

MAKING RAIDERS:
MATERIAL CULTURE AT 'IOLANI SCHOOL

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Introduction

Once the United States annexed my homeland, a new kind of violence took root: the violence of educational colonialism, where foreign *haole* values replace Native Hawaiian values; where schools, such as the University of Hawai'i, ridicule Hawaiian culture and praise American culture, and where white men assume the mantle of authority, deciding what is taught, who can teach, even what can be said, written, and published.

-Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*¹

Usually when thinking about education, one thinks of teachers, students, classes, and curricula. The effects of the material culture students encounter inside and outside of the classroom, including chairs, desks, books, hallways, trophies, memorial plaques, student dress, and buildings, rarely enters our frame of consciousness. Throughout the time a student spends in any educational setting, a school's material culture is present whether he or she recognizes it or not. Surely this material culture influences them.

This thesis examines the material culture of 'Iolani School. By studying it I hope to expand our understanding of how schools, especially elite private schools, operate. The time an 'Iolani student spends at school not in the classroom is potentially greater than the time a student actually spends in class. I suggest that the material culture or cultural landscape of 'Iolani that is encountered from the beginning of the school day to its end—memorial statues, kitsch items, dress, or architectural spaces—has a major influence on the student. The material culture operates as an extension of what is inculcated in the classroom itself, contributing to the manufacture of an ideology of 'Iolani School. A student's countless and repeated encounters with material culture make a substantial

¹ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*, Revised Edition (Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999): 171.

contribution to shaping the ways students and the larger 'Iolani community think, understand, and act in the world.

One of the best examples of material culture at 'Iolani School influencing how the 'Iolani community thinks and acts in the world is how the school reinforces a specific definition of the name "'Iolani" through a large statue of an 'io bird (Figure I.1 and I.2). 'Iolani students, faculty, staff, alumni, and parents are constantly reminded that the meaning of "'Iolani" is "heavenly hawk." Whether in casual conversations or on the school's own website, the 'Iolani community is told that "'io" means "hawk" or "bird," and "lani" means "beautiful" or "heavenly."² One of the most remarkable reinforcements of this meaning on campus is a massive statue of an 'io bird. Measuring well over twelve feet tall, the statue is centrally placed, sandwiched between the new \$23 million Sullivan Center for Innovation and Leadership and the school's baseball field. This statue, whose fabrication by students and faculty began in 2012, and dedication occurred in the fall of 2013, is one of two 'io statues. It replaced a much smaller one that stood in a different location on campus from 1985 to 2008. On the base of this new statue is a brass-colored plaque that reads in capital letters, "HEAVENLY HAWK." Beneath these words, in a faint and already worn cursive script, are two lines, one in Hawaiian and the other in English: "He 'io au, he manu i ka lewa lani. / I am a hawk; the bird that soars high in the heavens."

What the 'Iolani community does not often discuss is that there is much more to the meaning of the school's name than a direct translation, a meaning of far greater significance to Native Hawaiians and the Hawaiian Kingdom. 'Iolani was also the middle name of

² 'Iolani School, "History of 'Iolani School," Accessed March 1, 2017: <http://www.iolani.org/about/history-of-iolani>.

Alexander 'Iolani Liholiho, or King Kamehameha IV. When King Kamehameha V bestowed 'Iolani Palace with a name, he explicitly chose one of his predecessor's Hawaiian names.³ Together with Queen Emma, Kamehameha IV founded what would become 'Iolani School in the early 1860s. Thus, the name 'Iolani originally asserted a Hawaiian identity and recognized one of the rulers of the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom. The school's emphasis on defining 'Iolani as a heavenly hawk, rather than King Kamehameha IV, operates as an act of settler colonialism and American imperialism, in the erasing or obfuscating the word's reference to a Hawaiian monarch of the sovereign Kingdom of Hawai'i. This act of erasure is just one of many examples of "educational colonialism" and the supplanting of Hawaiian values with foreign values described by Haunani-Kay Trask in the quotation that prefaces this work.

The overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and Hawai'i's eventual statehood did not happen only through threat of military force and the maneuverings of American businessmen, but also culturally and linguistically. To enable American domination of Hawai'i, ongoing colonial projects, such as the delegitimization of Native Hawaiians and the Hawaiian Kingdom through language, were utilized. And such linguistic acts of delegitimization and erasure took place at 'Iolani School. At the 2013 dedication of the 'io statue, the school's Chaplain Letherman offered a blessing that inadvertently reinforced this linguistic act of indigenous erasure: "O hawk of the great heights, of heavenly skies of Hawaii, your vision of hope, your call to us here, we are listening."⁴ But Leatherman's

³ Mary Pukui, Samuel Elbert, and Esther Mookini, *Place Names of Hawaii*, Second Edition (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1974): 56.

⁴ Elisabeth Kamaka, "Io Hawk Unveiled," *Imua 'Iolani Online*, Accessed December 14, 2016: <http://www.imuaonline.org/top-stories/2013/10/07/io-hawk-unveiled/>.

words also might raise questions, what is this “vision of hope?” Is it a vision of Liholiho’s sovereign Hawai‘i?



Figure I.1: ‘Io statue dedication, Chaplain Leatherman speaking at podium (photo from ‘Iolani School website)



Figure I.2: Detail of plaque on ‘Io statue (photo by author)

This study examines how the material culture at ‘Iolani School produces many graduates who happily assume elite social, political, and economic class positions in Hawai‘i. These graduates assume these positions despite all of the obvious discord, suffering, and oppression that exists under the local and global status quo. This study also seeks an understanding of how reinforcing the status quo at ‘Iolani might be challenged or contested. How do elements of ‘Iolani’s material culture infuse its students, staff, faculty, and alumni with dominant neoliberal and settler colonial ideology? How can this material culture and the experiences of those at ‘Iolani who resist conforming be used to challenge the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies?

Material culture at ‘Iolani School consists of objects, spaces, and texts, and the encounters and experiences one might have with such culture. Every day at ‘Iolani School students pass a Sun Yat-Sen statue that faces a building named after the Castle family of the infamous Castle & Cook company, or walk over a plaque dedicated to Maurice Sullivan, formerly of the *Forbes* wealthiest 400 (see map, Figure I.3). Boys are required to wear collared shirts, shorts or pants, and shoes, but absolutely not tees, slippers, board shorts, athletic shorts, or shirts deemed to have “political” slogans. Girls must wear clothes that are not too revealing. Male teachers must wear aloha shirts (or non-aloha shirts with a tie) with any shirt tail tucked in, leather shoes, and dress pants. Female teachers must wear skirts, dress pants, or a dress—female business attire. During chapel periods, praise is given to God through the school prayer and other forms of Episcopalian worship. At every sporting event students put on uniforms with the mascot name “Raiders,” or previously “Red Raiders,” emblazoned across the chest or on the side of helmets, while fans sing fight

songs. And at the end of the school year all of these experiences and more are commemorated in a yearbook.



Figure I.3: 'Iolani School campus map with six sites examined in this study

In addition to the curriculum, 'Iolani School reinforces dominant ideologies through its material practices. At 'Iolani the material shaping of ideology, the conscious or unconscious structures and social forces that inform the way people understand and subsequently act in the world, is constant and incessant. The school's material practices reinforce desires for students to respect authority, remember certain individuals, and act in certain ways. Through unwitting encounters and interactions with the school's material

culture that accumulate over time, 'Iolani students have particular thoughts, desires, and ideologies reinforced.

But this thesis is also interested in the ways some 'Iolani students resist the production of hegemonic ideologies through material culture. The subsumption of 'Iolani students and community members into hegemonic ideologies at 'Iolani School is not absolute. Some students and alumni are critical of dominant ideologies and do not assume the typical path of careerism and social, economic, and political elitism. Manifested in their words, actions, or violations of dress codes, rules, and other material practices, some 'Iolani students recognize the contradictions between the school's values and its material practices. Paying critical attention to these forms of resistance to conformity and dominant ideologies, whether effective or not in altering the societal status quo, is essential to challenging the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies at 'Iolani School. While a full examination of these forms of resistance would require a larger ethnographic project, this thesis does offer traces of these various acts of resistance.

Out of a desire to rectify colonial, capitalist, and other wrongs to which this community—*my community*—contributes, and to understand how this happens, this study seeks a greater understanding of 'Iolani School, specifically the production of neoliberal and colonial settler ideologies through the institution's material culture, and the resistance among some students to these ideologies. Having attended 'Iolani School from the sixth grade through high school graduation, working currently as a substitute teacher at the school, and being the son of a committed progressive faculty member, as a non-Native settler, I find the prevalence of these ideologies deeply disturbing. Hence, I hope to find ways to challenge the ubiquity of liberal, capitalist, and colonial settler ideologies within

the 'Iolani community. Settler values need to be criticized due to their historical intertwinement with capitalism, the rise of a dominant settler economic class, and the oppression of Native Hawaiians. My wish is to one day see 'Iolani School exist in such a way that does not perpetuate violations of Native Hawaiian rights to self-determined sovereignty or the ills of neoliberalism. Native Hawaiian self-determination can take many forms. According to Trask, the most practical manifestations of Hawaiian self-determination are self-government and the practice of aloha 'āina, roughly understood as love and care for the land.⁵ Instead of colonial values, I wish for 'Iolani School to promote ideologies that recognize the school's kuleana to Hawai'i, Hawaiian values, such as aloha 'āina and pono, and Native Hawaiians' rights to self-determined sovereignty.

Ultimately I make two main arguments. First, that 'Iolani School has been a bastion of neoliberal and colonial settler ideologies as manifest in settler-dominated Hawai'i. This has been accomplished and reinforced through a student's daily encounter with 'Iolani's material culture. The school, like other elite private schools in Hawai'i, such as Punahou School or Mid-Pacific Institute, contributes to the reproduction of oppressive colonial settler and neoliberal ideologies and structures through the indoctrination of future generations of settler elites.

Second, I argue that analyzing and critically reading 'Iolani's material culture can challenge 'Iolani's overall function as an "Ideological State Apparatus." Using material culture in such a manner can offer greater agency, or the ability to create social change, to those students who do see problems in reinforcing hegemonic ideologies at the school. Not everyone in the 'Iolani community is interpellated into the ideologies of neoliberalism or

⁵ Trask, *Native Daughter*, 37.

settler colonialism. Some students conform unwittingly to life at 'Iolani and certainly not every graduate goes on to be an uncritical and faithful steward of these ideologies.

Students' infrequent and incomplete forms of resistance to the dominant ideological function of material culture at 'Iolani are only partial, rarely resulting in forms of social or political agency that challenge the social, political, or economic status quo. I contend that critiquing, contextualizing, and historicizing the material culture at 'Iolani can offer students ways to develop critiques of hegemonic ideologies and mobilize their agency.

The critical readings of material culture featured in this study that can be integrated into class time, club meetings, school events, or into the material landscape itself have the potential to increase the number of 'Iolani students who are not subsumed by neoliberalism and settler colonialism. Helping students enhance their ability to read culture critically, beginning with the material culture on their own campus, has the potential to create students, alumni, and an 'Iolani community that better aligns with its own liberal and Christian values in ways that do not infringe upon Native Hawaiian's rights to self-determined sovereignty or require subservience to capitalist ideology. Challenging dominant ideologies at 'Iolani can potentially lead students towards adopting more indigenous or socialist forms of knowledge and the actualization of societies that are far more just, loving, and ecologically responsible. These critical readings of the school's material culture might also require a retinkering of 'Iolani's core values that guarantees protection from or more clearly challenges neoliberalism and settler colonialism.

The significance of my project lies firstly in its focus on 'Iolani School, and secondly in its application to other elite educational institutions that perpetuate or facilitate neoliberalism or settler colonialism in Hawai'i and the United States. A critical examination

of 'Iolani's ideological production through material culture and existence as an elite educational institution within colonial settler-dominated Hawai'i highlights this project as a new contribution to the fields of education, critical pedagogy, settler colonialism, material culture studies, and critical corporate studies. Because of the many disciplinary intersections of my project, what conclusions and discoveries are made can be applied by other scholars and intellectuals to other fields and topics of interest. I hope that my study can lead to a greater understanding of how western educational institutions educate their students and how the culture encountered *beyond* the curriculum is an integral part of the educational experience and a potential site for social transformation.

Essential to this study is a focus on the broader pedagogical function of 'Iolani School within the political, social, and economic landscape of Hawai'i and the United States. My analysis is informed by Louis Althusser's conception of education as the most important of what he calls "ideological state apparatuses" (ISA). ISAs can be understood as major cultural institutions, such as schools, family, or media, which are used mostly unconsciously by the dominant class to enforce and reproduce the ideologies that engender their supremacy.⁶

When thinking critically about 'Iolani School as an ISA, disturbing discrepancies and shortcomings in the school's values, mission, self-representation, and adherence to neoliberalism become apparent. Lisa Duggan defines neoliberalism as

a utopian ideology of "free markets" and minimal state interference, a set of policies slashing state social services and supporting global corporate interests, a process (neoliberalization) proceeding in company with procorporate globalization and

⁶ Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2001): 85-126.

financialization, and a cultural project of building consent for the upward redistributions of wealth and power that have occurred since the 1970s. But neoliberalism might best be understood as a global social movement encompassing all of these political goals.⁷

The projects and policies of austerity characteristic of this free market ideology place profit over people. The conditions and manifestations of neoliberalism are all too familiar: extreme wealth inequality, environmental degradation, greed, and a populous mostly subservient to or unaware of capitalism. Corporate and elite money infuses politics, rendering politicians essentially corporate employees. Corporate executives become idolized, supplanting traditional role models and cultural heroes who worked and fought against oppression or for the environment. Economic elites are revered as near saints. Education under neoliberalism becomes less a site for democracy, creativity and intellectualism, but an anti-intellectual system to condition young people as the next generation of obedient workers, consumers, or stewards of capitalism and the state.

Neoliberalism's dominance requires the ISA of education to maintain and reproduce neoliberalism through the indoctrination of subsequent generations. 'Iolani, like other elite private schools, has been efficient at producing a particular neoliberal subject, what in *Late Capitalism* Ernest Mandel calls "the real idol of late capitalism [. . .], the 'specialist' who is blind to any overall context."⁸ Iolani's material culture plays a large role in this production of apolitical, neoliberal graduates.

⁷ Lisa Duggan, "Neoliberalism," *Keywords for American Cultural Studies*, Second Edition (New York: New York University Press, 2004): 181.

⁸ Ernest Mandel, *Late Capitalism*, Pathfinder Press Edition (London: New Left Books, 1975): 509.

Neoliberalism must be understood as a cultural force that coopts and redefines the rhetoric of liberalism towards capitalist ends. While liberalism's language and ideals of freedom, justice, democracy, socioeconomic mobility, emerged in part to facilitate capitalism's free enterprise and perpetual expansion of wealth, neoliberalism acts to deepen capitalism's hold on this discourse and increase concentrations of wealth and power through technocracy and hyper-financialization.

This twisting of liberal discourse is evidenced in the material culture of 'Iolani. In its self-representation, 'Iolani School, like many liberal institutions, paints itself as a moral, well-intentioned, and important institution within the local and global community. The school espouses ideals of "moral citizenship," "personal growth," "moral integrity," "concern for others," "lifelong learning and active, informed, productive citizenship in the local, national and global communities," peace, teamwork, and family.⁹ But while these values are well-intentioned, neoliberalism utilizes their meaning and significance towards reinforcing the goals of late capitalism. Despite the school's claim to promote positive social values, its material culture reflects an endorsement of the hyper-individualism, greed, elitism, technocracy, indigenous erasure, and other negative values perpetuated by neoliberalism and settler colonialism.

In Hawai'i, neoliberalism acts to extend U.S. settler colonialism into the 21st century by maintaining elite settler hegemony and the oppression and subjugation of the poor, the working class, and Native Hawaiians. In order to function, neoliberalism requires settler colonialism's hold on land, resources, economics, politics, and violence in Hawai'i.

⁹ 'Iolani School, "School Mission," Accessed December 15, 2016: <http://www.iolani.org/about/school-philosophy>.

According to Patrick Wolfe settler colonialism signifies “an inclusive, land-centred project that coordinates a comprehensive range of agencies, from the metropolitan centre to the frontier encampment, with a view to eliminating Indigenous societies.”¹⁰ In Hawai‘i, United States settler colonialism seeks to maintain American liberal and capitalist control of the islands by delegitimizing Native Hawaiian rights to self-determination. By further benefiting the capitalist status quo and reducing the social mobility and political agency of working class people and Native Hawaiians through policies that increase wealth inequality, gut Hawai‘i public school funding, maintain unlivable wages, erode the power of unions, and promote luxury real estate developments unaffordable to most locals, neoliberalism in Hawai‘i can be understood as essential to expanding the various late 19th and 20th century projects of U.S. settler colonialism, guaranteeing the continuation of American hegemony.

I contend that ‘Iolani has become an important settler-state apparatus within the colonial settler order of Hawai‘i. Under neoliberal settler colonialism, the subject most frequently created at ‘Iolani is an obedient student-cum-consumer. This particular subject is characterized by hyper-individualism, constantly looking out for chances of career advancement or material gain, and blind to the ongoing history of Native Hawaiian and working class oppression required to maintain settler supremacy and the ills of a near-unfettered capitalism. ‘Iolani’s reproduction of such an ideology has created a fairly narrow range of graduates, ones that largely go on to assume elite positions within the business, medical, media, legal, and educational apparatuses of the settler-dominated

¹⁰ Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (December 2006): 387–409.

Hawai'i and United States. In other words, 'Iolani contributes to the production of future elite stewards of a social, economic, and political system that oppresses or attempts to erase indigenous peoples, the poor, 'āina, and all else rendered commodifiable, disposable or impedimentary to neoliberalism. The Mandelian specialist that 'Iolani so often creates is not conscious of the injustices of neoliberalism and colonialism, even as these forces may effect the specialist herself. For such a person, injustice, environmental destruction, and the degradation of Native Hawaiian culture is normalized—"business as usual." The reproduction of neoliberal and colonial settler ideology and Mandel's "blind specialist" may not be what the school intends to manufacture, nor what any moral society intends, but results because of the corruptibility of liberal and settler values.

But not all 'Iolani Students become Mandel's blind specialist, and while attending 'Iolani some students show signs of resistance to the dominant ideologies reinforced by the school. These students, usually the ones who recognize or sense the contradictions in the hegemonic ideology or material culture, resist the school's attempt to reproduce settler colonialism and neoliberalism. Sometimes these students graduate and continue on in their lives to do positive work that challenges the oppressive status quo. But students' forms of resistance to hegemonic ideologies or recognition of the contradictions in the narrative 'Iolani produces about itself are largely ineffective in altering the school or the existing social order in Hawai'i. And because the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies at 'Iolani is so overwhelming, students are almost always reintegrated into the ruling neoliberal and settler ideologies. Even the minimal awareness this thesis offers of how students resist or reveal contradictions in 'Iolani's material culture can help imagine ways

to prevent or lessen 'Iolani School's production of blind specialists and hegemonic ideologies.¹¹

Literature Review

To understand the resistance of students to 'Iolani School's function as an ISA, I turn to Paul Willis' *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*, an ethnographic study of how 1970s English public schooling reproduces working class students as members of the working class within the capitalist order. In Willis' study, students recognize that the school system falsely claims to create socioeconomic advancement for all working class students. They sense that their schooling was designed to produce a bourgeois middle class with which they do not identify. Ironically, when the students choose to resist and disengage with this education system, neglecting the possibilities of socioeconomic advancement that do exist within institutionalized education, their acts of resistance—truancy, alcoholism, hardened masculinity, pranks, vandalism—limit their ability to alter or change the education system and social order, and signal the beginning of their own formation of a working class identity and life at the bottom of the capitalist order.

Willis calls these various forms of resistance by students "partial penetrations." Not intended to be misunderstood as having a sexual meaning, Willis' notion of penetrations can be understood as students' "rejection of school and opposition to teachers" and the counter-culture of students that "provides an eye to the glint of steel beneath the usual

¹¹ A full or more complete understanding of students' forms of resistance would require a larger ethnographic project.

institutional kerfuffle in school.”¹² This “counter-school culture identifies the false individualistic promises of dominant ideology as they operate in the school.”¹³ In other words, penetrations of the dominant ideology can be understood as students’ culture of resistance to the conformity required by the meritocratic narratives of institutionalized education. These forms of resistance can be acts of disobedience, alcoholism, truancy, violence, and vandalism, or even the simple verbal declaration that some part or the whole of the school experience is bullshit. Penetrations recognize without fully articulating or challenging the myth that “opportunities can be *made* by education, that upward mobility is basically a matter of individual push,” and that the “upward push of education actually transforms the possibilities for all the working class, and so challenges the class structure itself.”¹⁴

Willis recognizes the pessimism of exposing the irony that English working class students’ counter-culture condemns them to working class life. But Willis also highlights the optimism in “that there is no inevitability of outcomes.” He continues by claiming, “there are deep disjunctions and desperate tensions within social and cultural reproduction. Social agents are not passive bearers of ideology, but active appropriators who reproduce existing structures only through struggle, contestation and a partial penetration of those structures.”¹⁵ The recognition by students of the cracks or

¹² Paul Willis, *Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs*, Morningside edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981): 126.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 129.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 174-175.

incongruities in dominant ideologies holds “potential [for], not merely partial and cultural, but total social transformation. What prevents this?”¹⁶

Using what at ‘Iolani might qualify as Willis’ idea of penetrations as starting points, this study seeks ways of providing ‘Iolani students with the language and skills to turn their critiques and resistance—“partial penetrations”—into more effective forms of social or political agency that might challenge ‘Iolani School’s overall function of reproducing the neoliberal and settler colonial ideology of Hawai‘i’s ruling settler elite. Material culture at ‘Iolani School is a site where ideological disjunctions are noticeable, especially when examined with a critical eye. By considering ‘Iolani students’ resistance to material culture at the school and imagining ways to translate their resistances into greater forms of social or political agency or articulations of the disjunctions of dominant ideologies, this study attempts to identify whatever prevents the possibility for social transformation, or at least the transformation of ‘Iolani School.

A transformation of ‘Iolani School, while a distant possibility, does have historical precedence and can be implemented by emphasizing the work of Hawaiian scholars and cultural practitioners and integrating Native Hawaiian pedagogies into the curriculum. ‘Iolani School did not originally function to reproduce U.S. settler colonialism or neoliberalism. From the school’s founding in 1863 to the beginning of U.S. colonialism towards the end of the 19th century, ‘Iolani School functioned to educate Hawaiian nationals, ultimately supporting the Hawaiian Kingdom.

In addition to reorienting ‘Iolani School towards supporting the Hawaiian nation rather than the U.S. nation, introducing material practices that are rooted and based in

¹⁶ Ibid., 137.

Hawaiian cultural practices can contribute to the potential transformation of 'Iolani School. In *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School*, Hawaiian scholar Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua shows how the rebuilding of Native Hawaiian cultural practices through the education of Hawaiian youths is simultaneously the work necessary to rebuild and sustain Hawaiian sovereignty. At Hālau Kū Māna, the charter school studied by Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, the curriculum is centered around practices such as aloha 'āina, the rebuilding of lo'i kalo (wetland taro patches), hula, and mo'olelo (Hawaiian story). These Hawaiian forms of knowledge should be introduced into the classroom at 'Iolani. Instead of focusing on the classic Euro-American literary cannon, the works of Hawaiian scholars and cultural practitioners such as Haunani-Kay Trask, Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Jonathan Osorio, George Helm, Israel Kamakawiwo'ole, Walter Ritte, or Pua Case must be emphasized. Integrating pedagogical practices such as these, in addition to remembering 'Iolani School's original purpose of educating Hawaiian nationals and respecting the obligation of the Hawaiian nation to its citizens and culture, are some preliminary steps towards transforming or challenging 'Iolani's current function of supporting neoliberalism and U.S. settler colonialism.

In addition to the theories of Althusser and Willis, methodological frameworks from Laurel Ulrich, Theodore Adorno, and Henry Giroux showing how to use material culture to critically educate publics will inform my study. In *Tangible Things: Making History through Objects* by Ulrich, Ivan Gaskell, Sara Schechner, Sarah Carter, and Samantha van Gerbig, artifacts from Harvard University's many archives and museums are used to expose the complex histories and sociopolitical relationships that constitute the institution. Instead of being displayed traditionally with labels containing the name of the object, date, and

creator, Ulrich and the other authors and graduate students created a project where they historicized and contextualize the objects displayed, providing museumgoers with a complex and critical material history. For example, Schechner shows how a collection of 19th century French-made medicinal powders is more than just glass jars and brightly colored powders. Schechner uses these medical materials to trace the history of the transatlantic academic, communication, travel, and economic networks required for the growth of medical schools in the United States and how the North's Civil War naval trade blockade, the Anaconda Plan, interrupted these networks. In a manner exemplified by the authors of *Tangible Things*, this thesis will historicize and contextualize material culture at 'Iolani School, breaking from the usual uncritical presentation of objects on campus that lack descriptive labels explaining the meanings of the objects and their historical context.

I suggest the arguments of Theodor Adorno and Henry Giroux to use material culture to prevent the reproduction of oppressive, dominant ideologies can inform the pedagogy of 'Iolani School in the future. In "What Might Education Mean After Abu Ghraib: Revisiting Adorno's Politics of Education" Giroux builds from and reapplies Adorno's "Education after Auschwitz." Both essays show that "critical" education has the power to prevent future tragedies. Adorno and Giroux argue that to prevent tragedies such as the Holocaust or torture at Abu Ghraib, the events themselves and the media produced by the events should instead of being censored or ignored, be contextualized, read, and examined critically. For example, the photos of torture at Abu Ghraib should be used as pedagogical tools to examine the racist, islamophobic, militarist, hyper-masculine, orientalist, and imperialist ideologies and histories of U.S. foreign policy and the War on Terror in the Middle East that produced torture at Abu Ghraib Prison.

Using the methodology from these two essays and *Tangible Things*, I will use each object of material culture under study as an access point to explore the history of 'Iolani School and Hawai'i, while simultaneously paying particular attention to these objects' historical intertwinement with capitalism, neoliberalism, occupation, and settler colonialism. If Adorno and Giroux argue that future injustices and atrocities can be prevented by critically educating people about previous events, I suggest that their argument can be applied to ongoing problems, in this instance the colonization of Hawai'i. By critically reading 'Iolani's material culture against hegemonic ideologies and contextualizing each item of study, I will demonstrate how a pedagogical engagement with the school's material culture can be effectively deployed and utilized. Such an engagement with material culture can help students who are not able to recognize 'Iolani School's many ideological contradictions to develop critiques of hegemony and find social and political agency. Through critical discourse and engagement we can "educate" a decolonized, demilitarized, capitalism-less, sovereign, sustainable, peaceful, and pono future into existence. But to accomplish this material culture analysis and pedagogical engagement requires a substantial understanding of 'Iolani School, critical pedagogy, and the hegemonic ideologies of neoliberalism and colonialism, especially in terms of how these dominant ideologies permeate Hawai'i.

My knowledge and understanding of 'Iolani School's history, especially from World War II to the present, is largely informed by my personal involvement with the school, while my understanding of the school's history prior to WWII is augmented by Ernest Gilbert's 1940 English Master's thesis from the University of Hawai'i titled, *A History of Iolani School*. Gilbert's thesis, bound and kept in the 'Iolani School Archives, is a scholarly

and objective history of 'Iolani School up until 1940. While my knowledge of the school after the time of Gilbert's study is substantial, his work provides an understanding of 'Iolani School from its conception in the 1860s and onwards. Gilbert's study shows how the tensions between the sovereign Kingdom of Hawai'i and its international allies such as the United Kingdom and the United States manifested at 'Iolani School. From the school's initial founding by King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma as an Anglican school to educate young Hawaiian nationals, American imperialism slowly took hold of the school's administration, realigning the school with the ambitions of the American Episcopal Church and U.S. colonial government. Gilbert's history keeps account of the ethnic composition of the student body, showing that the number of Native Hawaiian students decreased over time. Gilbert also tracks the composition of the school staff and how it shifts from mostly English to American nationals in the early 1900s. While understanding 'Iolani's long history is vital to any study of the school, it is just as important to refer to the broader history and implications of institutionalized education in Hawai'i.

In *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i: The Silencing of Native Voices*, Maenette K. P. Benham and Ronald H. Heck help situate 'Iolani School within the context of educational history in Hawai'i. Benham and Heck's work offers a history of settler-driven cultural and educational policies that delegitimized Hawaiian culture, identity, and sovereignty. Although *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai'i* is a study of public schools in Hawai'i, private schools developed their own cultural and educational settler policies and practices that emphasized the supposed illegitimacy of Native Hawaiian culture and sovereignty, and the legitimacy of the United States. 'Iolani must be placed within this

historical context of education in Hawai'i and understood as one of many essential projects of settler colonialism that established and maintained the U.S. settler-state.

According to a number of scholars, the function of most education—public and private—in the West is to reproduce dominant, state-endorsed ideology and the social, economic, and political status quo. One such scholar is Paulo Freire. In his landmark work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire offers a way to end the oppressive function of education. In our case it would involve disrupting 'Iolani School's function to reproduce Hawai'i's settler elite and United States hegemony. In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire argues that education should be aligned around the moral praxis of generating critical consciousness to help people liberate themselves from oppression through their realization of their own oppression and the oppression of others, and the subsequent actions required for their liberation. While members of the 'Iolani community certainly do not face the political or economic oppression faced by the impoverished Brazilian communities Freire worked with, 'Iolani community members can be classified as Freire's oppressed-oppressor, or one who is oppressed because he or she perpetuates oppression. Using Freire's ideas of education for liberation and applying his idea of the oppressed-oppressor to the 'Iolani community helps to imagine new strategic pedagogies. Hence, developing critiques of 'Iolani's material culture as well as introducing the curricular changes mentioned earlier can help to rebuild the cultural practices necessary to support Hawaiian sovereignty. The would align with the activities described in *The Seeds We Planted*, and students would learn how to actively support the needs of of Native Hawaiians, the houseless, the working poor, LGBTQ, disabled, and other groups, versus inadvertently working to disempower them.

Also important to developing a critical understanding of material culture at ‘Iolani School from *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, is Freire’s idea that “critical consciousness” requires “renaming the world.” Because language and vocabularies are hegemonically conceived and controlled by dominant classes, our everyday vocabularies obfuscate and normalize the conditions of oppression. To combat this linguistic entrenchment of oppressive social structures, Freire suggests that people must rename or create new definitions and understandings of the world around them. For example, a policeman should not simply be known as an enforcer of laws, but also as a state “agent” who physically guarantees the maintenance of the capitalist-state social order. I suggest that by critically engaging with material culture at ‘Iolani School, we create opportunities for students to rename and redefine the material conditions that constitute their lives on campus—a recognition and renaming of the ‘Iolani world as ideological.

Candace Fujikane and Patrick Wolfe along with other scholars will provide necessary understandings of settler colonialism so to properly place ‘Iolani School within the context of the ongoing U.S. colonial occupation of Hawai‘i. Patrick Wolfe’s essay “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native” emphasizes the discourse of settler colonialism by highlighting the confiscation of land as the ultimate objective of settler colonialism. Wolfe argues that settler claims to land are legitimized through what he calls the “logic of elimination” or the erasure of indigenous peoples physically and discursively: “Settler colonialism is inherently eliminatory, but not invariably genocidal.”¹⁷ Hawai‘i schools, especially elite private schools, have contributed to this logic of elimination through numerous strategies practiced inside and outside the classroom. This logic of

¹⁷ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism,” 387.

elimination is even evidenced in 'Iolani School's material culture, such as the school's uses of the 'io statue to reinforce 'Iolani's meaning as heavenly hawk and not as a reference to Alexander Liholiho and the Hawaiian Kingdom.

Even Asian Americans among Hawai'i's settler population can assume the logic of settler colonialism. In *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawai'i*, Candace Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura examine "Asian settler colonialism as a constellation of the colonial ideologies and practices of Asian settlers who currently support the broader structure of the U.S. settler state" as it exists in Hawai'i.¹⁸ Considering the elite position of 'Iolani and the school's majority Asian ethnic composition, my thesis adds to the insights provided in *Asian Settler Colonialism* by offering a much needed study of the everyday habits of material culture at a private schools that "educate" many of Hawai'i's settler elite. Building on the essays collected in this anthology I hope to draw attention to the not easily visible or dog-whistle practices of settler colonialism that permeate 'Iolani's material culture.

Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation edited by Purnima Bose and Laura Lyons, helps to understand how 'Iolani School, an incorporated institution since 1942, uses self-representative texts in the same ways as a corporation. Contributors to *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation* examine how corporations use culture and discourse to build narratives about themselves that obfuscate the oppressive actions and concentrations of power and wealth of corporations and executives. 'Iolani's self-

¹⁸ Candace Fujikane "Asian Settler Colonialism in the U.S. colony of Hawai'i," in Fujikane, C. and Okamura, J. Y., eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii*, 1st edition (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008): 6.

representative texts operate in the same fashion, obscuring the questionable practices of the school and 'Iolani community behind a façade of romantic liberal rhetoric.

Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero by Marita Sturken greatly influences my imagining of the 'Iolani community member as the Mandelstam specialist blind to context. In *Tourists of History*, Sturken brilliantly argues that the Oklahoma City bombing and 9/11 memorials, and kitsch items like teddy bears and snow globes consumed at these sites support feelings of national victimhood and innocence. Sturken argues that these feelings of victimhood and innocence prevent many Americans from thinking critically about the context and histories from which these events emerged, such as U.S. foreign policy and the War on Terror in the Middle East. Sturken describes the detached and uncritical subject affected by their interactions with memorials and by their consumption of kitsch commodities a "tourist of history." I contend that the reverence shown to 'Iolani texts and the praise of buildings, memorials, championship banners, trophy cases, and other displays, shape subjects into what one might call a "student-as-tourist of 'Iolani," or a student who is unwilling or unable to critically interrogate his or her own or the school's position within the history of Hawai'i. The student-as-tourist of 'Iolani's ability to critically contend with their own or the school's place in Hawai'i's history is disabled by the solemn and unquestioning reverence required by longstanding, traditional, or important elements of material culture at 'Iolani School. The student-as-tourist or 'Iolani community member either is left to either unconsciously or consciously assume the school's innocence regarding suffering and oppression in Hawai'i.

Erika Doss' *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* can further our understanding of how 'Iolani's many memorials—statues, buildings, plaques, donor walls—produce or reinforce ideology and shape subjects. In *Memorial Mania*, Doss argues the peculiar propensity in the United States to build memorials and other forms of public commemoration represents a yearning for memory and history, and the desire to control particular histories and narratives. 'Iolani's memorial culture is no different in that it also generates a selected history and narrative. Examining memorials on campus, like essential 'Iolani texts, will highlight the particular narratives and values 'Iolani prefers. Using Doss' work will also place 'Iolani School's projects of memorialization within the broader American context of memorialization.

Playing Indian by Philip J. Deloria will inform my analysis of 'Iolani's formation of an American identity through the use of the Red Raider mascot and the kitsch sports souvenir culture featuring the mascot. Deloria argues "playing" Indian and the power to do so has been essential to white America's construction of a paradoxical and unfinished American identity. This paradox is characterized by the "ability to wield power against Indians—social, military, and political—while simultaneously drawing power from them."¹⁹ Material practices of playing Indian at 'Iolani reveal the school's creation of an American identity that places it firmly place within a history of U.S. settler colonialism in Hawai'i.

Chapter Outline

¹⁹ Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 191.

The first chapter of my project, “‘Iolani Inc.,” shows how essential texts at ‘Iolani School perpetuate liberal, Christian, corporate, and colonial values. In a particularly corporate fashion these texts construct an uncritical narrative about the school that prevents the ‘Iolani community from recognizing its contributions to suffering and oppression in Hawai‘i. Specifically, I examine the “Why ‘Iolani?” admissions brochure, the “School Mission,” the “Alma Mater,” and the *Family Handbook*. Together these texts represent the school as an institution of good, ignoring the colonial and neoliberal activities of the broader ‘Iolani community, and the school’s overall function as an ISA reproductive of settler-state hegemony in Hawai‘i. I suggest that understanding and ultimately altering the settler-state function of ‘Iolani School must entail a critical examination of the school’s essential texts and the values they promote. Furthermore, critical examinations can help students to resist or recognize the contradictions presented in the narratives the school creates about itself.

Chapter Two, “Memorializing Neoliberalism,” argues that on-campus statues, plaques, buildings, spaces, and donor walls create a culture commemorating elite members of the ‘Iolani community, past and present, and contribute to the production of neoliberal and colonial settler ideologies. This commemorative landscape encourages ‘Iolani students to idolize settler capitalists and liberalism. By not critically engaging colonialism and capitalism or placing those memorialized within Hawai‘i’s colonial history, ‘Iolani’s on-campus memorial structures contribute to creating an ‘Iolani School subject who is blind to the existence of settler colonialism. This blindness normalizes the activities of settler capitalists in Hawai‘i, and leads the student-as-tourist of ‘Iolani to assume the virtue of capitalist and liberal practices. While the memorials on campus at ‘Iolani are many,

“Memorializing Neoliberalism” focuses on three major sites of commemoration, the Weinberg Building, Sullivan Center, and a pair of statues of political leader Sun Yat-Sen. Helping ‘Iolani students and community members critically examine these commemorative structures can challenge the reinforcement of dominant ideologies

Chapter Three, “Competition Culture,” analyzes the culture of athletics and competitive academic programs—History Bowl or Economics Bowl—at ‘Iolani School. In this chapter I argue that the school’s competition culture promotes settler colonialism in Hawai‘i through the triumph of what I term the “settler team” and American nation over the Hawaiian nation, reinforcing a distinctly American identity and nationalism, and lauding of individual accomplishments. Specifically, this chapter examines ‘Iolani School’s “One Team” philosophy, the Red Raider mascot that appears on kitsch sports souvenirs, and student awards and trophies. By rethinking the school’s mascot and “One Team” philosophy, expanding students’ recognition of contradictions within this competition culture, and being critical of the values of individualism and competition, I believe the ‘Iolani community can work towards disentangling itself from its support of settler colonialism and neoliberalism.

In my concluding chapter I review the incongruous narratives the school constructs about itself and imagine alternative pedagogical strategies to enhance students’ social and political agency and their limited penetrations of dominant ideologies. I also look to the near future of material culture at ‘Iolani School and the implications of the school’s recent plans to expand its campus. Lastly, I close by asking the ‘Iolani community to question its kuleana or responsibility to the school’s founders and Native Hawaiians.

Chapter One

'Iolani Inc.

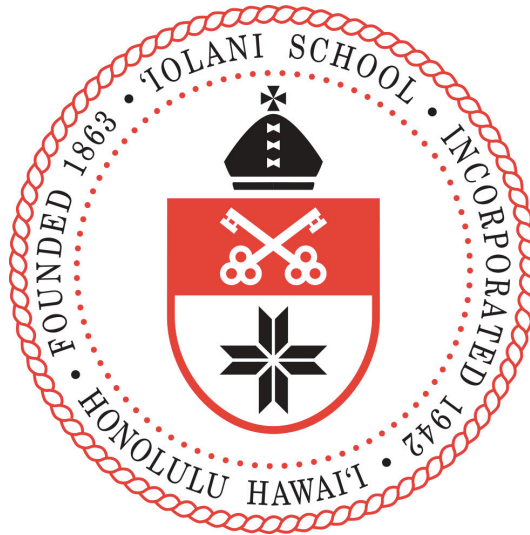


Figure 1.1: 'Iolani School crest indicating 1942 incorporation

Every school day at 'Iolani School entailed time spent with texts. I can recall seemingly endless, tedious hours spent reading the Euro-American literary cannon or slogging through math, science, history and foreign language textbooks. There were painful early mornings spent going through the motions of chapel, feigning participation by holding a hymnal open to a random page, usually not to the assigned hymn. I reluctantly buried my head in texts I assumed were repositories of truth and virtue, and blinded myself to the world beyond.

The educational experience at 'Iolani School, or at other American schools, is dominated by texts. Hours are spent focused on a book, worksheet, syllabus, or staring at a screen reading digital texts or word-processing program. Books themselves are ever-

present on campus. One can find books in the library, in classrooms, stacked on tables and benches, or on shelves. Fliers are posted on walls. Hymnals and prayer books rest on a gutter-like shelf behind every pew in the school's chapel. Print programs are passed out to the audience before performances, assemblies, and other events. A handbook that contains the school rules, dress codes, and policies is updated yearly and given to students, parents, faculty, and staff. The school newspaper *Imua 'Iolani* regularly circulates on campus. At the end of every school year students, faculty, and staff members are given the school's yearbook, *Ka Mo'olelo O 'Iolani*. The entire 'Iolani community receives a monthly magazine, the *'Iolani School Bulletin*, which features 'Iolani-related stories and chronicles 'Iolani news. Even as the school and the world beyond transition to a digital society saturated with images, text remains an integral element of communication and ideological education.

Texts are particularly powerful in conveying ideological beliefs. Texts can change how readers feel or think and subsequently act in the world. Their meanings can be explicit or hidden, and to a young person they can seem infallible. Subsurface meaning, especially in literature, can convey nuanced or deeper meanings undetected by the uncritical reader. For a student or young person, schoolbooks, either standard textbooks or books assigned for classes, require a certain reverence. That the information contained in a book was compiled into a volume, bound, printed, and sold to various markets, read by people in different places and over different times, and chosen by teachers to be included and taught in a class, encourages students to develop an unquestioning respect for a text, whether one enjoys it or not.

Historically, those in dominant economic, social, and political positions or classes have always understood the power of text and propaganda. They have maintained strong

control over media and popular narratives even in proclaimed democratic societies. This control over information by elites ensures the propagation of information that does not challenge the ideologies or systems of social, political, or economic organization that engender or maintain the powerful position of elites. Coupled with the uncritical reader's assumption of a text's virtue, this control of information, media, and text is used for what Walter Lippman, and later Noam Chomsky, and Edward Herman famously called the "manufacture of consent."²⁰ Manufacturing consent can be understood as the conscious and unconscious processes instituted by elites to generate the ideological consent of oppressed peoples to support the very systems that oppress them. While Chomsky and Herman focus on how the media contributes to this process of thought control, other elements of culture, especially education, contribute to it as well.

Corporations and the executives who work within the highest levels of big businesses have seized upon the power of text and media in a disturbingly manipulative and self-serving fashion. In *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation*, editors Purnima Bose and Laura Lyons offer articles that demonstrate how corporations represent themselves and "weave corporate history into larger narratives of communities and nations as a means of consolidating and justifying their practices."²¹ Sadly, this has become a common practice. Corporations and executives spin positive and uncritical self-images through the media and culture they produce, generating public support for corporations

²⁰ Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (New York: Pantheon, 2002): lix.

²¹ Purnima Bose and Laura E. Lyons, "Introduction: Toward a Critical Corporate Studies," in Bose, P. and Lyons, L. E., eds., *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010): 3.

and their executives, despite the many pitfalls of corporate capitalism. This hold on public opinion through deployments of textual and visual propaganda plays an essential role in the corporate control and transformation of societies. Various chapters in *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation* examine different corporations and executives.

Bose's own chapter "General Electric, Corporate Personhood, and the Emergence of the Professional Manager" argues that changes in the corporate ethos are evidenced in advertising and other media corporations produce. Using advertising and media from General Electric, Bose shows the shift in corporate ethics from an understandings of themselves as citizens responsible to the nation state, customers, workers, and local communities, to the rise of the vampire-like, shareholder-focused, and profit-driven transnational corporations characteristic of today's neoliberal age. For example, rather than improve workers' conditions, wages, or benefits to address increasing worker dissatisfaction at General Electric in the late 1940s and early 1950s, GE produced media like its *Professional Management in General Electric* or *Employee Relations News Letter* that attempted to convince its workers of GE's virtue as an employer and institution.²² In short, Bose, Lyons, and the contributors to their anthology explain how corporate executives and management recognize the power of text and media, utilizing and refining them for hegemonic control.

Yet elite control of media and propaganda is not absolute, and not everyone conforms to the societal status quo. People can find the contradictions, omissions, or holes

²² Purnima Bose, "General Electric, Corporate Personhood, and the Emergence of the Professional Manager," in Bose, P. and Lyons, L. E., eds., *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010): 38.

in the narratives or directives of the mainstream media. Alternative media, left and right, challenge the status quo. People can recognize that mainstream media organizations and large corporations propagate information and advertisements for their own benefit and profit. Other people, especially under the realities of neoliberal capitalism, simply cannot identify with the social or economic fantasies depicted on corporate TV or in print media.

Education, like media and propaganda, is used similarly in the United States and Hawai'i, mostly for the benefit of the elite class. Eiko Kosasa, in her chapter "Ideological Images: U.S. Nationalism in Japanese Settler Photographs" in *Asian Settler Colonialism*, shows that media and education were used to reinforce U.S hegemonic ideology in Japanese settlers in Hawai'i. She says that the "American education system is another example of private institutions that 'steer' citizens toward the acceptance of state interests."²³ 'Iolani School's various media, especially its essential texts, endorse liberalism and U.S. hegemony in Hawai'i exemplify the ideological steering described by Kosasa.

In this chapter I turn the focus *Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation* places on the narratives large corporations produce about themselves to essential 'Iolani School texts or the major self-representative texts 'Iolani propagates. Considering the size and cultural influence of an incorporated institution like 'Iolani School (Figure 1.1), studying the school through the lens of what Bose and Lyons call critical corporate studies is of particular utility. The texts I study, the "Why 'Iolani?" admissions brochure, school's mission statement, alma mater, and *Family Handbook* together constitute a large cross-section of 'Iolani texts, ones that are part of the school's tradition and accessible to the public through

²³ Eiko Kosasa, "Ideological Images: U.S. Nationalism in Japanese Settler Photographs," in Fujikane, C. and Okamura, J. Y., eds., *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaii* (University of Hawaii Press, 2008): 214.

the school's website. When examining these texts I ask, what narratives does 'Iolani School create about itself? What are the school's values? But also, how do students resist these texts? And how can students' forms of resistance to 'Iolani's essential texts be augmented and be given greater, more meaningful political agency?

I argue that 'Iolani School's essential texts reveal the school's reinforcement of liberal, corporate, and colonial values, but are simultaneously a potential pedagogical tool that can be used to challenge hegemonic ideologies. 'Iolani's essential texts are hagiographic, idealizing the school and celebrating its functions and practices without question. These self-representative texts portray 'Iolani School as an innocent and benevolent institution and ignore the colonial and neoliberal actions of the broader 'Iolani community—students, faculty, staff, administration, parents, family, alumni—now and in the past. These texts do not consider the school's overall function as a major Ideological State Apparatus reproductive of settler-state hegemony in Hawai'i. Beginning with essential 'Iolani School texts a prospective student encounters when applying to the school and moving to texts a student encounters while attending 'Iolani, it is my intention to show a strong-cross section of the essential texts students encounter throughout their time at 'Iolani School.

For prospective students, their parents, and the greater public, the first experience with 'Iolani School texts is with admissions information, including the "Why 'Iolani?" brochure and the 'Iolani "School Mission." Both of these uncritical and hagiographic essential texts express liberal and neoliberal values, while also failing to recognize the school's founding by King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma. "Why 'Iolani?" is one of the first documents available on the admissions page of the school's website. The eight-page

digital version of the color brochure features pictures of smiling students, frequently asked questions, a flow chart, infographics, and plenty of red and black print (the school's colors). The brochure's bright, clean graphic design and photos of cheerful students make readers think of 'Iolani School as a vibrant and lively community.

The text of the brochure begins with the claim, "at 'Iolani, your child charts his or her own course toward success." Because the term *success* is presented without qualification, popular understandings of success, namely neoliberal values of economic, career, and material success, begin to take hold of prospective students and parents. Thus, before an 'Iolani student even begins his or her time at the school, the purpose of education is presented uncritically and is defined in popular terms, as a "course toward success."²⁴

In addition to allowing education and success to be defined on neoliberal terms, the "Why 'Iolani?" brochure's uncritical mention of leadership allows for popular neoliberal understandings of leadership to take hold of readers. According to the brochure, "'Iolani graduates are leaders, scholars, athletes, scientists, musicians, or maybe all of the above." What qualifies as a leader is not mentioned. Not defining leadership and separating "leaders" from the other sorts of 'Iolani graduates leaves the meaning of leadership fairly ambiguous. Because the brochure fails to show that these sorts of careers are often ones of leadership, someone reading the brochure likely would assume popular notions of representations of leaders. If neoliberalism is the dominant or hegemonic ideology of the last fifty years, most Americans would understand leaders to be the heads of major businesses, military brass, partners within powerful law firms, or politicians. By not

²⁴ 'Iolani School Office of Admissions, "Why 'Iolani?" Accessed February 19, 2017: <http://www.iolani.info/files/admissions2016/#>.

presenting specific and exact definitions for success or leadership, the “Why ‘Iolani?” brochure allows the meaning of education, success, and leadership to be defined in accordance to hegemonic ideologies.

Neoliberal definitions of leadership and the “Why ‘Iolani?” brochure’s ambiguous definition of leadership prevents students from understanding their potential agency and abilities as leaders and agents of social change. The brochure fails to recognize that anyone who has the societal influence or presence in the public eye as a scholar, athlete, scientist, or musician is capable of being a leader. One can consider the leadership of scholars like Angela Davis or Haunani-Kay Trask, athletes like Jackie Robinson, Tommie Smith, or Colin Kaepernick, climatologists like James Hansen, and musicians like George Helm, Woodie Guthrie, or Gil Scott-Heron. The “Why ‘Iolani?” brochure and neoliberalism impede students’ realization that they can use their existing talents and passions to drastically change societies for the better and narrows their use of their abilities towards neoliberal goals of economic, career, and material success.

The most public and explicit declaration of ‘Iolani School’s core values, the “School Mission,” emphasizes liberal values, but expectedly neglects that the school, its graduates, and other ‘Iolani community members frequently fail to adhere to these values or that these values are often contradictory. The “School Mission” can be found in various publications, such as the *Family Handbook* or on the school’s website. The mission reads as follows:

‘Iolani School is a co-educational, college-preparatory school for grades K-12 founded upon Christian principles. Its mission is to develop liberally educated, well-rounded individuals who are well prepared for higher education and for responsible, moral citizenship. To foster academic excellence and personal growth, a school must be challenging and competitive yet compassionate and humane. The

'Iolani motto "One Team" expresses the spirit of unselfish cooperation and mutual support among faculty, staff, coaches, parents and students. 'Iolani School is committed to the following ideals:

- An education which reflects its Episcopal Church heritage and provides a spiritual foundation for the development of personal values and moral integrity
- An exemplary college preparatory curriculum with small classes, personalized instruction and frequent occasions to speak, listen, think, and write
- The development of individuals who are creative and inquisitive, who can analyze and synthesize information to solve problems, and who conduct themselves with confidence, discretion, tolerance, and compassion
- A student body diverse in cultural, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds who bring the best combination of intellect, talent, character and leadership to the school
- Programs which offer students ample opportunity to develop their ability and confidence in intellectual, spiritual, social, aesthetic and physical pursuits
- A balance of commitment to personal growth with concern for others
- Lifelong learning and active, informed, productive citizenship in the local, national and global communities²⁵

The core mission is to “develop liberally educated, well-rounded individuals who are well prepared for higher education and for responsible, *moral* citizenship” (emphasis added).

With the use of words like “well-rounded,” “responsible,” and “moral” this mission sounds noble taken at face value. But in this statement there is no indication that “liberally educated, well-rounded individuals who are well prepared for higher education and for responsible, moral citizenship” are the guaranteed result of an 'Iolani education. The “School Mission” assumes this to be the result, neglecting the school’s hidden function of reproducing elites within Hawai’i capitalist and colonial settler order.

Considering the elite socioeconomic strata occupied by 'Iolani students, parents, administrators, and alumni, and their careers as essential stewards of capitalism and the

²⁵ 'Iolani School, “School Mission.”

settler state of Hawai'i, the legitimacy of the "School Mission" seems questionable. I find it impossible to accept that Alexander & Baldwin, where the Chair of 'Iolani Board of Governors, Jenai S. Wall, also serves as a board member, or Goldman Sachs, where the former 'Iolani Board of Governor member Peter Tomozawa served as a managing director and partner, are in any way "responsible" or "moral" corporations. The same could be said for many other troubling fields, such as finance capitalism or militarism, in which graduates of 'Iolani work.

The "School Mission" continues with seven bullet points, three of which work almost explicitly to reinforce individualism, social stratification, hetero- and bourgeois-normativity, and U.S. nationalism. The first of these three points states part of the 'Iolani mission is "the development of individuals who are creative and inquisitive, who can analyze and synthesize information to solve problems, and who can conduct themselves with confidence, discretion, tolerance, and compassion." This point in particular promotes individualism by framing the student as an individual rather than part of a broader local or global society. Thinking in individualistic terms can be problematic because students or people are led to think narrowly of themselves (or their nuclear family as an extension of themselves) and their personal gain, rather than growth and well-being as a collective pursuit. Individualism has a propensity to engender inegalitarian and socioeconomically stratified societies. There might not be a better historical example of the problems of individualism than the current United States, where liberalism's discourse of individual rights, freedoms, and hard work has been hijacked for the purposes of individual or corporate profit, resulting in rampant income inequality.

This point from the “School Mission” is also problematic because it continues to use the limiting discourse of tolerance and intolerance, which operates to maintain socially segregated and unequal societies. To develop an ‘Iolani student into one that is tolerant requires otherization, or the constructing of another individual or group as alien or different, and usually inferior so as to justify their oppression or subordination. A tolerant person is not one who is equal with others, but rather in a position of power over others: a tolerant person has the power to decide whom, what group, or culture is acceptable, legitimate, or tolerable. This power of the tolerant is essential to dominant classes or hegemony because those who control the discourse of tolerance control who and what is acceptable in society. The tolerant class, the societal or global hegemon, decides who has rights and when these rights can be exercised. This class decides when black lives matter, when indigenous peoples have sovereignty, or when peripheral nations can be stable. The discourse of tolerance within the mission statement of ‘Iolani School is problematic because it perpetuates and solidifies the elite position the ‘Iolani community occupies within settler-dominated and occupied Hawai‘i.

Within the “School Mission,” the point that “programs offer students ample opportunity to develop their ability and confidence in intellectual, spiritual, social, aesthetic and physical pursuits” promotes social stratification, hetero-, and bourgeois-normativity, and ironically limits students’ growth and creativity within the programs and culture of ‘Iolani School. The claim that ‘Iolani somehow provides “ample opportunity” for a student to develop intellectually, spiritually, socially, aesthetically, and so on, is questionable. At ‘Iolani a student can develop mostly in the ways allowed by the school, ways that are decided by faculty, and ultimately administrators, the Board of Governors, wealthy

benefactors, and the United States federal government. Within the humanities at 'Iolani rarely will a student encounter Marxism, anarchism, indigenous sovereignty, or classes that discuss capitalism and liberalism as severely limited and inegalitarian ideologies. Social interaction within school hours for students is limited to the elite social sphere 'Iolani occupies, except the rare instances when 'Iolani students and community members engage in activities beyond the confines of 'Iolani's campus with marginalized communities.

Aesthetically and materially 'Iolani is severely limiting. Architecturally the school is fairly drab, lacking lively or imaginative aesthetics. Students, teachers, and staff have dress codes that perpetuate heteronormative gender roles and bourgeois aesthetics and lifestyles. (The dress code will be discussed more below.) While the "School Mission" claims and intends to foster growth, the physical, material, ideological, and cultural boundaries of 'Iolani School ironically limit and restrict growth.

The last point of the "School Mission," which reinforces part of the initial core of the mission, might be most problematic because it claims part of 'Iolani School's function is to reinforce United States hegemony both within Hawai'i and the world. The point claims that the school intends to foster "lifelong learning and active, informed, productive citizenship in the local, national and global communities." But for what local, national, or global community does the 'Iolani "School Mission" claim to produce citizens? Does the school produce citizens loyal to the self-determining, sovereign nation of Hawai'i under which the school was founded by King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, or the United States that now occupies Hawai'i and to which a majority of Hawai'i residents and 'Iolani community members are citizens? Obviously, someone reading the school's mission today is led to assume 'Iolani School generates "productive citizenship" loyal to the United States. Thus,

the “School Mission” of a school founded by a king and queen of the Hawaiian Kingdom works to reinforce U.S. settler colonialism and hegemony in Hawai‘i, while simultaneously erasing through omission Hawaiians’ rightful claims to sovereignty and land. ‘Iolani School’s mission is a colonial mission. The astounding transformation of ‘Iolani School from a project of the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom to a U.S. colonial settler institution exemplifies the power and nature of colonialism to capture and redirect social structures and institutions for the benefit of a colonizing power.

That the “School Mission” is rarely discussed within the ‘Iolani community and not included in any class curricula would lead one to believe its ideological impact is minimal. Conversely, neglecting to discuss the “School Mission” highlights the ubiquitous acceptance of its enumerated values. Because no one openly challenges the “School Mission,” ‘Iolani community members tacitly endorse it. But when critiqued and contextualized in the manner suggested by Theodor Adorno and Henry Giroux, the mission ultimately reveals the school’s hidden curriculum or reinforcement of individualism, social stratification, hetero- and bourgeois-normativity, U.S. nationalism, and settler colonialism.

These values, especially settler colonialism, are further reinforced in the text an ‘Iolani student might most frequently encounter, the Alma Mater, where students perform through song their allegiance to ‘Iolani School. Written by Reverend Albert Hendrix Stone in 1938 and revised by Reverend David P. Coon in 1980 and 1985 (both men were school Headmasters in the past) the Alma Mater currently reads:

O ‘Iolani, at thy call we gather
To pledge anew our loyalty and love.
Bound fast to thee by bonds no power can sever,
We rise for thee, our firm faith to prove.

We will stand strong and with proud hearts salute thee;
Love stands supreme, our faith shall not move.

Here friendships weave their mystic strands forever,
A fellowship that time shall not defy;
Here dreams of youth take shape and spring to being,
Eternal as the earth, sea and sky.
With vision clear, our minds, our hearts stand open;
We will keep faith, our love shall not die.²⁶

The Alma Mater can be found pasted into the inside front cover of the hymnals in the school's chapel. The Alma Mater is frequently sung at all-school assemblies, in chapel, after sporting events, and always at graduation, a baccalaureate ceremony, and the homecoming week "Burning of the I," a cult-like ritual where the senior class holds hands around a burning twelve-foot tall capital I-shaped piece of cloth and wood. The latter half of the first line of the Alma Mater, "at thy call we gather," is used as the title of *At Thy Call We Gather: 'Iolani School*, a coffee table book published in 1997 that circulates almost exclusively within the 'Iolani community and chronicles 'Iolani School history mostly through the use of photos.

While a positive song that espouses loyalty, friendship, fellowship, and love, when placed in the context of an internationally and historically contested space like Hawai'i, the Alma Mater is problematic because how the song defines "'Iolani" is an act of erasure that obfuscates Native Hawaiian claims to sovereignty and the history of the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. As has been mentioned in the introduction to this study, the name *'Iolani* is itself problematic, where 'Iolani could mean the middle name of King Kamehameha IV or Alexander 'Iolani Liholiho, "heavenly hawk," the name of 'Iolani Palace,

²⁶ 'Iolani School, "'Iolani Songs," Accessed February 23, 2017: <http://www.iolani.org/about/history-of-iolani/iolani-songs>.

or 'Iolani School. Which definition is implied is important because a perpetuation of 'Iolani signifying King Kamehameha IV would indicate a recognition of the self-determining sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom and the Hawaiian monarchy, while implying the other definitions erases the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom and indicates support of U.S. hegemony. Where the Alma Mater begins, "O 'Iolani, at thy call we gather," the definition of 'Iolani is potentially ambiguous. But the first line of the second stanza, "Here friendships weave their mystic strands forever," the word "here" indicates 'Iolani as a place, or more exactly a school where friendships are built. So if one were to wonder at whose call are we gathering, the latter half of the Alma Mater and the title of *At Thy Call We Gather: 'Iolani School* are quite explicit that it is to the call of 'Iolani School and not Alexander 'Iolani Liholiho the 'Iolani community gathers. Thus, by pledging loyalty and love to 'Iolani School through the Alma Mater, the 'Iolani community pledges loyalty to the United States and ongoing acts of settler colonialism in Hawai'i. This shaping of ideology by texts at 'Iolani School might not always be as subtle as how the Alma Mater reinforces colonial settler ideology but can also happen more visibly in the instance of the dress codes found in the *Family Handbook*.

Every year at 'Iolani School, a *Family Handbook* that contains a plethora of information about the school and its many rules is distributed throughout the 'Iolani community. The 'Iolani School *Family Handbook* for 2016-17 is extensive, nearly sixty pages in length.²⁷ While the Handbook was distributed in print during my time as a student at 'Iolani, it is now circulated digitally. The *Handbook* contains a list of holidays

²⁷ 'Iolani School, *'Iolani School Family Handbook 2016-17*, 2016: http://www.iolani.org/files/pdfs/2016-17_family_handbook.pdf.

recognized by the school, contact information for different offices and services, the “School Mission,” Alma Mater, fight song, a brief history of the school, School Prayer, tuition payment plans, facility information, and much more. Most likely, as was the case with my experience with the *Handbook*, students and even parents pay little to no attention to the *Handbook*, especially now that information one might need can be accessed online. But within the Handbook, there are two important sections all students will read at least once: the student rules and dress code.

The ‘Iolani School *Handbook*, specifically the student rules and dress code, reinforces heteronormative and bourgeois-normative ideology by regulating students’ behavior, dress, and bodies. The student rules dictate what a student can and cannot do, including policies on plagiarism, assault, lying, vandalism, fireworks, missing chapel, gambling, drug or alcohol use, and “other forms of misbehavior not specifically described [in the student rules]” decided by the Dean of Students, the administrator in charge of student discipline. Violation of school rules can result in disciplinary measures, from detention to expulsion. Consequences for dress code violations usually entail detention, which varies from having to wipe tables in the cafeteria to doing clerical work after school, or staying late after school in a study hall. The school rules and dress code draw a lot of attention from students and faculty because of the potential disciplinary consequences if a student were to violate the codes.

The school rules at ‘Iolani, like any set of school rules or regulations, operate ideologically, creating students who are obedient to authority, conform to dominant Western cultural norms, and will not question the dominant structures of society no matter how glaring the inequities such structures engender. While surely assault or other offenses

are bad, many rules seem questionable, poorly enforced, and often classist. For people of lower incomes or of minimal education within societies, many of the actions not allowed at 'Iolani are potentially their only forms of political or social agency, ways to be heard in society, or ways to survive. Some people, especially under poverty-inducing economic systems like capitalism, have to resort to theft, gambling, or drug possession to survive. The struggles of some people are sometimes recognized or represented through graffiti—not to mention graffiti being a legitimate form of art—or vandalism. By teaching students to believe that such behavior is absolutely unacceptable, 'Iolani School creates students that go on to see such forms of resistance or protest as illegitimate, criminal, and deserving of discipline and punishment. Thus, an 'Iolani alumni can be easily led to believe an aggressive protest has no use or will accomplish nothing, even when history says otherwise. The behavior of the 'Iolani student is shaped in the image of the bourgeois-normative citizen who uncritically obeys authority, respects capitalism's value of property rights, finds the acts of resistance of the poor or anti-capitalists repugnant, and does not question the social, economic, and political structures that result in the bourgeois-normative citizen's elite position in society.

Meanwhile, the school's dress codes shape the aesthetics and body of 'Iolani students in the image of the bourgeois normative citizen, delegitimizing other aesthetic and body practices and politics. The main point of the dress code for Upper School students found in the *Family Handbook* is as follows:

How one dresses often depends on individual taste, economic situation, and/or family, social, religious, or cultural norms. Dress can be viewed as a means for personal expression, which allows one to explore and define his/her own individuality. However, certain basic dress standards must be followed in order to maintain a positive and productive environment which allows students to be free

from offensive or distracting influences and which provides a focused atmosphere conducive to teaching and learning.

Appropriate attire for boys

includes long pants, jeans, or walking shorts; shirts with collars (aloha shirts, polo shirts, dress shirts, turtleneck shirts); covered shoes or sneakers and socks; and neatly trimmed hair which does not extend below the top of the shirt collar. Boys must have a collared shirt on at all times even if under a sweater, sweatshirt, hooded sweatshirt, or jacket.

And appropriate attire for girls

includes dresses, skirts, walking shorts, pants, or jeans that reach the top of the knee or longer in length; buttoned shirts with collars; turtleneck shirts, tees, blouses and dresses with crew, modest v-neck or scoop necklines that reveal no more than the collarbone area; and sandals with back straps or shoes with socks. All tops must have sleeves and any visible clothing worn under a sweater, sweatshirt, hooded sweatshirt, or jacket must conform to the dress code.²⁸

The school recognizes potential cultural suppression embodied in its dress code when it says that dress is dependent on culture or personal expression, but nonetheless continues with a dress code that might violate a student's culture or be difficult to maintain for those lacking money to pay for new, fancier clothes. The school justifies such a dress code by claiming it maintains a "positive and productive environment" that creates a "focused atmosphere conducive to teaching and learning."

Dividing the dress code into a gender binary perpetuates dominant understandings of gender. There is one code for girls and one for boys, rather than a single dress code for all genders. There is no policy or dress code for people who do not fall under the gender binary of boys and girls. This gender binary enforced through the dress code requires transgender students or students who do not align with the poles of this binary to pick one

²⁸ Iolani School, *Family Handbook*, 38-39.

way or the other to dress, while also telling transgender students that they are not normal—they do not even have a place in the school’s rules. Recognizing the humanity of marginalized or oppressed groups becomes difficult when one grows up in a community where certain groups are made nearly invisible. In this instance, the dress code does not recognize transgender people.

In addition to perpetuating conservative, binary understandings of gender, the ‘Iolani School dress code also shapes students’ aesthetic consciousness, disciplining students’ very bodies and dress to that of Western, elite bourgeois-normativity. This disciplining of students’ aesthetics, bodies, and dress prepares them for the elite socioeconomic career positions they often assume later in life. The dress code for boys—shoes, aloha shirts, polo shirts, dress shirts, walking shorts, and pants—mimics the business attire one might find in the financial sector in downtown Honolulu or on the golf course. The girls’ dress code dictates how they might navigate expressions of their sexuality through their aesthetic or dress by regulating the length of necklines, shorts, or skirts.

Instead of opening fashion and dress to students as a form of political agency, students are taught to adhere to dominant, ruling class aesthetics. One cannot dress how a Native Hawaiian might traditionally, despite the school’s location on Hawaiian land and founding by Hawaiian royalty. One cannot wear a Black Lives Matter tee. The dress code forces students to buy clothes that conform to the dress code, especially if students do not own articles of clothing that conform to the dress code when they first enroll at the school.

The bourgeois normative aesthetic, really a white or corporate aesthetic, seamlessly blends with other elements of hegemonic, elite Western culture. One can easily imagine the

dress shirt, pants, and shoes of a male 'Iolani alumni being worn as they drive an expensive luxury car, go to dinner at a fancy restaurant, or return to their lavish home after a day of work attracting foreign investors for a multi-million dollar luxury high-rise development in Kaka'ako. Such a dress code curbs the presence of markers of ideologies that deviate from the dominant ideology of neoliberalism. For example the anarchic aesthetic of punk rockers or the utilitarian aesthetic of some leftists have almost no place at 'Iolani. The dress code at 'Iolani, while serving to keep appearances "neat" or minimize distractions, operates unconsciously to shape 'Iolani students into the next class of ruling elites through altering students' understanding of personal aesthetics and the clothes they buy. When comparing the dress code at 'Iolani School to the assimilative function and school uniforms of infamous Indian boarding schools, such as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, 'Iolani's overall function as an Ideological State Apparatus becomes quite clear. Like Carlisle, 'Iolani School works to reinforce, maintain, and incorporate its students into the dominant colonizer's culture and hegemonic ideology.

Because the dress code has hair length requirements—"nothing below the top of the collar"—even the male body is shaped by the dress code. This hair length requirement discriminates against cultures, such as many Pacific Island cultures, where long hair for males is normal. This regulation of hair, much like the regulation of hair in the United States military incorporates male students from cultures where long hair is preferred into Western, white society's short haircuts.

Still, violations or broad interpretations of the dress code are quite common, and meeting the code's standards is not easy for everyone. Girls are constantly violating the code's requirements regarding skirt length and necklines. In my time at the school when

tucking in shirttails was required, boys would perpetually leave their shirttails untucked either out of laziness or because they disliked the way they looked with their shirt tucked. I myself would occasionally wear tees over my collared shirt. Doing so allowed me to wear shirts displaying my favorite bands or sports teams while not violating the dress code. Others would keep slippers in their lockers so that as soon as school ended they could change out of their shoes. Students are constantly coming up with new and inventive ways to evade the dress code, and many of these forms of resistance are imperceptible to the official eye or ignored as a small transgression.

The struggle for some students to afford clothes that conform to the dress code offers students a glimpse of class difference. As an 'Iolani student, not only did I have to buy clothes that conformed to the dress code (collared shirts are much more expensive than tees), but I also had to buy clothes that carried social capital among peers that were almost always of a higher economic status than my family. I remember getting a job as early as possible, age fourteen, so I could buy more expensive, name brand clothes like those of my peers. In my time at 'Iolani School I by no means had the ability, nor did the school afford me the ability, to articulate some sort of class-consciousness. But I certainly did recognize vast gaps in income between my family and most of my peers. While I noticed the easy access all my many richer peers had to cars, clothes, or money required for spending time with friends at the movies or other events, I also noticed a very small number of students came from even lesser economic backgrounds than mine (relative to the 'Iolani community). These students consciously and unconsciously made their differences apparent by wearing the same two or three shirts for almost an entire school

year, despite the social stigma 'Iolani students place on being seen in the same clothes within a week.

This constant tussle between students and the dress code exemplifies 'Iolani students' penetrations of hegemonic ideology and culture. The aesthetic and dress preferences of students do not always align with those of the dress code—many students do not identify with the dress standards codified in the school's rules. The amount of money required to purchase clothes that meet the dress code and to maintain social popularity as an 'Iolani student does not align with the economic reality faced by children of faculty and other students on scholarships. The constant struggle to meet or not meet the dress code and to dress in a socially acceptable way make it evident that students are aware of these aesthetic and economic discrepancies. Students know that those who wear the same clothes over and over again usually come from families with less money than most all 'Iolani students. Students see the brands of clothes or cars each other's families drive as symbols of wealth or income.

While essential texts at 'Iolani School promote a positive and uncritical narrative of the school, and on a hidden level reinforce capitalist and United States hegemony in Hawai'i, this ideological education contributed to by 'Iolani's essential texts is occasionally resisted or challenged by students. Like the working class students in Paul Willis' *Learning to Labor* who did not identify with an education system reproductive of the capitalist order and conceived by economic and political elites, some 'Iolani students might not identify with the dominant elite, neoliberal, and colonial settler culture of an educational institution like 'Iolani School. Some students, especially queer, transgender, Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, Filipino, South Asian, African American, or middle or low income students, might

not find their lives or identities valued by essential 'Iolani texts. Some might realize that the 'Iolani community fails to live up to the moral standards established in 'Iolani's essential texts. Others might find 'Iolani's essential texts useless or irrelevant—how does a century-old alma mater help a student navigate an increasingly complex Hawai'i and world? 'Iolani students' partial penetrations of 'Iolani's essential texts can serve as access points to studying the school's own intertwinement with oppressive ideologies. Reading these texts critically, educating towards a decolonized and economically sane future can offer students the ability to direct their non-conformity or penetrations towards producing a more just Hawai'i.

Unfortunately, an 'Iolani education does little to facilitate students' awareness of inequalities and differences, squandering a tangible and relatable form of students' counter-culture—their partial penetrations—that could be used to raise critical consciousness or help students realize their abilities to become agents of social transformation. The school's dress code, the students' uncodified dress standards, and the resulting counter-culture of code violations or dress forms could be used pedagogically. Encouraging students to think critically and openly about the culture of dress at 'Iolani School can generate greater class-consciousness among a student population that is sorely lacking in such critical consciousness. Having students name the existing culture of dress, how and why the many styles, aesthetics, and clothing habits exist, can lead the students into deeper discussions about class, economics, income inequality, and bourgeois-normativity.

In the time a student, parent, staff, or faculty member spends at 'Iolani School, texts are not only encountered in class, but in chapel, homeroom, assemblies, at home, and on

the school's website. These texts produced by 'Iolani School vary in length and the number of instances one encounters them. One might read 'Iolani's school rules or dress code once, while one might sing the Alma Mater almost weekly. Altogether one spends an incredible amount of time interacting with or encountering texts but is never encouraged to give much thought to the significance or broader implications of these texts.

'Iolani School uses its essential texts just like a corporation, uncritically and hagiographically. This results in an avoidance or lack of interrogation of what social inequalities, suffering, or oppression the school and the ideologies it reinforces might contribute to or produce. Prospective students and parents encountering the "Why 'Iolani?" brochure are presented with a self-representation that characterizes 'Iolani School as an infallible contributor to the good of society and the betterment of students. The 'Iolani "School Mission" continues this self-representation of the school as serving the greater good and helps to educate students into becoming upstanding members of a liberal society. The Alma Mater claims 'Iolani as a school of friendship and love. And the *Family Handbook*, specifically the school rules and dress code, shows how 'Iolani School shapes students into respectful and obedient citizens. Because these texts and the overall function or purpose of 'Iolani School go uncriticized, hegemonic ideologies, such as neoliberalism and settler colonialism, are free to take hold of readers, the school, and its function. In "Undoing Democracy: Neoliberalism's Remaking of State and Subject," author Wendy Brown discusses the danger of neoliberalism:

Neoliberal reason, ubiquitous today in statecraft and the workplace, in jurisprudence, education, culture, and a vast range of quotidian activity, is converting the distinctly *political* character, meaning, and operation of democracy's constituent elements into *economic* ones. Liberal democratic institutions, practices,

and habits may not survive this conversion. Radical democratic dreams may not either.²⁹

Brown shows that neoliberalism turns institutions that can potentially contribute to a healthy democracy or greater utopic society, such as schools, into economic institutions that reproduce the oppressive capitalist status quo. The process Brown describes has enveloped 'Iolani School and can be evidenced in the neoliberal rhetoric of the school's essential texts or the bourgeois, elite, and corporate aesthetic of the dress code. Elsewhere, this process can be seen in the capture of the school's Board of Governors by economic elites and the focus on technocracy, science, and math education. When an elite private school emphasizes and promises to educate its students for 21st century career and economic supremacy, positive values, ones claimed in 'Iolani's own self-produced texts, such as democracy, freedom, friendship, and love, get replaced by individualism, careerism, consumption, and financial gain. This results in the continuation and exacerbation of suffering and oppression for minorities, the poor, and indigenous people, not only in Hawai'i, but globally.

Thankfully, young students, are bright, inquisitive, and often kind. Some 'Iolani students are aware of problems and inequalities in society, even within their own community. But they must be given the time, space, skills, freedom, encouragement and inspiration to transform this awareness into action. The dress code and counter-dress culture are one element of culture that shows that problems and differences exist and are sometimes recognized within the 'Iolani community. Some students are in a constant tug-of-war between their desired aesthetic and that of the 'Iolani dress code. Usually the dress

²⁹ Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (MIT Press, 2015): 17.

code and school, representative of hegemonic, Western ideology and culture, win once students eventually conform. This reintegration into and reproduction of dominant culture and ideology can be avoided, and students' penetrations or recognition of incongruities between reality and the school dress code are excellent starting points to generate class-consciousness and future actions that challenge neoliberal, settler-state hegemony in Hawai'i.

Solutions to neoliberalism's takeover of educational institutions like 'Iolani School might seem impossible, but if visions of a decolonized, sovereign, and just Hawai'i are to have any chance at becoming a reality, attempts must be made to alter 'Iolani School in such positive directions. 'Iolani School must choose between continuing its contribution to the legacy of colonial education in Hawai'i or contributing to justice for Native Hawaiians. While 'Iolani School's choice to reinforce U.S. settler hegemony can currently be read in its essential 'Iolani texts, these texts are also a site for remaking this choice. To disengage from neoliberalism and settler colonialism 'Iolani School and the 'Iolani community can write into their essential texts more decolonized, social, or progressive ideologies that engender work towards social and economic justice, and supporting Native Hawaiians in their struggles for self-determined sovereignty.

Chapter Two

Memorializing Neoliberalism

As a student, days at ‘Iolani School began and ended by entering and exiting the Weinberg Building parking garage. I generally would be sitting shotgun in my father’s car when we made the turn off of Kamoku Street and drove up the ramp of the Weinberg garage. My first, almost daily, interaction with ‘Iolani School was the thud of tires hitting the upward grade of the garage ramp and the skies of Ala Wai and Waikīkī changing to the dark dinge of the garage. My last daily interaction with the school was the reverse; riding out of the garage to Kamoku Street.

Despite this daily entrance and exit at ‘Iolani School, never did I think about how the enormous Weinberg Building got its name. Even though fellow students and I would begin and end our school day in the parking garage, attend classes, keep lockers, buy goods at the snack bar, sit in the bleachers, or make out in the stairwells of the Weinberg Building, never were we taught who Weinberg was and why ‘Iolani School would name a building after this person. Neither did we think about Weinberg on our own. Nonetheless we would utter the name constantly: Where is your next class? “In Weinberg;” or where is the meeting? “In Weinberg.” Because of his veneration at school, we students uncritically assumed Weinberg did great things for society or ‘Iolani School, somehow became wealthy, and should be emulated.

The Weinberg Building is only one of many commemorative structures on ‘Iolani School’s campus. Like other elite private schools in Hawai‘i and elsewhere in the United States, ‘Iolani’s landscape is comprised of buildings, spaces, plaques, and statues each

dedicated to someone of significance. In addition to the Weinberg Building other structures were named after famous people: the Castle Building, Dillingham Pool, Sun Yat-Sen Courtyard, Eddie Hamada Field, Kozuki Stadium, Father Bray Athletic Center, Nangaku Building, Seto Hall, St. Alban's Chapel, Sullivan Center for Innovation and Leadership, and the Wong Pavilion. Around campus there are statues of Father Bray, Sun Yat-Sen, and the 'io statue (mentioned in the "Introduction"). There are so many plaques the very thought of taking inventory of them is tiring. There is one made of bronze remembering Maurice Sullivan laid in a pathway in the Sullivan Courtyard, one by the entrance to the school's archives, a few on walls in the athletics courtyard, one by the entrance to the art gallery, one on a ground floor pillar of the Sullivan Center remembering hardware store City Mill founder Chung Kun Ai, and many more. Within the Weinberg Building and Sullivan Center are memorial walls listing the wealthy donors who contributed to the funding of these buildings. When one takes a step back to take account of 'Iolani's memorials and their varied forms, one might conclude that the school's most important function besides schooling is memorializing someone.

Recently, memorialization has become a major subject of study in cultural studies and related disciplines, with Erika Doss' *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America* serving as an important text in this emerging field of study. In *Memorial Mania*, Doss examines American practices of memorialization and focuses on the rash of memorial structures erected in the past few decades. In her central argument she defines memorial mania as "an obsession with issues of memory and history and an urgent desire to express and claim

those issues in visibly public contexts.”³⁰ Memorials are often material objects representing public demands for representation and respect in public consciousness. Such demands are on display in the National Mall in Washington D.C. where memorials and museums represent certain cultural groups’ claims for legitimacy, representation, and respect within the national consciousness. Doss describes memorials as major sites of power, particularly through their ideological function. The memorials she studies produce and “control particular narratives about the nation and its publics.”³¹ Doss notes: “Marking social and political interests and claiming particular historical narratives, memorials can possess enormous power and influence.”³² And because of their ideological function, memorials must be critically examined. When examining the memorial landscape at ‘Iolani, many questions emerge. Who does ‘Iolani memorialize? What sorts of ideologies do ‘Iolani’s memorials produce or reinforce? How can memorials be used to challenge the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies at ‘Iolani School?

In this chapter I examine a cross section of ‘Iolani School’s many memorials by focusing on the Weinberg Building, Sullivan Center, and two statues of Sun Yat-Sen. The Weinberg Building and Sullivan Center are two of the most recently constructed buildings on campus and are essential to the Upper School experience for students, faculty, and staff. Both are multipurpose facilities and two of the tallest buildings on campus. The Weinberg Building contains everything from Kozuki Stadium, which overlooks the school’s football field, to the College Counseling Office and Seto Hall. The Sullivan Center houses the school’s

³⁰ Erika Doss, *Memorial Mania: Public Feeling in America*, Reprint edition, (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2012): 2.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid., 9.

archives and Upper School library, a rooftop garden, classrooms, and laboratories. The primary Sun Yat-Sen statue stands in an open courtyard facing the Castle Building. Hundreds of students pass the statute every day. Another Sun Yat-Sen statue inconspicuously sits outside the perimeter of the school's track surrounded by bushes. These memorials under study are some of the most visible elements of memorial culture at 'Iolani School.

I argue that memorials on campus at 'Iolani School, represented by the Weinberg Building, Sullivan Center, and Sun Yat-Sen statues, remember and venerate important people in 'Iolani's history, but on a more veiled level valorize neoliberal and colonial settler ideologies. By not providing the context and skills to critically engage with these memorial sites, students are encouraged to see themselves as innocent bystanders in relationship to Hawai'i's history and are left unable to contend with the 'Iolani community's participation in the reproduction of oppressive ideologies and socioeconomic conditions. This ideological reinforcement occurs consciously and unconsciously through the students' daily encounter with these memorials that extol settler ideologies of capitalism and liberalism. The incapacity of the student-as-tourist to critically engage with on-campus memorials allows for the ideologies embodied by these memorials to be accepted without question.

I characterize the student who encounters these memorials as a "student-as-tourist of 'Iolani" to highlight the superficial, uncritical, and tourist-like nature of the interaction students have with these memorial sites. Essential to my description of the student-as-tourist of 'Iolani is Marita Sturken's idea of the "tourist of history" she describes in her book *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*.

Sturken describes a tourist as a “figure who embodies a detached and seemingly innocent pose.” The tourists of history experiences “itself as a subject of history through consumerism, media images, souvenirs, popular culture, and museum and architectural reenactments, a form of tourism that has as its goal a cathartic ‘experience’ of history.”³³ Tourists of history view or experience history from a distance and rarely question their connections to history or the site of history they encounter. Because of their “distance” from the specificities of historic and contemporary events, tourists are led to assume their innocence. They are not actors in history, but merely viewers and consumers of it. Tourists are made to think that they have no responsibility for or relationship to the histories they encounter.

I suggest that on-campus memorials at ‘Iolani School produce a deeply depoliticized and disengaged subject—a student-as-tourist—that because of his or her distance from and lack of understanding of what is being memorialized is easily subsumed by the ideologies embodied by these memorials. The student-as-tourist can also be understood as what Ernest Mandel calls “the real idol of late capitalism [. . .], the ‘specialist’ who is blind to any overall context,” in *Late Capitalism*.³⁴ The student-as-tourist of ‘Iolani, from her time spent as a student at the school absorbing dominant ideologies and disengaging from politics, eventually becomes this Mandelian blind specialist. Whatever political, business, medical, legal, or other elite professions an ‘Iolani graduate pursues, he or she is unable to see or think beyond the dominant ideologies of liberalism, capitalism, and settler colonialism, or to realize their relationship to historical events. The education of students-

³³ Marita Sturken, *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2007): 9.

³⁴ Mandel, *Late Capitalism*, 509.

as-tourists of 'Iolani results in the contributions of 'Iolani community members to “business as usual,” or the social, political, and economic status quo. The 'Iolani graduate, once in the professional world, is thus unable to conceive of or advocate for social change, ultimately working unconsciously to reproduce the cultural conditions which ensures the insulated and elite position of the ruling settler class from which most 'Iolani students emerge.

The Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Building (Figure 2.1 and 2.2), is a massive structure on the campus of 'Iolani School and within the urban landscape of Honolulu. Students and staff refer to the building as either the “Weinberg Building” or “Weinberg.” At a cost of \$20 million, the building features 175,000 square feet, 32 classrooms, 5 science labs, the College Counseling office, a snack bar, the Seto Hall auditorium, a 350-stall parking garage, the maintenance office and warehouse, a satellite police station, and a memorial wall of donors titled, “These Donors Gave That Others Might Learn.”³⁵ The building’s outer walls are painted a light taupe, with dark green and burnt red trim. The highest point of the building stands above the Kozuki Stadium press box, with four flagpoles placed behind a façade featuring the school’s crest. The 4-story building is long, its length running parallel to the school’s football field and the Ala Wai canal just makai of campus. Roughly halfway along this length the building’s functions split. The classrooms, labs, Seto Hall, snack bar, College Counseling Office, and donor wall occupy the Diamond Head side, while the parking garage, satellite police office, and maintenance office and warehouse occupy the Ewa or Kamoku Street side.

³⁵ Jennifer Hiller, “Iolani Campus Set to Expand,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, April 24, 2002: <http://the.honoluluadvertiser.com/article/2002/Apr/24/ln/ln26a.html>.



Figure 2.1: View of Weinberg Building looking makai (photo by author)



Figure 2.2: Aerial view of 'Iolani School from Waikīkī (photo from <http://iolanik-6fablab.blogspot.com/>)

This enormous structure serves as a physical testament to 'Iolani School's importance in the now urban areas of Moili'ili, Ala Wai, and Waikīkī, and as a symbol of the

school's contributions to the social, political, and economic activities of Honolulu. From across the Ala Wai Canal in Waikīkī's dozens of high-rise apartments or hotels, the makai length of the Weinberg Building is the most visible sign of 'Iolani School. For many visitors or residents in Waikīkī looking mauka from their high-rises, the Weinberg Building acts as a visual ambassador for 'Iolani School.

By naming the building after Harry and Jeanette Weinberg, 'Iolani School memorializes the infamous Harry Weinberg. In his time in Hawai'i, from the mid 20th century to his death in 1990, Harry Weinberg was a major investor in some of the most notorious capitalist ventures in Hawai'i history, including those associated with Amfac,³⁶ Alexander & Baldwin,³⁷ and Maui Land & Pineapple. He is also famous for his takeover of the Honolulu Rapid Transit Company, which he eventually sold for a profit to Mayor Frank Fasi and the City and County of Honolulu in 1971, and it was transformed into Oahu's current metro system, "The Bus."

For today's generations, Harry Weinberg is best known for the projects and causes the Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation has given money to over the years. The Weinberg name can be seen across Hawai'i and the United States. With an endowment of \$2 billion as of 2002, the Weinberg Foundation contributes large amounts of money to philanthropic ventures around Hawai'i and the U.S. mainland. Much of the Weinberg Foundation's wealth is grown through lucrative real estate developments, an industry in Hawai'i that contributes to income inequality, the high cost of living, homelessness and the continued capitalist development of Hawaiian land. For example the foundation had a

³⁶ George Cooper and Gavan Daws, *Land and Power in Hawai'i: The Democratic Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990): 213.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 226.

major hand in the commercial development of Lihue,³⁸ the Ko Olina resort in West Oahu, and other gentrifying projects. The Weinberg Foundation is the “third-largest private landowner in the state, by total assessed values.”³⁹

Through their everyday (and largely uncritical) encounters with the Weinberg name and building, the students-as-tourists of ‘Iolani tacitly endorse Weinberg and everything he represents. They unknowingly internalize the ideology of capitalism Weinberg embodied and perpetuated. Students who encounter the Weinberg building assume Weinberg’s virtue. ‘Iolani School does not provide descriptive information on who Weinberg is or why he would be memorialized at the school. Nor does the school provide time or space within its classes to critically evaluate who Weinberg is and what values he practiced. For the ‘Iolani student who lacks information about Harry Weinberg’s history, philanthropy, and controversial business practices, and the real estate development of the Weinberg Foundation, whatever actions Weinberg engaged in are unquestioned.

Perhaps most significantly, because Weinberg’s memorialization on campus, the student assumes Weinberg’s practices are endorsed by the school. The student-as-tourist of ‘Iolani assumes that Weinberg was a great man who did great things and deserves a building named after him on the campus of one of Hawai‘i’s famous preparatory schools. Without investigation, students of ‘Iolani may not know that the Weinberg Building bears the name of Harry Weinberg because his foundation requires “any organization receiving more than \$250,000 for a building fund to agree to name the building after the

³⁸ Ibid., 330.

³⁹ Ian Lind, “Weinberg’s Legacy,” *Honolulu Weekly*, May 22, 2002: <http://ilind.net/weekly/weinberg.html>.

foundation.”⁴⁰ Ultimately, the ‘Iolani student is led to believe he or she should strive to be a wealthy captain of capitalist industry like Weinberg. Memorializing Harry Weinberg unwittingly educates students to value careers that result in the accumulation of wealth characteristic of capitalist ideology and infamous capitalists like Harry Weinberg.

Within the Weinberg building, the ideals of capitalism are further reinforced through the presence of a memorial wall titled, “These Donors Gave That Others Might Learn” (Figure 2.3). This memorial wall of donors sits in a large open-air space in the middle of the Weinberg building. The wall faces a large space that includes a snack bar, large staircase to the second floor classrooms, the glass windows of the College Counseling Office, and a tunnel that opens to Kozuki Stadium’s track and football field. With a deep, burgundy-like red background, four large, vertically oriented rectangular panels of glass are raised out from the wall by four metal pegs. Etched in white, the panels list, in order of donation size, the wealthy contributors to the building’s fund. This wall could easily blend into the lobby of a bank, technology corporation, or financial building.

The first of the four panels features an ‘Iolani School seal, looking and functioning like a stamp of approval. The first donors on the list are the Harry and Jeanette Weinberg Foundation, the Kozuki family, and the Harold K. L. Castle Foundation. Other names on the four panels read like a directory of Hawai‘i’s corporate, legal, political, medical, and media elites. The title of this wall frames the wealthy listed as selfless and giving: they gave so that students might learn. But nowhere on this wall is it explained how these folks attained their wealth. Did they become wealthy from their selflessness? Obviously not. The wealth of many elites and institutions listed came through inheritance, privilege, expert capitalist

⁴⁰ Ibid.

maneuvering, Hawai'i's plantations, and U.S. colonial occupation. Because information regarding the donors is missing from this memorial, most students-as-tourists of 'Iolani will most likely assume these donors are virtuous and selfless for their contributions to the school.

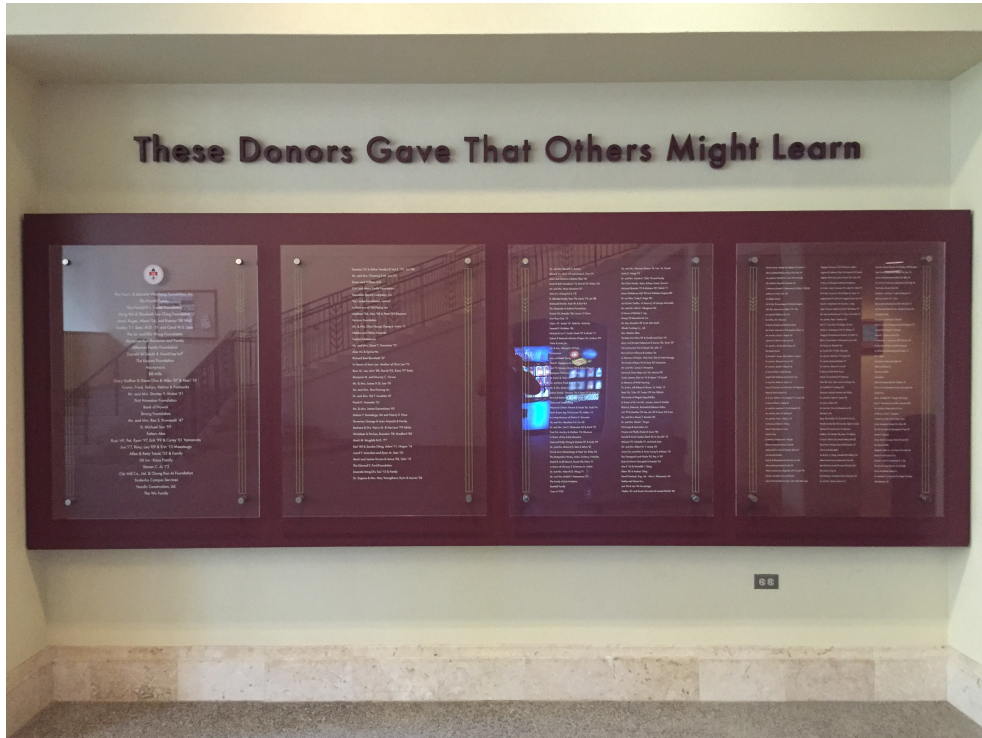


Figure 2.3 Memorial listing donors to the Weinberg Building fund (photo by author)

The Weinberg Building and the donor wall within it are material manifestations of settler colonialism in Hawai'i that are ironically situated on the campus of a school founded by Hawaiian royalty under the sovereign Kingdom of Hawai'i. The Weinberg Building is a memorial to a man who made much of his wealth through investments in major corporations responsible for the illegal overthrow and annexation of the Hawaiian

Kingdom, major real estate projects on Hawaiian land, and other capitalist settler practices. And within this building other companies that benefited from the plantation system and the overthrow, like Alexander & Baldwin, are memorialized.⁴¹ The reinforcing of the student-as-tourist of 'Iolani's distance from Hawai'i's ongoing history continues in other facilities, including the new Sullivan Center.

The Sullivan Center for Innovation and Leadership (Figure 2.4 and 2.5), opened in 2013, continues the memorialization of capitalism, but also adds technocracy to the student's ideological education. While stylistically very similar to the Weinberg Building, the Sullivan Center's most remarkable feature is an enormous glass-paneled facade that stretches four floors high and the building's length. The building faces the 'io statue and the school's baseball field, with Diamond Head, or Lē'ahi, visible in the distance. The large glass wall is reminiscent of corporate buildings and exudes a technocratic aura—shiny, cutting edge, and transparent. The Sullivan Center boasts 'Iolani's "library, archives, senior bench area, learning areas equipped with advanced technology, student communications center, multi-use floor space, film production studio, conference rooms, offices, laboratory stations, and study areas. A wireless computer environment, laptop carts and sustainable architectural features also are part of the facility." Like the Weinberg building, the Sullivan Center has a wall dedicated to its donors, titled "Honoring Our Visionaries." This donor wall is framed to match the technocratic rhetoric used to discuss the Sullivan Center. Terms such as, "21st century," "sustainability," "innovation," "entrepreneurialism," "cutting

⁴¹ Ibid.

edge,” and “technology” are often heard when learning about the building from students or staff who work within its walls.⁴² And the virtue of each term is assumed.



Figure 2.4: Sullivan Center and wall, "Honoring Our Visionaries," in entry (photo by author)



Figure 2.5: Sullivan Center, view of large glass façade (Photo from G70 Design website, <http://g70.design/project/iolani-school-sullivan-center/>)

⁴² 'Iolani iOvation, *The Sullivan Center for Innovation and Leadership @ 'Iolani School*, Accessed February 3, 2017: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TDsl3QBs1g>.

Reinforcing a technocratic ideology, a way of thinking important to capitalism, in 'Iolani students (or any elite educational space for that matter) is essential to maintaining ruling class and settler hegemony. While technology's virtues are many, its ills may be even greater. Technology has provided humanity with the threats of global warming and nuclear holocaust.

Technocracy, or the primacy of technical expertise or technology, has been essential in establishing and sustaining Euro-American colonialism, imperialism, militarism, and settler hegemony. For example, in Hawai'i's history the military power of the United States, represented by bayonets and the USS Boston was critical to the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and deligitimization of Hawaiian culture. Historically, to the holder of the greatest technologies have gone the spoils of hegemony. Nonetheless the major mission of the Sullivan Center, according to the 'Iolani Headmaster Dr. Timothy Cottrell, is technocratic: "to inspire, and support student discovery, innovation and leadership."⁴³ The technocracy of the Sullivan Center prepares 'Iolani students for technocratic careers, and the technocratic landscape of the Sullivan Center reinforces the importance of technological innovation and advancement.

This immersion in the ideology of technocracy at the Sullivan Center occurs under the roof of a building memorializing another settler capitalist in Hawai'i history. The Sullivan Center for Innovation and Leadership is named after Joanna Lau Sullivan, wife of Maurice "Sully" Sullivan. Maurice Sullivan is memorialized with a bronze-colored plaque inlaid on the ground in a pathway that cuts through the Sullivan Courtyard adjacent to the Sullivan Center. According to 'Iolani's website,

⁴³ Ibid.

Joanna and her late husband Maurice J. "Sully" Sullivan together opened Foodland, Hawai'i's first supermarket, in 1948. Sully was one of the most successful entrepreneurs in Hawai'i history as he brought McDonald's to the islands and opened more than 100 retail outlets across the state. The Sullivan family has long supported a wide range of worthwhile projects for Hawai'i's non-profit organizations including Chaminade University, the Honolulu Academy of Arts [now the Honolulu Museum of Art], the University of Hawai'i Cancer Center, Ronald McDonald House and Punahou School.⁴⁴

Maurice Sullivan's wealth was so great that he once made the *Forbes* 400.⁴⁵ Foodland and his other businesses are currently operated by his daughter, CEO Jenai Sullivan Wall and her husband Roger Wall, under the umbrella of the Sullivan Family of Companies. Jenai Wall also currently serves as the Chair of 'Iolani's board of directors and, since 2015 as a Director and Committee Member on Alexander & Baldwin's board of directors. The business of Joanna and Maurice Sullivan and the Walls differs from that of Harry Weinberg. Whereas Weinberg's business and personal reputation was associated with aggressive or unfriendly practices, Maurice Sullivan was almost universally liked.⁴⁶ Being good friends and 'Iolani classmates with Eamon Wall, son of Jenai and Roger, I can confidently claim that the Wall family might be some of the kindest, generous, and gentle people I have met. Despite the good nature of the Sullivans and Walls, the Sullivan Center, by memorializing the Sullivans, memorializes capitalism.

The wall "Honoring Our Visionaries" (Figure 2.6) on the ground floor of the Sullivan Center continues the memorialization of economic elites in Hawai'i we saw in the Weinberg building. Completed in early 2017, the wall lists far fewer names and differs visually from

⁴⁴ 'Iolani School, "Sullivan Center," Accessed December 15, 2016: <http://staging.iolani.org/news/sullivan-center>.

⁴⁵ Lori Tighe, "Sully Receives Warm Tribute from 2,000," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 16, 1998: <http://archives.starbulletin.com/98/03/16/news/story3.html>.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

the wall of donors in the Weinberg Building. The names appear on small, horizontally oriented, wood panels that are raised out from the wall. The names are printed in black, making the names on darker pieces of wood almost illegible from a short distance. Red backlighting offers an extra layer of visual spectacle to the memorial’s design and bathes the names in ‘Iolani School’s main color. In the center of the memorial, on the largest white panel and in a large font size, is the name “Mrs. Joanna Sullivan.” Without a photo or the appearance of Joanna Sullivan’s middle name, Lau, someone viewing this wall would have no idea she is ethnically Chinese. Like the Weinberg wall of donors, the names here are a who’s who of elite institutions and individuals in Hawai‘i. This space in front of the wall “Honoring our Visionaries” receives an incredible amount of foot traffic because of its central location on campus and because it is adjacent to the only elevator in the Sullivan Center.



Figure 2.6: Memorial wall, “Honoring Our Visionaries” (photo by author)

Without contextual information or encouragement to learn about the Sullivans, the names on the wall “Honoring Our Visionaries,” and the ideologies these people represent, the student-as-tourist is encouraged to assume that the people and ideologies being memorialized are virtuous. As a central building on campus, home to countless classes and facilities, the Sullivan Center hosts many students. Because students almost always have no understanding of those memorialized on the donor wall, naming the donors “visionaries” leads students to believe in the benevolence and foresight of those named. Considering the businesses and careers of these “visionaries,” the lenses through which they see the world are neoliberal, corporate, and extremely privileged. If these people can see the future and merit memorialization, then obviously their lives, ways of thinking, and actions should be emulated. The student-as-tourist entering the Sullivan Center or viewing the building’s donor wall is led to assume that capitalism, wealth accumulation, technocracy, and name recognition are things to be valued.

While the Weinberg Building and Sullivan Center memorialize capitalism and technocracy, two statues of Sun Yat-Sen memorialize liberalism. Famously known as the first president of the Republic of China or the Father of Modern China, Sun Yat-Sen studied at ‘Iolani from 1879 to 1882. He then attended Punahou School for a semester. During his time in Hawai‘i, Sun Yat-Sen gained a knowledge and appreciation for Western democracy that informed his future work back home in China.⁴⁷ One statue (Figures 2.7), depicting Sun Yat-Sen as a young student, stands in a heavily trafficked area, facing the entrance to the Castle Building. Cast in bronze-colored metal, this statue depicts Sun Yat-Sen as a

⁴⁷ ‘Iolani School, “Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925) Is Known as the Father of Modern China,” Accessed April 2017: <http://www.iolani.org/about/history/dr-sun-yat-sen>.

young student carrying a book and standing at the top of a stepped marble platform. On the ground in front of the statue is a basalt rock and bronze plaque that reads, “Sun Yat-Sen / ‘Iolani School Graduate / Class of 1882,” with each line translated into Chinese. Often times before school, during lunch, or in between classes one can find middle school students sitting on the lawn or steps that surround the statue. While the statue features no reference to Sun Yat-Sen’s democratic work, ‘Iolani students are well aware of his historical significance. Students have “written stories, poems, and given speeches about Sun,” and engaged in other projects about the famous alumnus.⁴⁸ Such engagement with Sun is always laudatory.



Figure 2.7: Standing Sun Yat-Sen statue (photo by author)

⁴⁸ ‘Iolani School, “Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Courtyard,” Accessed April 2017: <http://staging.iolani.org/locations/dr-sun-yat-sen-courtyard>.

The marginalized placement of the other statue—a seated adult Sun Yat-Sen—among bushes on the perimeter of the school’s track (Figure 2.8) may be symptomatic of the settler-state and the school’s ambivalent attitudes towards democratic ideals. This statue receives almost no traffic relative to the other objects and buildings under study in this chapter. The only people who might see this statue are the students that use the track and football field. This statue’s odd location, when compared to the central location of the standing Sun Yat-Sen statue, can be interpreted as ‘Iolani School’s conflicted engagement with liberalism. For the settler ruling class of Hawai‘i, democracy, freedom, equality, and happiness, are permitted only to the extent that they do not challenge U.S. settler hegemony and Hawai‘i’s socioeconomic order.



Figure 2.8: Seated Sun Yat-Sen statue, outside the track perimeter (photo by author)

For an elite private school in Hawai'i to maintain the reproduction of the social, political, and economic status quo, an uncritical understanding and endorsement of liberalism is essential. Within 'Iolani School and the United States more broadly, liberal values are espoused, but liberalism's historical connections to and corruptibility by capitalism is rarely discussed critically. Liberalism is recognized insofar as it allows for the maintenance of the capitalist socioeconomic order. If 'Iolani, the State of Hawai'i, or the United States were really to pursue liberal values—freedom, democracy, equality—for the entire population and not just elites, people would surely question capitalism or the denial of Native Hawaiians' rights to 'āina, sovereignty, and self-determination.

Ultimately, the presence of Sun Yat-Sen works to reinforce an uncritical adoption of liberalism, which when coupled with the other capitalist memorials on campus creates the ideological foundations for neoliberalism. Liberal values of freedom, democracy, independence, and equality, some of which even appear in the school's mission, are assumed to be of primary importance. And for the most part, on the surface, these values are championed as worthwhile pursuits: societies should strive for unfettered freedom, people should be allowed to govern themselves, and people should be treated equal. But liberalism has its flaws, in particular liberalism's use to facilitate capitalism.

What value liberalism can potentially provide citizens is mitigated by capitalism's propensity to co-opt and corrupt liberal values and institutions. This corruption of liberalism, or neoliberalism, has grown particularly acute in the 20th century, accelerating since Ronald Reagan's presidency. Neoliberalism can be understood as the culture of late capitalism. It is characterized by hyper-financialization, Wall Street speculation, austerity policies, an emphasis on the objectives of corporate executives, and the upward

concentration of wealth and power. Democratic institutions under neoliberalism capitulate to the diktats of elites, gutting social welfare programs and slashing taxes on the wealthy. Under neoliberalism, hyper-consumption, anti-intellectualism, and civic disengagement are normalized. Even the language or rhetoric of liberalism is completely hollowed out of meaning. Freedom becomes the freedom of markets or capitalists to exploit workers and consumers, extract resources, evade taxation and regulation, and infuse money into government projects. Ronald Reagan and now Donald Trump embody neoliberalism's corruption of the United States' liberal institutions. Reagan, a B-level actor and spokesman in corporate ads, and Trump, a real estate robber baron and reality TV star, do not merely represent corporate or elite interests. They are corporate elites, and their ascents to the presidency serve as naked examples of neoliberal capital's capturing of democratic institutions. Understanding liberalism's corruptibility or facilitation of capitalism is not readily taught at 'Iolani School or linked to the Sun statues.

Memorials at 'Iolani School can be understood as sites of exchange or trade where donations to the school's endowment or building funds are exchanged for memorialization and the commemoration of dominant ideologies on campus. Erika Doss reminds us in *Memorial Mania* that "gift-giving, of course, is rarely altruistic; memorials, like most things in capitalist and commercial economies, are informed by [...] expectations of exchange and reciprocity."⁴⁹ Gift-giving or donations to a building fund at 'Iolani involved similar practices exchange and reciprocity. For their monetary donations, donors expect to be commemorated and memorialized in 'Iolani publications, plaques, statues, and on the

⁴⁹ Doss, *Memorial Mania*, 7.

façade of school buildings. The hegemonic ideologies subscribed to by donors are affirmed at 'Iolani School in various ways in exchange for their patronage.

Because students are rarely directed to think critically at the commemoratives sites themselves or in classes, they are left to assume the validity and virtue of what is being memorialized. Beginning with the Weinberg Building and wall of donors within it, the 'Iolani student is encouraged to revere Harry Weinberg, various donors, other capitalist institutions, and capitalism itself. Similar values are promoted and reinforced when encountering the "Honoring Our Visionaries" wall in the Sullivan Center. By memorializing the Sullivan family and endorsing innovation, the Sullivan Center for Leadership and Innovation reinforces the primacy of technocracy along with capitalism. Sun Yat-Sen's presence on campus leads one to assume the school's promotion of liberalism and democracy.

Alternatively, contextualizing, critiquing, and questioning the people, values, and ideologies these memorial sites represent can undermine the memorials' ability to assist in the reproduction of hegemonic ideologies. However, whether because of class differences, intellectual curiosity, cynicism, or some other factor, not all students are subsumed by the ideologies embodied by the many memorials on campus. Through critical thought and giving 'Iolani students and community members the time and space to entertain such criticism, the opportunity to resist such ideologies can be expanded or extended to others, undermining the effects of 'Iolani School's ultimate function as an educational ideological state apparatus.

Questioning the memorials on campus at 'Iolani School might lead 'Iolani students and community members to question the people and ideologies that are being

memorialized. Questioning might lead to the realization that Harry Weinberg was quite an unsavory and greedy colonial settler or that technology unaccompanied by an active and critical humanist ethos is dangerous. When thinking about Sun Yat-Sen's presence on campus one might also realize that 'Iolani, the State of Hawai'i, the United States, and broader global society are not wholly interested in liberalism's core, ideal tenants, but rather neoliberalism's promotion of unchecked capitalism and the dominant social order, what Occupy Wall Street called the elite 1% and the 99%. Thinking critically about memorials can inspire 'Iolani School's students and larger school community to question the reproduction of oppressive ideologies, the social and economic reality such ideologies engender, and its own role as a colonial settler institution in Hawai'i.

Chapter Three

Competition Culture

Victory can take many forms. My most memorable victory at ‘Iolani School was winning the 2008 Hawai‘i High School Boys Volleyball State Championship. In a highly competitive state for volleyball, this victory required devoting long hours to training, accessing athletics facilities, and working with experienced coaches and administrators. ‘Iolani students spend countless hours in the school’s Lower Gym, Upper Gym, weight room, trainers’ room, track, soccer field, football field, baseball field, pool, team buses, and the various halls of the athletics complex.. To support ‘Iolani teams, students, coaches, trainers, family, friends, and fans all frequently wear or use ‘Iolani School logo items. On any given afternoon in the ‘Iolani athletics complex one can find the school insignia or logos on shirts, bags, water bottles, sports equipment, trophies, and elsewhere. Within this material sporting landscape, the value of competition is reinforced in ‘Iolani students. But athletics is only one site where competition is instilled in students.

The culture of competition at ‘Iolani is ubiquitous, extending well beyond the arena of athletics competition to the entire school. At an elite private school like ‘Iolani, the reinforcement of competition begins even before enrollment. To submit an application to enroll at ‘Iolani School, prospective students (and their families) compete with other prospective students. To assure the appeal of their application to the ‘Iolani admissions staff, students have already competed for the best grades and demonstrated their ability to excel, including in extracurricular activities. This sort of competition or student résumé-building continues once a student is admitted and enrolled at ‘Iolani. Most ‘Iolani students

and parents rarely consider the broader implications or consciousness-raising purpose of education. Instead, most students narrowly focus on their grades, SAT scores, and extracurricular activities so that they increase the likelihood of their acceptance into a prestigious university and eventual high-paying career path. It should be noted that a plurality of 'Iolani students surveyed by the school's student newspaper claim they only engage in extracurricular activities and volunteer work to enhance their college applications.⁵⁰ For the entirety of students' time at 'Iolani School, they are in constant competition with one another to build the appeal of their individual academic and extracurricular résumés.

Competition is one of the most essential tenants of settler colonialism and capitalism. To achieve geopolitical hegemony or to be a global superpower like the British Empire, Soviet Union, or United States requires a competitive spirit. For American businessmen and the United States to establish and remain in power in Hawai'i requires outcompeting Native Hawaiians and advocates for Hawaiian sovereignty. In the United States one is told from an early age that competition is an unquestionable good. In order to be competitive businesses must maintain affordable prices and desirable products, and do everything to offer an advantage over other businesses or otherwise they will fail. Competition forces businesses to be the best, most efficient business they can be.

Yet, reality proves the assumed virtue of competition, especially capitalist competition, to be myth. The global supremacy of American businesses has been a major driving force of U.S. militarism, imperialism, and collusion with despots and death squads

⁵⁰ Isabella Chang and Sara Hui, "No Strangers to Stress." *Imua 'Iolani*, November 2016, Volume 92, Issue III, print: 1.

loyal to American corporate interests. Numerous campaigns of murder and violations of sovereignty have been carried out in the name of American business interests. Within the United States, capitalist competition has led to rampant income inequality, outsourcing of jobs, high unemployment and underemployment, corporate deregulation, and austerity.

But why is it that despite all the obvious suffering and oppression caused by capitalism and imperialism, so many people in Hawai‘i and the United States still have an unquestioning faith in the virtue of competition? Specifically, how does ‘Iolani School’s material culture instill competition in students?

This chapter focuses on how the material culture of athletics and academic teams is an essential contributor to ‘Iolani’s culture of competition. ‘Iolani athletics teams (softball, wrestling, football) and academic teams (Economics or History Bowl) are major components of ‘Iolani culture. Students, parents, alumni, faculty, and staff attend countless ‘Iolani sporting events. Often ‘Iolani sporting events are broadcast to the public, and in recent times games can be viewed online through live-streamed video broadcasts. In addition, every ‘Iolani student at some point in his or her day must walk through the school’s athletic facilities. In the athletic facilities, students attend P.E. and dance classes, or workout on the track or in the weight room. All-school assemblies, such as Easter Chapel or the homecoming pep rally, are held in the school’s Lower Gym. At the beginning or end of the school day almost every student is dropped off or picked up outside the athletics complex. The ‘Iolani community produces countless ‘Iolani logo items and sports souvenirs, such as pens, golf polos, gym bags, hand towels, key chains, t-shirts, hats, luggage tags, or folders. Every winter break the school hosts the ‘Iolani Classic, one of the most prestigious high school basketball tournaments in the country that attracts some of most

talented teams in the United States and occasionally from other nations. The halls of the athletics complex are lined with glass cases filled with trophies dedicated to 'Iolani athletes and the walls of the gym are lined with team championship banners. One can also find trophies dedicated to academic teams in various classrooms, or the Economics Bowl teams' national championship banners in the halls of the Weinberg Building. 'Iolani School certainly takes pride in its various competitive teams, and is proud to display material evidence of these teams' many competitive accomplishments.

Beyond competing to build the most spectacular college résumé, 'Iolani School's athletic and academic team culture is the greatest contributor to the school's promotion of competition. Over time members of the 'Iolani community have countless encounters and interactions with the material culture that represents this competitive culture. Through repeated encounters with these material objects, 'Iolani community members are unconsciously hailed and inspired by the various ideologies they represent. This chapter examines three specific elements of this competition culture: material manifestations of the "One Team" philosophy, athletic and academic championship banners and trophies, and Red Raider football ribbons as representative of 'Iolani School's sport souvenirs culture.

I argue that the material culture associated with 'Iolani's competition culture reinforces settler colonialism in Hawai'i by promoting neoliberal values of competition and individualism and contributing to students' unconscious formation of an elite settler class identity, what I call the "settler team." By uncritically presenting the "One Team" philosophy that stresses collective work and the success of the team over the individual, and reinforcing this philosophy materially, the 'Iolani community unconsciously constructs itself as part of what I call a "settler team." This settler team ultimately is the victor of

social, economic, and political competition in Hawai'i, triumphing over the working class, the poor, and Native Hawaiians. The settler team is also blind to its own contributions to the oppression of workers and the poor, and the colonization of Native Hawaiians.

Critically examining the school's Red Raider mascot and the kitsch sports souvenirs that feature the mascot, athletics and academic championship banners and awards will reveal the hidden ideologies or narratives that lie behind the façade of friendly competition and the seemingly selfless "One Team" philosophy.

The "One Team" philosophy, promoted by the 'Iolani athletics departments and adopted by the entire school, was first introduced by Father Kenneth A. Bray during his time as a priest and football, basketball, and baseball coach at the school from the 1930s-50s. The philosophy, eventually given the "One Team" name, emphasizes teamwork, unity, and the collective accomplishments of teams or the 'Iolani community over the accomplishments of any individual. Ray Wong, a 1949 graduate of 'Iolani, who played for Bray recalled a story, now captured on the school's website, where Bray emphasized "One Team" over Wong's accomplishments:

After a big 'Iolani victory, Fr. Bray confronted Ray and asked him how he felt about a complimentary newspaper article that centered on the young basketball star being the reason why the Red Raiders won the game. Fr. Bray tore the article up to emphasize the point that Ray would not have played well or received attention without the assistance and hard work of the entire team.⁵¹

This philosophy of teamwork and collaboration, and specific stories of "One Team" incidents are repeatedly told throughout a student's time at 'Iolani. After 65 years and the

⁵¹ 'Iolani School, "'One Team' Lesson from One of Fr. Bray's 'Boys,'" Accessed December 14, 2016: <http://staging.iolani.org/150/learning/one-team-lesson-one-fr-brays-boys>.

move of the school's campus from Nu'uano to Waikiki, Bray's philosophy still has a strong influence on the 'Iolani community.

Father Bray, his philosophy, and the words "One Team" are ubiquitous to 'Iolani School life and represented materially around campus. Father Bray is memorialized in the athletics complex with a student-made bust and in an adjacent glass cases filled with photographs, quotations, and memorabilia from his time at the school. Every August 'Iolani hosts a football game, the Father Bray Game, to commemorate Bray. *The Ol' Man*, a biography by alumni Don Johnson and Ronald Oba, about Bray's time at 'Iolani sits on many classroom shelves at the school and is even read in my father's "Literature of Sport" elective course for juniors and seniors. Every year a panel of elderly 'Iolani alumni who played for Bray are invited to a "Literature of Sport" class to recount stories of their time with Father Bray. In *The Ol' Man*, Johnson and Oba describe how the "One Team" philosophy instilled values of selflessness and unity. They inevitably describe the 'Iolani championship football season where the team "not only proved themselves worthy of the title, they provided undeniable evidence in support of the 'One Team' philosophy. There were no stars. Everyone contributed. They were all champions."⁵² At 'Iolani sporting events, teams can be heard breaking huddles and timeouts with shouts of "One Team." The words "One Team" can be seen painted on walls in the athletics complex, printed in various publications or on letterheads, engraved on awards given to student athletes who embody the philosophy, and represented on the walls of the One Team Fieldhouse that covers outdoor basketball courts for grade K-6. For students and the 'Iolani community the "One

⁵² Don Johnson and Ronald Oba, *The Ol' Man: Father Kenneth A. Bray*, First Edition, (Iolani Raiders Booster Club, 1994): 99.

Team” philosophy is easily understood: together we constitute a whole and the accomplishments of the whole are to be celebrated and shared rather than championing one individual; “One Team” can be used to signify a single ‘Iolani team in competition or the whole of the ‘Iolani community. Instilling this philosophy in the ‘Iolani community, and especially in students, has been hugely successful. Rarely will one see poor sportsmanship, an individualistic act of showmanship, or excessive celebration from an ‘Iolani athlete.

Unfortunately, because ‘Iolani’s “One Team” philosophy is presented without critical thought, a problematic and facile understanding of what is meant by “team” contributes to a student’s identification with colonial settler practices and ideology. The idea of a team is extremely limited because it requires exclusionary boundaries—an individual is either on a team or on a rival team. ‘Iolani students and community members assume that the “One Team” is comprised of the ‘Iolani community. But, unconsciously the boundaries of “One Team” are defined by socioeconomics and settler identity. Because ‘Iolani students rarely are educated about class-consciousness, they are unable to empathize with or sufficiently understand life outside of their elite economic class. In this context the formation of a team identity naturally aligns with this class identity. The ‘Iolani “One Team” identity becomes a settler team identity, where settler elites, including students at other private schools, can become team members.

Rarely, if at all, does the school encourage discussion about the application of “One Team” values beyond the confines of the ‘Iolani community. For example, while the ‘Iolani community may champion volunteer or community service work, the ‘Iolani community does not actively or critically extend this team to include homeless people, Hawaiians seeking restoration of their right to self-determined sovereignty, or people with Leftist

views. Were the 'Iolani community to truly attempt to end homelessness they would advocate for more Keynesian or socialist leaning economic policies, rather than further obfuscating the capitalist and colonial structures that require and create homelessness and unemployment by acting as if charity is the solution. Certainly, charity is better than nothing, but if 'Iolani community members truly wanted justice in Hawai'i for the houseless, they would actively fight against the social systems that create oppression, rather than fighting the symptoms of injustice.

As a community dedicated to education little critical thought is given to 'Iolani's elite socioeconomic position within Hawai'i and the responsibilities such a position might entail. And when this 'Iolani community or settler team takes its uncritical sense of community and competition outside the arena of sports competition and into broader local and global society, the losers are no longer inferior football teams, but the oppressed groups who traditionally suffer under capitalism and colonialism. From my time as a student or later as a substitute teacher, the oppression of certain groups—Hawaiians, working poor, homeless, immigrants, and LGBTQ communities—rarely appears in the 'Iolani curriculum and related discussions. In the context of sports, the "One Team" philosophy stresses the collective unity of the team and collective victory. And in sport the collective victory of a team can only occur with another team's loss. Thus, in addition to the "One Team" philosophy of teamwork, humility, and unity, are strong notions about victory and competition. When the 'Iolani community constructs itself as a team, competing and seeking victory (ultimately over other teams), rather than extending the notion of "One Team" to the entirety of Hawai'i's population or the global population, problems or inequalities between the 'Iolani team and other groups inevitably arise. And partly because

of the positive values the “One Team” philosophy promotes, the ‘Iolani community logically assumes its innocence—the ‘Iolani team or community is incapable of wrong because it adheres to the selflessness of the “One Team” philosophy.

Considering that the ‘Iolani community is largely comprised of colonial settlers of Asian or European descent and its support of Western cultural practices and values, I suggest that the “One Team” philosophy produces of a “settler team” comprised of Hawai‘i’s mostly settler colonial ruling class. By combining an understanding of settler colonialism with value placed on competition culture, one can begin to view colonialism, capitalism, and now neoliberalism in Hawai‘i through the lens of a history of winners and losers.

Since ‘Iolani community members hold elite positions within the economic, political, media, medical, and legal spheres in Hawai‘i, the ‘Iolani community can be considered a major player on the winning settler team, or a significant component of the local ruling elite. This settler team can even include other similar communities, such as that of rival Punahou School. Essentially, Punahou and ‘Iolani community members, and other private schools, can become settler teammates, or the stewards of the ruling American state apparatuses in the islands, working together as settler lawyers, politicians, doctors, businessmen, and so on. In short, the settler team that ‘Iolani unconsciously cultivates and identifies with can be understood as the dominant economic and political class that seeks to maintain victory over Native Hawaiians—a victory best symbolized historically by the illegal overthrow of the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom by American businessmen backed by the United States military.

In a capitalist U.S. settler state such as Hawai‘i, emphasizing victory and competition at an educational Ideological State Apparatus and socioeconomically elite community like

‘Iolani School can unwittingly sanction economic inequality and the denial of Native Hawaiians’ right to self-determined sovereignty. Because many ‘Iolani students eventually become members of the professional and elite classes, valorizing free market values like competition and victory through the “One Team” philosophy can be identified as a contributing factor to the formation of students’ early capitalist education and its complementary values. For a school whose population consists primarily of colonial settlers, internalizing a neoliberal understanding of victory and competition solidifies and reproduces capitalism and subsequent projects, programs, and colonial settler policies that oppress Native Hawaiians.

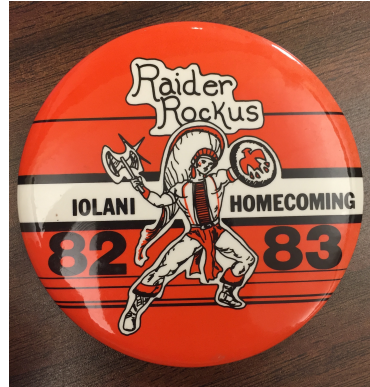
‘Iolani School’s use of the Red Raider mascot and its appearance on kitsch items like ribbons worn by ‘Iolani football fans (Figures 3.1 and 3.2) offers a startling example of the unconscious inculcation of the ‘Iolani community with colonial settler ideology. From the 1930s to 90s the name “Red Raiders” adorned countless objects, from uniforms to souvenir buttons (Figures 3.3 and 3.4), and appeared in numerous publications.⁵³ The student conductor of the ‘Iolani marching band even wore a red, black, and white Plains Indian headdress (Figure 3.5) at some sports events. Although the Red Raider logo varied over the years, there was always some red, black, and white colored representation of the noble savage or a Native American often shown with a Plains Indian headdress. Usually the Red Raider appeared in profile with prominent cheekbones and jawbones, and a Plains headdress. At other times the Red Raider was depicted as a male body with bulging muscles. Through the use of the Red Raider and its appearances on countless kitsch items,

⁵³ ‘Iolani School, “Nicknames,” Accessed Dec. 14, 2016: <http://staging.iolani.org/about/history/nicknames>.

the 'Iolani community both performed and perpetuated the racist practices of U.S. settler colonialism.



Figures 3.1 and 3.2: 'Iolani football ribbons featuring Red Raider mascot and Hawaiian iwi (ribbons courtesy of 'Iolani School Archives)



Figures 3.3 and 3.4: Souvenir buttons featuring variations of Red Raider mascot (courtesy of 'Iolani School Archives)



Figure 3.5 'Iolani student band leadert in red and black Plains Indian headdress (Original photo courtesy of the 'Iolani School Archives)

I intentionally describe these sports souvenirs and mascot images as “kitsch,” a product of mass culture associated with an aesthetic that is considered banal and in poor taste, to subject these objects to critical examination and align my project with a growing body of material culture studies. In *Tourists of History: Memory, Kitsch, and Consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*, author Marita Sturken shows how the consumption of kitsch items can have severe consequences, such as supporting U.S. imperialism and the War on Terror. Sturken argues that visitors who purchased teddy bears, snow globes, and other kitsch souvenirs at the Oklahoma City bombing and 9/11 memorials were encouraged to believe in the innocence and victimhood of the U.S. government and its citizens. This prevented them from understanding the complexity of the events that led to these two catastrophes. An uncritical citizenry allows for the emergence of misguided or intentionally imperialist policies such as the United States’ War on Terror. If kitsch has an ideological function that can contribute to deadly and unsavory outcomes or policies, it is important that kitsch items be identified and become the objects of critical study. In a contested space such as Hawai‘i, examining ‘Iolani Red Raider football ribbons as representative of Red Raider kitsch can reveal much about the values and ideologies of ‘Iolani School and Hawai‘i’s ruling settler elite.

Football ribbons such as those in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 were common to Honolulu schools’ in the 1960s through 80s, indicating a sort of ideological uniformity among the Honolulu football community.⁵⁴ High schools in greater Honolulu had ribbons that frequently featured racist or violent images. These ribbons would be sold and adorned by countless fans. Students created the artwork, ordered the product, advertised, and sold

⁵⁴ “Propaganda Ribbons.” *Imua ‘Iolani*, October 21, 1960.

these ribbons for every football game.⁵⁵ These ribbons could be hung on bedroom walls, sandwiched in the pages of a yearbook, or they could be worn in public with a safety pin, at school, or to games that for many years were held at Honolulu Stadium, the same stadium that held Statehood celebrations in 1959.

The two particular 'Iolani ribbons in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 reinforce US patriotism and settler colonialism through images of the Red Raider triumphing over the Kamehameha Warrior. In one ribbon a Red Raider labeled “winnah” leaps over the iwi of a Hawaiian or Kamehameha Warrior that is labeled “Iosah,” and in the other a Red Raider boils a Warrior in a cauldron while iwi are scattered in the foreground. In short, America and 'Iolani's settler team, represented by the Red Raider, are in the position of power. Cooking and defeating the warriors signifies the end or death of “Hawai'i,” hence the appearance of bones.

The use of the Red Raider mascot by 'Iolani School can be understood as an act of white American identity formation and the alignment of 'Iolani School with U.S. hegemony in Hawai'i. In *Playing Indian*, Philip Deloria highlights how the long history of white Americans playing Indians—acts of appropriating Native American culture, such as dressing as Native Americans—has been essential to constructions of an American identity.⁵⁶ The depiction of the Red Raider at 'Iolani School can be read as an example of “playing Indian” where the multicultural local student performs Americanness by assuming the power of white America to appropriate the image of the Native. By playing Indian, the 'Iolani community engages in an act long used by white Americans to construct their own

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Deloria, *Playing Indian*.

American identity. The deployment of Red Raider kitsch items represents one of the many efforts by people in Hawai'i to assimilate into U.S. culture by denigrating Native peoples immediately following Statehood in 1959.

In addition to celebrating U.S. settler victory over the Native Hawaiian people, the use of iwi in these ribbons also celebrates the American violations of 'aina. *Place Names of Hawai'i* reminds readers that iwi does not only mean "bones," but also "land boundary."⁵⁷ Thus, these ribbons, especially the image of the Red Raider stepping over iwi, can also be read as the settler team stepping over the land boundaries of Native Hawaiians. These ribbons therefore depict the central act of settler colonialism in Hawai'i—the confiscation of native land by colonial settlers.

By pinning on ribbons 'Iolani fans rooted for their football team, but they were also unconsciously supporting the settler team, U.S. settler colonialism, and nationalism. While on the surface these football ribbons and other kitsch sports souvenirs seem like innocuous displays of school spirit, they have greater symbolic and political meanings that function at an unconscious level. Considering the fact that the majority of 'Iolani School community members are of Asian ethnicity, the Red Raider kitsch culture which these ribbons represent can be interpreted as part of the broader project of "indoctrination of Asian settlers by the 'Americanization' movement during and after World War II."⁵⁸ Thinking of kitsch culture as part of this Americanization movement in Hawai'i, helps us to understand a range of assimilation activities from obvious actions, like that which encouraged men of Japanese ancestry to volunteer to fight for the United States in WWII to prove their

⁵⁷ Pukui, *Place Names*, 57.

⁵⁸ Fujikane, "Asian," 8.

patriotism, to mundane practices of everyday life involving the production and consumption of kitsch sports souvenirs. More specifically, these ribbons symbolize 'Iolani's identification with an American identity in the years following Statehood.

The prevalence of racist and violent Red Raider kitsch represents the alarming normalization of settler colonialism in the 'Iolani community, and the lack of critical thought 'Iolani applies to its role in the ongoing colonization of Hawai'i. But the hate and overt racism and violence of the Red Raider mascot can also make the injustices of settler colonialism readily apparent. Although every Red Raider kitsch item did not include explicitly racist or violent imagery, much of the material culture associated with sports did include such images. That the 'Iolani community would promote a racist and violent mascot for about fifty years highlights the community's inability to recognize its collusion with the violence of settler culture. Because the settler team benefits from the economic and political victory of settler colonialism and its practices of capitalism, racism, resource extraction, income inequality, and real estate development, few within the 'Iolani community questioned settler colonialism. Even when settler colonialism rears its ugly head in the form of explicitly racist and violent images of the Red Raider, 'Iolani community members were unwilling to relinquish or change the Red Raider mascot, most likely because they did not see the images as objectionable.

Although it took the 'Iolani community fifty years to recognize the racism in the Red Raider, the current mascot, simply the "Raider," retains traces of colonial violence and the seizure of wealth in its acts of "raiding." If 'Iolani was capable of recognizing the racism implied by "Red" in Red Raiders, the school might be able to examine the name Raiders and the settler-state's denial of Hawaiians' self-determined sovereignty and its history of land

seizure, resource extraction, and other settler practices in Hawai'i. Hence, I suggest that changing the current Raider mascot to either the Hawks, 'Io, or Royals can be a solution to the problems perpetuated and sanctioned by the Raider mascot.

This change would also provide 'Iolani School with a pedagogical tool to critically educate its community about 'Iolani's founding by King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma and its historic implications. 'Iolani was founded by and for the Hawaiian Kingdom. Changing the school's mascot to reflect this history can be a small act through which the 'Iolani community can begin to question its own engagement with U.S. settler colonialism in Hawai'i. But beyond the production and consumption of kitsch items and the promotion of the Raider mascot, 'Iolani's competition culture includes other problematic objects: athletics and academics championship banners, awards, and trophies that the school proudly displays around campus.

On the walls of the Lower Gym, the athletics complex, and the Weinberg Building, and on the shelves of various classrooms, banners, trophies, and awards dedicated to the accomplishments of 'Iolani teams and individuals reinforce values of individualism, competition, and victory. Hanging along the perimeter of the Lower Gym are dozens of banners recognizing the Interscholastic League of Honolulu (ILH) and state championship sports teams throughout 'Iolani's history. Black banners represent state championships and bright red banners represent ILH championships. Placed within glass cases built into the walls of the athletics complex are championship or championship runner-up trophies and other awards that recognize 'Iolani teams and individual student-athletes.

Other than the graphics painted on the gym floor, the visual experience of 'Iolani's Lower Gym is dominated by the school's athletics championship banners (Figure 3.6). Each

banner represents a single championship team, such as the boys' volleyball team I was a part of in 2008. There have been so many championship teams over the course of 'Iolani's history that references to older championships have been condensed onto banners that just list the sport and year of victory. Regardless where someone is in the gym, the banners are visible. Other than the walls, rafters, ceiling, and lighting, the banners are the highest objects in the gym, hanging about twelve feet above one's head were one to stand on the top row of bleachers. The banners are physically and metaphorically something one looks up to. As students we view these banners and strive to add our own basketball or softball state championship.



Figure 3.6: 'Iolani School Lower Gym, note red and black championship banners (photo from school website, <http://staging.iolani.org/news/all-school-christmas-chapel>)

These banners reinforce the competitive ideology of the school by instilling a desire for competition, recognition, and victory in students. If one wants to be a sports champion he or she must compete at the highest level, and 'Iolani student athletes are coached, trained, taught, and have the resources to compete at such a level. But rarely are 'Iolani

students taught to think critically about the competitiveness they value or the implications of bringing competitiveness to the broader social and economic systems outside of the school, or later, as working adults. Within a capitalist market, competition engenders similar but more significant results—winners and losers—than in sports or the Economics Bowls. Instead of a team going home filled with pride high after a win or with a sense of defeat after a loss, winning and losing in a neoliberal context has different consequences. Those who lose within the capitalist market, usually working class, homeless, indigenous, disabled or minority communities, or third world countries, often face grave results. Losing in the neoliberal economy can entail poor health, starvation, debt, homelessness, loss or destruction of land, or death. Meanwhile, the tiny percentage of those who supposedly win under neoliberalism enjoy the spoils of the system: wealth, political power, property, access to countless goods and services, protection from the law, and other forms of material gain and consumer freedoms. But due to the extreme income inequality characteristic of capitalism, the portion of any population that benefits is incredibly small.

Elsewhere in the athletic complex, and in conflict with the ‘One Team’ philosophy, awards for individual athletes that are displayed in glass cases perpetuate individualism (Figure 3.7 and 3.8). While one case features memorials to Father Bray and his “One Team” philosophy, if you turn a corner you will find at least twice the square footage of glass cases devoted to awards given to individual ‘Iolani athletes for their outstanding athletic performances, sportsmanship, or leadership. The awardee is often given a duplicate plaque, trophy, or other form of the award, and recognized during an all-school assembly. Because everyone from grades 7 through 12 is required to attend the assembly, every Upper School student will be familiar with these awards. These individual awards can be

named after 'Iolani alumni or even, in the ultimate example of irony, the "One Team" philosophy itself. On display in the glass cases are plaques designated for certain awards. Each plaque has the criteria for the award and a chronological list of recipients engraved on it. These awards are made of dark, finished woods and shiny gold, silver, or red colored metals. The awards are impressive to see, representing the importance the 'Iolani community places on its awards and a culture of competition and winning.



Figure 3.7: Glass case of athletics trophies (photo by author)



Figure 3.8: Glass case of athletics trophies and athlete awards (photo by author)

While these awards explicitly recognize athletic performance, sportsmanship, or leadership, they implicitly emphasize the importance of individualism. Individual awards valorize and breed individualism. What is not so apparent and a contradiction of the “One Team” philosophy, is the fact that by celebrating single student athletes these awards are ultimately celebrating individuals and individualism. From viewing or simply knowing about these awards, a student is encouraged to separate themselves academically or athletically from peers so that she or he might receive one of these prestigious awards. Within the hyper-competitive preparatory school context of ‘Iolani, an award is also a vital addition to one’s college application. A student might easily believe that winning one of these athletics awards could tip the scales in favor of his or her admission to an elite

university and guarantee a path to a lucrative career. Ironically, and as previously suggested, celebrating one's athletic accomplishments over the accomplishments of "the team" contradicts the principles of the "One Team" spirit.

Like 'Iolani athletics awards, college athletic scholarships also contribute to the reinforcement of individualism. Student athletes understand that if their high school athletic record stands out above their teammates and competition they might be rewarded with a scholarship to play sports in college. Thus, student athletes are taught to accomplish things for themselves, to focus on building their own athletic résumé in contrast to that of the team or broader community around them. 'Iolani's awards for individual athletes only add to college athletic scholarships' reinforcement of individualism.

The individualism promoted by 'Iolani's competition culture is an essential feature of neoliberal ideology. One of the long running and widely believed myths of capitalism and neoliberalism is that of the self-made man, where his rugged individualism, hard work, and pluck will guarantee his socioeconomic rise in society. In American history, Horatio Alger's fictional stories of Ragged Dick or hagiographies extolling the virtues of a P. T. Barnum or Steve Jobs quickly come to mind as major narratives within capitalism's canonical literature of the self-made man. Within capitalism, individualism breeds careerism, or the constant desire for career advancement to gain economic, political, and social power. Many 'Iolani students, like the captains of industry of American capitalist lore they hear about, are educated to seek individual achievement and enrichment. They thus pursue paths of study or training in college that lead to high-paying careers. The many athletics awards on display at 'Iolani help to inspire and guarantee the reproduction of

individualism essential to neoliberalism. However, within the larger context of 'Iolani's competition culture, the ideological effects of this careerism needs to be challenged.

Like the athletics awards, 'Iolani academic teams' banners, trophies, and awards found throughout the campus reinforce capitalism and instill values of competition and individualism in students. In some classrooms one might find trophies dedicated to debate, dance, economics, science, history, or math teams. The most notable display of academic team accomplishments are the National Economics Bowl championship banners that hang outside the AP Economics classroom in the halls of the Weinberg Building. Together these numerous displays of competitive glory remind viewers of 'Iolani's academic supremacy, both locally and nationally, and inspire students to produce more victories for the school.

On the third floor halls of the Weinberg Building, banners (Figures 3.9 and 3.10) recognizing 'Iolani's championships at the National Economics Bowl reinforce the importance of competition represented by the banners in the gym. However, they also explicitly reinforce the primacy of capitalism. The walls within the Weinberg Building are mostly bare, minus bulletin boards with fliers for upcoming events, the occasional student artwork, or Christmas decorations. When walking the halls of Weinberg what one mostly sees are banks of red lockers, until one comes across the Economics Bowl banners. The banners are massive. They are about six feet high and three feet wide, dominating the hallway walls. Their blue and orange coloring easily stands out among the normally bare walls of Weinberg. Like the sports championship banners in the Lower Gym, students are reminded of 'Iolani's prowess—in this instance in a competitive academic field. When encountering these banners students are unconsciously reminded of their duty to continue the winning tradition: 'Iolani's economic students won championships and earned these

banners, and it is the duty of the student viewing these banners to continue this tradition. It is not the student's duty to question the activity represented by these banners.



Figure 3.9: Economics Bowl championship banner featuring Goldman Sacs sponsorship (photo by author)



Figure 3.10: View of Economics Bowl banners in hallway (photo by author)

What is most astounding about these banners and the 'Iolani Economics Bowl program is their unabashed endorsement of capitalism, specifically neoliberal, hyper-finance capitalism. This endorsement is ultimately blessed by Goldman Sachs, the global investment bank and management firm, which sponsors the National Economics Bowl each year. Printed at the top of the championship banners is the name of the company's foundation and non-profit entity. Goldman Sachs is well known for its role in the 2008 subprime mortgage crisis. The investment bank is a perfect example of neoliberalism's emphasis on hyper-finance, shareholder and executive profit, and disregard for the plight

of the environment and the 99%, or the majority of people who constitute the victims of capital according to the Occupy Wall Street movement. For a school that espouses liberal values such as equality of opportunity for all people or Christian values like compassion and love for the poor, to proudly display an endorsement by an oppressive institution, such as Goldman Sachs, is contradictory. It is sending conflicting messages to its students. Or these mixed messages are either a remarkable feat of hypocrisy, a lack of understanding of 'Iolani's own values, or a lack of understanding of the world that exists outside a community that uncritically emphasizes winning and competition.

The endorsement of Goldman Sachs and the capitalist practices embodied by the National Economics Challenge banners registers both consciously and unconsciously in students. Some students may recognize that something is wrong with the economic practices promoted in the economics program or practiced by some members of the 'Iolani community. I remember the day I was substituting for the AP Economics teacher and hearing the students casually refer to the class as "how to pillage a village 101." But despite sensing that something is not entirely ethical about the way economics is taught or practiced at 'Iolani and elsewhere, students nonetheless study what is given to them, win National Economics Challenge championships, and eventually assume elite economic positions in local, national, and even global corporations. Even when these students show a partial understanding of the dominant economic ideology, cheekily calling an economics course "how to pillage a village," they eventually succumb to the capitalist ideology promoted in their classes.

At an elite private school like 'Iolani there are few opportunities for students to critically develop their skepticism of capitalism into some form of political resistance or

activism. Because there are few opportunities to explore their criticism of capitalism, their nascent forms of resistance have little effect on the production of hegemonic ideologies at the school. Eventually, the students who raise questions, especially the economics students, are reined back in to accepting the dominant ideology perpetuated at 'Iolani, namely neoliberalism. At 'Iolani School, the reproduction of dominant ideologies, materially or otherwise, may be too overwhelming for students to avoid reintegration.

When examined uncritically, the “One Team” philosophy, Red Raider kitsch, championship banners, and individual awards can seem harmless and even positive. On its surface, “One Team” celebrates selfless collectivity, Red Raider kitsch supports 'Iolani sports teams, and banners and awards recognize the accomplishments of 'Iolani teams and individuals. What could be wrong about this? But because this immaterial and material campus culture is presented without question, the ideology of competition and winning is mobilized to support dubious capitalist practices. The “One Team” philosophy acts to reinforce socioeconomic class stratification in Hawai'i, Red Raider kitsch serves to reinforce U.S. settler hegemony and nationalism in Hawai'i, and championship banners and individual awards reinforce neoliberal finance capitalism, competition, and individualism.

Through seemingly innocuous, everyday encounters at school, the competition culture operates to instill values that are essential to the ideologies that sustain settler colonialism and neoliberalism. Over the course of his or her education, a student eventually absorbs such thinking; that competition, individualism, and U.S. hegemony are virtuous—that one must do everything possible to ensure the victory of their team and country. But the reproduction of these problematic ideological beliefs does not have to dominate the pedagogical spaces at 'Iolani School.

Certainly 'Iolani School and its community members want the institution to be a positive contributor to Hawai'i and the world. The school's material culture can be used to help educate students to envision a different, more just world by learning to think and read critically. For example, the "One Team" philosophy must be presented to the 'Iolani community in a way that actively includes members of Hawai'i's society that are not presently a part of the 'Iolani community. This could ideally open up discussions about class and socioeconomic disparities. Class differences among students at 'Iolani, especially students on scholarships, can become an asset to the education or consciousness-raising of all 'Iolani community members. Ideally the ideology and practices that create and support the "settler team" can be questioned and replaced by a "One Team" that extends to all people, including those from different social, economic, ethnic, sex, gender, or political communities.

The Red Raider mascot and the kitsch items produced in the past can be used as a pedagogical tool to raise the consciousness of students and the broader 'Iolani community, instead of standing as objective "documents" of students activities. This Red Raider kitsch culture can be used to tell a story of 'Iolani's role in settler colonialism and Americanization in Hawai'i. Students can learn about settler colonialism and their very own school's participation in this historic and ongoing process, and imagine ways to disentangle themselves and their school from colonial practices. Discussions about changing the current Raider mascot to the Hawks, 'Io, Royals, or something else would be a good start. It would give students the opportunity to see how their school participated in settler colonialism through mundane and innocuous activities like the naming of a mascot or the production of kitsch objects.

The hyper-competition and individualism embodied in and represented by championship banners and individual awards can be challenged if they are presented alongside critiques of competition and individualism. 'Iolani students can engage in discussions about the kinds of problems produced by unfettered competition and an emphasis on individualism, and how such problems contribute to social inequality. Perhaps individual awards can be questioned to the point that students would rather see only collective awards given or even none at all.

Ultimately, if 'Iolani School and the existing material culture that constitutes and champions this competition culture want to contribute positively in the future, I suggest that the school and its culture be used to raise the consciousness of 'Iolani students and community members so that they may realize the problematic intertwinement of 'Iolani School and themselves with neoliberalism and settler colonialism. Hopefully, such consciousness raising will inspire the 'Iolani community to disengage from its past practices by working not as a settler team, but as part of a unified Hawai'i that seeks the victory of all the islands' and the world's people, beginning locally with Native Hawaiians.

Conclusion

Material culture at 'Iolani School, or in general, is not static. Since the school's founding in the 1860s there have been many changes at 'Iolani School. The school has been located on multiple campuses, buildings have been erected and demolished, statues have been built and moved, walls have been painted and repainted, artwork has been hung and removed, the school's church affiliation changed from Anglican to Episcopal, and the student body has gone from all boys to coed. To say that the material culture of 'Iolani School is immovable, impenetrable, or incapable of alteration is absolutely false.

Recently, 'Iolani School announced a \$40 million campus expansion, with construction beginning as soon as 2017.⁵⁹ To the Lower School (grades K-6) alone the school plans to add seven buildings, ten classrooms, "a park-like natural playground," science labs, a religion classroom, a technology center, dance and music studios, and about twenty-five more students will be admitted into kindergarten. In the Upper School (grades 7-12), the school will add a 112 student dormitory, "reviving the boarding school tradition" that 'Iolani School has not had for more than fifty years.⁶⁰

In addition to these announcements that made headlines in Hawai'i's corporate media affiliates, an entire section of the school's website is devoted solely to the campus expansion plans. The website features a description of the plans, digital projections of how

⁵⁹ Duane Shimogawa, "Iolani School Plans \$40M Expansion at Its Honolulu Campus," *Pacific Business News*, Accessed June 4, 2017: <http://www.bizjournals.com/pacific/news/2017/01/19/iolani-school-plans-40m-expansion-at-its-honolulu.html>.

⁶⁰ 'Iolani School, "Campus Expansion," Accessed March 4, 2017: <http://www.iolani.org/about/campus-expansion>.

some of the new structures and spaces are expected to look, and quotations from ‘Iolani Headmaster Timothy Cottrell and chair of ‘Iolani’s Board of Governors Jenai Wall. In describing the expansion plans, ‘Iolani uses the same neoliberal and technocratic rhetoric it used to describe its new Sullivan Center. Terms like “high-tech,” “state-of-the-art,” “leading-edge,” “global,” or “global marketplace” appear throughout the website. The website even mentions further expansion plans that have yet to be formalized.

Much like the school’s essential texts, ‘Iolani’s description of its expansion plans are expectedly uncritical and neglect the negative impacts of the planned expansion. In 2009, ‘Iolani School purchased land adjacent to its campus with the plan to expand eventually onto this newly acquired land.⁶¹ On this land are two dozen residential buildings that house people of middle to low economic means. For ‘Iolani to execute its expansion plans requires the eviction of hundreds of people from a completely different—lower—economic class than the majority of the ‘Iolani School community. Although the school has offered residents the opportunity to move into another nearby building for the same rent or to pay for moving boxes and the services of moving companies, the school is nonetheless evicting people, some of whom have lived in these buildings for decades.

In addition to disturbing outcomes like removing people from their homes, ‘Iolani’s expansion plans reflect a neoliberal and paternalist ethos at the heart of the school, especially the upper administration responsible for decisions like expansion. The expansion is described as aligning with goals established in the school’s “Strategic Plan.”

⁶¹ Ashley Nagaoka, “Iolani School Expansion Forces Nearby Residents to Move Out,” *Hawaii News Now*, January 19, 2017: <http://www.hawaiinewsnow.com/story/34304440/residents-must-move-as-iolani-announces-campus-expansion>.

Cottrell says the Strategic Plan “articulates a commitment to creating leading-edge facilities and programs that enable students to develop their unique talents and skills.” The new boarding facility specifically addresses a section of the Strategic Plan that states the intention of the school “to create meaningful, sustainable and reciprocal global relationships that stimulate the exchange of ideas, foster a deeper *cultural awareness*, and build students’ desire to improve the world around them” (emphasis added). Here the school shows its duplicity: for ‘Iolani School to integrate cultural awareness into its curriculum will require the importation of foreign boarding students. Apparently the school sees culture through the lens of the West, that the developed Western world is civilized, while the uncivilized orient or foreign world is cultural. This statement from the Strategic Plan neglects the incredible diversity of cultures that already exist at ‘Iolani and in Hawai‘i, especially Hawai‘i’s indigenous culture. Also, the school only expresses a mere desire for “cultural awareness,” that culture is something simply to be acknowledged, a superficial acknowledgement en route to successful careers and wealth. To silence cultures or people that might challenge capitalism, the capitalist class can simply note that they have already met their cultural awareness or diversity quota.

But the most disturbing section of the website describing the planned expansion highlights the primacy of neoliberalism, secondary emphasis of justice, and almost complete lack of class consciousness at ‘Iolani School. The section states:

All ‘Iolani students will benefit from an ability to communicate with—and appreciate the perspectives of—people who come from a wide range of different backgrounds and traditions. ‘Iolani has set a goal for all students to develop the skills to be successful leaders in the competitive global marketplace, *while also*

having the empathy necessary to act effectively in the cause of helping others on an international scale⁶² (emphasis added).

At a private school where tuition is over \$20,000 per year and limited scholarships are available, it is impossible to have a student body that comes from a wide range of class backgrounds. At 'Iolani School, unlike many public schools around Hawai'i, a student will likely never encounter a classmate whose family might be homeless or living in poverty, and the valuable perspective and knowledge such a classmate might have. Also, the various ethnic, cultural, or other backgrounds that exist within the student body at 'Iolani School are rarely examined. The educational experience at 'Iolani does not focus on these "backgrounds and traditions" but rather on developing the skills necessary for students to move on to higher education and future careers as "successful leaders in the competitive global marketplace."

By declaring its goal to develop "successful leaders in the competitive global marketplace, while also having the empathy necessary to act effectively in the cause of helping others," 'Iolani School is explicitly stating its adherence to neoliberalism and its position that empathy is secondary to neoliberal career and economic success. Success in the global marketplace, or under capitalism, is defined by wealth and social, economic, and political power. Leaders in the capitalist market are usually the captains of industry, executives of major corporations, hedge fund managers, or real estate developers. That the school would place such neoliberal success above "helping others" highlights the individualism of neoliberalism. Under neoliberalism people should primarily strive to build their personal wealth, career, and standing within the capitalist market *before* their

⁶² 'Iolani School, "Campus Expansion."

commitment to justice or other people. Emphasizing that ‘Iolani students should act to help others, rather than work to create social conditions that do not produce suffering and oppression, is incredibly paternalistic. This paternalistic perspective leads people to believe that those who suffer or are oppressed are incapable of helping themselves and can only succeed in life through the generous intervention of economic elites. These capitalist and paternalist goals of ‘Iolani directly contradict the liberal values espoused elsewhere by the school.

Although ‘Iolani School’s planned campus expansion is directed by a neoliberal ethos, the fact that the school is expanding shows that the materiality of the school is changing and that possible future changes can instead be made in accordance with more just, social, collective, and benevolent ideologies that also recognize the ‘Iolani community’s responsibility to justice for Native Hawaiians. This neoliberal ethos evidenced in ‘Iolani School’s planned expansion should be expected after examining the school’s material culture. While on the surface ‘Iolani School portrays itself as a benevolent institution vital to the well-being of Hawai‘i, closer examination of its material culture reveals a hidden narrative that reinforces neoliberalism and settler colonialism.

“‘Iolani Inc.” explored how ‘Iolani School’s essential texts reveal the school’s reinforcement of liberal, corporate, and colonial values, but are simultaneously a potential pedagogical tool that can be used to challenge hegemonic ideologies. The “Why ‘Iolani?” admissions brochure frames ‘Iolani School as a vibrant, positive place of learning, one where a student can chart her “own course toward success.”⁶³ Meanwhile the “School

⁶³ “Why ‘Iolani?” ‘Iolani School Office of Admission. Accessed February 19, 2017. <http://www.iolani.info/files/admissions2016/#>.

Mission” emphasizes ‘Iolani as a place where students are shaped into “liberally educated, well-rounded individuals who are well prepared for higher education and for responsible, moral citizenship.”⁶⁴ The “School Mission” claims ‘Iolani School is a place that values academic growth, competition, compassion, inquiry, problem solving, diversity, and productive citizenship. The ‘Iolani School Alma Mater extolls the values of loyalty, love, faith, pride, friendship, fellowship, and vision.⁶⁵ The rules and dress codes in the *Family Handbook* intend to create a safe, civil, and lawful community, one with respectable forms of dress and behavior.

Together, these essential ‘Iolani texts present a purportedly positive and liberal narrative about ‘Iolani School. But because the values expressed in ‘Iolani’s essential texts are rarely critiqued, hegemonic ideologies like neoliberalism and settler colonialism are able to use and redefine these values in theory and practice towards the ends of capitalism and U.S. settler hegemony in Hawai‘i. By having these values essential to hegemonic ideologies reinforced through repeated encounters over time with essential ‘Iolani School texts, in addition to what is taught in the classroom, Iolani students are primed for life as economic elites and future stewards of the capitalist and settler-state of Hawai‘i.

Critically examining the essential texts in “‘Iolani Inc.” destabilizes or undermines the uncritical, hagiographic narrative these texts generate about ‘Iolani School, exposing corporate and colonial values and practices. By propagating uncritical information that frames itself as a positive and moral institution for the public good, ‘Iolani School engages in a highly corporate practice, one that aligns with the corporate practices studied in

⁶⁴ ‘Iolani School, “School Mission.”

⁶⁵ ‘Iolani School, “‘Iolani Songs.”

Cultural Critique and the Global Corporation. The “Why ‘Iolani?” admissions brochure presents the idea of success without qualification, allowing dominant neoliberal understandings of success—lucrative career, material gain, political and social prominence—to be assumed. The “School Mission,” while seemingly positive, promotes individualism, social stratification, U.S. nationalism and hegemony, and hetero- and bourgeois-normativity upon closer examination. By focusing the definition of “‘Iolani” away from its original reference to the middle name of King Kamehameha IV, signifying recognition of the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom, the ‘Iolani School Alma Mater reinforces U.S. settler colonialism through an act of linguistic erasure where “‘Iolani” is simply the name of the school. Found in the *Family Handbook*, the dress codes and school rules dictate how students, faculty, and staff can look, dress, and act, instilling bourgeois- and hetero-normative aesthetics, habits of consumption, and obedience to authoritative guidelines. The dress codes and school rules ultimately train students to dress and behave like the professional elites within Hawai‘i and the United States they hope to become.

The sites of commemoration studied in “Memorializing Neoliberalism” seemingly endorse selfless school donors and famous ‘Iolani School community members who accomplished great things. The Weinberg Building and the memorial wall named “These Donors Gave That Others Might Learn” recognize the Harry Weinberg Foundation and various other people and institutions that generously donated to the school’s building fund. The Sullivan Center for Innovation and Leadership and the “Honoring Our Visionaries” memorial wall within the building similarly recognize generous donors to the school. The Sullivan Center also represents ‘Iolani School’s commitment to technology and innovation. Two Sun Yat-Sen statues remember ‘Iolani School’s most famous alumnus, one who spread

democracy to China. These memorial sites highlight the significant influence 'Iolani School has had in Hawai'i and broader global society.

A closer and critical examination of 'Iolani School's memorial structures reveals the school's adherence to neoliberal and colonial settler practices through the memorialization of capitalism and liberalism. The Weinberg Building, by memorializing Harry Weinberg, extolls personal wealth and rugged financialism. Naming the Weinberg Building after Harry Weinberg and accepting donations from his Weinberg Foundation can be understood as an endorsement of Weinberg's reputation as a ruthless businessman and his history as an investor and executive for infamous corporations, like Amfac, Alexander & Baldwin, and Maui Land & Pineapple. This also means the school implicitly consents to the Weinberg Foundation's practices of real estate development. The Weinberg Building donor wall memorializes individual, family, and corporate wealth. Because 'Iolani's remembers and displays the names of donors, those who encounter this donor wall are encouraged to believe that extreme wealth and name recognition are to be valued.

The Sullivan Center also reveals 'Iolani School's veneration of capitalism and technocracy. Naming the Sullivan Center for Innovation and Technology after Maurice and Joanna Sullivan can be understood as an endorsement of the Sullivans' capitalist practices. The full-fledged and uncritical integration of state-of-the-art technology within the Sullivan Center represents an endorsement of technocratic values and the molding of 'Iolani students into future technical experts and stewards of a technology-dominated society. The Sullivan Center donor wall suggests the selflessness of wealthy donors. By memorializing wealthy parties, this memorial wall educates those who encounter it to value extreme wealth accumulation and name recognition. But by naming these wealthy

donors “visionaries,” this wall also directs onlookers to assume the vision or ways of understanding the world of settler economic elites.

Two statues of Sun Yat-Sen uncritically reinforce liberalism and ideals of freedom, democracy, and citizenship, but allow for capitalism’s use or cooptation of liberal ideals. The lightly trafficked, marginalized location of one of the Sun statues, and Sun’s not being memorialized with a multi-million-dollar building, reflects the tacit or half-hearted pursuit of liberalism characteristic of the United States. Because Sun and liberalism are presented at the school without question, discussions of how liberal ideals and capitalism are often contradictory are non-existent.

Altogether these on-campus memorials constitute a major endorsement of capitalism and liberalism. By valorizing the ideals and practices essential to U.S. settler and capitalist hegemony, students’ repeated encounters with these memorials and commemorative structures will prepare them for life as settler elites in Hawai’i.

“Competition Culture” examines how the material culture of ‘Iolani athletics and academics teams promotes the values of teamwork, selflessness, community, humility, and competition. ‘Iolani School’s “One Team” philosophy, introduced by Father Kenneth Bray, permeates the school and broader ‘Iolani community, reinforcing teamwork, collective accomplishments over individual ones, selflessness, and humility in victory or defeat. The philosophy is represented materially at ‘Iolani School in many forms, including a memorial bust of Bray, the Bray biography *The Ol’ Man*, and the words “One Team” painted in various locations on campus. Banners, trophies, and awards recognize the athletic and academic accomplishments of ‘Iolani students and teams, and reinforce the values of hard work and competition.

Closer inspection of 'Iolani's competition culture reveals the hidden and unconscious reinforcement of individualism, capitalism, American identity, U.S. nationalism, and settler colonialism. While a noble, selfless philosophy, the "One Team" philosophy's uncritical emphasis on "team" unconsciously promotes exclusionary and classist thinking, where boundaries—an inside and outside—to the 'Iolani community are formed. The 'Iolani team identifies with other teams or communities of similar socioeconomic statuses or identities in Hawai'i (especially other private schools) to form what I call a "settler team." Ultimately, the settler team is the winning team in Hawai'i, enjoying the spoils of social, political, and economic victory.

The Red Raider mascot used by 'Iolani School for almost fifty years served as a symbol of settler power over Native Hawaiians and reinforced an aggressive American identity. In addition to representing an individual's support of 'Iolani School, the material culture of the Red Raider mascot, including kitsch souvenir items, also represented a student's performance of an American identity and U.S. patriotism through claiming the power to create, wield, and propagate images of Native Americans and Native Hawaiians. The 'Iolani community's claiming of the Red Raider mascot and the right to play Indian can also be understood as the community's claiming of American power and its colonial identity.

For anyone who encounters 'Iolani's many athletic championship banners, the importance of accomplishment and recognition is unconsciously reinforced. Trophies and individual athletic awards instill a strong notion of individualism in 'Iolani students who strive to win an award of their own. Goldman Sachs Foundation's National Economics Challenge championship banners directly endorse finance capitalism and capitalist

competition. By materially representing 'Iolani's endorsement and intertwinement with capitalist competition and neoliberalism, the banners hung in the Weinberg Building lead 'Iolani students, faculty members, and other passersby to unconsciously assume the virtue of these values.

Altogether, the material culture at 'Iolani School generates and reinforces an uncritical, positive, and hagiographic narrative about the school. 'Iolani constructs itself as an institution that promotes, reinforces, and spreads values such as growth, competition, compassion, inquiry, problem solving, diversity, loyalty, faith, pride, technological advancement, freedom, democracy, and citizenship. In short, the school claims itself as a moral institution, one that exists not only for the good of 'Iolani students and the 'Iolani community, but also for the local community and, ultimately, the world. 'Iolani School has a long history as an exceptional preparatory school that fosters strong morals and intellectual vigor. 'Iolani students continue on to be major contributors to the overall well-being of local and global society. And in many instances this narrative is true, since there are many students and members of the 'Iolani community doing selfless, positive work in society, spreading positive values. But the image of itself that 'Iolani constructs through its material culture is uncritical because the flaws, shortcomings, or hypocrisies of 'Iolani School and the 'Iolani community are never examined.

When one critically examines the material culture of 'Iolani School, one will find that the school's self-representation and the narrative the school generates about itself obfuscate the school's function as an Ideological State Apparatus, reinforcing the social, political, and economic status quo in Hawai'i. Contextualizing, historicizing, and critiquing the material culture of 'Iolani reveals an adherence to hegemonic cultural practices and

ideologies, namely settler colonialism and neoliberalism. Exposing the gaps or discrepancies within the school's material culture can undermine or at the very least make students and the broader 'Iolani community aware of the school's function as an ISA.

I argue that 'Iolani School's material culture is essential to the school's overall function as an ISA that reproduces neoliberalism and settler colonialism. But I also argue that this very material culture can be used pedagogically through critical readings and contextualization to challenge 'Iolani's function as an ISA. That material culture at 'Iolani School is open to change and different readings or critiques offers hope that 'Iolani and its material culture can be used to promote more positive and just ideologies and support for Native Hawaiians in their struggles for sovereignty and self-determination.

Thankfully, in addition to the potential of the critical strategies presented in this project, 'Iolani School has already made small changes that do not entirely align with the school's function as an ISA in neoliberal U.S. settler-dominated Hawai'i. Recent additions and changes at 'Iolani School that promote sustainability, and connections with the communities beyond the campus, the introduction of Hawaiian language classes, and the recognition that the school's founding by the Hawaiian monarchy indicate an increasing awareness of 'Iolani's position and responsibility in society. Just within the last ten years since I graduated, 'Iolani has created an event called Founders' Day, where members of Hawaiian royal societies attend an all-school assembly that features songs, hula, and speeches dedicated to King Kamehameha IV, Queen Emma, and the history of 'Iolani School. While simply a recognition and celebration of 'Iolani's founding by the Hawaiian monarchy, Founders' Day raises awareness within the 'Iolani community of the school's initial founding by the highest members of the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom. For the 2016-17

school year, Hawaiian language was offered for the first time. Although only one section of beginning-level Hawaiian language is currently offered, compared to the handfuls of sections offered in Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, and Latin, the inclusion and possible expansion of Hawaiian language at 'Iolani is welcome and long overdue. Framed portraits of King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma now hang in the Main Office. Unfortunately, the Main Office is not nearly as heavily trafficked as the other sites examined in this project. Nonetheless these portraits are a powerful reminder of 'Iolani School's history.

Beyond changes that relate to Hawaiian culture and history, 'Iolani has made other positive changes. The Sullivan Center, though technocratic to its core, has provided wonderful opportunities to teach students ecologically responsible practices, such as promotion of food sustainability by the Center's rooftop garden or energy efficiency programs. The Sullivan Center and other buildings on campus have had solar panels added, dramatically shifting 'Iolani School towards renewable resources. The KA'I Program, or Kūkulu Alaka'i 'Iolani ("The Creation of Leaders"), connects 'Iolani School and the Sullivan Center with students from Jarrett Middle School in Palolo Valley, and the public high schools these students later attend, providing these students with "educational opportunities, critical life skills, and individualized support from middle school through postsecondary education."⁶⁶ Rather than being another paternalistic community service project or form of charity, the KA'I program is structured to bring communities together on a long-term basis and give youths from these communities outside 'Iolani skills that they may be able to use to improve their socioeconomic and educational standing, and their own

⁶⁶ 'Iolani School, "Kūkulu Alaka'i 'Iolani," Accessed March 4, 2017: <https://www.iolani.org/about/sullivan-center/kukulu-alakai-iolani>.

communities. A new “Religion and Social Justice” class helps students realize their obligation to generate social change. Together these new programs offer positive changes that do not entirely align with ‘Iolani School’s function as an ISA, but these changes must be viewed within the broader context of the overall Strategic Plan and future campus expansion.

In addition to the positive changes already made at ‘Iolani School, I suggest that additional changes, such as the critical readings and contextualization of material culture demonstrated in this project, must be implemented. The critical readings of ‘Iolani School’s material landscape that have been demonstrated in this project can be integrated into the school’s curriculum. Whether in an existing History or Social Studies class, or a new course altogether, students should be encouraged to read and critique the school’s essential texts and material landscape. The latter should be used to give students greater meaning and an understanding of themselves, their own school, and school community.

Altering future practices of commemoration on campus can challenge the unquestioned veneration of settler capitalists in ‘Iolani School’s material landscape. For example a statue of the school’s founders, King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, can remind students of the school’s and their own responsibility to Native Hawaiians. Other memorials to various ‘Iolani alumni who have gone on to work for justice or Native Hawaiian rights can show ‘Iolani students that they should value selflessness and community over the individualism and capitalism embodied by the memorials that currently exist on campus. Such memorials might also make apparent the contradiction or irony of commemorating settlers who benefited from the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and monarchy under which the school was founded.

Questioning the current Raider mascot, as done with the previous Red Raider mascot, can encourage students to question the practices represented by “raiding.” Potential mascot names like the ‘Io, Royals, or Hawks can simultaneously open up discussions about the school’s history and entanglement with colonialism, but also its founding by Hawaiian royalty.

Most importantly, I suggest further integration of place-based learning at ‘Iolani School, namely the teaching of Native Hawaiian culture and knowledge. In *Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School*, author Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua profiles Hālau Kū Māna, a Native Hawaiian charter school, and its pedagogy that focuses on Native Hawaiian cultural practices. The pedagogy of Hālau Kū Māna and other Native Hawaiian educational programs centers on ancient Hawaiian knowledge and practices, such as the stewardship of land and streams, the restoring of lo‘i, or irrigated terraces for growing taro and other foods, and loko i‘a, or fishponds. According to Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, “the efforts to build Indigenous Hawaiian culture-based charter schools have been about not only educational reform but also the restoration of the holistic health of Hawaiian communities and nationhood. They are projects of survivance.”⁶⁷ The revitalization of Hawaiian knowledge and cultural practices at Hawaiian charter schools is a practice in rebuilding the structures that enable Hawaiian health, knowledge, and culture to thrive. The restoration of such knowledge is also essential to reestablishing Native Hawaiians’ rights to sovereignty and self-determination. Because these Native Hawaiian pedagogical practices are also integral to the revitalization of Hawaiian health, knowledge, culture, and

⁶⁷ Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013): 5.

sovereignty, integrating the pedagogy of a charter school like Hālau Kū Māna at ‘Iolani School is potentially a crucial act of settler allyship.

Using culture in the manner suggested in this project is potentially a significant undertaking en route to generating social transformation and ushering in a more just and moral future. Antonio Gramsci famously stated that the “main obstacle to change is the reproduction by the dominating forces of elements of their hegemonic ideology. It’s an important and urgent task to develop alternative interpretations of reality.” These forms of reproduction impedimentary to social change that Gramsci describes are often cultural. In addition to being a form of these “alternative interpretations of reality” Gramsci calls for, this project is also an exercise in Paulo Freire’s call for people to name and then rename their circumstances. By challenging the reproduction of hegemonic ideology and directing the use of material culture at ‘Iolani School to promote freedom from suffering and oppression, this project intends to develop the consciousness or new understandings of reality necessary to enable social change.

Lastly, I suggest ‘Iolani School, its students, parents, faculty, alumni, and staff must constantly consider their kuleana, most easily understood as “responsibility,” to Hawai‘i and Native Hawaiians. At the end of her book *Aloha Betrayed*, Noenoe Silva asks Native Hawaiians to “weigh how much and which aspects of haole culture have been (and are) harmful to us and which are useful, and which aspects of the culture of our ancestors we wish to revive and perpetuate.”⁶⁸ I ask similar questions of *my* community, the ‘Iolani settler community: What is ‘Iolani School’s kuleana in Hawai‘i? What is the school’s

⁶⁸ Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press Books, 2004): 203.

kuleana to all of the people of Hawai'i, especially Native Hawaiians? What is the school's kuleana considering its founding by the Hawaiian monarchy under the sovereign Kingdom of Hawai'i? What settler practices should we keep or end, and what practices should we change or adopt? Keeping these questions and a strong understanding of kuleana at the forefront of the minds of the 'Iolani community will naturally lead decisions the school and its community members make about its curriculum and material culture to depart from its current function as an Ideological State Apparatus, and towards what is moral, righteous, or pono.

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