

# Kaka ' ako Cultural Revival as a Counteract to English Dominance in Hawai ' i

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## 論文

# *Kaka'ako Cultural Revival as a Counteract to English Dominance in Hawai'i*

Yuki Takatori

### 1. Introduction

Looking back the dynamic history of Hawai'i, the country has been affected by many European countries. Among them, the United States of America brought the biggest impact upon the country. Hawai'i used to be a kingdom, but the Hawaiian kingdom under Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown and its territory annexed by the United States in 1898. Then, Hawai'i eventually became the 50th state in the United States of America in 1959. After Hawai'i experienced the annexation and became a part of the United States, both indigenous language and culture in Hawai'i were affected. People stopped using Hawaiian language, and traditional Hawaiian culture gradually declined. The American way of life was imposed onto the traditional Hawaiian way of life. We consider this situation as the very beginning point of English dominance in Hawai'i. In the society, dominant assumptions, beliefs, and established patterns of behavior are everywhere since the domination has founded (Takatori, 2018).

However, a prominent social movement, the "Hawaiian Renaissance", emerged from the 1970s. Kanahale (1979a) points out that the main purpose of the movement was to regain and revitalize traditional Hawaiian language and culture. In order to achieve this goal, the Hawaiian renaissance launched several initiatives. For example, supporting Hawaiian language immersion programs; traditional Polynesian Hokule'a voyaging; traditional products by Hawaiian craftsmen and artists; the revival of Hawaiian music and hula; and a lot going on. This movement is ongoing in the present, and it is still in the process of developing.

In this study, however, the author especially focuses on one of many possible areas in which people attempt to revitalize traditional Hawaiian culture. The Kaka'ako district is the place where the movement has only recently begun. This area is located in the southeast part of the island of O'ahu, and it is close to the Ward Centre and Ala Moana. Kaka'ako was used to be famous for its warehouses and well known as a place for second-hand car dealerships. We can find those warehouses, dealerships and remnants here and there; the area has of late begun to develop in a different direction. Although the area is still under development with the construction of newly renovated buildings, Kaka'ako is considered as one of the best places to focus for observing the Hawaiian renaissance movement.

In Kaka'ako, local people have been trying to keep its 'traditional identity' as much as possible. Despite the fact that the place has been renovated for the past few years, people have tried to preserve their cultural heritage and the cultural heritage of traditional Hawaiians. In terms of the Hawaiian renaissance movement, people have initiated the creation and promotion of several traditional events at Kaka'ako, including "Our Kaka'ako", "SALT at our Kaka'ako", "POW! WOW! Hawaii", and "Honolulu Night Market". Therefore, the place can be considered as one of the significant places of cultural revitalization, namely "Kaka'ako cultural revival". Based on the previous research (Takatori, 2018), the author introduces and analyzes interview data obtained from several Hawaiian language learners to see how they consider about the current movement of Hawaiian renaissance especially takes place in Kaka'ako.

## **2. A Brief Introduction to English Domination in Hawai'i**

Throughout its history, one of the biggest changes in Hawai'i was the 'discovery' and arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. Nature-oriented lifestyles of the

Native Hawaiians inevitably changed into more modern and civilized western livelihood (Nakajima, 1993). After this 'discovery', people started to travel to or from Hawai'i, and it brought some new diseases to the country. The number of the Hawaiian language speakers decreased by this effect. Many European countries arrived in Hawai'i for exploration, business, and religious belief. American Protestant missionaries brought Christianity into Hawai'i from New England. The missionaries wanted to convert all Hawaiian people to change their religious beliefs, so they developed an alphabet system in the Hawaiian language in accordance with the publishment of the Bible started in 1820. The Hawaiian language began to take form as a written language with the expansion of Christianity and the Bible (Schütz, 1994).

The 7th king of the Hawaiian kingdom, David Kalakaua, was forced to promulgate the new constitution by American Caucasian people in 1887. This caused the Hawaiian Kingdom to shrink. As mentioned, the Hawaiian Kingdom under Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown and its territory annexed by the United States; the royal power was forfeited and the Kingdom ended in 1893 (Nakajima, 1993; Yaguchi, 2002).

Both indigenous Hawaiian language and culture were heavily affected during the process of the annexation by the United States. At that time, English became one of the official languages in addition to the Hawaiian language; Hawaiian was prohibited in a public space. The law, Act 57, sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai'i shows that to teach the Hawaiian language was officially subsequential:

The English Language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such

instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this section shall not be recognized by the Department. (Matsubara, 2000, p. 51)

The historical process of the number of Hawaiian and English schools and students is also summarized by Reinecke (1969). He demonstrates that during the mid-1800s to 1900, Hawaiian language schools decrease year-by-year corresponding to the prosperity of English language schools. Nakajima (1993) points out that we also shouldn't neglect the truth that parents of Hawaiian children eagerly let their child receive an English education for their future in addition to the Hawaiian language policy at that time. To the local people, Hawaiian-language-based newspapers were decreased and English-language-based newspapers were increased. In the late 1970s, Native speakers of the Hawaiian language dramatically decreased. 90% out of 2,000 people were over 70 years old *Kūpuna*, native elderly people in Hawai'i (Matsubara, 2004). Consequently, the status of English had risen and the status of Hawaiian downgraded. A lot of social aspects were heavily changed into the *haole*, Caucasian, dominated society, and very few Native Hawaiian people have remained (Reinecke, 1969; Schütz, 1994).

Traditional Hawaiian language and culture were almost dying and faced with disappearance, but not completely vanished. The Hawaiian language has been largely displaced by English on the Hawaiian islands except Ni'ihau island, and the number of native speaker of the Hawaiian language was under 0.1% of the state-wide population. Traditional Hawaiian culture was also decreased; especially hula and surfing were banned because these activities were considered as 'too sexual' for people who believe in Christianity (Lyovin, 1997).

### **3. A Brief Introduction to *Hawaiian Renaissance***

From the 1970s, a prominent social movement—the “Hawaiian Renaissance”—emerged in Hawai'i. The movement was mainly targeted to regain and revitalize traditional Hawaiian language and culture. ‘The darkest periods’ of Hawai'i and ‘the age of Americanization’ has finished, and the era of ‘De-Americanization’ and ‘Hawaiianization’ has started (Yamanaka, 1993; Nakajima, 1993; Nettle, D. & Romaine, S., 2000).

The Hawaiian renaissance includes several initiatives to achieve this goal. For instance, launching and supporting Hawaiian language immersion programs; practicing traditional Polynesian Hokule'a voyaging; Hawaiian craftsmen and artists make traditional cultural products; the revival of Hawaiian music; and more (Kanahele, 1979a). The movement has been flourishing, and it is still in the process of developing. For the past few years, the author visited and observed the central area of O'ahu. There have been a number of attempts that try to regain cultural heritages of Hawai'i. For example, in front of a condominium, Hawaiian Monarch, there is a wall-art of the monarchy of the Hawaiian Kingdom painted. The painting consists of the seven kings and one queen: Kamehameha the 1st to the 5th, Lunalilo as the 6th king, Kalakaua as the 7th king, and Lili'uokalani as the last queen of the kingdom. We are not sure who painted it on the wall. Yet, this type of wall-art not only represents a pride of the Hawaiian people, but also it shows the deep connection between the Hawaiian royal heritage and the people (Takatori, 2018).

Outrigger Reef Waikiki Beach Resort held an exhibition of canoe voyaging, namely “O Ke Kai Series” meaning “Of the sea” in Hawaiian. They expressed its focus, “the continuing efforts of the friends of Hokule'a and Hawai'iloa to ensure the traditional Hawaiian canoe building and restoration skills are passed on to future generations” (Outrigger Hotels Hawaii, 2018). Outrigger not only

continues to provide this experience, but also Outrigger Resorts “is mindful to be authentic ambassadors of aloha while also being sensitive to local cultures and customs”. Here, local cultures and customs include a management and hospitality process called “Ke ‘Ano Wa’a” or “The Outrigger Way”, which was initially shaped more than 20 years ago by Dr. George Kanahahele, the Hawaiian scholar (ThisWeek Hawaii, 2018).

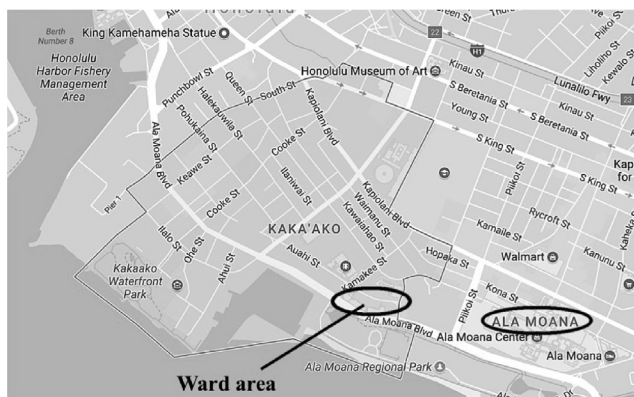
At the exhibition, there was display of a canoe model named Kālele and some wooden materials and tools. About the canoe itself, the materials and the tools they use to make it, the stuff explained that it is very important to use nature-grown materials to make canoes. Among other materials, people like to use koa wood, Hawaiian-originated wood, as long as possible. Koa is very tough as a material, and it has its own beauty; the more you use it, the more it becomes beautiful (Takatori, 2018). In ancient times, Hawaiians made large canoes from drift logs floated from the Northwest part of America, and “*koa* was the wood from which they preferred to make their beautiful treasured canoes” (Krauss, 1993, p. 48). The author talked to a woman at the exhibition, and she said that *Kahuna kālai wa’a*, canoe builders, could get nature-grown materials in the Hawaiian Islands, but it became very hard to find in the present.

Cultural craftsman and artifacts were also presented at the exhibition. For example, (1) *lauhala*, the Hawaiian-originated leaves of the *hala* tree, weaving accessory (lau=leaf, hala= the name of tree); (2) ‘*ohe hano ihu* (The Hawaiian bamboo nose flute; ‘ohe=bamboo, ihu=nose, hano=flute); (3) *olonā* fiber rope or cordage; and (4) Hawaiian wood carving. They are traditional Hawaiian cultural products<sup>1)</sup>, and especially lauhala and olonā are Hawaiian native plants. People can use those materials to make accessories, tools, or materials for various purposes. Also, there was a man sitting in the chair, and he played ‘ohe hano ihu in front of people. The man played it with his nose, and that is one of the most

notable features of the instrument<sup>ii</sup>). Typical lauhala weaving products were used on the floor for people to sit. Lauhala weaving is also commonly used to make a basket and accessories. People never pull the leaves off the tree, but they only collected fallen leaves. We find a spirit of aloha there or a deep sense of compassion for nature in people's mind (Takatori, 2018).

#### **4. *Kaka'ako Cultural Revival***

In this paper, the author focuses on the Kaka'ako district to see the current situation of the Hawaiian renaissance movement. As shown in Map 1, this area is located in the southeast part of the island of O'ahu, and it is close to the Ward Centre and Ala Moana. Kaka'ako was used to be famous for warehouses and second-hand car dealerships. We can find those warehouses, dealerships and remnants in Kaka'ako; the area has of late begun to develop in a different direction. Although the area is still under development with the construction of buildings and apartments, Kaka'ako is considered as one of the best places to focus for observing the Hawaiian renaissance movement.



**[Map 1: A map of the Kaka'ako district, the Ward area, and Ala Moana]**



Local people have been trying to keep its ‘traditional identity’ as much as possible there. Despite the fact that the place has been renovated for the past few years, people have tried to preserve the traditional cultural heritage of Hawaiians. In terms of the Hawaiian renaissance movement, people have initiated the creation and promotion of several traditional events in Kaka’ako. For instance, “Our Kaka’ako”, “SALT at our Kaka’ako”, “POW! WOW! Hawaii”, and “Honolulu Night Market”. Therefore, the place can be considered as one of the significant places of cultural revitalization, namely “Kaka’ako cultural revival”.

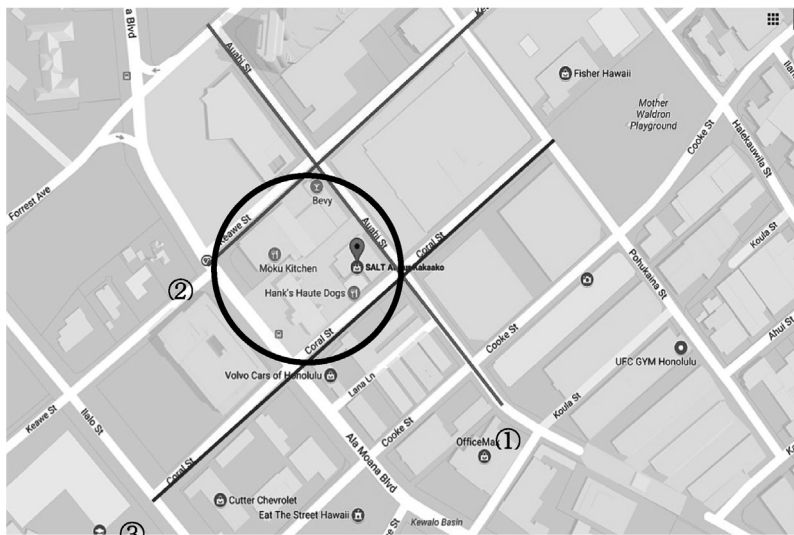
Kaka’ako, however, was once an area comprised of fishing villages, fishponds and salt ponds in ancient times. Pa’akai, meaning salt in English, was considered as a very important thing for Hawaiians, and hence, salt ponds in Kaka’ako were of major importance to the area to Native Hawaiians. In the 1800s, residential construction began and diverse immigrant “camps” grew. With the foundation a metal foundry and machine shop, namely the Honolulu Iron Works was one of the industrial roots at Kaka’ako. Small stores, churches, schools (include Pohukaina School next to Mother Waldron Park), and parks were built along with the residential construction (Takatori, 2018).

The evolution of Kaka’ako continues in the present. While keeping the spirit of hard working and entrepreneur, a dynamic community is flourishing on the three main street in Kaka’ako: Auahi street, Keawe street, and Coral street. The businesses, local shops, restaurants, creative studio workspaces, and gathering places are there at Kaka’ako, and those are “catalysts for exciting new ideas and innovations” and “Rooted in the historical and cultural values of the generations who have come before, Our Kaka’ako continues to honor the spirit of the past while looking ahead to the future” (Our Kaka’ako, 2022a).

Salt At Our Kaka’ako (2022b) similarly described the situation: “Rooted in

Hawaiian cultural values, Our Kaka'ako is built on empowering creativity, cultivating innovation and building a truly unique, local community". Although the Ward area has been developing again in a different direction and the Kaka'ako district is renovating, we see that there are a certain number of people who have the soul of sustainability of the places and try to inherit the spirit of the past.

Map 2 is a detailed map of the Kaka'ako district: the first line in red is Auahi street; the second line in green is Keawe street; the third line in blue is Coral street. The focused area is black circled area in the figure, and a number of cultural events are mainly held there. Among them, our focus is on two projects: Our Kaka'ako and SALT at Our Kaka'ako.



**[Map 2: A detailed map of the Kaka'ako district]**

Our Kaka'ako project explains its purpose. They are long 'proclamations',

but it is worthwhile to mention. We see their visions and purposes through three ‘slogans’ (all of them are retrieved from Our Kaka‘ako, 2022b; emphasizes are added by the author):

### 1. A Unique Community.

As the emerging epicenter of progressive urban island living, Our Kaka‘ako is a vibrant community, encompassing nine city blocks in the heart of Kaka‘ako, that is home to artists, entrepreneurs, chefs, innovators and influencers. Rooted in Hawaiian cultural values and anchored by a strong sense of place, Our Kaka‘ako embraces creativity, inspires learning and discovery, and serves as a catalyst for new and innovative ideas. As a popular place to dine, shop, work, live, learn and visit, Our Kaka‘ako is truly a unique, dynamic local community.

### 2. A Continuing Legacy.

Kamehameha Schools was founded through the will of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last direct descendant of King Kamehameha I. Our Kaka‘ako is a master planned community of Kamehameha Schools, whose mission is to fulfill Princess Pauahi’s desire to create educational opportunities in perpetuity to improve the capability and well-being of people of Hawaiian ancestry. Through her legacy, Kamehameha Schools has been endowed with over 363,000 acres of land statewide, most of which is in agriculture and conservation. KS’ endowment exists to support its educational mission. Today, these commercial assets (98%) almost entirely fund the Schools’ statewide educational programs serving more than 47,000 learners. Kamehameha Schools is committed to the smart, progressive and culturally appropriate stewardship of those lands. Our Kaka‘ako is an

important part of that ongoing commitment.

### 3. A Vision for the Future.

Our Kaka'ako will continue to evolve as redevelopment renews the community. This walkable, sustainable, pet-friendly neighborhood will feature additional housing options for people of various income levels as well as open-air gathering spaces where neighbors and friends can talk story and share ideas. As Our Kaka'ako continues to develop in the years to come, it will remain rooted in the culture, values and progressive spirit of this special place. We invite you to take part in the revitalization of this community. Our Kaka'ako is your Kaka'ako.

Along with Our Kaka'ako, we should not neglect the other project, SALT at Our Kaka'ako ("SALT"). Our Kaka'ako and SALT are inseparable; SALT is a dynamic city block designed for exploration and engagement, and it provides a space for gathering, eat, shopping and having fun; it is "Honolulu's epicenter" driven by passionate chefs, artists, and entrepreneurs. SALT not only offers the space and time for people to gather, but it also supports Kamehameha Schools' mission of furthering the education of Hawaiian children (Salt At Our Kaka'ako, 2022b). As mentioned, people not only have the soul of sustainability and the spirit of the past, but also they are providing education and looking toward the future<sup>iii</sup>.

Takatori (2018) referred to Pa'akai Marketplace, or "the cultural showcase", at SALT. It brings "artists, crafters, cultural practitioners, and performers of Hawai'i together and celebrates Native Hawaiian culture" (p. 54). Pa'akai Marketplace is an event collaborated with PA'I Foundation, and the aim of the foundation is "to preserve and perpetuate Hawaiian cultural traditions for future

generations”. Local people sell Hawaiian cultural merchandises (Salt At Our Kaka’ako, 2018).

In his case study at Kaka’ako, Takatori (2018) visited several shops owned by Hawaiian artists and crafters. For example, *Pi’iali’i* sells original artifacts inspired by the past, present, and future. Handcrafted by Pi’iali’i Lawson, a practitioner and teacher of Hawaiian lauhala weaving, artifacts of Pi’iali’i continue to emphasize the boundaries of cultural innovation through unique designs and different materials: Hawaiian koa wood, copper, brass, and pigskin suede. They also “bridge the traditions of lauhala weaving and contemporary Hawaiian fashion featuring all original modern and traditional Hawaiian lauhala jewelry and accessories” (Takatori, 2018, p. 54)<sup>iv</sup>.

A Hawaiian merchant, *Noa Noa*, produces traditional Hawaiian artifacts: those artifacts represent a profusion of traditional Hawaiian patterns and colors. Noa Noa produces aloha shirt, mu’u mu’u dresses, bags, accessories, and more. Salesclerk told about features of their products, especially accessories with some flowers and plants inside. She also said that “one of the most important things is to use native Hawaiian materials (in this case, native flowers and plants grown in Hawai’i), so that people can feel and know traditional heritages of Hawai’i through these accessories” (Takatori, 2018, p. 54). The author bought earrings from them, and a small piece of paper came with the earrings. We find some explanations of the flowers on the paper, and this is one of the ways to let people know about nature of Hawai’i.

*Makawalu* sells handmade pottery. The two shoppers mentioned that they make these potteries made from Hawaiian mud. The reason for using the mud taken from Hawai’i is that they could feel some sort of Hawaiian spirit (Takatori, 2018). One man is named Jonathan Ah Sing, and he “discovered a passion for clay, and founded Makawalu Ceramics to take his ideas further (Tanigawa,

2017)". For answering Tanigawa's interview, he mentioned a deep sense of emotion (some translations for Hawaiian words and emphasizes are added by the author):

It's been a growing passion intertwining culture, clay and just mana-ful<sup>v)</sup> creations. That's what we're about. Proliferating Native Hawaiian art, sharing it with others, and just watching it evolve for the future generations. That's what we're all about. ... Our kūpuna<sup>vi)</sup> tell us stories, right? We grew up hearing their stories, their mo'olelo<sup>vii)</sup>. But when we become kūpuna, what are the stories our keiki<sup>viii)</sup> going to give on? So it's our responsibility. A living breathing, evolving culture will constantly be creating new mo'olelo, new stories to tell. (Tanigawa, 2017)

In this interview, Jonathan Sing pointed out that Hawaiian people have a responsibility to educate keiki, the next generations, through an old mo'olelo and a new mo'olelo. Not only through mo'olelo, but he also believes that traditional Hawaiian cultural creations can be one of the good tools to evolve young generations. While people inherit and transmit stories from their kūpuna, they keep challenging to create a new story through cultural creations. We see that he is "not only trying to preserve art pieces of Native Hawaiians, but also to look for children to be interested in what Native Hawaiians have done and what people are doing now" (Takatori, 2018, p. 55).

## **5. Methodology**

As the methodology of this study, the author adopts an interpretive paradigm. The interpretive paradigm focuses on the quality of data, and it is therefore classified as a qualitative research method. Compared with quantitative surveys

or questionnaires which measure the quantity of data, interview research is a more powerful approach to elicit narrative data. It allows researchers to investigate people's views in greater depth (Kvale, 1996). The purpose of a qualitative research interview is "to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale, 1983, p. 174). Social scientists usually use a qualitative research method for accumulating a detailed explanation of human behavior and beliefs within the contexts of their occurrence (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Unlike quantitative data analysis, using non-numerical data seeks to "explore and describe the 'quality' and 'nature' of how people behave, experience and understand" (Alshenqeeti, 2014, p. 39). Qualitative analysis seeks to build an overall snapshot, analyze words and expressions, and depict respondents' views and perspectives in detail. Therefore, it enables respondents to speak and express themselves in their own voices, thoughts, and feelings (Berg, 2007).

The author conducted interviews in March 2017 and March 2018. In this study, the collected data include interviews with four Hawaiian language learners who are voluntarily participated, and they are considered as a part of the revitalization process. The author designed a semi-structured interview, which lasted 40 to 60 minutes. A semi-structured interview "allows depth to be achieved by providing the opportunity on the part of the interviewer to probe and expand the interviewee's responses" (Rubin & Rubin, 2005, p. 88). Researchers use a basic checklist or set of questions when they undertake semi-structured interviews, which "allows for in-depth probing while permitting the interviewer to keep the interview within the parameters traced out by the aim of the study" (Berg, 2007, p. 39). Although the author preset list of questions below, we focus especially on answers related to cultural revivals in Kaka'ako.

## **6. Results and Analysis**

Based on the interviews conducted by the author in March 2017 and March 2018, we see what kind of thoughts the interviewees have especially in terms of cultural revitalization at Kaka'ako. In this study, a semi-structured interview was designed to obtain answers from them, and each interview lasted 40 to 60 minutes<sup>(ix)</sup>.

First of all, we see what Interviewee A answered to the question about cultural exhibition at Kaka'ako. Here is a part of conversation:

R: So when I used to live here about 12 years ago, for example like a Ward, Warehouse, or like Kaka'ako District, there were, completely, you know...nothing. And then, when I went, when I went back to Ward Warehouse or like Kaka'ako, they are all changed.

I: Yeah. So actually Kaka'ako?

R: Yeah. And then, one day I, in this trip, during this trip, I went to Kaka'ako and then they had some cultural, Hawaiian cultural, how can I say, not the festival, not that big but you know, those some events. Do you think that's, that works? I mean, is that good idea?

I: I, I think any type of.....any type of Hawaiian exposure, that's done, honestly...is good.

R: Oh okay.

I: You know what I mean? And if it's done honestly without the, without the intention of commodification for monetary purposes is, is, is good. Because once you start...once you start molding things, to make money, that's what I think is not okay,

R: oh alright,

I: you know what I mean,



R: right,

I: like if it's done with the right mindset that's what matters like, if I go out there and I have limited knowledge I'm giving whatever I can in the hopes of something positive happening, and I haven't changed anything to...if I haven't changed any principles or belief systems to, if I haven't molded it so it's, so it's, digestible for somebody, then you know, that's where that's where counts because in the end it's...it's a...we can't hide we can't always just hide from the serious, that serious conversations, you know. Like we can't just play, like we can't be scared of them if people are gonna digest our culture or not. It's like, here's the food if you wanna eat, eat, if you don't wanna eat, then don't eat,

R: ah all right,

I: you know what I mean, it's like can't be changing everything all the time so that you wanna eat. You know,

R: I see,

In this conversation, the author first told Interviewee A about the experience in Kaka'ako, such as the big changes in the place. Then, the author asked whether the changes of the place and having Hawaiian cultural events are good. Although A was considering the answer for it, A replied that "I think any type of Hawaiian exposure, that's done honestly is good". Here, A said, "that's done honestly is good". What does it mean? We find the meaning of this in the following explanations.

A continued, "if it's done honestly without the intention of commodification for monetary purposes is good. Because once you start molding things, to make money, that's what I think is not okay". Here we find what A intended to say. One of the most important things of this type of cultural revitalization is that

people who involved with should not gain any profit or aim at monetary gain. In other words, the purpose should not be monetary, and thus, cultural things should not be commodified “to make money” but should be “done with the right mindset”.

In terms of the relationship between culture and monetary gain, Interviewee B similarly believes that any culture should not be exaggerated. This is the point which resonates with the previous answer from Interviewee A.

R: And if we, if I focus on those cultural thing, one day I went to Kaka'ako last week, and then there's many paintings, wall-art there, and then, to me, it represents kinda Hawaiian, well, well, I feel like Hawaii when I watched that arts thing. And also, there are big changes right? Kaka'ako district. And then, so to me it's good to see those culture because I feel like Hawaii and it's kinda revitalization of the Hawaiian culture. So how about you?

I: Yes I believe, I believe it's great to see, things like that like the paintings in Kaka'ako, and when you see, buildings maybe...they get, or I think a good example, kind of a good example might be the Aulani hotel and Nānākuli, where they tried to, they build the hotel but they tried to do it with Hawaiian architecture in mind so they tried to make it look a little more in Hawaiian whether it was for tourist appeal or not but it, it's great to see a Hawaiian lens being projected onto, things that in people normally associate with Western culture. Because that's how, I mean Hawaiians did it back in the day, so we gotta, the Hawaiians have know how to do it now. Hahaha (laugh).

R: Hahaha. (laugh)

I: We can just stay stuck in the bed in the past (laugh),

R: Hahaha (laugh),

I: we have to figure out how to bring our culture, yeah, into the current space right now.

R: Um-hum um-hum. Well, actually those cultural thing at Kaka'ako is now becoming popular among, especially Japanese tourist. And then, you know many people take picture and then upload to...like Instagram, and then...well, if I change the view, then, it's pretty much related to money or like tourist, tourism industry. Do you think it's related to those kinda monetary thing?

I: I don't think, I think there is a relation, but I don't think it's, that was the sole purpose. Yup. So I mean, and that's something about I mean that's a big...I guess that's one of those big issues to work is talking about you know selling all, your culture for monetary gain.

R: Yeah.

I: But, I think if, if it's a Hawaiian being able to...one represent himself as a Hawaiian, him or herself as a Hawaiian, and earns big money at the same time while protecting his cultural, you know his cultural values and morals, I don't really see issue with it. But so for to answer the question, I don't believe it was for monetary gain. But I do believe that's one of the outcomes. Hahahaha. (laugh)

R: Hahahaha. (laugh)

I: Yup. (laugh)

R: I see, I see. (laugh)

R: Yeah, it's very big issue between culture and tourism industry or monetary purpose. And then, well, some people really blame on that right? They, people sell their culture in order to get some money. But, in my point of view, it's kinda win-win situation because they can save their

culture, but also they can earn some money.

I: And, you know one of the, one of our graduate students last semester actually, he wrote his paper on the tourist industry in Hawaii, and well, he works in the tourist industry as well and, his big argument was that well you know, we can't stop the tourist industry at this point as it gets, it's the solid, it's the entity in Hawai'i that's not gonna leave. So the only way we can make it better is if enough Hawaiians get into the industry and we [emphasis] can change it to how we want it. And so we [emphasis] can project what we [emphasis] want to project for the tourist to see about, you know, Hawaiians, and Hawaiian culture and that's how we win. And well, you know we can make a living off of it so yeah I completely agree that it doesn't have to be a bad thing, it just how we approach it.

R: Yeah yeah yeah, yeah.

I: So culture, people project or present shouldn't be changed right? In order to get some money. I mean, shouldn't be exaggerated,

R: yeah (a bit of laugh),

I: probably, I would say. I mean, I think that's...I mean, well, at the same time...so back to the hotel Aulani, I believe that was, their goal is not... not exaggerate Hawaiian culture but to try to give tourist a real, you know, impression about Hawaiian culture. Well there is some things that are still exaggerated. They...I think there's, proof that you know tourists want something real they don't want this made up for thought this industry, tourist industry for thought about what Hawaiian culture is. Because you know, Aulani provides, they be provided there's a bar there but this with Hawaiian language speaking staff, so the bartenders speak Hawaiian. There is Hawaiian words on the wall you can ask them and

they can teach you. And you know, it really hit it off with the tourists, and I think that's proof that you know, if Hawaiians get in and change the industry how they want they can be beneficial for everybody. Tourists are happier cuz they're getting a real those of Hawaiian culture, the Hawaiians they're gonna make money, they don't have to sell out their culture they can give the real deal what it is and still common happy.

At first, B mentioned about some art paintings representing Hawaiian traditions at Kaka'ako: "I believe it's great to see things like that like the paintings in Kaka'ako". B not only said about cultural things in Kaka'ako, but B also referred to Hawaiian in different places. B continued, "I think a good example, kind of a good example might be the Aulani hotel and Nānākuli, ... they build the hotel but they tried to do it with Hawaiian architecture in mind so they tried to make it look a little more in Hawaiian". They "try to give tourist a real impression about Hawaiian culture". B pointed out that both places, the Aulani hotel and Nānākuli, build Hawaiian style architecture based on "Hawaiian lens". Although they are the "things that in people normally associate with Western culture", they do not forget about the importance of this place. Whether those 'styles' are intended to tourist appeal or not, it is good to have those places as "we have to figure out how to bring our culture into the current space right now".

In relation to culture and money, B thinks that "there is a relation". B does not think "that was the sole purpose", although "one of those big issues to work is talking about selling all your culture for monetary gain". B thinks that if someone can represent "him or herself as a Hawaiian, and earns big money at the same time while protecting his cultural values and morals, I don't really see issue with it". An important thing here is that someone can express their identity

through the practice of making artifacts, and it connects to keeping their “cultural values and morals” of Hawaiians. Monetary gain is secondary and “one of the outcomes” in B’s term, and hence, in order to get some money, “culture people project or present shouldn’t be changed ... shouldn’t be exaggerated”.

Here, the balance between monetary gain and saving own culture is an issue. As B pointed out, people “can’t stop the tourist industry at this point as it gets, it’s the solid, it’s the entity in Hawai’i that’s not gonna leave”. However, people should not cater to what they are wanted to do; culture should not be changed by the social needs. It is important not only “enough Hawaiians get into the industry”, but also “we [emphasis] can change it to how we want it. And so we [emphasis] can project what we [emphasis] want to project for the tourist to see about Hawaiians and Hawaiian culture”. The central figure of cultural revival is not tourists, but Hawaiians who involved to the revival.

Visitors or tourists would ‘automatically’ be fascinated if the situation is attractive to them. For instance, as B mentioned, Aulani provides a bar with Hawaiian language speaking staff, so the bartenders speak Hawaiian. There are Hawaiian language speakers and also Hawaiian words on the wall which you can ask to the speakers and they can teach you. Because Aulani’s case really “hit it off with the tourists”, B believes that the situation proves “if Hawaiians get in and change the industry how they want they can be beneficial for everybody”. Not only tourists are happier as they are getting a real Hawaiian culture, the Hawaiians also make money while they keep their culture. This connects to “common happy” as “they don’t have to sell out their culture. They can give the real deal what it is”.

Interviewee C agreed with this point, and here is a part of the conversation with C.

R: ...one day I, during this travel, I mean this visiting, I went to Kaka'ako district, and then I saw an event that related to Hawaiian culture. Like you know, many people or like sale their products,

I: okay,

R: and then, I'm not sure you know that, but you know, those events...are good?

I: Umm, yeah, so those events are good because now they're providing a form of income for the people who practice those cultural, those cultural arts so, um...there's one guy I seen makes jewelry out of bamboo, and he uses a traditional...um...printmaking designs. And he'll just make a small little earring and if people can buy it, and in that is the old printmaking style because they're using the design ya, so is promoting cultural work as well. So as long as they have people doing the cultural arts they need a place to sell it. And if they have places like that where they say oh, aah, "Hawaiian cultural, arts and crafts" or something like that. Then everybody comes together "oh, I know I can get Lauhala mat, the weaved together mats they have, I can get maybe a hat cuz they make mats and then make hats out of the same material. Um, maybe I can get shells for jewelry". That kind of stuff. So it's a good thing. Yeah. So... again, in the work is the language, in the work is the culture. And it now because they're selling it, they can continue doing it.

Corresponding to Interviewees A and B, C also thinks those cultural events are good. C continued, "because now they're providing a form of income for the people who practice those cultural arts ... as long as they have people doing the cultural arts they need a place to sell it ... because they're selling it, they can continue doing it". Even if Hawaiian artists or craftsmen make fascinating

Hawaiian cultural artifacts, it would be meaningless if they have no place to show them off. They need a place to introduce the artifacts or to sell for them to continue on their creation. As C pointed out, we need to think the situation more realistically. It is not only their task to expand their artifacts, but it is also our task to provide those places to Hawaiian artists.

We need to consider how much those cultural artifacts are meaningful to Hawaiian culture to come alive. C has seen a man who makes jewelry out of bamboo. He not only uses bamboo as a material, but he also uses a traditional printmaking design. He also makes a small little earring with the old printmaking style. Using a traditional printmaking design or an old printmaking style is important to preserve and inherit traditional Hawaiian culture to different people, "because they're using the design, so is promoting cultural work as well".

Finally, we introduce a part of the interview with Interviewee D.

R: Well, as I walk around the town, then I saw like a, you know, wall-art,  
like that the paintings,

I: yeah yeah,

R: on the wall, and also like all many cultural events like a hula show, or  
like that,

I: okay, um-hum,

R: do you think it's a, those are part of a cultural,

I: um-hum, yeah,

R: revitalization?

I: um-hum, I think so. Yeah. Having a presence where you like in,  
Kaka'ako downtown, is that right? Yeah you know like all those places  
are I think that's an expression, a visual expression of, like "hey this is  
Hawaii, don't forget", you know, and even though the hula shows like the



ones in Waikiki, a lot of those are put on by practitioners like you know hula actual kumu hula. It's not just for money, you know, some of them are for actual because they are all educators. So, I think those are good, especially in Waikiki, you know, I get mad cuz I feel like, "oh". I feel sometimes like, people come to Hawaii, and when I go to Waikiki, I feel like, they don't recognize like they just think they're in their own little world you know like they don't, they look at local people like what are you doing here that shouldn't be the case, right? They should be like "oh, I am in your place not what are you doing in my place" you know like, no it shouldn't be like that so, I think more people should have a present in Waikiki. So that visitors will understand like "this is Hawaii", not in some other resort place with you know, yeah.

R: Actually I feel very 'Hawaiian',

I: oh okay,

R: when I see those kind of,

I: oh yeah yeah yeah,

R: shows or like a art,

I: yeah yeah yeah,

R: things. So probably it's one of the ways to show their culture, probably.

D also has a positive attitude toward cultural revitalization at Kaka'ako; D said, "all those places [like Kaka'ako downtown] are I think that's an expression, a visual expression of, like 'hey this is Hawaii, don't forget'". Because Kaka'ako has been working on revitalization of Hawaiian culture through various projects like Our Kaka'ako or SALT at Our Kaka'ako, people can aware and realize again that this is the place of Hawai'i.

D not only mentioned Kaka'ako in the interview, but D also referred to the

hula show in Waikiki. Although those hula are mainly directed to tourists and visitors, D said that “a lot of those are put on by practitioners like ... actual *kumu* [teacher] hula. It's not just for money, some of them are for actual because they are all educators”. We cannot deny that people ‘feel Hawai'i’ when they see hula shows at any place in Hawai'i. However, the purpose of having hula shows is not solely on ‘showbiz’ directed to tourists and visitors to ‘feel Hawai'i’, it also aims at hula education. As mentioned, hula was once strictly banned by the missionaries; even though, *kumu hula* and hula practitioners get out of hula *halau* [school/classroom] to tell the meaning and importance of hula in the present day. Again, as same as cultural revival in Kaka'ako, monetary gain is secondary and people are eager to inherit and tell an importance of hula as a traditional Hawaiian culture.

## **7. Conclusion**

For addressing the issue of this study, we focused how people are eager to preserve traditional Hawaiian language and culture in various ways with the Hawaiian Renaissance movement especially flourishing in Kaka'ako district. With the historical influence of the United States, Hawaiian language, culture, and even thought processes have all changed. Hawai'i has experienced or is experiencing in the progressive form not only linguistic changes, but also cultural changes. As we saw, Hawai'i once abandoned their language and cultural heritages and shifted toward what the United States brought to them.

From the 1970s, however, people started to realize that Hawaiian language and culture are important part of their heritages and connection with their ancestry. As this study shows that one of the prominent examples of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement can be seen at the Kaka'ako district. By gathering for some projects in the place, people have been tried to show their

aspiration for keeping the traditional heritage of Hawai'i. They try to involve as many people as possible, and young generations are no exception.

Observing the Kaka'ako district and interviewing Hawaiian language learners, the author demonstrated how people there are trying to preserve the cultural heritage of Hawai'i. They are not only trying to keep their traditional heritages of Hawai'i, but they are also attempting to educate future generations. We see that all interviewees more or less agree with what has been happening at Kaka'ako and what people have been doing there. They think that as long as Hawaiian practitioners and artists gain a profit not by monetary purpose, share common happiness with people, and continue to expand their beliefs, any event related to revitalize Hawaiian traditions is a good thing. The cultural revival movement at Kaka'ako, or *Kaka'ako cultural revival*, not only pushes English dominance back, but it also a place for people to inherit and transmit traditional Hawaiian culture. *Kaka'ako cultural revival* functions as one of the most important endeavors to achieve the goal of resurgence, regaining, and revitalizing traditional Hawaiian language and culture.

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- i) See Krauss (1974) more details.
- ii) About 'ohe hano ihu, refer to Kanahela (1979b), Moyle (1990), Nishikawa (2016), and Roberts (1926).
- iii) There have been numerous art events held at SALT, due to limitations of space, see <https://saltatkakaako.com/art/> for more details.
- iv) There is a shop called *Beachwalk Gallery Hawaii*. As the name of the shop indicates, they mainly sell shells' accessories. See <http://www.beachwalkgallery.com/> more details.
- v) "mana" means "Supernatural or divine power, mana, miraculous power" (Pukui and Elbert, 1986, p. 235).
- vi) "kūpuna" is "Plural of *kupuna*" and *kupuna* means "Grandparent, ancestor, relative or close friend of the grandparent's generation, grandaunt, granduncle", Ibid., p. 186.
- vii) "mo'olelo" means "Story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article", Ibid., p. 254.
- viii) "keiki" means "child, offspring, descendant, progeny, boy, youngster, son, lad, nephew, son of a dear friend", Ibid., p. 142.
- ix) From here, "I" stands for "Interviewee" and "R" stands for "Researcher" (i.e. the author).

