to the endless construction of resorts. The many tourists have caused living on the islands to be very expensive. According to residents and Native Hawaiians, the focus of the government has become the tourists instead of the residents, leading to not just a degraded culture, resentment towards tourists, but also degraded streets, sewage systems and housing. The tourist industry seems to have taken notice, and seems to start

working on economical, political, environmental and socio-cultural sustainable tourism., involving locals and Native Hawaiians.

6.1 The Framework

Cultural commodification can occur alongside with marginalization, but can also stand apart. Both however can happen when mass tourism is present. The development of identity is not just an indicator for marginalization, it also says something about how severe cultural commodification affects the Hawaiians. The commodification of cultural traditions and products can decrease the authenticity and value of these things for Natives, and develop another layer of identity. The degree a community participates with or does not participate with mayor changes made in their direct environments, also has influence on the development of identity. Authenticity seems to be unimportant to a big part of the Asian tourists. However, it can be argued that without authenticity or staging, cultural commodification could not happen in the tourist industry. There have to be appealing and perceived authentic experiences and items for the industry to sell, to build a story around. And in order to translate these stories into real life, they are staged to be viewed and experienced by tourists. The more cultural commodification diminishes the authenticity, the higher the demand is for authenticity, like with today's mature status of the tourist industry in Hawai'i'.

It can be argued that there is no empowerment through tourism, without authenticity. The usage of the framework has resulted in a better insight of the situation and has led to the realization that perhaps empowerment should stand apart in the framework, instead of divided under cultural commodification. This evolves the framework into a more accurate and relevant one:

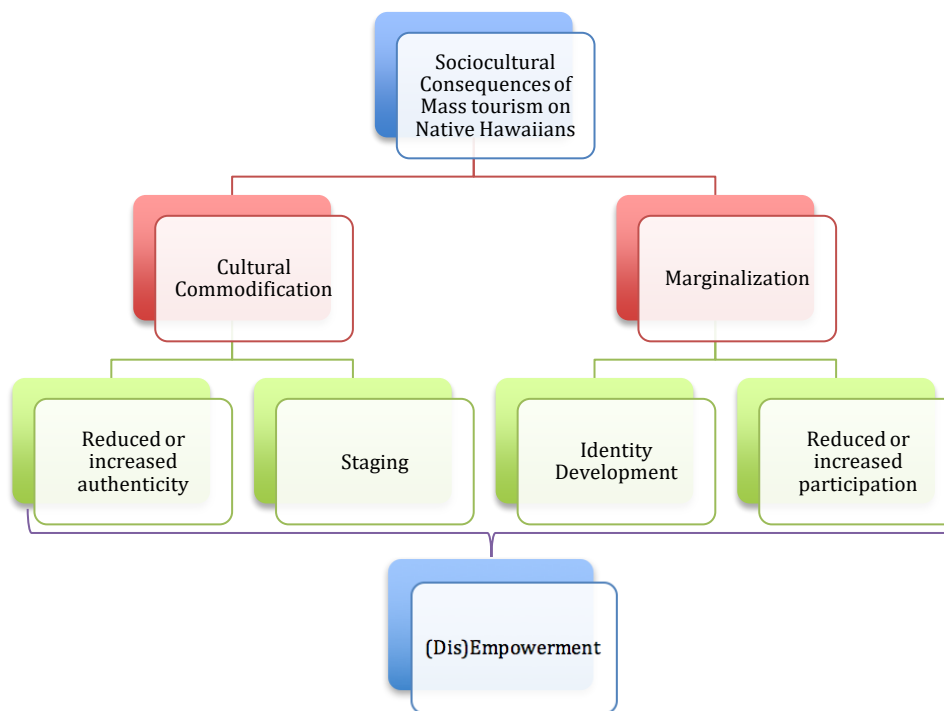


Figure 5: Evolved framework

The following text explains this adjustment. The cultural commodification of a Native Hawaiian’s culture could have empowered the Natives by providing them a certain ‘uniqueness’ that could allow them to gain certain rights or more power. However, this did not happen with the Native Hawaiian case study. Because of tourism and its population growth consequences, the Native Hawaiians became an ethnic minority, being vulnerable to being marginalized. The Native Hawaiians changed their identity in a way they would survive in the now mainstream American culture, forsaking parts of their traditional culture and adapting things from the new one in order to survive. Trading Hawaiian for English. This loss of identity in a way disempowered and at the same time empowered the Native Hawaiian community, as they accepted their new status as a third rank citizen as part of the new mainstream culture instead of underlining their uniqueness, but also found a way to survive in the new environment. In this time in history, the Natives were even more disempowered by the shift in the organization and decision-making of the government and tourist industry. The participation of the Native Hawaiians became very low, adapting their identity to this newly perceived status. In the meanwhile, the tourist industry was still commodifying the now almost foregone traditional

Hawaiian culture, evolving it into something that it originally was not. In a way, the commodification of their culture and the tourist performances, have empowered the Native Hawaiians as their government and tourist industry saw value in (financially) supporting and preserving their culture even though their reasons are not the same. While the tourist industry also challenges the accuracy and authenticity of the Native Hawaiian culture and in their eyes, mocks the culture, it also provides the opportunity for Hawaiians to embrace the true traditional culture. The international fame of the hula caused by the tourist industry, has provided the Hawaiian hula the opportunity to become 'big' again because of its trending in mainly Japan and the support it brings along.

The more is commodified and marketed in a certain authentic way, the more staging occurs in order to not disappoint the tourists that compare an image provided of a traditional exotic paradise by the marketing and movies with the reality. The reality however was logically not the same as it used to be anymore and is an exaggeration of the traditional Hawaiian culture, needing a lot of staging tourist attractions and places. In a way, the commodification of the Hawaiian culture has since long created a fake believe of authenticity among some tourists. The process of commodification allows tourists to identify perceived authentic and staged experiences. Without the commodification of culture, tourist spaces are less likely to be stage-managed and regulated as there is no perceived idea. Nowadays some tourists are getting tired of the old way of staging, and are looking for new and true traditional authentic experiences. The commodification of the culture of Native Hawaiians has in a way empowered the Natives by keeping the Native Hawaiian culture relevant even throughout the years Natives felt ashamed of being Native. The question could arise whether the Native Hawaiians would have showed a renewed interest in picking up their culture, had the tourist industry not commodified their culture.

These observations show that the sociocultural consequences of mass tourism on Native Hawaiians, indicated by marginalization and cultural commodification, can empower and disempower these Native Hawaiians.

7. Discussion

The scope of this thesis focusses mostly on O'ahu: All interviewees were on O'ahu, although not all were born here. In general, the other islands have less Asian visitors and have more 'authentic' sites to offer, attracting a different type of tourism than O'ahu does with luxurious city Honolulu and many staged tourist attractions. Enlarging the scope of this research could change various findings, although the thesis assumes these changes are minimal as surveys conducted on all islands and interviewees state the general feeling of Natives towards tourism is the same: Bitter.

7.1 Evaluation

Collecting data in Hawai'i had its ups and downs, as the subject seemed to be a more sensitive one than initially thought; especially when the interviewer clearly was a mahilini Caucasian. Some Native Hawaiians were much more bitter towards and suspicious of especially the USA government than anticipated, one time resulting in intimidation and being asked to leave a town. Personal connections truly had to be made in order to get people to openly talk about the subject and agree to the interview. However, once a connection was made, the Native Hawaiian interviewees were the most warm and helpful interviewees ever interviewed and were full of suggestions of others that should be interviewed. Another small hardship when collecting data was that many interviews were rescheduled again and again and especially the Native Hawaiians seemed to be so 'chill' and laid back, committing to a time and day seemed sometimes very hard. What also proved to be a hardship, was the time of data collection: Full of national holidays like Christmas and New Year. A lot of people were out of office or the exact opposite, so busy with (tourist) work, they had no time for interviews. Once there was an 'in' with the Native Hawaiians through personal connections and recommendations, there were endless people to interview and observe, if they truly did stick with the agreed interview time and had time in general.

The issued framework of marginalization and cultural commodification has been a great tool to organize and analyse the data and allowed an in-depth approach. However, in a way it also limits the analysis. In a broad subject as this one, it

is however all the more necessary to use a framework like this one to gain deeper insights on the topic.

The results of this thesis are anticipated by especially Native Hawaiians and key players of the tourist industry, as the unhappiness of the Natives is no secret. The tourist industry wishes to increase the hospitality and authenticity of the Natives for tourism purposes again, while the Natives wish to be given a voice. Scientifically, it is important that there is more of an emphasis on socio-cultural consequences and sustainable tourism instead of the regular economic or political ones. This research truly adds value on this department.

7.2 Future research

Future research could focus more on the correlation of mass tourism and the empowerment or disempowerment of marginalized and/or commodified communities. Also, this research focuses mostly on the view of Native Hawaiians, but it would also be interesting to dive more into the reason why the Americans became so obsessed with Hawai'i, aside from tourist, military and plantation opportunities. Even more interesting would be to research if and how the regular American people reacted when they overthrew the monarchy and as can be argued, colonized Hawai'i, in a time where colonization was taboo and the U.S. ironically requested other countries like the Netherlands to give the autonomy of Indonesia back to the people. It would also be interesting to do future research about to what degree the current Native Hawaiian culture is actually Native Hawaiian, and how much they have actually accumulated culturally. While most have a very strong sense of being Native Hawaiian, if looked at culture and behaviour only, it is hard to identify them as Native Hawaiians as they are quite alike Americans. In what way does this affect their cultural practices and the future of the Hawaiian culture?

It would be interesting to see what the Native Hawaiian people would do when they have been given an opportunity to participate more on the islands. While tourists are looking for more authentic experiences and Native Hawaiians are

looking to embrace their true culture, it could be possible that the tourist industry will involve the Native Hawaiians and allow them to have a say.

When thinking of other future scenarios: The active group of Native Hawaiians and even locals fighting for sovereignty of Hawai'i probably knows they will never succeed. Then what exactly is it they are fighting for? Is it inspiring other Native Hawaiians to stand up and to unite or is it gaining any form of participation they can get? And what if Hawai'i did indeed become independent. It would be impossible for them to sever the ties with the U.S. and they have many malihini still living on the islands. Sometimes protestors march under the flag of Native Hawaiians, green yellow and red, while sometimes they march under the flag of Hawai'i. When do they use one and when the other, and what exactly is it they are after?

The Native Hawaiians do not dislike tourists, but dislike the way the tourist industry is organized now. Working towards a sustainable form of tourism and an increased level of participation of Native Hawaiians and other stakeholders like the locals, would solve a lot of tension and dissatisfaction. How to best implement a sustainable way of tourism in an already rooted tourist industry with a certain set image and expectations, is however a question that should be researched in the near future.

Bibliography

- archives.gov. (2016). Hawai'i Statehood, August 21, 1959. Retrieved from <https://www.archives.gov/legislative/features/Hawai'i>
- Bennett, J. (1993). Cultural Marginality: Identity issues in Intercultural Training. *Education Intercultural Experience*.
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaption. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), 5–68.
- Cohen, E. (1988). Authenticity and Commoditization in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 15, 371–386. Retrieved from http://www.think-atl.es/wp-content/uploads/group-documents/13/1383672853-authenticity-and-commoditization-in-tourism_cohen.pdf
- Cole, S. (2007). Beyond authenticity and commodification. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 34(4), 943–960. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2007.05.004>
- Cox, L. J., Saucier, M., Cusick, J., Richins, H., & McClure, B. (2008). Achieving Sustainable Tourism in Hawai'i Using a Sustainability Evaluation System. *Tropical Agriculture*, 17.
- Crampon, L. (1976). Hawai'i's Visitor Industry, Its Growth and Development. *Honolulu: University of Hawai'i*.
- Echtner, C. M., & Jamal, T. B. (1997). the Disciplinary Dilemma of Tourism Studies. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 24(4), 868–883. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(97\)00060-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(97)00060-1)
- Edensor, T. (2001). Performing tourism, staging tourism: (Re)producing tourist space and practice. *Tourist Studies*, 1(1), 59–81.
- Franklin, C., & Lyons, L. (2004). Remixing hybridity: globalization, Native resistance, and cultural production in Hawai'i. *American Studies*, 45(3), 49–80. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40644210>
- Garvey, G., & Gramann, B. (2003). Who Decides Hawai'i's Brand? *Honolulu Advertiser*, A6.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (pp. 222–237). Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, S. (1991). Old and New Identities, Old and New Ethnicities. In A. D. King (Ed.), *Culture, Globalization and the World-System* (pp. 41–67).
- Hawai'i Tourism Authority. (2017). *Fact Sheet: Benefits of Hawai'i's Tourism Economy*.

- Hawai'i.gov. (2016a). DBEDT Tourism Forecast. Retrieved from <http://dbedt.Hawai'i.gov/visitor/tourism-forecast/>
- Hawai'i.gov. (2016b). Monthly Visitor Statistics. Retrieved from <http://dbedt.Hawai'i.gov/visitor/>
- Hawai'i.gov. (2010). Population Characteristics by Detailed Race.
- Hawai'i.gov. (2018). About the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands.
- Hawaiiankingdom.org. (2016). The U.S. Occupation. Retrieved from <http://www.Hawaiiankingdom.org/us-occupation.shtml>
- Hawai'i Tourism Authority. (2005). *Hawai'i Tourism Strategic Plan, 2005-2015*.
- Hawai'i Tourism Authority. (2016). *Five-Year Strategic Plan 2016*.
- Herreria, C. (2016). A Glimpse Inside Hawai'i's "Forbidden Island": Secluded and Untouched. *Huffpost*.
- John M. Knox @ Associates, I. (2004). *Planning for Sustainable Tourism*.
- Kim, Y. (1996). Identity Development: From cultural to intercultural. *Interaction & Identity*, 5, 347–369.
- Knox, J. M. (2004). *Effects of Tourism on Rates of Serious Crime in Hawai'i*.
- Kuykendall, R. (1968). *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume I, 1778-1854. Foundation and Transformation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Liu, J. C., & War, T. (1986). Resident Attitudes Toward Tourism Impacts in Hawai'i. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 13, 193–214.
- loc.gov. (2009). United States: Supreme Court Rules that U.S. Apology for Overthrowing Hawaiian Monarchy Does Not Affect Hawai'i Public Lands. Retrieved from <http://www.loc.gov/law/foreign-news/article/united-states-supreme-court-rules-that-u-s-apology-for-overthrowing-hawaiian-monarchy-does-not-affect-hawai-i-public-lands/>
- Lofgren, O. (1999). *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. University of California Press.
- MacCannell, D. (1973). Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 79(3), 589–603. Retrieved from <http://www.travel-studies.com/sites/default/files/MacCannel Staged Authenticity.pdf>
- Mak, J. (2015). *Creating "Paradise of the Pacific": How Tourism Began in Hawai'i*.

- Mcleod, S. A. (2015). Observation Methods. Retrieved from www.simplypsychology.org/observation.html
- Mosco, V. (2009). *The Political Economy of Communication*. Sage.
- Naya, S. (1999). Tourism Looks to the Future. *Hawai'i's Economy*.
- Nordyke, E. C. (1989). "Lovely Hula Hands": Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture. In *The Peopling of Hawai'i* (pp. 134–172). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i.
- OmniTrak Group Inc. (2010). *Resident Sentiment Survey*.
- Orvell, M. (1989). *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880-1940*. The University of North Carolina Press.
- Qmark Research. (2016). *2015 HTA Resident Sentiment Study*.
- Shepherd, R. (2002). Commodification, Culture and Tourism. *Sage*, 2(2), 183–201.
- Silva, N. K. (2000). The Political Economy of Banning the Hula. *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 29–48.
- Simmons, D. (1994). Community participation in tourism planning. *Tourism Management*, 15(2), 98–108. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(94\)90003-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(94)90003-5)
- Sindiga, I. (1996). International tourism in Kenya and the marginalization of the Waswahili. *Tourism Management*, 17(6), 425–432. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177\(96\)00051-9](https://doi.org/10.1016/0261-5177(96)00051-9)
- Skwiot, C. (2010). *The Purpose of Paradise: U.S. Tourism and Empire in Cuba and Hawai'i*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Stindt, F. (1982). *Matson's Century of Ships*.
- To-Hawai'i.com. (n.d.). Hawai'i Ethnicity. Retrieved from <http://www.to-hawai'i.com/ethnicity.php>
- Trask, H.-K. (2000). *Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture*.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (1949). *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789-1945*.
- Weaver, D. (2007). Towards Sustainable Mass Tourism: Paradigm Shift or Paradigm Nudge? *Tourism Recreation Research*, 32(3), 65–69. Retrieved from <http://trrworld.org/pdfs/27e11nff3442b11lk20fcu3549n12zt.pdf>

Appendix 1

This appendix includes the topic list of conducted interviews. The appendix discusses used topic lists per stakeholder and thus forms rough guidelines for the content of the semi-structured interviews.

Native Hawaiians (NH):

- Family history. What do you do now (changes)?
- Social relations
- History (tourism, external influence, any noticeable changes throughout years on island)
- Commodification: opinions. Good? Bad? Consequences?
- Preferred future tourism on island?
- Thoughts on tourism and consequences.
- What is considered Native Hawaiian?
- Marginalisation: Who is in charge of tourism of the islands, do NH have any influence? Do they wish to?
- Consequences tourism
- Interactions rest of island.

Locals:

- (family) History.
- Interactions, NH and tourists
- What is being a NH?
- What do you refer to yourself with?
- Influence on tourism?
- Participation of self in tourism?
- How tourism organized?
- Commodification: what do tourists come for?
- Why did you come to Hawaii? Did habits or you change when coming to the island?
- History mass tourism?

Tourists

- Why come to Hawai'i?
- What do you want to see most?
- Highlights, low points?
- Interaction aside from travel companion mostly with?

- Noticed things? Seen/spoken to locals?
- What do you think tourism brings residents of the islands? Sociocultural?
- Things you missed?
- Who most interaction with?
- Buy things? What, why?
- Describe Hawai'i and its inhabitants?
- Who/what do you notice immediately on the islands?
- Future vision tourism Hawai'i?

Tourist Industry:

- How is tourism organized?
- What is your focus?
- Who do you interact most with? In what way?
- What do you daily do concerning tourism?
- What is most popular with tourists, why do they come to Hawai'i, what activities do they enjoy the most and why?
- Policies and laws concerning tourism? Why?
- (how) Are NH involved with tourism? Their role?
- Has tourism on Hawai'i changed along the years? How? The image of Hawai'i(ans)?
- Consequences tourism.

Government:

- History tourism Hawai'i.
- Population interactions Hawai'i.
- Policies / laws concerning tourism Hawai'i? Why?
- Any say in tourism? Who promotes Hawai'i? Tourism network.
- Why promote Hawai'i this or that way?
- Why such an ethnically diverse population?
- Who is in charge/has impact on the touristic scene?
- Consequences tourism on Hawai'i.

Appendix 2

By using the programme Atlas, data from the interviews, reports and surveys in have been organized. Five different code colours have been used to distinguish important topics relating to this thesis' subjects. Colours Yellow and blue are used to answer the first sub-question, colours pink and green focus on answering the second research question. Purple concerns background information mostly on terminology and interaction between Hawaiians.

1. Purple → Topics on terminology, thus roots of inhabitants and nationalities. This code can be used mostly at the first research sub-question.
Terminology
Ancestry
nationality
2. Yellow → Information important for answering the first research question, context sketches based on following topics:
Attitude Native Hawaiians towards Outsiders
Historical Developments
Level of Satisfaction
Integration different ethnicities
Native Hawaiians on present tourism
Present situation
Reflection historical developments
3. Pink → Information important for answering the second research question with a focus on cultural commodification:
Authenticity
Cultural Commodification
Staging
4. Green → Information important for answering the second research question with a focus on marginalisation:
Identity Developments
Marginalisation
Participation

5. Blue → Important information discussing future scenarios, and thus of concern of the first research question and recommendations:

Future: General

Future: Desires tourism

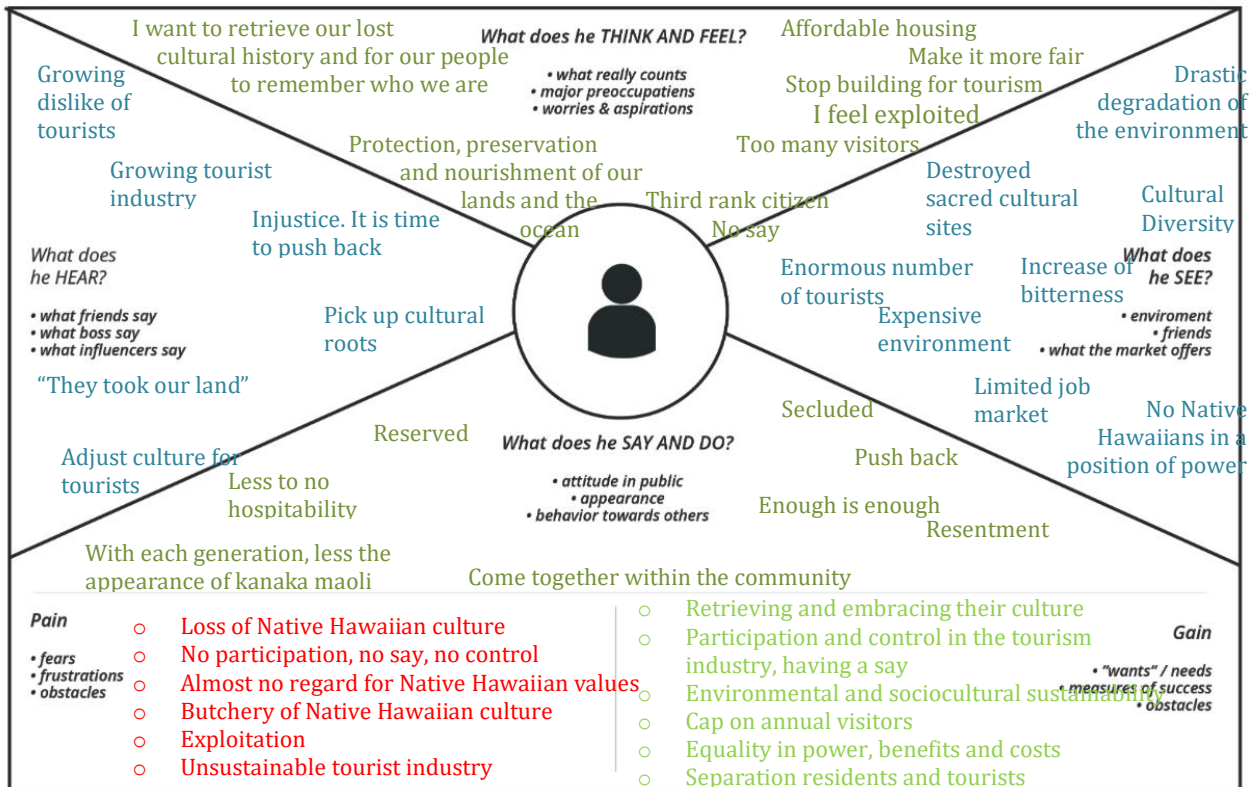
Future: Tourism predictions

Appendix 3

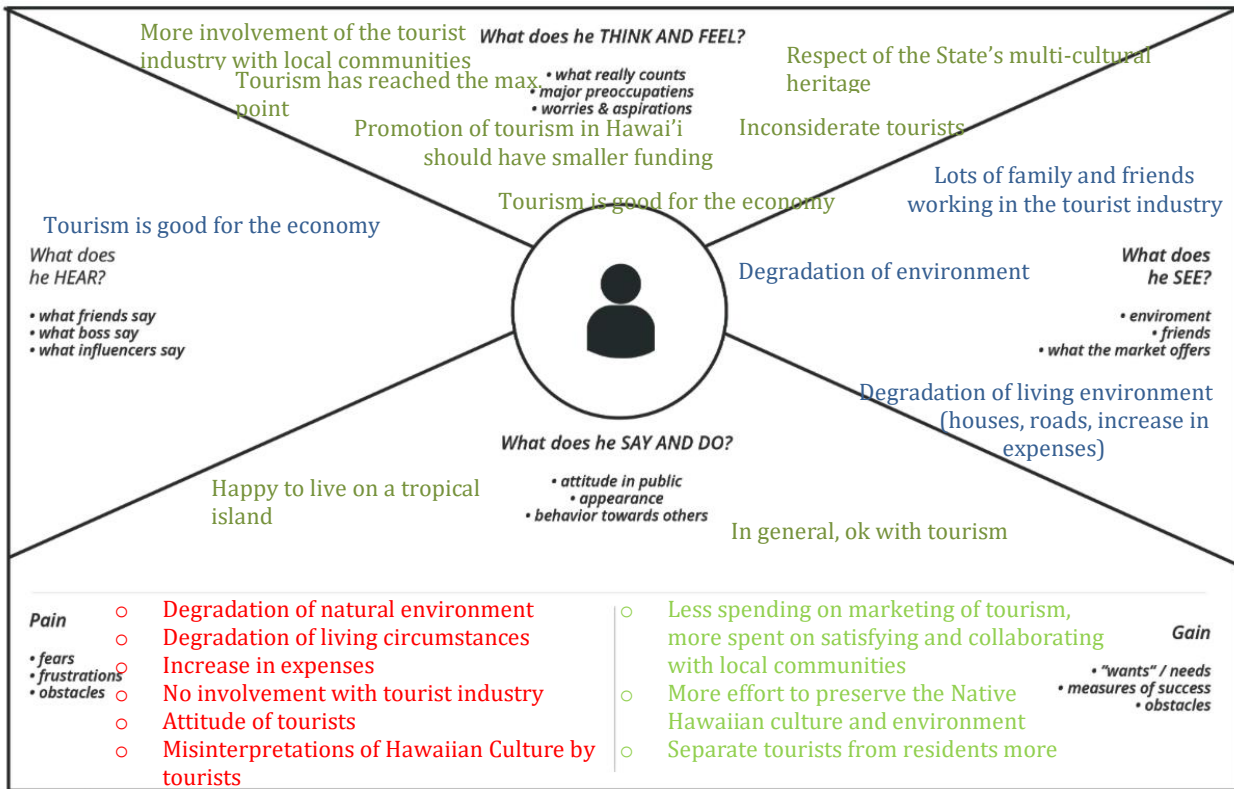
Pain and gain maps.

Native Hawaiians

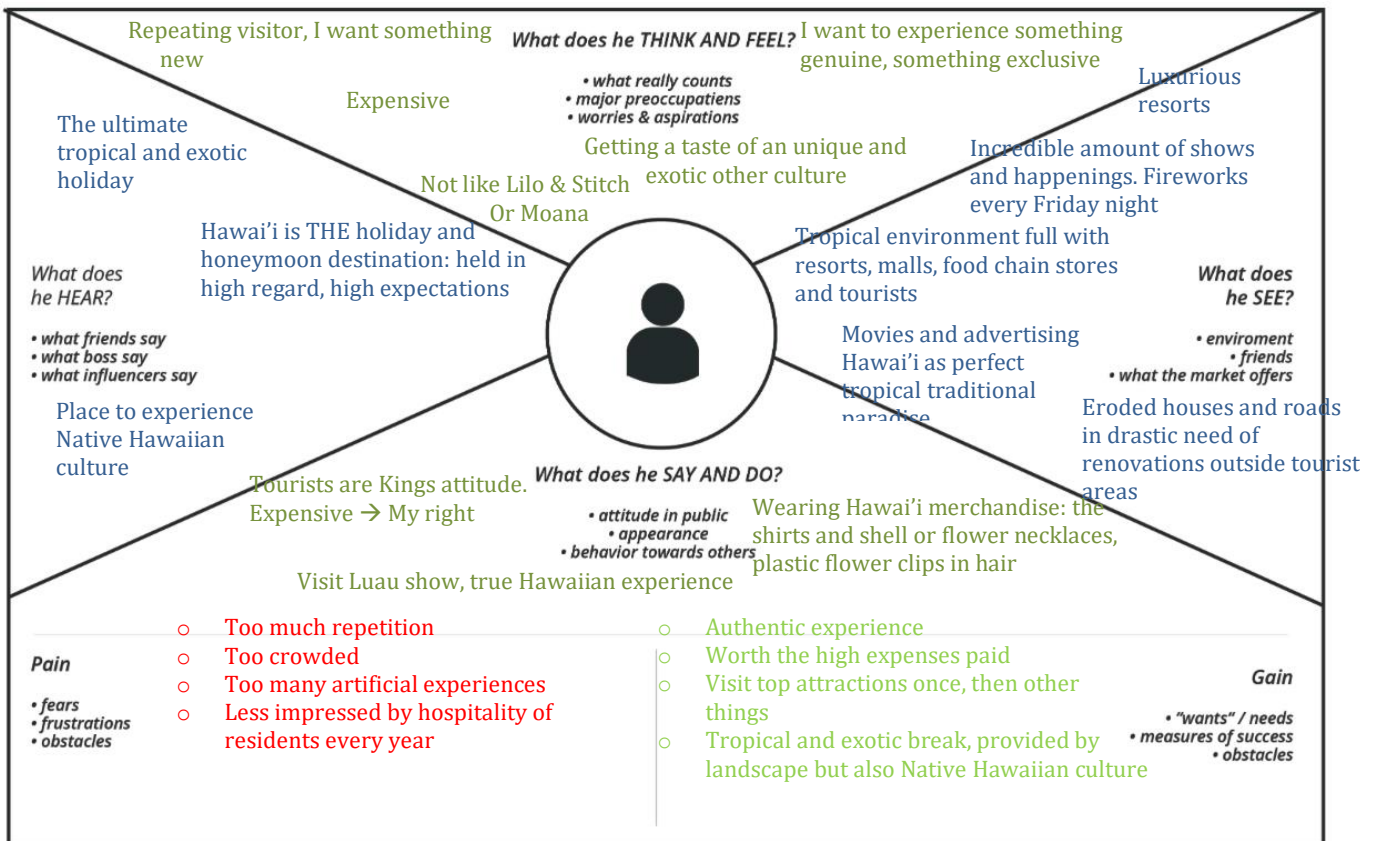
The empathy map visualizes the perspective of Native Hawaiians on the consequences of mass tourism in Hawai'i, by putting them in the empathy map. The pain and gain sections help identify the biggest hurdles and possible routes that can be taken in order to work towards a more ideal tourism situation for the Native Hawaiians on the islands.



Hawaiians



Tourists



Tourist industry

