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Articulated Indigeneity and Tourism in Hawai‘i

Erika Nielsen

e_nielsen14@hotmail.com

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University of San Francisco

Master's of Arts, International Studies

November 21, 2017

Articulated Indigeneity and Tourism in Hawai'i

Erika Nielsen

University of San Francisco, ernielsen@usfca.edu

Articulated Indigeneity and Tourism in Hawai'i

In partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

In

International Studies

By Erika Nielsen

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Under the guidance and approval of the committee, and approval by all the members, this thesis project has been accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree.

APPROVED:

Adviser

Date

Academic Director

Date

Abstract

The guiding research question for this thesis asks how Hawaiian indigeneity and self-determination are articulated within tourism spaces in Hawai'i. This thesis research works to uncover the nuanced ways that Hawaiian indigeneity is employed to manage and regulate tourism activities in Hawai'i. I seek to question the narrative that Hawaiians consent to, and prosper from, the largely unregulated mass tourism complex that has become a focal point of the post-colonial state. Native Hawaiians have actively resisted the erosion of their culture, lands, and nation through strategies that employ multiple understandings of indigeneity. We should not assume that the tourism industry in Hawai'i operates free from formal and informal management, governance and resistance activities. I argue that tourism management strategies developed from Native Hawaiian political, economic, religious, and cultural traditions should be studied to assess how complex dynamics of power and knowledge are manifested in Hawai'i. I suggest that the authentic employment of Hawaiian values and tradition act in stark contrast to the commodification of Hawaiian culture long perpetrated by the tourism industry. Additionally, I found that movements in favor of the repossession of Hawai'i's cultural image place Hawaiian people's agency at the forefront of tourism inverting traditional host-visitor power relations.

Key words: Hawai'i, tourism, indigeneity, self-determination, Native Hawaiian, articulation, decolonization, Hawaiian Renaissance, tourism complex

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Chapter 1

Introduction

On the porch of an upscale hotel on the Western coast of Maui I sit interviewing a Hawaiian cultural practitioner and tourism stakeholder. We sip ice tea and gaze out upon a stunning view of the Pacific Ocean framed by the hotel's multiple infinity pools and tropical landscaping. "To me, one of the sorriest things I see in Hawai'i is - look at these coconut trees. You see a coconut?" he says to me. "No," I reply now starkly aware of the trees almost awkward appearance without its fruits. "It's sad to me," he continued. "Why do we cut the coconut trees? Liability." What he was referring to was the hotel's legal liability if a coconut were to fall upon a visiting guest's head. To avoid this problem, the hotel thought it best to cut off the trees' fruit before it became mature enough to fall to the ground.

"Pound for pound the most valuable tree in Hawaii, but pound for pound the most abused tree in Hawaii...It is not complete...When we cut it, we see it suffering." I had been in Hawai'i long enough to become aware of *kaona*: a word meaning to speak with layered or hidden meaning. *Kaona* refers to a Hawaiian style of speaking that invites a metaphoric meaning, often requiring much patience and careful listening for the coded message to unfold. Through the embodiment of the coconut tree metaphor I was being exposed to a long-standing relationship between tourism and Hawai'i. "This is what it is," he continued. "Hawaiians have become props in their own land." Like coconut trees, the presence of Native Hawaiians is required to fulfill the carefully crafted imagery of Hawai'i, but their role in tourism is hindered by formal and informal policies limiting their self-determination and collective decision making. Like coconut trees the

Hawaiian people continue to be rooted in a land and a culture that have to a large extent been co-opted by the tourism complex.

This thesis aims to highlight the ways in which Native Hawaiians continue to battle against the subjectivity brought on by tourism using multiple channels of indigeneity and self-determination politics. These articulations of indigeneity often take place in competing spaces which are governed by diverse entities and operate under distinct codes of conduct. I argue that the tourism spaces of Hawai'i are important locations to study in order to detect evolving practices of articulated indigeneity and self-determination by Native Hawaiian actors. In doing so, it is my intention to centralize and highlight the agency and perspectives of Native Hawaiians whose empowerment is critical in the contentious negotiation of life in a tourist destination. This point is central, since without the deconstruction of colonial power apparatuses in Hawaii, socially sustainable and just tourism is infeasible.

The following thesis is broken down into four chapters. The first chapter explores the background of Hawaiian statehood, the formation of the Hawaiian Renaissance and the history of the Hawaiian tourism complex. The second chapter provides a review of the literature pertaining to Hawaiian indigeneity and tourism studies as well as an examination of the theoretical foundations of articulation theory and the methodological undertakings of this project. Chapter three discusses the research findings and analyzes the data collected. Chapter four critically examines the findings and then presents the nuanced and paradoxical outcomes of this thesis research and provides suggestions for future studies.

Terminology

Throughout this paper I will use the term "Native Hawaiian" to refer to anyone of

Hawaiian ancestry. In this study no attempt will be made to define who is “rightly” Hawaiian. This remains a loaded political issue based on a history of ethnic mixing and access to particular services and rights based on arbitrary blood quotas (Saft, 2017). Furthermore, the term *Knanka Manoli* refers to aboriginal Hawaiians who are of the original inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands. This group is characterized as having a cultural and geographic distinctiveness. I will repeat the sentiment presented by Schachter and Funk (2012) that the Native Hawaiian or *Knanka Manoli* identity does not necessarily translate to an identification as an indigenous person or Hawaiian nationalist. Native Hawaiian’s interpretation of the *Kanaka Manoli* identity is that it is achieved just as one’s standing in a community or family unit is earned (Schachter and Funk 2012).

When employing the multifaceted concept of “indigeneity,” I do not wish to evoke ideas of primitive, essentialized or unchanging people. Instead indigeneity will be used in this project to describe a self-identification as a Native Hawaiian. Indigeneity is not exclusive in Hawaii. Other ethnic, cultural, and racial narratives of plural and partial identities mix with indigeneity forming one’s sense of self.

The term “self-determination” carries intricate political and social meaning. In the contextual setting of modern international law, self-determination for ingenious peoples refers to their right to “freely determine their relationship with the State in which they live” according to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Goodyear-Ka’ōpua, Greevy, Hussey, & Wright 2014: 259). However, my use of the term “self-determination” will be used to describe the inroads or strategies of political and social empowerment that expand personal and collective agency. This more holistic use of self-determination is necessary because within Native Hawaiian communities there are varied and disputed opinions on how Native

Hawaiians should be recognized within the legal framework of the United States.

Significance and Statement of Research Question

The historical reality of tourism in Hawai'i is that it often acts as a form of cultural and economic dispossession that stems from a longer saga of colonization by the United States.

Kanaka Maoli, or Native Hawaiian, identity continues to survive the homogenizing affects of globalization and postcolonial assaults because of its vital and continuously renegotiated tie to *'āina* (land). Land signifies a continuous nexus between the past, present, and future within Hawaiian epistemology. The tension between modernity and indigeneity in Hawai'i can be painted using many different examples; However, the relationship between tourism and Hawaiian identity serves as exceptionally fertile ground when exploring such matters.

The guiding research question for this thesis project asks how Hawaiian indigeneity and self-determination are articulated within tourism spaces in Hawai'i. Additionally, this research will work to uncover the nuanced ways that Hawaiian indigeneity is employed to manage and regulate tourism activities in Hawai'i. I seek to question the narrative that Hawaiians consent to, and prosper from, the largely unregulated mass tourism complex that has become a focal point of the post-colonial state. Native Hawaiians have actively resisted the erosion of their culture, lands, and nation through strategies that employ multiple understandings of indigeneity. We should not assume that the tourism industry in Hawai'i operates free from formal and informal management, governance, and resistance activities. Tourism management strategies developed from Native Hawaiian political, economic, religious, and cultural traditions should be studied to assess how complex dynamics of power and knowledge are manifested in Hawai'i.

Moreover, I hope to explore how Hawaiian independence or nation-building activities are woven into local tourism sties. What can be learned from these strategies of Hawaiian autonomy and how can they be seen in relation to indigenous rights, sovereignty, reciprocity, and ecological thinking? One point of interest to me is the idea that Native Hawaiian social movements that call for collective rights and self-determination, can be used to change and regulate tourism. The legibility granted to Hawaiian rights, cosmology, and values through Native Hawaiian social movements aid in the repossession of sovereign Hawaiian activity.

The authentic employment of Hawaiian values and tradition act in stark contrast to the commodification of Hawaiian culture long perpetrated by the tourism industry. Movements in favor of the repossession of Hawai'i's cultural image place Hawaiian people's agency at the forefront of tourism inversing traditional host-visitor power relations. It is my hope that this project will add to a greater understanding of how interdependencies in tourism are negotiated in the context of Hawaiian sovereignty and self-determination. I hope to build upon research that displays how indigeneity can be articulated and co-opted in the achievement of communal desires and needs. Additionally, this study can complement existing literature on the decolonization of tourism spaces by native inhabitants.

Background

In order to fully contextualize the ways in which Native Hawaiians express indigeneity and self-determination, it is essential to provide the historical backdrop of Hawai'i's incorporation into the United States. Furthermore, this section will introduce the complex terrain of Hawaiian sovereignty politics, cultural dispossession, and social movements. Finally, I will provide a brief account of the evolution of tourism in Hawai'i.

The Hawaiian Kingdom of the nineteenth century was recognized as a sovereign state by all major global powers. The independent Hawaiian Kingdom was a monarchy established in the late 1700s that afforded citizenship to both *Kanaka Maoli* (indigenous Hawaiians) and non-*Kanaka Maoli* subjects. In 1893 a coup d'état led by white American businessmen deposed the monarch of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, Queen Lili'uokalani. Following the overthrow, the Republic of Hawai'i was established on July 4, 1894 with a provisional government headed by Dole Pineapple founder, Stanford Ballard Dole. The United States illegally annexed the islands in 1898 forgoing a joint resolution treaty procedure mandated under international law (Kauanui, 2005).

Hawai'i was added to the United Nations list of "Non-Self Governing Territories" in 1946 and was thus entitled under international law to undergo a process of decolonization and self-determination. This process mandated that the people of Hawai'i freely exercise their self-determination and chose through a vote whether to incorporate within the United States. To prevent Hawaiian independence, the United States declared Hawai'i a state of the union in 1959 and misinformed the UN that the people of Hawai'i had freely choose statehood (Kauanui, 2005; Hirsch, 2015). The 1959 ballot included only two options, integration into the U.S state system or remain a U.S colonial territory. Under UN criteria, the ballot should have included options for "independence and free association" (Kauanui 2005: 314).

During the colonization of Hawai'i in the nineteenth century, Hawaiian behavior and culture was under siege and policed first by foreign missionaries then by the United States government. The first contingent of Christian missionaries arrived to Hawai'i in 1820 under the direction of the American Board of Missions with the mission to, "spread the Christian faith and impose their standards of foreign civility" (Crabbe 2007: 26). With the Christianization of

Hawai'i came the outlaw of cultural practices such as dirking *awa* (Kava), worshiping the old gods, and dancing hula (Diamond, 2008). Hula and chants were critical to social reproductions of hieratical structures and were reservoirs for cultural and historical knowledge proliferation (Buck, 1993). After of the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, English became the official language of Hawai'i, all Hawaiian language schools were shutdown and the speaking of Hawaiian in the classroom became illegal (Teves, 2015). The rule and possession of Hawaiian traditions and ethos was, and continues to be, externally challenged by imposing forces.

Hawai'i's illegal annexation reflected the prevalent political ideology of "Manifest Destiny," that is a confluence of racial, economic, and national defense issues, paving the way for foreign-run plantation agriculture and tourism as well as militarization (Langer, 2008; Williams & Gonzalez, 2017). In *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, Kame'eleihiwa (1992) describes the seizure of Hawai'i as, "a case study in the rapid progression of a Native society from Christianity to capitalism to colonialism" (Kame'eleihiwa 1992: 317). Though these avenues of appropriation, land became an object of conquest and profit. New waves of industry in Hawai'i shaped rigid political and economic pathways mandating an Americanization of the islands.

The rights based and ethnic pride social currents of the 1960s and 1970s contributed to a vibrant anticolonial indigenous movement in the new state of Hawai'i. This period is often referred to as the "Hawaiian Renaissance" and is characterized by the revitalization of Native Hawaiian communities and cultural production and encouragement of everything *Hawaiian*. According to Adam Mandelman, the "cultural renaissance nourished indigeneities founded on claims of timeless occupation of the islands and an intimate spiritual and material relationship

with the earth, all in pursuit of collective territory and ultimately even sovereignty” (2014: 174). A secessionist faction of the Hawaiian Renaissance roots its struggle in a collective desire to diverge from Western political forms and to regain indigenous modes of life and political autonomy (Hirsch, 2015).

The Hawaiian Renaissance has resulted in a particular understating of Native Hawaiian identification as part of a distinct social and political “we-group” (Schachter and Funk, 2012: 402). Native Hawaiian identification within Hawaiian Renaissance social movements can be described as linked to an ageless occupational tie to the Hawaiian Islands, cultural distinctiveness, and collective experiences of expropriation under the rule of the United States.

More broadly, Hawaiian social movements are part of a larger shift in global hegemony, a struggle that has led to revivals of traditional modes of life and cultural practices, and a rejection of Western modernism (Friedman, 1993). Participation in the Hawaiian Renaissance has allowed Native Hawaiians the opportunity to assert their agency and reject colonial rule crafted through a history of dispossession and illegality. Activists have undertaken embodied sovereignty which allows for interactive and performative acts of self-determination. This can be seen today at sites in which federal jurisdiction is denounced and land is reclaimed in the name of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. The Hawaiian Renaissance also contributed to the revival of artistic traditions, native ways of knowing, and social practices such as canoe voyaging, *Kāka‘ōlelo* (traditions of oratory), and *Ho‘omana* (understanding the sacred and spiritual) that had fallen close to the brink of cultural extinction.

Native Hawaiians today have established a strong foundation of resistance to the dispossession of land and culture by the State, and by corporate and private developers (Hirsch, 2015). Tourism has repeatedly been cited by native activists and cultural practitioners as an

important area upon which to contest neocolonial authority (Buck, 1993; Trask, 1999). The logic of mass tourism follows a Eurocentric pattern of development that often integrates essentialized and stereotypical cultural representations of indigenous local inhabitants. However, it is the unique Hawaiian culture that has sustained a market niche for the tourism industry of Hawai'i. Teves (2015) describes how the idea of *aloha* (love, to show kindness; and as a salutation, and to greet) has been used by capitalistic and ideological state apparatuses in a manner that appropriates an essential Hawaiian cultural expression and value in pursuit of profits.

The commodification of Hawaiian culture at the hands of the tourism industry reflects the power relations present in the process of 'Othering'. In the Post-War Period, Western tastes appealed to the construction of a feminized – “quaintly exotic” yet “contained” – image of Hawai'i (Diamond, 2008). The tourist-oriented imagery centered around Hawai'i at the time of statehood marketed a destination formed for American tourist consumption that was welcoming and beautiful yet unique. Culturally exotic and romanticized activities such as surfing and hula became commodified as sexualized natives were employed to teach tourists these activities thus simplifying and diminishing the meaning of such activities (Buck, 1993. Walker, 2008). Native Hawaiians became branding images for the tourism industry, performing symbolic labor typically as welcoming hosts. Because of compelling economic incentives, the tourism industry has managed to continually ignore the values of reciprocity and socio-environmental sustainability which are cornerstones to Hawaiian society, while exploiting Native Hawaiian labor and images (Williams & Gonzalez, 2017).

Hawaiian legends and cultural traditions were treated by the tourism industry as decorative and superficial marketing motifs (Diamond, 2008). State, commercial, and private uses of traditional Hawaiian material and embodied culture such as the hula and lei endowment

blurs the lines between appropriation and genuine substance. In the post-statehood period, tourism development has had visible and palpable impacts on Hawaiian landscapes and communities. Hawai'i hosts a million tourists annually fueling a statewide dependency on imported food and fuel (Cusick, Bixler and Cox, 2010). Most tourism is controlled by off-island entities which are more than willing to respond to tourism's incessant demand for new tourism attractions and sites to market and exploit.

Native Hawaiians recognize the need to reassert their agency and take control of their cultural representations. The lucrative market place of Hawaiian tourism is now being challenged by Native Hawaiians from both the periphery and center of the tourism complex. Preserving the natural and cultural landscape of Hawai'i is a Native Hawaiian community endeavor. Progress is being made both within conventional mass tourism and by providing alternative tourism models. An important political dialog between Native Hawaiians and tourism stakeholders has emerged around how indigeneity should be expressed. Power relations formally inherent in tourism—which disenfranchised Native Hawaiians and placed non-Hawaiians, many of them non-residents, in positions of dominance—are now being deconstructed in many ways at diverse tourism venues.

Chapter 2

The Relationship between Tourism and Hawai'i

A Review of the Literature

To better understand the background of the issues to be examined in this thesis and in order to pose appropriate questions, an extensive literature review was conducted on Hawaiian sovereignty and social movements, Hawaiian tourism, and tourism management more broadly. The history of Hawai'i's cultural dispossession and incorporation into a capitalistic tourism paradigm has been studied by many researchers (see Mak, 2008; Williams & Gonzalez, 2017; Diamond, 2008; Bacchilega, 2011; Trask, 1999). Cultural appropriation and commodification within the tourism industry has been the focus of much research, with the Hawaiian case receiving significant attention. The work of Bacchilega (2011), for example, highlights the ways Native Hawaiian narratives (e.g., origin stories, legends, *meles* or chants) have been coopted by multiple actors such as businessmen and women, and state officials to serve western style development and tourism. The construction of Hawai'i as a tourism space, beginning as early as the island's annexation in the late 19th century, has relied upon using Native Hawaiian imagery, including its cosmology and legends, to market Hawai'i as an exotic and enticing tourist destination. The colonial subjection of Hawai'i and its representation as a place of antiquity and legend, according to Bacchilega (2011), has resulted not only in symbolic violence to Native Hawaiian culture but also actual cultural and physical dispossession. For example, colonial seizure of Hawaiian land and the attempted erasure of the Hawaiian language are acts of both colonial symbolic violence and dispossession.

Native Hawaiian resistance to tourism's representations and use of Hawaiian culture has grown considerably since the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s. Bacchilega (2011) documents such resistance to the Americanization and tourism appropriation in Native Hawaiian literature, language, and performance. Isaiah Helekunihi Walker (2008) in *Hui Nalu, Beachboys, and the Surfing Boarder-lands of Hawaii*, describes the surf zones of Hawai'i as boarder or frontier areas where Hawaiian men were/are able to transcend colonial hierarchies and white hegemony. State authority is often absent in frontier zones which allows for the creation of unique cultural and social identities. Frontier areas, such as surf zones, are often spaces where tourists do not receive preferential treatment.

Adam Mandelman's (2014) article, "Unstrategic Essentialism: Material Culture and Hawaiian Articulations of Indigeneity," demonstrates that indigenous Hawaiian claims to natural resources, territory, and political rights are inseparable from their traditional relationships with place. "Place," as Bacchilega puts it, "is an emotionally, narratively, and historically layered experience" (2011: 35), that in Hawaiian etymology is fundamentally linked to life and to one's ancestry through time. Mandelman uses the Big Island of Hawai'i as a case study to illustrate the ways in which fixed material culture (e.g. archeological artifacts) and landscapes (e.g. archeological sites and ancient walking paths) of indigeneity can ironically and inadvertently act as essentialist and constraining influences on native Hawaiian politics.

Williams and Gonzalez (2017) investigate the idea of socially sustainable tourism or "just hospitality" in the Hawaiian context and suggest that, "sovereignty must limit hospitality" (Williams & Gonzalez 2017:13). They provide case studies of historical and cultural tours which demonstrate how alternative forms of tourism can engender more complex understandings of Hawaiian reciprocity, traditions, and history. Heritage tours of Iolani Palace, once the ruling

site of the Kingdom of Hawai'i, are used as an interface to explain, "The history of overthrow in order to grapple with what tourism's injunction to be hospitable means in the context of Indigenous resistance today" (Williams & Gonzalez 2017: 2). They argue that only after experiencing such an alternative form of tourism and education can tourist - host relations be decolonized and deemed "just" in the face of mass-tourism's marketing narratives of unconditional hospitality.

Not all scholars agree that Hawaiian tourism mitigation is a worthy place to expend energy. Corporate tourism according to Trask (1999) represents the prostitution of Hawaiian culture. The State and tourism industry have acted collectively to convert Hawaiian cultural and natural attributes – art, land, language – into profit. In contrast to Williams and Gonzalez's views that the commodification of Hawaiian culture can be softened through education and cross-cultural exchanges, Trask believes that daily resistance to all forms of tourism and neocolonialism is the only means by which Hawaiian sovereignty can be restored.

Many authors have documented the ways that contemporary Hawai'i has been changed for the better by movements for life, land, and sovereignty. Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Greev, Hussey, and Wright (2014) offer a collection of essays that trace the genealogy of Native Hawaiians' reconnection with their land and culture, from often "painful" Marxist class struggles to a Hawaiian nationalist movement that understands that indigenous movements have to disassociate themselves from Western liberal ideology and reconnect to Hawaiian values and epistemology. The latter has also blurred the arbitrary boundaries between the cultural and political; "When people explicitly assert the ways cultural practice is political and political movement is cultural, Hawaiian social movements leap forward" (Goodyear-Ka'ōpua et al. 2014: 12).

Questions of how to negotiate with the logic of State and corporate authority while

staying true to Native Hawaiian communal needs and desires and rejecting the mechanisms of modern, capitalistic, and Eurocentric systems, plays a role in Native Hawaiian rights campaigns. Individuals and communities often make choices to act outside of this system creating alternative pathways to express sovereignty and communal rights. Johnson (2014) offers an interesting analysis of the ways indigeneity is dynamically performed at the visible and invisible, surface and core, ends of the spectrum to administer law and structure in the multicultural democracy of Hawai'i. Practical and dialectic performances of indigeneity, through state administrative law, are underappreciated assertions of Native Hawaiian authority that deserve further scholarly attention (Johnson, 2014). "Reinvigoration of indigenous lifeworlds" (e.g., a socially constructed collective identity) and a divestment from Western political forms, as opposed to traditional sovereign statehood, are at the core of current Hawaiian self-determination movements according to Hirsh (2015). These alternative measures and purposeful restructuring of self-identification have been credited with the longevity and success of Hawaiian movements.

Fiona McCormack (2012) examines Maori indigeneity in contemporary New Zealand. She sees indigenous identity articulations as complex negotiations between the past, present, and future in which real struggles over territory and the political economy take shape. Within the paradigm of neoliberalism a certain kind of Maori indigeneity, one based on economic independence and sovereignty, is rewarded. She also goes on to suggest that the State has co-opted certain aspects of Maori identity politics in order to prevent them from adopting a potentially radical and anti-capitalistic course. For example, land as investment capital and fishing rights akin to stocks, have transformed prescribed rights of access for Maori people into capitalist enterprises.

Kanahele (1986) asks, “What and who is Hawaiian?”. He suggests that ethnicity is an awareness of identity in which “historical memory,” expressed through feeling, behavior, and values, distinguish groups. It has been suggested that the Hawaiian Renaissance movement of the 1970s was a byproduct of a global movement aimed at the rejection of integration, mass assimilation, and Western homogenization. Since then there has been the revival of all things “Hawaiian by Hawaiians.” Kanahele says that the Hawaiian “search for values is also a search for renewed pride on our traditions” (1986: 22) as well as an awakening of awareness.

Like Kanahele (1986), Schachter & Funk (2012) pose questions about Hawaiian self-identification, focusing more on the challenges of political and individual analyses of the terms indigeneity, nation, sovereignty, self-determination, ethnicity, and race. They argue that individuals’ “political positions themselves are a distant superstructure above the realms of social life, hard to incorporate into the ways Native Hawaiians reflect on their identities” (2012: 402). They claim that the ability to gain political representation will fail if the construction of Hawaiian identity lies outside of the daily multidimensional experiences of individual Hawaiians.

Tourism research is a lively academic field which examines global, local, social, economic, political, environmental issues, and more. This section will focus on social science approaches to tourism studies. The ways that tourism can transform culture and identity have been well documented (George, Mair, & Reid, 2009; Greenwood, 1989; Macleod, 2013). Macleod (2013) introduces the concept of “cultural realignment” to describe the intentional cultural representation, interpretation, stereotyping, and branding of community identities for tourism. Such tourism-driven cultural realignments have “impact on all levels of society from nation-state to villages and their inhabitants” (Macleod 2013: 75).

In the classic pieces by MacCannell (1973) and Cohen (1988), the quest for authentic tourist experiences is discussed. MacCannell describes authenticity as a naive concept in which the tourist pursues pristine, aboriginal, and natural experiences that are outside the tourist's own day-to-day experiences. In contrast, Cohen defines authenticity as a socially-constructed concept that is negotiable, not given. "The breadth of such authentic traits necessary to satisfy the tourist will, in turn, depend on the depth of the touristic experience to which each individual tourist aspires" (Cohen 1988: 383). Furthermore, Cohen sees commodification by tourism as not necessarily destroying cultural meaning, but as engendering new and changing meanings. Both authors point to tourists' quest for authenticity as an effort to generate feelings of intimacy and participation in a novel place or situation.

A significant amount of research has also been done on indigenous tourism. The longstanding relationship between tourism and indigenous people is multifaceted and at times ambiguous. Whitford and Ruhanaen (2016) offer a point of departure with their review of indigenous tourism research from the 1980s to 2014. Over the years the focus has increasingly turned to development and sustainability. According to Whitford and Ruhanaen, indigenous tourism research today is tightly imbedded in the sustainable development paradigm in which sustainable tourism is often regarded as a "silver-bullet" for indigenous people.

The potential development opportunities attached to indigenous and rural tourism, however, have been over-sold according to multiple authors (George, Muir & Reid, 2009; Johnston, 2003; Whitford and Ruhanaen, 2016). They note that a recent shift in the literature has shed light on the delocalizing, destructive, and marginalizing effects tourism can have in sensitive areas. The novel emphasis on the intersection between tourism and indigenous people's rights have been included in studies of tourism development. Equally, tourism's encroachments

on indigenous groups' ability to self-determine has gained scholarly momentum. The review of indigenous tourism research by Whitford and Ruhanaen (2016) ultimately suggests that academic studies on the subject should shift focus to a more open and explanatory research design that is not predetermined by previously dominate trends of the indigenous tourism literature.

Johnston (2003) contributes to the literature on indigenous tourism by drawing our attention to the political and legal frameworks that address issues of self-determination and land rights for indigenous people. According to Johnston (2003), regulatory tourism management tools that are developed without the influence of outsiders are the most effective. While Johnston describes the steps taken by multinational institutions, NGOs, and indigenous communities to secure and assert their rights, he does not address what is gained or altered through these acts of group empowerment. He argues that where legal tenure or rights over land is absent, indigenous communities are unable either to abstain from or to manage tourism.

The topic of community-based tourism governance is covered widely in the literature on tourism processes (George, Muir & Reid, 2009; Hall, 1994; Qian, Sasaki, Shivakoti, & Zhang, 2016). Community-based tourism is presented as an alternative approach to tourism development in which community stakeholders actively participate in tourism planning and activities. Alternative and novel strategies of managing tourism have been postured in the literature as being aimed at sustainable practices, environmental regulation, and community involvement (George, Muir & Reid, 2009; Whitford and Ruhanaen, 2016; Reid, 2003). What is missing from the literature are studies of the strategies indigenous communities have used to regulate or control tourism with the intent of socially-altering or halting it altogether in prioritized areas.

In "Radicalize Multiculturalism? Garifuna Activism and the Double-Bind of Participation

in Postcoup Honduras,” Christopher Loperena (2016) shows how the Honduran government’s politics of multiculturalism fuels both a tourism agenda and an imagined Garifuna identity. Garifuna actors used the momentum of post-coup social movements to challenge and supplement State narratives of Garifuna identity and multiculturalism. This was achieved through a unified political mobilization under a black and indigenous identification. Given that the State’s development agenda focuses on tourism spaces, Loperena describes how these sites are strategically used by the Garifuna to articulate their ethno-political goals through performance and resistance.

Areas of tourism studies that have acknowledged alternative approaches to tourism management, include studies of localism and community-resistance directed towards altering tourism’s reach and practice/behavior. Localism has been defined as a type of human territoriality which encompasses “(a) feelings of ownership, (b) the setting of boundaries and (c) the regulation of behavior within those boundaries” (Usher & Gómez 2016: 196). George, Muir and Reid (2009) see it as an appealing response to the homogenizing effects globalized tourism has had on rural communities. Localism has also been a response to outside threats in surf tourism localities (Usher & Gómez 2016).

Rights regimes in indigenous communities have also been credited with empowering locals to alter tourist activity and behavior. Johnston (2003) describes how the Kuna People of Panama have successfully developed an enforceable *Statute on Tourism*. Sweet (1991) describes how rights granted to Pueblo Native Americans has altered the dynamics in tourism settings allowing for increased self-determination. For example, increased sovereignty allows Pueblo Native Americans to regulate where and when tourists can take photos. Once formal rights regimes enter tourism spaces traditional guest and host roles often experience a reversal in power

dynamics.

One gap in the literature is the absence of explanations for how indigenous political movements for rights and sovereignty realign culture in relation to the management of tourism spaces. Additionally, there is an opportunity to research how indigeneity is performed or asserted in tourism spaces in Hawai'i. Places where Native Hawaiian movements and identity meet and interact with tourism are a prime location for addressing this gap in the literature. What role do Native Hawaiian identity, ethics, and traditions play in regulating, managing, and re-imaging tourism? The alternative paradigms Native Hawaiian-tourism relations provide should be explored to broaden academic and activist conversations on local self-determination in Hawai'i.

Theoretical Framing

I will use articulation theory to conceptualize how Hawaiian indigeneity is employed in relation to tourism. Articulation theory sees cultural and social articulations as alliances and expressions that are reconfigured in unique political settings. By engaging/utilizing articulation theory, Native Hawaiian assertions of indigeneity and self-determination within tourism spaces can be understood as collective and relational self-assertions that act in correspondence as well as in conflict with one another. This theoretical framing will aid in our consideration of how Hawaiian actors might simultaneously embrace positions of selective resistance and participation in the tourism industry.

The formation of articulation theory can be traced to 1970s when social and political theorizing rejected essentialist and reductionist ideas of cultural invention, authenticity, mobility, and incarceration (Hirsch 2015; Mandelman 2014). The pre-1960s "modern" era of anthropological inquiry situated cultural identities within an authoritarian ethnographic and

historical framework that worked to deconstruct groups' constructions (Freidman 1993). Cultural studies at this time often negotiated contentions around the temptation to condense culture to coherent units resulting from class location experience (Clarke 2015). Articulation theory rejects the notion that cultural representations are invented or inauthentic based on claims of some *true* experience of primordial accuracy of "what may have been." Rather, articulation theory acknowledges the transformation and re-contextualization of ideological elements as a result of interactive fields in constant change.

Stuart Hall's prominent work on articulation theory can be read in relation to Marxist, Althusserian, and Gramscian understandings of articulated unities and social formations (Clarke 2015). Hall explains articulation theory as a dialectic relationship between social forces and ideology in which specific linkages are made and remade. Famously, Hall states that,

Thus, a theory of articulation is both a way of understanding how ideological elements come, under certain conditions, to cohere together within a discourse, and a way of asking how they do or do not become articulated, at specific conjunctures, to certain political subjects (Grossberg 1986: 143).

James Clifford describes articulation theory in his book *Indigenous Articulations* this way: "Articulation as I understand it evokes a deeper sense of the 'political'—productive processes of consensus, exclusion, alliance, and antagonism that are inherent in the transformative life of all societies" (2001: 473). Assertions that articulated indigeneity is fully tied to a primordial attachment to traditions and spirituality must be questioned (Clifford 2001). The articulation of indigeneity is nuanced and employed in an entangled fashion within contemporary indigenous cultural politics. Furthermore, Clifford asserts that indigenous articulation theory denounces the claim that the avowal of indigeneity is the result of twentieth

century postmodern movements and understandings of identity politics and multiculturalism. It must be understood that indigenous struggles and resistance have functioned long before the integration of indigenous people into the modern world system.

In “Articulating Secession: Self-determination, Decolonization and Stateless Independence amongst the Kanaka Maoli,” Alexander Keller Hirsch (2015) argues that articulation theory can be employed to understand Native Hawaiians collective identity and goals of self-determination outside the Western system of sovereign states. Hirsch asserts that in Native Hawaiian claims “the self in indigenous self-determination is articulated in a field of overlapping alliances, antagonism, and entangled, shifting identities” (2015:103). Hawaiian articulations of indigeneity in the tourism complex reflect these entangled and often antagonistic coalitions as this thesis will point out. According to articulation theory, as Hirsch points out, cultural continuity is tentative and open to contested recasting.

Performances of indigeneity can also be understood as articulations that intercut a range of dialogic and cumulative interactions that are shaping the emergent identities of Native Hawaiians (Graham and Penny 2014). Graham and Penny state that,

There is no question that self-conscious performances of Indigeneity allow some groups to embrace a shift from essential, substantial, and positivist definitions of their culture that depend on territorial precedence to constructivist, structural, and relational definitions that are based on self-identification and distinct livelihood strategies (2014: 8).

This explanation of performed indigeneity will be useful when I latter analyze articulations that seem to placate multiple ideological sides of the tourism tightrope. Performances of indigeneity are almost always problematic acts because they evoke a re-contextualization of social, political,

and cultural boundaries which are often held by hegemonic value regimes (Graham and Penny 2014).

I will be using articulation theory in this thesis to unravel and make sense of the varied discourses that affect Hawaiian actors' decision-making in Hawai'i's tourism spaces. Processes of decolonization in Hawai'i are not simply reactive or linear but are an articulated feature of an ongoing negotiation of opposition and accommodation which links and unlinks with hegemonic forces (Clifford 2001). Native Hawaiian nation-building activities occur alongside economic and social assimilation. Across Hawai'i, Hawaiian people have been attached to, or accepted parts of, the tourism complex while objecting to and transforming other aspects of it. The flexible political-economy of our globalized world is one reason for this phenomenon. However, Hawaiians' participation in tourism must also be seen as a selective political articulation of local or indigenous performance and alliance – as a conscious strategy.

Approaching indigeneity through the lens of articulation theory allows us to recognize indigenous identities as dynamic reconciliations between modernity and cultural rootedness (Mandelman 2014). With a grounding in articulation theory it becomes possible to ask: How do Native Hawaiians articulate indigeneity, decolonization, and self-determination within the entangled and competing arenas of state, corporate, and informal tourism spaces?

Methodology

This study adopts a multi-method approach in which participant observation, interviews, and archival research were employed. I spent approximately 5 weeks during the summer of 2017 conducting fieldwork on the islands of Hawai'i (the Big Island) and Maui. This involved visiting hotels, national and state parks, and locally-managed tourism sites to see how Native Hawaiian

culture is depicted. I examined hotel and park displays, signage, and printed materials. I also observed performances of Native Hawaiian culture such as the hula to see how it was presented to tourists, especially the degree to which its meaning and use within Hawaiian culture was explained. I visited non-corporate and unofficial tourist sites that are claimed by Native Hawaiians and informally managed by them. Here I was able to learn firsthand how Native Hawaiians indigeneity is being re-asserted and articulated in signage and management strategies.

I investigated informal methods of tourism management by individual actors, documenting handcrafted signage, and the ways that Hawaiian systems of property rights and localism were asserted at tourism sites not formally sponsored by state or corporate entities. I also investigated tourism sites where informal claims to land have been made by Native Hawaiian actors. In these areas I examined how lands held by Native Hawaiians, without formal land titles, are nonetheless managed and/or regulated in the face of tourism activity. This objective was carried out through ethnography and interviews with multiple stakeholders at these sites.

Being in the field for five weeks provided me with the opportunity to interview non-native and Native Hawaiians involved in tourism to get their perspectives on how Native Hawaiian culture and Native Hawaiians actors are treated within the tourism complex. My ten formal interviews included a county-level tourism research and development official, a Native Hawaiian cultural advisor, a cultural non-profit operator, a hotel community relations advisor, and a Native Hawaiian tourism stakeholder living at a tourism site reclaimed by the Kingdom of Hawai'i. These were semi-structured interviews in which I allowed the interviewees, in large part, to control which subjects and questions they focused on.

In order to complete approximately 10 semi-structured interviews, I used a snowball sample method to initiate contact with potential interview participants. Social ties on the islands of Hawai'i and Maui helped me gain access to interviewees, all of whom were over the age of 18 and participated under voluntary circumstances. In addition to formal interviews, I had many informal interviews and conversations with National Park rangers, tourists, and Native Hawaiians operating tourism businesses.

The ways in which Native Hawaiian politics and sovereignty claims are incorporated into acts of localism at locations of tourism activity were the focus of ethnographic observation. Through participant observation I could watch behavior and conversations of theoretical and analytical relevance unfold naturally. Qualitative analysis of my interviews and ethnographic data were used to answer the question of how tourism interactions are articulated and mitigated in relation to indigeneity and self-determination politics.

By conducting participant observation, formal interviews, and partaking in informal conversations, I hoped to avoid academic imperialism and to decolonize the scholarly process. To engage in scholarly inquiries around articulations of indigeneity and self-determination in Hawaiian tourism, I felt that it was important to speak directly to Native Hawaiian stakeholders. The use of qualitative interview and ethnographic techniques enable a fuller development of holistic and interactive information. By relying on qualitative study methods, analysis will be based on holistic descriptions, interpretation, summary, and the integration of multiple perspectives. Qualitative analysis allows this study to bridge intersubjectivity and interpersonal systems of social relations. Analysis also includes the examination of images or scenes through photos. All photos used in this thesis were taken by the author. This project also utilized

secondary data sources. The scholarly literature was heavily reviewed and applied to theoretical and topical conceptions.

In addition to my five weeks of summer field work, I returned to Hawai'i for 5 days in September to attend a tourism conference in Honolulu, on the island of Oahu. Titled "The Global Tourism Summit," the conference brought together a diverse group of tourism stakeholders – tourism executives, researchers, Native Hawaiian activists, state officials, and non-profit operators. This conference was assembled by the Hawaiian Tourism Authority which is a state entity tasked with the growth Hawai'i's tourism industry while finding sustainable solutions to future environmental and cultural concerns. The Global Tourism Summit gave me access to high-profile and powerful voices from within the tourism industry. I gathered data during this summit by attending talks, networking sessions, question and answer periods, and keynote speeches.

Throughout this study, I ran into challenges and limitations which shaped the direction and results of this project. As an outsider of the Native Hawaiian community, I had limited access to certain sites and to sentiments that are not often shared with foreigners. Not possessing the ability to speak or understand the Hawaiian language presented some barriers, as certain public speeches and documents were incomprehensible to me. Additionally, I relied upon snowball sampling methods to find willing participants to interview which raises the possibility of bias. My social ties in my research areas were limited, so I had to establish relationships based on demonstrating my knowledge and sincere interest in to the issues affecting Hawaiian communities. Monetary and time constrains also limited the time I could spend away conducting fieldwork.

Chapter 3

Collaborative Articulations

In this chapter I will present the findings from my research and analysis. I found that the intersection of tourism and Native Hawaiian identity politics is an arena of social interactions ripe with strategic and intentional articulations of indigeneity. Within the landscape of Hawaiian tourism, stakeholders have traditionally worked as “insiders” or “outsiders” to the mass tourism complex. Recently, roles as either an insider or an outsider in the tourism landscape have begun to blur as hybridized opportunities have developed. Several factors have aided in the pliability of tourism roles, especially for those of Native Hawaiian descent. One such factor is the rising demand for “genuine Native Hawaiian” culture within the Hawaiian visitor industry (Knox, 2004). Globally, a desire for “genuine” or “authentic” tourism experiences has replaced resort enclave style tourism that was in vogue from the 1970s through the early 2000s.

Tourism institutions – such as hotels, restaurants, and tour companies -- have become aware that genuine cultural experiences are good for their bottom line and are seeking to provide goods and services that are culturally and geographically unique to Hawai‘i (Knox, 2004). Interested in pursuing cultural experiences and intimate encounters, more tourists have begun to visit secondary or alternative tourism sites which are not considered primary tourist destinations. Secondary tourism sites are considered “off the beaten path” and are often located in rural communities and remote areas of Hawai‘i (Cusick, Bixler and Cox, 2010). This trend has included both natural and cultural resources needed by Native Hawaiians for subsistence activities (e.g. the loss of ancestral lands through sales to offshore landowners), disruptions in their access to historic and sacred sites, and a loss of Hawaiian sense of place (Knox, 2004).

Another factor effecting Native Hawaiian representation and participation in the tourism industry is the legacy of the Hawaiian Renaissance. According to Wood (1999), since the Hawaiian Renaissance Native Hawaiians have had the opportunity to marshal Hawaiian tradition and culture in order to critique and present alternatives to tourist representations. Through the Hawaiian Renaissance, the strong and prideful revival of *all things Hawaiian* has granted a legibility to Hawaiian cultural practitioners and political self-determination activists previously absent in the wider socio-political arena. These actors have become more desirable to the tourism complex due to tourists' greater interest in cultural activities or less mediated tourism experiences. This has allowed Native Hawaiians to become more active in mitigating tourism's impacts on the cultural and natural landscapes of Hawai'i.

The opportunity for Native Hawaiians to tell their own story and participate in tourism on their own terms is resulting in a realignment of social, economic, and political platforms. Hawaiian entrepreneurs, cultural practitioners, and sovereignty activists have penetrated the tourism industry marking a shift in Hawaii's visitor industry. The rapid nature of this phenomenon has opened up tourist spaces to the social disconnect felt between the Native Hawaiian community, the Hawaiian visitor industry, and the State. Performances of indigeneity and self-determination politics by Native Hawaiians are now used to manage, regulate, and alter the tourism industry from both the inside out and outside in – meaning that the integration of Native Hawaiians in tourism no longer only happens in traditional tourism spaces or in a linear fashion.

The State: Tourism's Original Engine

Insiders: Effecting Change from the Inside Out

The influential insider roles of tour operators, hotel executives, and state officials have traditionally been held by non-indigenous actors in Hawai'i. The historical exclusion of Native Hawaiians from insider positions within the tourism industry is related to a legacy of racial and ethnic discrimination. Native Hawaiians have also cited a disconnect between *Kanaka Maoli* values (such as reciprocity, community, and connection to place) and the prevailing tourism business model as a deterrent from entering the visitor industry. The tourism complex is often considered a function of American colonialism and the historical conditions that resulted in the diminished living standard and socio-political status of Native Hawaiians (Knox, 2004). However, the desire for “authentic” tourism and the political awakening of the Hawaiian Renaissance has encouraged Native Hawaiians to obtain jobs in order to weave Native Hawaiian cultural themes into tourism spaces and effect change in the tourism complex from the inside out. On a daily basis, Native Hawaiians are seeking to introduce Native Hawaiian history, values and perspectives into formal State and corporate tourism spaces.

Perhaps the most powerful as well as controversial segment of Hawai'i's tourism complex is the federal state. With a history of forced assimilation and Americanization of Hawai'i into the Union, the federal government is an object of considerable resentment within Native Hawaiian communities. The federal government owns approximately 20 percent of Hawai'i's total land area and controls popular tourist destinations including Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park on the island of Hawai'i and Haleakalā National Park on Maui. The following section explores the ways in which Native Hawaiians are using federally controlled national parks as tools for education and Native Hawaiian cultural sovereignty.

At Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park, the most popular tourist destination in Hawai'i, there is a longstanding battle over competing rhetoric concerning this volcano area (Wood,

1999). Official state-sponsored natural science narratives based on geology and volcanology, rely upon a language of scientific universals to depict Hawai‘i’s volcanoes. However, interspersed with an Euroamerican scientific rhetoric are stories related to Native Hawaiian views on the significance of Volcanoes National Park. In the Volcanoes National Park visitors’ center are formal signage and images that incorporate Hawaiian words and briefly present Hawaiian values and legends to the public. Image 1 shows a map of Volcanoes National Park accompanied by the Hawaiian phrase “I ka nānā no a ‘ike” or “By observing, one learns.” Instead of using a phrase like “leave no trace,” typically found on other national park signage, Volcanoes National Park stresses the importance of visitors not disrupting the park’s natural resources on this signage using this Hawaiian language phrase and concept. This phrase shifts the focus away from Euroamerican scientific truths and suggests visitors explore Native Hawaiian beliefs and truths.

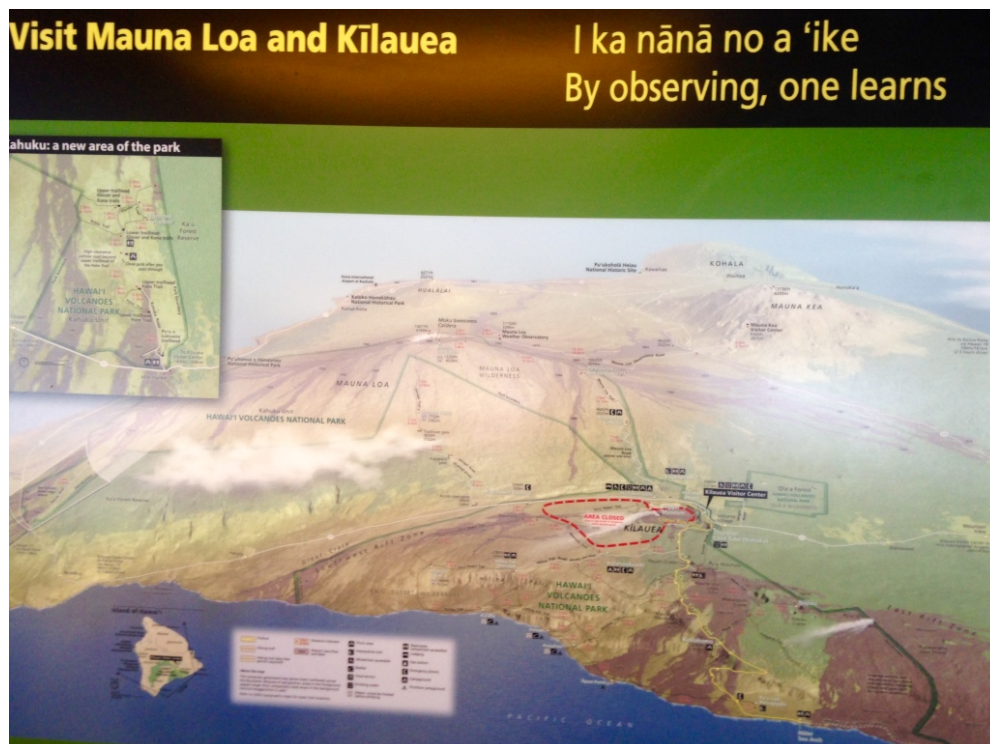


Image 1

In addition to scientific and natural preservation narratives at Volcanos National Park, centuries-old Native Hawaiian narratives based on the Goddess Pele and other Hawaiian ancestors are visible at the park. On a peripheral wall in the Volcanoes National Park visitors' center I came across an illustration of the Goddess Pele and an accompanying plaque which briefly introduces the story of the Native Hawaiian Fire Goddess who resides in Kīlauea Volcano (seen in Image 2 and 2.1). According to Wood (1999) the value and pleasure visitors experience from visual images of Pele stems from a desire to experience exotic Native spiritual beliefs. Before the arrival of Euroamericans to Hawai'i, Native Hawaiians communicated Pele's story through spoken word, songs, chants, or dances as opposed to images or the written word. The image and words depicting Pele act to educate visitors about indigenous cultural beliefs but do so through a form of communication not traditionally typical for Native Hawaiians. This example highlights how Hawaiian beliefs and cultural articulations are adapting to modern communication methods in order to penetrate federal tourism spaces and revitalize pre-contact narratives.



Image 2

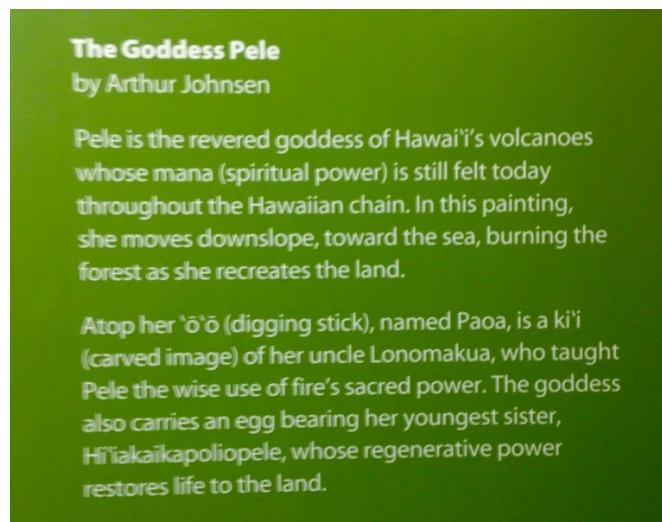


Image 2.1

During one of my visits to Volcanoes National Park I asked an on-duty ranger if I could speak with an employee who was a Hawaiian cultural practitioner. I was given the contact

information of a Native Hawaiian ranger who worked in the parks' cultural center. I was interested in getting the perspective of the Native Hawaiian park ranger who choose to work for the federal government, given the resentment and debate that exists within the Native Hawaiian community around the governments management of Volcanoes National Park. In a phone call to him, I described my project and my reasons for reaching out to him. He explained to me that because my project had to do with Hawaiian indigeneity, he must first obtain approval from his superiors. However, even after submitting an outline of my thesis project, I was unable to obtain a meeting with this individual. This antidote serves to illuminate the binding characteristics of working from inside of the visitor industry and federal state apparatus. Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park is a tourist space where representations of Hawaiian history and beliefs are visually evident but tapered to and controlled by the dominate federal state. While the inclusion of Hawaiian ways of knowing serves to introduce a narrative separate from natural science accounts of the volcano area, these articulations are done so in modern western-style media forms.

At Haleakalā National Park on the island of Maui, the official informational pamphlet handed to all visitors entering the park is bilingual; half is in Hawaiian and half is in English. As the document states, “This guide is created by Kanaka Maoli (native Hawaiians) of the island of Maui to ensure that through generational knowledge, Kanaka Maoli natural and cultural resources are cared for with appropriate respect and behavior by all who enter Haleakalā National Park.” The pamphlet explains the Hawaiian concepts of *kuleana* (responsibility), *wao akua* (sacred for the Gods), and *wao kanaka* (life and cultivation) among other cultural values and traditions. For example, *wao akua* is described saying,

Long before modern science delineated areas for resource management, *kanaka maoli* had a land division system already in place. This area is known as the *Wao Akua*. With this designation, *kanaka maoli* believe that these areas are inhabited only by *na akua* (deities) and are accountable to its scared nature, which is still honored today. These places are *kapu* (scared) and closed to the public.

The presentation of Hawaiian language and cultural conceptions in this document are part of the broader Hawaiian Renaissance. The powerful interests that dominate Hawaiian tourism are being infiltrated by Native Hawaiian groups who feel empowered and supported through Hawaiian Renaissance unification activities such as Hawaiian ethnic studies and political campaigns. The prominent presentation of Native Hawaiian conceptions in tourist materials at popular national parks places a higher value on social relations and codes of behavior derived from Hawaiian ideas. These articulations can be seen as an effort to impact Hawaiian sites of memory (e.g. significant sites) controlled by the federal government and weave the often silenced Hawaiian historical interpretations of place and experience in to this space.

The incorporation of Hawaiian language, values, legends, articulations of Hawaiian ways of knowing, and indigeneity in the signage and printed materials at Haleakalā and Volcanoes National Parks have been made possible by recent partnering between Native Hawaiians and federal agencies. While a good development, one that fosters education and cultural exchange, such a partnership often runs the risk of “domesticating indigeneity” in that the more incorporated native actors become, the less politically distinct and more submissive they may appear (Johnson 2014: 252). In this way Native Hawaiians working from the inside out of the tourism industry run the risk of their own erasure without a dialectic and balancing relationship with actors working to effect the tourism complex from the outside. However, the polarity of the

methods used by inside and outside actors does not mean that articulations of self-determination and indigeneity are at odds.

Outsiders: Effecting Change from the Outside In

Native Hawaiians are penetrating the tourism industry from peripheral positions by filling niche positions in alternative tourism roles and spaces. Cultural practitioners, sovereignty activists, and Native Hawaiian community members are strategically operating as “outsiders” in the tourism complex. These groups maintain their identity as distinct Native Hawaiian actors, thus serving to persevere and sustain indigenous rights claims based on indigeneity and cultural difference. Performances of indigeneity and self-determination are often more visible and risky from outside actors because they lack official positions in the tourism complex and are uninhibited by institutional regulations. However, the overarching social goals communicated by inside and outside actors are often related and embrace both modernity and tradition.

A hula performance organized by a local NGO called Volcano Art Center and sponsored by the Hawaiian Tourism Authority took place at the *kahua hula* (hula platform) at Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park. A sign posted at the hula platform read, “Kahula Hula (dance platform) for the perpetuation of traditional Hawaiian *mele* (chants) & hula (dance).” The late morning hula performance took place in a grassy area below the Halema'uma'u Crater of Mt. Kilauea, the reputed home of Goddess Pele amid intermittent rain and wind gusts. This traditional demonstration of hula and chants was free to park goers and attracted a crowd of about 50 locals and tourists. The performers included both females and males, with dancers' ages ranging from 7 to 70s. This performance highlights the ways tourism outsiders have inserted

traditional Hawaiian cultural activities in formal tourism spaces while avoiding formal regulation and censorship by the federal state.

At the start of the performance the *kumu hula* (the hula leader; the source) told the audience that today's hula performance was dedicated to the courageous ancestors who revived the tradition of hula during the early years of the Hawaiian Renaissance. He also educated the crowd on the meaning of certain Hawaiian words, such as *kumu hula*, asking audience to repeat pronunciations. Throughout the presentation the performers through *meles* (chants) and hula movements, called upon ancestral hula dancers and the gods and goddesses of Hawaiian etymology evoking a strong sense of cultural vitality and self-determination. This was done by chanting the names of genealogical lines of hula dancers and performing hula moments representative of deities such as Pele. Unlike the textual and visual representation of Goddess Pele inside the Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park visitors center, this hula performance paid tribute to Pele through oral and hula traditions. The fetishization and tourist appropriation of Hawaiian hula was challenged by this performance placing the power of cultural imagery and representation in the Hawaiian hula dancer's hands.

In an interview with the Volcano Arts Center hula arts coordinator responsible for the organizing this hula performance, I was told that there is much contestation over the park's jurisdiction and that historically "people [non-natives] want to celebrate the space or culture but not the people." The physical presence of Native Hawaiians telling a story of resistance and cultural survival, not noted in official park documents or by park officials, represents an act of indigenous self-determination. The hula practitioners at Volcanoes National Park used ancient oral and physical performance to showcase political solidarity and enact a history of national resistance.



Image 3

My interviewee went on to express that this hula performance, “It is not a hotel luau show.” She believes that what sets this performance apart from other tourist attractions in the park is the representation of “varied voices of hula.” These voices are varied because they represent Hawaiian sovereign, autocratic, and religious sentiments absent in most tourism sites. For example, the autocratic structure of hula schools or *hālaus* is remnant of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i’s structure with a *kumu hula* (hula leader; source) controlling all instruction and performances of hula. Some voices she acknowledged are political but “it is authentic, so include it. Include the political sense because it is real.” This particular collaboration between the state and local arts and culture agencies, and between Native Hawaiians and non-Native tourism authorities represents the ongoing negotiation over how to present Hawaiian culture at tourism sites. Tourists want to see and experience something *pure, authentic*, and unique to Hawai‘i.

This desire has been called “imperialist nostalgia” the longing that colonizers have for the culture they have destroyed (Diamond, 2008). Nevertheless, as my interviewee at Hawai‘i Volcanoes National Park pointed out, “As Hawaiian people become more culturally involved [in tourism] they become powerful.”

Insider and Outsider Divides and the Hawai‘i Tourism Authority

The Hawaiian Tourism Authority is a powerful state agency which oversees the marketing, policy and operations of Hawai‘i’s visitor economy. This agency is a controversial entity due to the fact that it has acted as an engine for the state in the dispossession of Hawaiian tradition and autonomy through global tourism campaigns that have appropriated and commodified Hawaiian culture (Diamond 2008). Today the Hawaiian Tourism Authority is working to clean up its image and become more inclusive and socially conscious.

At a conference in September 2017 hosted by the Hawaiian Tourism Authority a panel discussed how to appropriately include Hawaiian culture in tourism in a conference session entitled “Hookipa Hawaii: Hawaiian Culture in Tourism.” Native Hawaiian activists who work within the Hawaiian Tourism Authority, NGOs and the larger tourism complex spoke about the importance of “all speaking with one voice” when it comes to recommending how to appropriately represent Hawaiian culture within the tourism industry. The panel recommended reclaiming Native Hawaiian culture by “educating the next generation,” “integrating culture when its appropriate... incorporate it slowly” and “reclaiming our [Hawaiian] identity.” To avoid appropriation and a fixation on authenticity one panel member suggested that, “Even when we are creating experiences for visitors that are coming to Hawai‘i we need to make sure we are also creating experiences for local people; things that we [Native Hawaiians] do and things that we

[Native Hawaiians] want to do.”

Despite the panels effort to display unification and to speak with one voice, there exists a divide between how Native Hawaiian tourism insiders and outsiders express indigeneity and self-determination within the tourism industry. Differences in vernacular, policy, funding, and organization structures affect the ways insiders and outsiders articulate their political and social goals. For example, an emphasis was put on the role that Native Hawaiian tourism stakeholders play and the responsibility they hold as members of the “host culture.” Host culture is a term commonly used within the tourism complex to denote Native Hawaiians, yet one audience member objected to it commenting. “Today I have something for you guys [tourism insiders] to think about. I heard you say that we [Native Hawaiians] are the host culture. And I am insulted by that because a host means I am here to serve you. We are an indigenous culture not a host culture.” This comment silenced the audience and panel members since it represented a clear rupture between insider efforts to articulate Hawaiian values and approaches to self-determination and an audience member’s outsider views.

This women’s comments speak to the difficulty in rectifying the diverse approaches taken by Native Hawaiians in their pursuit of self-representation in tourism. Political dissidence by Native Hawaiians within the tourism complex may adopt certain vocabularies or neutralized radical claims in order to articulate a message that resonates within the tourism complex environment. Although inside and outside actors may share similar political and social goals, the means in which they are communicated and achieved are diverse and often conflicting. The principal critique of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement has been that it has not united sovereignty and indigenous activist groups under a populist or singular goal. The fragmentation of the movement has lead to internal battles for representation and autonomy, the tourism

industry has experienced similar challenges.

Articulations in the Ultimate Tourism Entity: The Hotel

Most tourists visiting Hawai'i stay in a hotel. Hotels have historically acted as enclaves where tourists can end their days safely, with boundaries between the familiar and the foreign or indigenous securely erected. Hotel representations of Hawaiians and Hawaiian culture have typically included essentializing material culture objects like replicas of shark tooth weapons and art work depicting prehistoric Hawaiian settlements. In recent years however, with a growth of culture-based tourism and the Hawaiian Renaissance hotels have gone through a period of social adjustment opening up spaces for indigenous self-representation. Hotels provide a fascinating place to analyze the ways in which Hawaiian sovereignty activities engage the capitalistic tourism complex and challenge the practices of its institutions.

From the lobby of a hotel on the Kona coast of Hawai'i Island, Image 4 denotes a group of Hawaiian people with smiling faces who are bearing gifts marking them as welcoming hosts, willing to accommodate and share their culture with foreign visitors. The female offering a lei is central in this image playing off the passé outsider depiction of Hawai'i as feminized and submissive. In a corridor of the same hotel, Image 5 is an example of the institutional tendency of hotels to depict Hawaiian culture as "traditional" if not, anti-modern. It shows a painting of a "pre-contact" Hawaiian landscape with a sole individual seemingly harvesting salt. Below the painting a wooden, decoratively carved, and hollowed vessel is displayed. It appears antique and was perhaps a vessel for watercraft. However, there is no plaque to explain the history, original use, origin or cultural significance of the carved wooden structure in Image 5 leaving room for incorrect assumptions.

Yet in the front lobby of this same hotel is a display of a restored “‘*opelu* canoe” (Image 6 and 6.1) with a detailed plaque stating its geographic origin and cultural relevance. The canoe is roped-off and the accompanying plaque is decorated with fresh flowers indicating the significance of the exhibit. The plaque states:

The Alapi’i is a 19th century ‘opelu fishing canoe from South Kona and has been restored through a collaboration of community organization and completed by students of Mr. Wright Bowman. Today the Alapi’i is under the stewardship of the Nakoa Foundation and has traveled throughout Hawai’i Island. Alapi’i continues to serve the community by visiting schools and historic sites, educating and sharing its legacy.

This display is the result of a collaboration between local Native Hawaiian cultural organizations, cultural practitioners, and the hotel. Not only is this display educational but it also embodies a modern articulation of a socially-embedded representation of local culture. There exists a clear tension here between Hawaiian cultural items used merely as ‘props’ or local color and contemporary collaborative displays that actually reveal something about Hawaiian culture. This tension is not unique to this specific hotel.

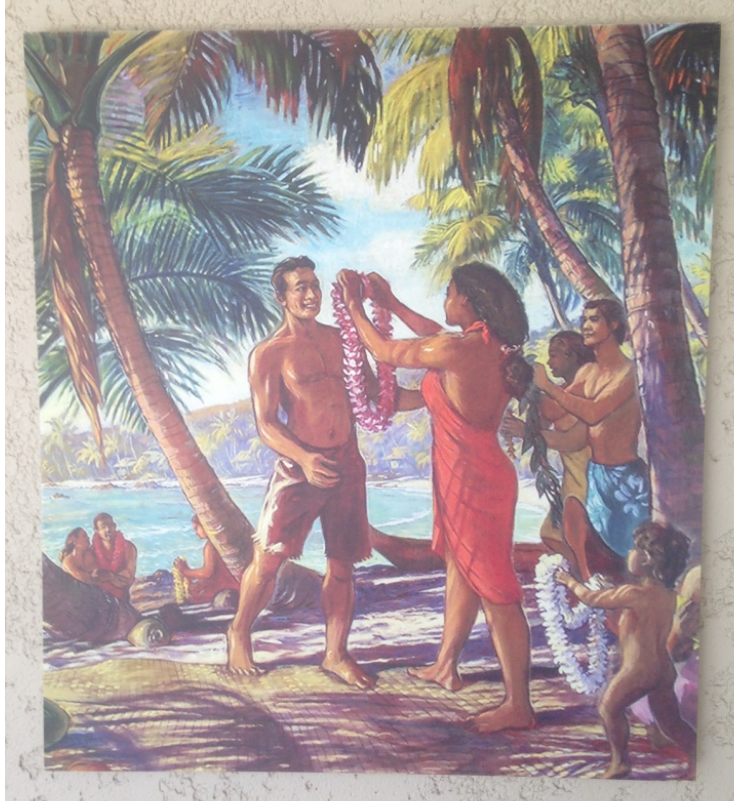


Image 4



Image 5



Image 6

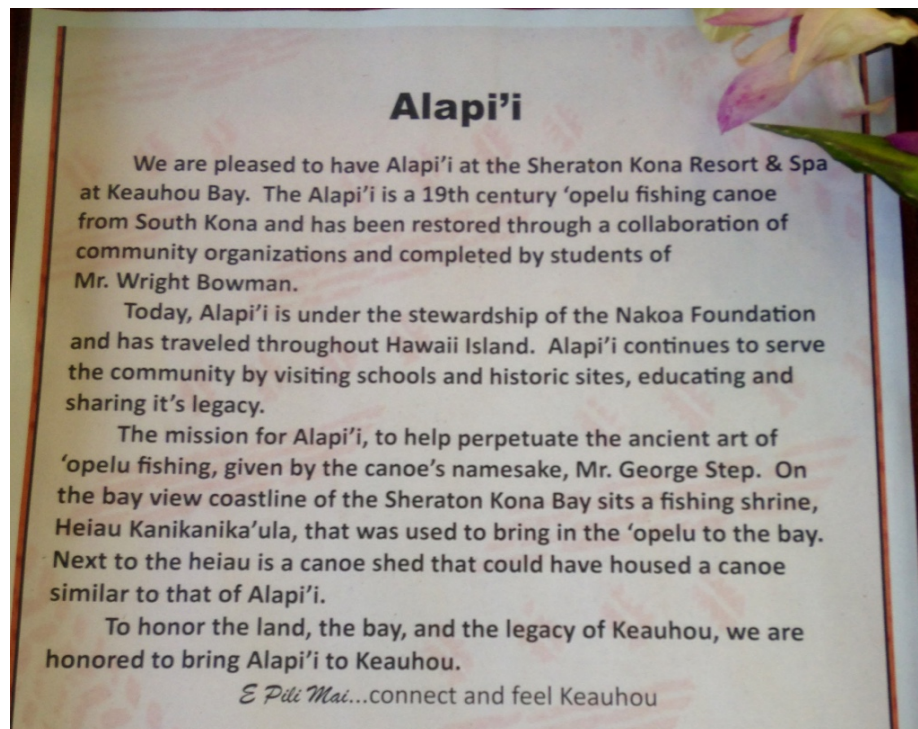


Image 6.1

On the one hand we find the decades old rhetoric utilized by the tourism complex which depicts Hawaiian culture through generic and essentialised material culture objects and images. On the other hand, the hotel is also exhibiting an interest in articulating and honoring Hawaiian

indigeneity through a more complete discussion of an important cultural artifact. In this way culture and history are seen as living and dynamic not flattened and disconnected from the present. Native Hawaiians have been working to reconcile these tensions and re-assert agency over the commodification of Hawaiian culture within the tourism complex.

The Less Visible: Articulations in Policy

At an upscale luxury hotel on the Western coast of Maui, I spoke to a Native Hawaiian manager who has battled to reclaim Hawaiian tattoos used by the tourism complex to market and brand Hawai'i. He worked to eliminate a hotel policy which often evoked a sense of shame or anger in its Hawaiian employees. It required all employees to cover their tattoos while at work. The ancient tradition of *kakau* (tattooing) and elaborate tattoos signifying genealogical lines of kinship have long been part of Hawaiian culture and markers of difference for Hawaiians. The beautiful motifs and designs used in traditional Hawaiian tattoos have been featured in tourism materials – wall art, posters, brochures, and more – yet have frequently been banned when worn by employees in official tourism locales, such as hotels.

My interviewee weighs in saying, “One of the biggest battles I’ve fought against this hotel company was this...”, he told me pointing to tattoos on his forearm.

I told them ‘you say that we can not use these designs on our skin – the people of the land. But [you do so] on your menus, your websites, your sales programs, your carpets, your walls. You [also] take it from our skin and put it on yours. So why is it okay that you have it on your skin but not on us?’ So I won the battle and now we [Native Hawaiians] can use our designs.

His self proclaimed “greatest victory” in altering hotel policy has been to allow Native Hawaiian

employees to expose their tattoos. This is an example of how articulations of indigeneity can be asserted to alter tourism policy. Additionally, this victory acts to decriminalize a Native Hawaiian art form and allows tourists to experience and ask questions about Hawaiian tattoos. His crusade is an example of an effort to decolonize the indigenous experience and critique hotel behavior which sponsors empty representations of Hawaiianness while excluding physical embodiments. Coupling art, such as Image 7, which shows Hawaiian tattooing and the physical embodiment of Hawaiian tattoos on living Hawaiian people also generates “more engagement” with tourists according to my interviewee.

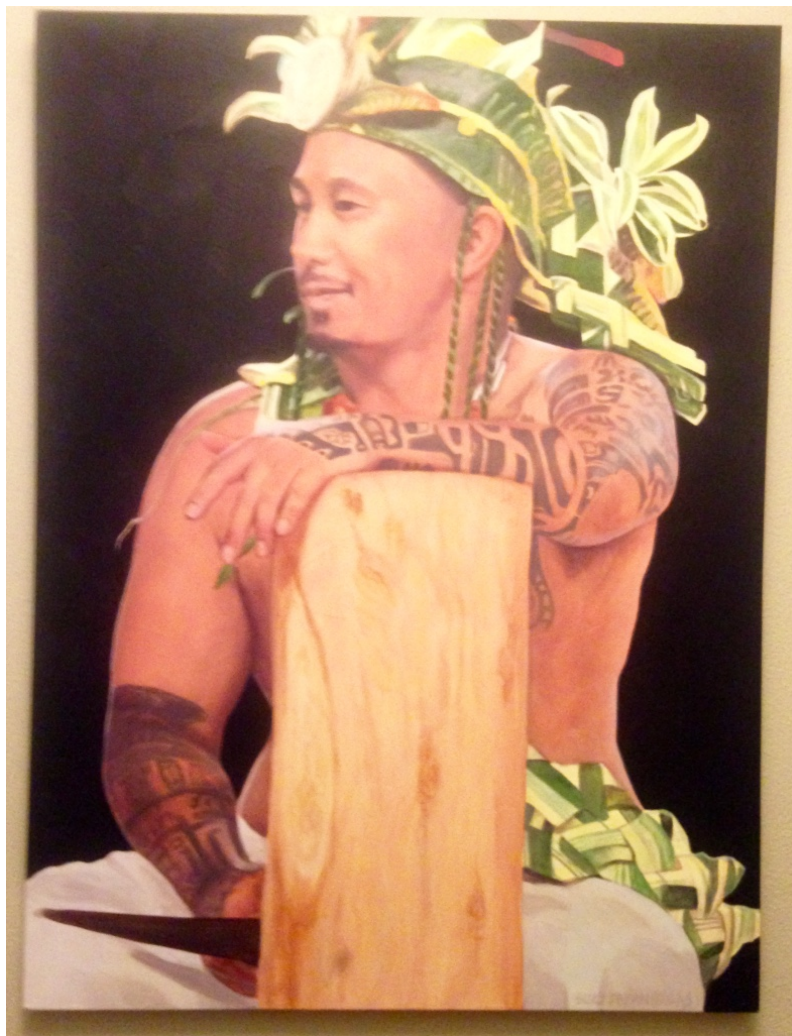


Image 7

Less visible hotel policies have also been altered to better reflect Hawaiian conceptions of social order and ideology. Another Hawaiian cultural practitioner, who works as the activities manager at a high-end resort on the north-western side of Hawai'i Island (the Big Island), described the entangled relationship between tourism's commodification of Hawaiian culture and the opportunities it opens up for indigenous national-building and economic development to Native Hawaiians. He says he first became interested in becoming a Hawaiian cultural practitioner when he was hired as a dancer in a hotel luau show. He then began going to a *hālau* (hula school) and learning about the Hawaiian Renaissance. His story is fascinating because it was his involvement in tourism that sparked his interest in becoming a Hawaiian cultural practitioner. He believes his experience reflects the attitudes of tourists, many of whom now think, "We're out of the 1970s 'Oh, let's go to Hawai'i and get a lei and dance' era. Now they [tourists] are more cultural. A lot of people come here, and they want to see a little more [of real Hawaiian culture]."

Part of the challenge for Native Hawaiians in addressing tourists' desire to participate in or experience Hawaiian culture is deciding what to share. Part of my interviewee's job is to oversee how hotel activities related to culture are developed and shared with guests. "That cultural connection that people search for... they find it here and they want to get involved with it... I think that's why the hotels are focusing more on cultural stuff recently." This growing pressure for hotels to provide unique and new cultural experiences creates economic and influential positions for Hawaiian cultural practitioners within the tourism industry.

Back on the west-side of Maui my interviewee tells me, "More hotels are hiring cultural advisors. Not as a trend but as a necessity." He went on saying, "Imagine Hawai'i as a canoe... Why are more Hawaiians not steering the canoe? We do Hawaiian things with Hawaiian hands

in Hawaii. That way we [Native Hawaiians] project Hawai'i to the world." Although people from all over the world work in the Hawaiian tourism industry without Hawaiians steering the canoe, he believes it cannot be sustainable. Of course, not every tourism stakeholder can be of Hawaiian descent or familiar with Native Hawaiian values and ideas. However, through education my interviewee believes tourism workers can become more knowledgeable and reflect the people and land of Hawaii accurately.

My interviewee transmits Hawaiian values and a social consciousness to every new employee at his hotel through a mandatory cultural training orientation. He teaches new employees about the skills and resolve employed by the first Polynesian canoe voyagers coming to Hawai'i and encourages them to put these values to work daily. "Observation, listening, patience, teamwork, humility, and pride. When you are in a canoe, everyone is equal... there is no such thing as I am better than you or you are more important than me." Through such training tourism becomes allied to Hawaiian history, traditions, and beliefs. A contemporary tourism setting is being altered through this simple policy in which traditional Hawaiian activities and values are used to train employees and alter a conventional tourism setting and culture.

Unofficial Tourism Spaces

On the east-side of Hawai'i Island (the Big Island) is a small community of Native Hawaiians who are the stewards and owners of a tourism site that attracts tourists because of its famous farmer's market, lava walk, black sand beach, and "authentic" Hawaiian culture. An elder of this community told me how his family and neighbors had become the caretakers of this site. By the 1980s this location had gained fame for its striking tropical landscape, black sand beach, and world class surfing break. The area was becoming "gnarly," according to my

interviewee, with the constant influx of visitors, many of whom incited violence and used drugs. In 1986, lava flowing from Mt. Kilauea overtook everything in the area, except for a single strip of vegetation and homes. The lava flow was an act of Pele the Goddess of fire, he said, who had become displeased with the disrespect and commotion occurring there.

In the years following Pele's display of force and "cleansing," a small community of Hawaiians were the only people to remain at the site. In 1999, the land was reclaimed by the self-declared sovereign, reinstated "Kingdom of Hawai'i" through homesteading and posted declarations. The contemporary Kingdom of Hawai'i is a nationalist movement that maintains that Hawai'i has been under the illegal occupation of the United States since the 1893 coup d'etat. This community of Hawaiians feel a *kuleana* or call of responsibility to heal the land and appease Pele and has invested considerable energy in community development and land stewardship projects. In an interesting twist, tourists or outsiders have been part of this site's revival. Native Hawaiian rituals and cultural activities held at the site both articulate self-determination and build on tourists' awareness of Native Hawaiians claims.

While attending a Wednesday night farmers market at site, I experienced a fascinating "ethnographic" moment when traditional tourist-host power relations were inverted. During a demonstration of hula by a local Hawaiian man, during which live Hawaiian language music was sung and played, a white man from the audience dressed in a classic tourist ensemble of aloha shirt and beaded necklace entered the dance floor in a loud and boisterous manner and began to dance next to the local man. As he began to imitate the hula performance, an elderly local woman quickly shuffled over to him and escorted him off the dance floor while sternly speaking to him. Disgruntledly and probably embarrassed, the tourist quickly left the area pulling off his beaded necklace while doing so. This account shows a form of informal tourism management

that reclaims cultural practices and rejects tourist appropriation. In this tourism space locals have full jurisdiction over what is shared and what tourist behaviors are tolerated. Unlike traditional state and corporate models of tourist accommodation, in this alternative tourism locale, one controlled by Hawaiian actors, the tourist is not placed above the native.

Educational, political, and artistic signage are also ways in which the community asserts its agency and attempts to remake or provide new, more mutually respectful tourist experiences. Images 8 and 9 show two handcrafted signs displayed within a covered gathering area at this site. The “‘Āina Rules” (Image 8) code of conduct describes behaviors that will not be allowed and mandates that visitors conduct themselves according to the local Hawaiian’s principles. The rules in this sign relate to Native Hawaiian relationships rooted in Hawaiian indigeneity and values such as *kuleana* (responsibility), *aloha ‘āina* (love for the land), and reciprocity (Williams & Gonzalez, 2017).



Image 8



Image 9

The sign in Image 9 which states the presence of the reinstated Kingdom of Hawaii, clearly asserts the sovereignty of Native Hawaiians and their rejection of United States rule. On a lava trail walking path which leads to a black sand beach at this tourism site, visitors see an illustration of a Hawaiian king and warrior with the caption “We Arise Again” (Image 10). On this same walking path, painted rocks (Image 11) comment on Mauna Kea and the bombing of Pohakuloa, two contemporary political issues confronting Native Hawaiian communities and challenging their sovereignty. The messages communicated in both images act in conjunction to educate visitors and stimulate thought. For example, many visitors may be unaware that a highland area on Hawai’i Island called Pohakuloa is ceded to the US Army and has been continually used as a test site for bombs. This has left Pohakuloa with high levels of radiation, and Kanaka Maoli are now denied access to this sacred area.



Image 10



Image 11

In this tourism space Native Hawaiians, who have traditionally been cast as outsiders in the tourism complex, have inverted ideas of subjectivity through articulations of their values,

political self-determination, and indigeneity. They and other Native Hawaiian actors are increasingly using tourism spaces to communicate their history of dispossession and initiate movement toward decolonization that has been erased in conventional tourism locations.

At another secondary or unofficial tourism site called Mahana Bay or Green Sands Beach, the encroachment of tourism has begun to shape the socio-economic landscape. Green Sands Beach is a remote and rugged cove on the southern coast of Hawai'i Island that lacks paved roads, maintained walkways, bathrooms, and other modern infrastructure. State and corporate tourism authorities are absent here, as is often the case in marginal or frontier lands (Walker, 2008). At Mahana Bay Native Hawaiians regulate and administer the tourism that takes place. The unmarked and treacherous dirt roads leading down to Green Sands Beach are only passible for tourists if they pay a 15-dollar fee in order to ride there in a local's all-terrain vehicle. Whole families, including teenagers not old enough to drive legally, participate in tourism operations at Mahana Bay. Women from the nearest town setup tents, tables, and camp stoves cooking meals exclusively for the local drivers. During an informal conversation I asked two local drivers what would happen if tour companies moved in and began offering chauffer services to Green Sands Beach. They responded bluntly that this would incite a fight.

Fighting to protect their monopoly of tourist operations reflects its economic importance but locals are also interested in preserving the site as a culturally significant and ecologically-intact location. This is evident by hand-crafted signage such as that shown in Image 12 which states: "Welcome to Mahana Bay. Please do not take sand or graffiti the walls. Maholo, The Locals".



Image 12

Happenings at unofficial tourism sites that are under the management of local Hawaiian actors challenge most Hawaiian tourism imageries. Native Hawaiians in these sites regularly subvert colonial categories in which the Hawaiian “hosts” are passive tourist recipients and compliant in tourism activity (Walker, 2008). These often marginal yet significant cultural spaces permit tourism regulation and management strategies which are distinct from those found at tourism sites controlled by the State or corporate entities. In the following section I will analyze broader trends seen in articulations of indigeneity and Hawaiian self-determination in tourism sites. This discussion will serve to inform us about Native Hawaiian social formations and struggles over ideological and political representation.

Chapter 4

Decolonizing Tourism and Articulating Hawaiian Indigeneity

Across Hawai'i, Native Hawaiian people have become increasingly incorporated into the tourism complex – both as employees within the formal tourism complex (e.g., hotels and national parks) and by working from the outside. Struggles over representation and efforts to decolonize tourism practices are central to modern articulations of Hawaiian indigeneity and self-determination. However, cultural articulations are not static, unchanging or fixed. They represent counter-hegemonic movements within the powerful and influential tourism complex to alter social consciousness and cultural discourse. Because tourism affects individual's life's differently, the spaces that individual actors use to integrate cultural articulations into tourism are also unique.

Three themes emerged from my investigation of how these articulations are expressed in tourism: 1) changes in the way the Hawaiian language and epistemology are presented, 2) the emergence of Native Hawaiians in positions of influence, and 3) connecting a culturally shared responsibility to the *'āina* (land) of Hawai'i to tourism practices.

The Use of Hawaiian Language and Epistemology

The use of the Hawaiian language and epistemology at tourism sites challenges Western ideology and represents an attempt to decolonize tourism. Colonization is largely effected through language. The interruption of English with the Hawaiian language in signage, brochures, and performances at tourism sites signals the recognition, legitimacy, and communal power of Native Hawaiian culture (Jolly, 2005). By employing the written form of Hawaiian language in

tourism materials, such as pamphlets and signs, and orally in tourism spaces, Hawai'i as a domesticated site for Western tourism is questioned. The revival of the Hawaiian language during the Hawaiian Renaissance was a grass-roots effort. Its growing use at tourism sites is an important articulation of indigenous self-determination and decolonization.

Claims of ownership over various parts of Hawaiian culture are strengthened when the Hawaiian language is used in place-names, expressions, and conversations. Yet representations of Hawaiians through the Hawaiian language also define Native Hawaiians as being outside the dominant American culture. Thus while the Hawaiian language serves to empower and distinguish Hawaiians from other groups, it inevitably acts to “other” them – from the tourist point of view – treating them as different or foreign thus further exoticizing Hawai'i.

I found numerous demonstrations of Hawaiian epistemology and ways of knowing at the tourism sites I surveyed. Like language, the inclusion of Hawaiian creation stories, gods and goddesses, and cautionary tales at tourism sites and in tourism materials separates and distinguishes Hawai'i from dominant American imperial powers and represents a transition of power away from colonial epistemological frameworks and denounces Western identity norms (Wang & Law, 2017). The articulation of Hawaiian epistemology in land management and ecological stewardship can be seen in tourist materials such as the Haleakalā National Park pamphlet which states:

Long before modern science delineated areas for resource management, Kanaka Maoli had a land division system already in place.... With this designation, Kanaka Maoli believe that these areas are inhabited only by na akua (deities) and are accountable to its scared nature, which is still honored today. These places are kapu (scared) and closed to the public.

This is one example of how Hawaiian ways of knowing are articulated at tourism spaces. Allowing tourists such glimpses into Hawaiian epistemology renegotiates the typical interactive structures that exist between tourists and Native Hawaiians at tourism sites where often essentialized and appropriated representations of Hawaiian values and beliefs are presented. Tourism's increased consumption and demand for "authentic" cultural interactions is being deliberately utilized to reinvigorate indigenous modes of life and ways of knowing creating an economic and social space for a new Kanaka Maoli political identity.

Native Hawaiians in Positions of Influence

The growing desire for "authentic" experiences has driven the tourism industry in Hawai'i to hire more Native Hawaiians. A hotel consultant and tourism outreach coordinator described the past rejection of Hawaiians in tourism work: "We [Hawaiians] were not what they [the tourism industry] were looking for 50 years ago." He goes on to say that in the past, popular enclave-style resorts ignored culture and left representations of Hawaiian people absent. Tourists' desires to experience new locations and cultures opens space for Native Hawaiian participation in tourism but it also represents a double-bind by creating a demand for increased regulation and education. Because Native Hawaiians do not wish to share certain sacred traditions and sites with tourists, increased pressure to open-up Hawaiian culture to tourism means more education and management is necessary to avoid culturally insensitive tourism. This dilemma has also acted to create cultural advisor and community consultant jobs for Native Hawaiians in the tourism industry.

Alternative and remote tourism sites – those which lack a state or corporate presence – are becoming frontier zones where Native Hawaiians and tourists interact socially and

economically. In these spaces Hawaiian people are often the figures of authority, challenging the conventional tourism rhetoric which places Hawaiian people in the past or in positions of alterity and inferiority. The inclusion of Hawaiian people in visible or influential tourism roles allows for an individuality and agency in confronting stereotypes and ahistorical representations.

The involvement of Native Hawaiian tourism stakeholders in state, corporate and alternative tourism spaces affords an opportunity to engage in delicate and complicated work – trying to educate individuals and social and political institutions to the needs of Native Hawaiian communities and questioning what needs to change and what should be preserved. Filling influential roles in the tourism industry allow Native Hawaiians to take control of self-representation, cultural negotiations and knowledge creation.

Connecting Responsibility to the 'Āina (Land) and Tourism

All of the Native Hawaiian tourism stakeholders I spoke with cited a connection or *kuleana* (responsibility) to the islands – the land itself – as a motivating factor in their efforts to manage, regulate, and alter conventional tourism practices. A deep connection to the *'āina* (land) is a central component of modern Native Hawaiian identity. Culturally vital and continuously renegotiated ties to *'āina* allow Native Hawaiian people to transcend postcolonial projections. Land signifies a continuous nexus between the past, present and future within Hawaiian epistemology. The homeland of Hawai'i is the medium or locus of rootedness through which articulations of Hawaiianness and political goals are forged. As one Native Hawaiian member of the Hawaiian Tourism Authority put it, “We as Hawaiians don't separate natural resource management or conservation from our culture. We know that they are one in the same and that Hawaiian culture prioritizes care for our lands.” The deep-seated attachment to place

and the pride and protection Hawaiians demonstrate for their land and culture is a major factor in their decisions to work within the tourism industry.

I do not intend to position Native Hawaiian people as the naturalized guardians of the local environment or flatten their individual identities. However, through cultural values and social pressures tied to caring for the land and reviving their culture, Hawaiians have begun to form new political strategies and allies. In the quest for self-determination, articulations at tourism sites related to Native Hawaiian genealogical and ecological responsibility to the land of Hawai'i can make tourists and tourism institutions allies under the banner of environmentalism or conservation. Articulation theory tells us that the use of tourism spaces for articulations of Native Hawaiian experiences and representations is a clear example of a remaking of contemporary indigeneity and a co-opting of modernity and globalism. By using the modern and global platform of tourism, Native Hawaiians are able to articulate their values and political goals to a large and varied audience. Tourism has become a site for socio-economic practices and cultural articulations that link Native Hawaiians to the land, resources, each other, and potentially, to the outside world from a position of strength and legitimacy, not subservience and stereotype.

Conclusion

Through this study I have explored how Hawaiian indigeneity and self-determination are articulated within tourism spaces in Hawai'i. It complements existing literature on the decolonization of tourism spaces by native inhabitants. Through empirical research and an extensive examination of the existing literature, I have attempted to address this question in comprehensive manner. Building upon previous research, this thesis has shown how indigeneity

is articulated and co-opted in relation to communal desires and needs within Hawaiian communities. Specially, how tourism is used as a tool to advance Native Hawaiian agendas related to Hawaiian ways of knowing and self-determination.

A realignment of tourist trends and desires coupled with the Hawaiian Renaissance movement has created a space for Native Hawaiians to reclaim cultural images and representations to assert their epistemology and values. However, Native Hawaiians articulating similar values and goals, use diverse methods to penetrate tourism's social, economic and political fields. There is no single Native Hawaiian stance or strategy with regard to tourism. Woven into local tourism sites are often discreet or overstated expressions of Hawaiian autonomy which assert indigenous rights and sovereignty and speak to issues of reciprocity and ecological thinking. For example, signage and the physical presence of Native Hawaiians at sites such as Green Sands Beach imply Native Hawaiian sovereignty and promote ecological preservation through a unique system of local Hawaiian regulation and management.

The momentum built and progress made toward Native Hawaiian self-determination through and within tourism should not be counted as a completed victory. As one interviewee conveyed to me, "Hawai'i is fortunate enough to have a living thriving culture... Our renaissance is climbing now; we are not on the decline. For so long it was stagnate but now we're starting to make some progress." Imagining tourism in Hawai'i as a canoe voyage, he went on, "What do you do when you reach your goal? Do you just sit on your laurels... We have to keep looking and keep preparing because the most dangerous part of a canoe voyage is not the storm, it's the calm. When the calm comes ...and then you see a swell coming over the ocean, a big storm, and your heart starts to pump... So we prepare always for the next coming business or the next coming storm."

His words gain significance as one dives into the depths of their layered meaning. He warns self-determination groups to be cautious of appeasement and to be vigilant about the ongoing potential for colonial expropriation and dispossession by American imperial forces – the State, corporate tourism and the like. Articulations complex connectivity present emergent possibilities if actors continue to innovate in actively remade environments of performance and alliance. Just as each voyager in a canoe has an important and distinct role, articulations by insiders and outsiders, made both in attention grabbing and mundane ways, contribute to the overall success of Native Hawaiian vitality.

In the future, researchers may chronicle tourists' experiences and behavior in tourism spaces where Native Hawaiians are in full control of tourist activity. By studying their experiences, we could understand how articulations of Hawaiian indigeneity and self-determination affect or change tourists' decisions, knowledge, and behavior. Additionally, future research might also address how state and corporate tourism areas compare in value to lands controlled or ceded by Native Hawaiians. Are Native Hawaiians only allowed to control marginal or frontier zone lands and how does this segregate the geography of Hawaii?

The quest for authentic, exotic and culturally-unique tourism experiences is a very real feature of contemporary tourism (Kirtsoglou & Theodossopoulos, 2004). In a nuanced shift in the creation of knowledge and power, Hawaiians have gained visibility vis-à-vis the tourism complex, which has historically operated as a vehicle for cultural dispossession and expropriation. They no longer tolerate lifeless cultural representations and are working to create meaningful self-representations and to participate directly in the tourism industry. Native Hawaiians are using their own creative resources and reflective articulations to challenge hegemonic tourism practices and to make their own mark on the practice of tourism.

Native Hawaiians choices in the tourism industry do not happen within a vacuum, they have been affected by pulsating social movements, power, and alliances. Articulations of indigeneity within the tourism industry are not carried out by atomized actors; instead they are shaped through constantly renegotiated, socially-embedded relationships among Native Hawaiians and between Native Hawaiians and other tourism stakeholders. Tourism spaces are more than loci of economic interaction. In Hawai'i, Native Hawaiians are seizing opportunities to influence the content and management of tourism spaces to further articulate their unique social and political goals.

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