

# Ask the kumu: A qualitative study of Native Hawaiian perspectives on Hawai`i's promotional images

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Parker, Margaret Penniman, "Ask the kumu: A qualitative study of Native Hawaiian perspectives on Hawai`i's promotional images" (2016). *Travel and Tourism Research Association: Advancing Tourism Research Globally*. 6.  
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# **Ask the kumu: A qualitative study of Native Hawaiian perspectives on Hawai`i's promotional images**

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## **ABSTRACT**

*Organizations promoting tourism to a destination often rely on images of native cultures to establish a sense of difference, "Otherness," or authenticity. Advertising and public relations professionals, however, often form cultural representations without understanding important cultural values and beliefs. This research establishes a way to examine promotional images from within the culture in order to determine whether those representations convey ideas that align with the culture's own values, traditions and beliefs.*

*I employed a photo elicitation method while conducting nine in-depth interviews with individuals of Native Hawaiian ancestry to understand cultural perspectives on a set of promotional images. The interview transcripts were then qualitatively analyzed to find out how images contributed to cultural stereotyping and myth. The study finds that most of the image set conveys a narrow and limited view of the Native Hawaiian culture. Additionally, insights are reported on how certain images align with Hawaiian cultural values. How images form expectations, particularly false or limited expectations on the part of the visitor and limited expectations on the part of the Native Hawaiian also comes out in this study. This research may form the basis to foster image use that provides more depth, breadth and alignment with a native culture's own long and rich history.*

## **INTRODUCTION**

In September 2006, a two-page print ad placed by Celebrity Cruise Lines, ran in a U.S. national travel publication, promoting the destination of Hawai`i. The ad's primary image showed the statue of a major Hawaiian historical icon, Kamehameha the Great (see Figure 2, Appendix D). In the ad, the statue's hand had been computer altered to hold up a glass of champagne, as if in a toast. According to news reports in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, the altered image shocked the Native Hawaiian community and Hawai`i's tourism leaders. It was seen as a direct denigration of the Native Hawaiian culture (Arakawa, 2006). The ad campaign was withdrawn. The cruise line and its ad agency were embarrassed and issued a public apology (Arakawa, 2006).

The incident brings up issues of native cultural representation: how might representation be investigated so that governments, tourism agencies, and private companies recognize which representations align with a culture's own values and self-perceptions. Organizations and agencies actively promoting tourism to their respective destinations often rely on portrayals of native cultures in marketing materials to establish a sense of the exotic or of difference (MacCannell, 1999, O'Barr, 1994). Research has shown that those who consider visiting a destination rely on the very same marketing materials to form their ideas, impressions, and beliefs about a destination and its native cultures (Beerli, Beerli, Martin, & Josefa, 2004; Morgan

& Pritchard, 1998; O'Barr, 1994). What tourists see in brochure and advertising images formulates their expectations and ideas about another culture (Buzinde, Santo, & Smith, 2006). Accordingly, the scope of representation becomes integral to cultural assumptions and expectations of prospective visitors.

How cultures are portrayed through promotional materials, however, is often formed by advertising and marketing professionals. Graphic designers routinely make decisions on cultural illustrations based primarily on their own aesthetic judgments, their own cultures, and their own design criteria (Moriarty & Rohe, 2005). Those designers may apply stereotypes, ideas, and myths about another culture developed through the designers' own dominant cultural experience (Moriarty & Rohe, 1992), without understanding the importance of such aspects as values, practices, symbols, and rituals particular to a native or host culture. Formulating a method to gain awareness of these aspects from inside the culture could serve as groundwork to establish best practices for avoiding representations that those of the native culture may find inaccurate, inappropriate, offensive or marginalized. Such a method may also serve to foster representation of important features and characteristics of a culture beyond what is already established serving to enhance and expand knowledge about distinctive features of the culture.

This study researches what those of the Native Hawaiian culture, who also have professional experience in tourism, observe about cultural images used in Hawai'i's destination marketing materials in order to establish native perspectives on how current images represent the culture. The study also brings to light important aspects of the culture left out of the array of published promotional materials. The research endeavors to uncover elements in present-day images that contribute to the formation of stereotypes and myths perpetuated about the Native Hawaiian culture as well as important elements that may be lacking. The purpose of this study, therefore, is to provide an account of research that builds a case for seeking native cultural opinion on images used to promote that culture to prospective travelers, i.e., going to the source. I have learned throughout this research process that the Hawaiian culture places high value on what a *kupuna* (elder or source) or a *kumu* (teacher or source) can convey to those who are learning; and that the idea of acquiring skills through an elder or a teacher is essential to Hawaiian tradition. This study is therefore titled "Ask the *Kumu*." (See Appendix A for glossary.)

## LITERATURE REVIEW

The way in which tourism destinations and their cultures are promoted is the source of much theoretical and substantive research. Arguments on the function of cultural images used for promotion are based on topics such as constructing 'Otherness,' and the quest for authenticity. Ramifications of promoting native cultures are examined through theoretical lenses such as stereotyping, power structure, commodification, and myth. This literature review examines both the role and the impact of cultural image use, relying on research and theoretical writing about 'Otherness', authenticity, stereotyping, and myth. These areas lay the groundwork for analyzing research data gained from the in-depth interviews conducted in this study.

The investigation takes into account the theoretical perspectives of Stuart Hall (1997b) in his writings about stereotyping through "inter-textuality" and Roland Barthes (1972) in his writings about the relationship of image and myth. "Symbolic annihilation," as a factor in developing stereotypes, is also brought into the discussion.

### ***Constructing Images of the 'Other'***

Constructing cultural ethnicity to promote tourism is a focus that has advanced from colonial times when ethnic representations often reflected a submissive or deferential 'Other' (MacCannell, 1992; Mellinger, 1994; O'Barr, 1994). The concept of constructed ethnicity is sometimes referred to as ethnicity-for-tourism, where exotic cultures are represented as principle attractions and where the culture is reconstructed for a generalized white audience for the purposes of persuasion and entertainment (MacCannell, 1992). The primary point of using native cultural images in promotional literature is to show indigenous people as members of a primitive and unchanging culture (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998). Image plays a significant part in promoting a culture in that the role of the image is essentially designed to influence attitudes and behaviors of travelers (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998).

In a discourse analysis of 'Otherness' in advertising, O'Barr (1994) argues that representation of outsiders establishes an ideological guide for what is 'us' and what is 'them' (p. 2). Maintaining that images of 'Otherness' treat a culture as a commodity, he points to the difference between advertising to a culture and advertising about a culture. "When advertising conceives of foreigners as commodities rather than as markets, it makes very different assumptions about them" (p.13). People become products positioned to lure the traveler. Expectations about those people, the 'Others,' are then formed in advance of travel and may be very different than what is actually experienced (Mercile, 2005).

In their book, *Marketing Tourism Products: Concepts, Issues and Cases*, authors Seaton and Bennet (1996) put forth the idea that destination images are usually stereotypical and are chosen according to notions and expectations of 'Otherness.' This notion speaks to the way in which imagery of a culture can become skewed.

The pursuit of the 'Other' is a principal motivation in tourism, which is why destination marketers commonly promote those stereotypical features ...most likely to seem attractively different (quaint, traditional, romantic) ... Host groups often resent the image of their culture promoted by tourism organizations and held by tourists. (p. 293)

Because visitors form their first beliefs and expectations about a culture from the images of 'Others' in promotional materials, their views may also include the notion that an authentic reality about that culture exists (Silver, 1993). There are different approaches to understanding authenticity that figure into what appeals to a visitor and how expectations may play into the promotion of a culture beyond simply positioning it as 'Otherness.'

### ***The Quest for Authenticity***

Authenticity, as a concept, is a highly contested term that may be understood from a variety of perspectives such as staged authenticity, existential authenticity, positivist authenticity and constructed authenticity.

In the existentialist view, cultural authenticity might lure those travelers searching for authenticity in themselves (Wang, 1999). A positivist would search for a sense of reality, a historically accurate representation. Referred to as 'objective authenticity' (Steiner & Reisinger, 2005; Wang, 1999), the analysis of whether an image portrays authentic Native Hawaiian culture would tie into oral and documented histories that tell exactly what was the manner of dress; and what, precisely, were the elements of their rituals and their practices according to this



perspective. Objective authenticity, even as staged authenticity, could contain certain elements of the tradition that may remain accurate to historical accounts (Chabra et al., 2003). Or, a more modern application of positivist authenticity, while it may not be represented by exact replication of rituals, practices, or styles, may be represented by modern day ideas or social customs that have evolved throughout the ages with a certain authentic basis (Linnekin, 1990).

The constructivist approach looks at how authenticity might be created for social purposes, as opposed to the purpose of replicating the authentic or inherent qualities of a culture (Wang, 1999). According to Dann (1996), studies of destination tourism promotion in brochures shows that cultural representation is often used more to satisfy the traveler's quest for authenticity than to represent cultural values according to Western markers of authenticity.

### ***Developing the Native Stereotype***

Hall (1997a) explains representation of an 'Other' is established by a process in which the context of meaning is found not only in one image but also in how one image is read against or in connection with other images; the repetition of images gain a textuality, accumulating meaning by playing off each other (Hall, 1997b). Hall refers to reading an image in the context of other images as "inter-textuality." Within this inter-textuality stereotypes develop; images of people, he says, "are reduced to a few, simple, essential characteristics which are represented as fixed by nature" (p. 257).

Stereotyping is often fixed by those in a position of power as a way to differentiate between what the dominant group regards as normal according to their own views and what might be excluded as the 'Other' (Hall, 1997b). The 'Other's' characteristics then become natural and inevitable through fixing difference from a dominant view, thereby establishing the power to represent someone or some group in a certain way, labeled as a "regime of representation" (p. 259). Such a regime is fixed through inter-textuality and stereotyping, becoming the primary way in which a dominant group would characterize those of another culture. That characterization goes beyond reinforcing cultural stereotypes, it "often portray(s) the notion that natives exist primarily for the consumption of Western tourists" (Silver, 1993, p. 305).

Stereotypes may also be developed by what is ignored, trivialized, or left out of the mass media, a theoretical approach labeled symbolic annihilation (Tuchman, 1978). This construct contends that the absence, neglect, or marginalization of women's roles in television serves to stereotype women into an inflexible and limited range of roles in society (Tuchman, 1981). While primarily a feminist theory (Strianti, 1995), the construct also applies to race relations (Mazon 1984) as an explanation for how one race symbolically annihilates another through the media.

### ***Image, Signification, and Myth***

Taking a semiotic approach, in addition to developing stereotypes images often convey stories or myths intended at the point of production. The photograph is chosen to signify an idea or story that asserts its values on others (Barthes, 1972). Judgments of form are signification [of intention] and images are a language; they signify an idea beyond what is seen, according to Barthes. In *Mythologies*, Barthes describes photographs as a speech, a mythical speech presented as a form of communication that exists as constructed meaning: "We reach here the very principle of myth: it transforms history into nature...Mythical speech is frozen into something natural; it is not read as motive but as reason" (p. 129).

By establishing myth as nature, Barthes (1972) points out that myth wipes out the complexity of human representation and essentializes it as something simpler. “What myth gives in return is a *natural* image of reality” (Barthes, 1972, p.142).

Considering the prospect that cultural imagery is used for constructing ‘Otherness,’ staging authenticity, developing stereotypes or signifying myth, central to the topic of this study is the question: *What representations of cultural identity in promotional images resonate with the group being portrayed?* Combining Hall’s theories on inter-textual stereotyping with Barthes’ perspectives on signification and myth provides a theoretical framework for understanding the myths and stereotypes generated through Hawai`i’s destination promotional material. In addition, symbolic annihilation theory informs the potential impact of leaving out important elements of native culture. Investigating how those elements and patterns compare or contrast with native cultural perspectives is at the core of this study.

### ***Research Questions***

***Research Question 1:*** Do elements in promotional images of Native Hawaiian ancestry contribute to stereotyping through inter-textuality?

***Research Question 2:*** Do image representations resonate with Native Hawaiian values and perspectives?

***Research Question 3:*** Do members of the culture believe the representations present an authentic view of their culture?

***Research Question 4:*** What elements of the culture, considered important by the culture, are missing from the marketing mix?

### **METHODS**

To gain Native Hawaiian perspectives on cultural images used in Hawai`i’s promotional materials, nine in-depth interviews were conducted with people of Native Hawaiian ancestry. Each participant also has professional experience in the tourism industry. In this way there was some basic understanding about tourism promotional materials. During the interviews, the participants viewed a set of 98 promotional images depicting the Native Hawaiian culture while giving their perspectives about specific images or groups of images.

#### ***Interview Method***

I used a photo elicitation method during the interview process, a technique where the interview participants are the experts, essentially teaching the researcher about the content of the images (Denton, 2005). The participants were given the image set and asked to go through it with three basic questions in mind: How do these images represent the culture; how might they misrepresent the culture, and what elements may be missing? I kept the discussion guideline only to those three questions so that the participants felt free to expand on their perspectives about the images and embellish their comments with personal viewpoints and stories particular to their own experiences, a technique suggested by Denton (2005). The method is said to provide bridge between worlds that are more culturally distinct allowing interview participants to share their cultural knowledge sparked by elements of an image (Harper, 2002).

During the interview, participants talked about specific images or generalized about groups of images, while providing their own insights, comments, history, and reactions. In all cases, there was use of Hawaiian words in the discussion. Sentence structure and voice inflection in the

pidgin dialect that is common in Hawai`i was also used occasionally during the normal flow of conversation.

### ***Image Set***

I chose images used during the interview process from 2006 magazine advertising, brochures, and Web sites generated by Hawai`i's destination promoters. See Appendix C for a list of images. A destination promoter was defined as an organization marketing Hawai`i or one of the Hawaiian Islands, as a travel destination. Those promoters included the Hawai`i Visitors Bureau and its four island chapters, 15 wholesale travel package operators and six cruise line companies that serve Hawai`i, along with two additional statewide online destination promoters. A few images used by resort companies were selected as they showed people depicting the Native Hawaiian culture to promote traveling to Hawai`i and staying at a resort. Broadcast advertising was not included because of the complexity of showing television ads and isolating cultural representation in those ads as part of the in-depth interview process.

The extent of the collection is intended to represent the majority of images depicting Native Hawaiian culture published in the 2006 by Hawai`i's destination marketers so that the interview subjects could examine the breadth of what was currently published. Images were not picked at random.

Interview discussions were recorded and transcribed then coded and analyzed in the open and axial coding method outlined by Strauss and Corbin (1999). This analysis method suggests first analyzing the transcripts for concepts relative to statements made by the interview participants and coding those statements with a series of open codes designating the concepts. Then, the method calls for comparing the variety of concepts among different interviews to establish categories; such categories are called axial codes. Comparing categories allows themes and patterns to evolve from the data. Also noted are anomalies, or concepts that fall outside the categories.

## **RESULTS**

Participants throughout the interview process responded to specific images or whole sets of images with comments, explanation, reflection, history, and reaction. During the open coding process of the transcripts, eleven different groups of concepts or categories emerged. Each was titled to reflect a cluster of related phenomena. I determined, through cross-analyzing the interview transcripts and corresponding spreadsheets, which images, as identified by the participants, were the most representative in each of the categories found in open coding. I offer a list of the categories (see Appendix D, Table 1) discovered during open coding. Representative images are found on Appendix D, Figures 3 through 16.

Following determination of the categories, I undertook an axial coding process to discover how the categories linked together into lines of thought and where those lines intersected.

### ***Axial Coding***

As categories emerged during the open coding process, further examination of the data during axial coding revealed links between the different conceptual categories. While, at first, some categories appeared oppositional to me, they emerged as being part of the same dimension. They linked with other categories along a continuum of thought that related to ideas within the scope of that dimension. For example, the category titled, Representational/Accurate and the category titled Fake/Inaccurate, when placed at two ends of a single dimension, linked successively to phenomenon surrounding representation, whether it was about accuracy,

authenticity, evolving culture, confusion, marketer responsibility, myth, or falseness. I have labeled this axis, Perceptions of representation: from real to fake. Similarly, I viewed the phenomena contributing to the category titled Stereotyped/Overused as the antithesis of phenomena linked to the category titled Lacking/Limited. Then, on further examination, I found that these also lined up along a dimension linking phenomena perceived as limiting or reducing perceptions of the Native Hawaiian culture. Phenomena about the images categorized as stereotyped, over-used, outmoded, frozen, confused, deficient, and lacking context all placed limitations on comprehension of the Native Hawaiian culture. I have labeled this axis: Perceptions of limitation: from over-used to inadequate. Both axes linked to the category titled Expectation/False Expectations. (See Appendix D, Figure 1.) Each continuum of thought leads to an overriding concern expressed by all participants that specific images or whole sets of images set may lead to distorted or false expectations about the Native Hawaiian culture including its people, its icons and its practices, by both visitors and residents.

Along the axis of representation, if a participant found an image to be representational of the culture in some way, whether it was authentic, evolving, modern, a myth, false, or inappropriate, the image was seen as generating an expectation on the part of the visitor about the culture, according to how it was represented.

The dominance of hula images, according to many of the participants, generates expectations that visitors must see a hula show, that this is the primary demonstration of the culture. “My question would be, would a visitor expect every Hawaiian girl to know the hula” (Participant #2)? While all participants recognized that dance is an important part of the culture, they also expressed the concern that many of the ways in which the culture was represented led to unreal expectations.

Several participants also believed that images of slender, attractive young men and women in unrealistic situations set up visitor expectations for this look and for certain settings as Native Hawaiian. “These images are unreal. They set up such a disconnect between our people and the visitor” (Participant 3).

Participants pointed out that visitors must expect to see dances from other cultures as being representative of their Hawaiian experience because of the images that depict Samoan, Tahitian, or Maori costuming and entertainment. The confusion does not allow the Native Hawaiian culture to represent itself distinctly. What is fake, inaccurate or inappropriate is touted as a real Hawaiian representation. Participants shared concerns, reflective of the images that the visitor will believe they’ll receive a lei on arrival; that fake tattoos are Hawaiian; that its okay to touch petroglyphs; that children run around on beaches dressed in hula costume; that images of *ki`i`* speak of paganism and exoticism (instead of serious religious practices,) and that everyone dances and sings for the entertainment of the visitor.

In addition, participants explained how the representation of the culture in ads and promotional materials generates a self-expectation by Native Hawaiians as how they should be. If female dancers in ads are skinny, Hawaiian women think they have to be skinny. “It’s been hard on people that are dancing now. There’s a heavy stigma about what weight you can be, and you may be a (genuine) artist in dance, but you can’t get into the show because (the audience is) expecting to see these really thin people” (Participant #3). Participant #7 remarks on the how the invariability of the images impacts self-expectations. “So whenever you see the hula line, there is that uniformity, continually. So that has permeated into our own self-reflection.”

Along the axis of limitation, participants saw expectations generated by the images’ limitations, whether perceptions of the culture were limited to stereotypes, were relegated to

being outmoded or frozen in another time or another area; whether they were limited by marketer choices, or whether they lacked context or subject matter. Participants believed that these limitations also affected visitor expectations as well as expectations by the Hawaiian about themselves.

Consider, for example participant comments about the pervasiveness of images conveying dancing and entertainment. Participants were disturbed that a visitor's idea of Native Hawaiians is limited to images of entertainers, who may not even be costumed in Native Hawaiian dress, and still may be stuck in a bygone era of fifty years ago.

They (the visitors) expect everyone to sing and play ukulele and do everything else, when there are so many more different aspects to us than what is shown. Why are there not more images of cultural events, more of our sacred sites with explanations about those places, where you actually feel the soul. (Participant #5)

All participants saw limitations throughout the entire set, some expressing surprise at the relative dearth of dimension.

Ah, I'm surprised. It's kind of like what's not there than what is there. We're back to hula, torch lighting and blowing the conch shell ... nice images ... but I'm surprised there aren't more cultural activities ... these images (here) are 'uni-dimensional' ... I haven't seen enough images sharing our culture. These are just props for the destination. (Participant #6)

There was a call, on the part of almost all participants for more cultural depth in the images; a desire to see more focus on Hawaiian cultural values such as the importance and respect for family or spirituality. Participants wanted to see a broader display of the skills and practices particular to the Native Hawaiian culture, whether they be ancient or modern, while distinguishing what represents the Hawaiian culture and what represents other cultures. Providing visitors and local residents with more realistic expectations of what it is to be Hawaiian and what is particular and unique about Hawaiian cultural practices was a key issue. All participants believe that its time to do away with the stylized, outmoded images of the Hawaiian people as "the show", and establish images of Hawai'i and Hawaiian culture as one with depth, breadth, unique practices and with a long and interesting history.

## **DISCUSSION**

One of the objectives of this study was to determine whether cultural image use in tourism promotional materials is representative of the culture and whether such representation aligns with a native culture's own values and perspectives. A couple of key issues in relation to this study are raised through research that says that images are a critical element in destination choice (Um & Crompton, 1999) and that says advance promotional images form strong ideas and expectations among prospective travelers about a Native culture (O'Barr, 1994). Since advertising executives and marketing decision-makers often choose images of an indigenous culture based on their own cultural values, judgments and design criteria (Moriarty & Rohe, 1992), a disconnect may exist when images used in Hawai'i's promotional materials are published without comprehension of native cultural perspectives. There was also a broad concern that the images used in marketing materials created narrow and unattainable expectations.

Another objective of the study was to develop a best practices method to gain awareness of important cultural aspects such as values, practices, symbols, and rituals particular to a native or host culture. Taking the time to interview people who understand native cultural values has provided me insights that I would not have normally understood, being raised in a different culture; particularly a culture that is perceived as dominant. Even though I have been a Hawai'i resident over the past three decades, I was surprised by image elements considered inappropriate such as fake tattoos, children rubbing their hands over petroglyphs, or people kayaking in the bay of a sacred place. I was equally surprised and enlightened by comments about images that were considered highly representational and strongly aligned with the culture. These included images showing grandparents teaching children, an offering mound that was part of a *makahiki* ceremony, the sacredness of the taro plant, dance costume details, or representations of certain practices I would not otherwise have thought to be so important.

Overall, I found that many of the images representing the Native Hawaiian culture in Hawai'i's 2006 destination marketing materials essentially misrepresented the culture through development of stereotypes, confusion, lack of context, limited perspectives, or complete lack of important features. Considering these findings, it would be worth developing ways to approach image use in native cultural representation from decision making standpoint and include perspectives from inside the culture as part of that process.

### *Connections to the Literature*

It is no wonder that marketers and advertisers feature images of "Others" or natives in destination marketing materials; particularly as research has shown that pursuit of the 'Other' is considered a primary motivation in destination choice (Seaton and Bennet, 1996). There was no question by any of the participants as to why Native Hawaiians were featured in promotional materials they viewed. They understood that cultural representation, in itself, establishes an attractive feature to the Hawaiian Islands. O'Barr (1994) notes that such pursuit of the 'Other' results in cultural commodification of the culture in this case – Native Hawaiians. The commodification aspect supports a rationale as to why so many images feature dance and entertainment, usually a paid activity, or why the native culture is featured in the first place, which is to draw tourism to Hawai'i. Tourism is a primary economic generator in Hawai'i, resulting in high tax revenues along with providing income and benefits to many families including those of Native Hawaiian ancestry.

Even with such a general acceptance that images of Native Hawaiians serve to fuel a major economy, the problem with the dominance of entertainment images is that they establish narrow stereotypes and limited ideas about a culture. The seemingly endless repetition of Native Hawaiians as entertainers and lei greeters resonates with Stuart Hall's points on how intertextuality (1997b) limits ideas about a native culture through repetition; that the repeated images play off each other to form narrow, essential, and fixed ideas about the culture. The results of this study also supported Tuchman's theories on symbolic annihilation (1972): that stereotypes may also be developed by what is ignored or left out. Excluding a multitude of important features beyond the general theme of entertainment also was found to stereotype Native Hawaiians into very limited roles. Hall and Tuchman's theories support the reaction of interview participants that their culture, including men, women, and children, was seen as functioning in a primary and narrow role – that of being entertainers or greeters. How could anyone surmise, through current promotional materials, that Native Hawaiians are experts in so many other disciplines such as martial arts, herbal medicine, plant cultivation, navigation, story-telling, and a variety of

crafts and productive skills? The images used in 2006 fixed Native Hawaiians into a relatively static role, ignoring the richness and spirited complexity of the culture.

The way in which the culture is stereotyped may also generate what a visitor would think as authentic (Silver 1993). In this study, participant views on authenticity came more from the positivist approach, presented by Wang (1999) and Steiner and Reisinger (2005). This study, therefore resonates with writings on positivist or objective authenticity. Participants labeled images with attention to historic detail as authentic.

It was also interesting to see that participants recognized the type of objective authenticity discussed by Linnekin (1990) where cultural tradition has adapted to modern day representation. Chabra, Healy and Sills (2003) also recognized that objective authenticity may contain only a few elements that remain accurate to historical accounts. There were images that portrayed modern-day Hawaiians who have a diverse cultural mix in their heritage, who may not have specific Hawaiian facial features or body type, may dress with adapted costume, but may be practicing an art that was developed in ancient times,

Moving beyond deliberations over authenticity, Barthes (1972) discussed the ways in which the complexity of human representation is reduced, through image, to simplistic myth. His theory has direct bearing on the results. Participants were universally disappointed that many of the images presented reduced important features and aspects of the culture to cultural banality or ideas of exoticism.

### ***Body of Knowledge***

This study brings in the question of how representation is seen from within the culture, not by how it's seen from the consumers' or the producers' eyes. This study adds to the general body of literature a method to obtain a culture's own viewpoints about several key points. One is whether existing images are representative of the culture and align with cultural values. Another is how that particular culture can be represented more accurately and with more complexity so that the culture is understood in a less simplistic and less fixed way.

### ***Future Research***

If a similar study were conducted within other visitor destinations where there is an indigenous culture and where there are a variety of promotional materials representing the culture, the general body of knowledge about the issue of cultural representation aligning with a native culture's own values may also advance. In addition, this project could be expanded through quantitative research that tests the findings of this study; then similar companion studies could be conducted in other tourism locales where there is an indigenous culture.

### ***Final Thoughts***

Some participants recognized the role their own culture may play in the perpetuation of a narrow and distorted view of the Native Hawaiian culture. Combined with recognizing the similar role that marketers and promoters play, this study may foster a way for both sides to address the problem. If the culture can identify, through inquiry within their own culture, what types of representation align with their own values they will have guidelines and markers to support stronger and broader cultural representation. With this knowledge in hand, it may be possible for the culture to advise tourism industry marketers and promoters about image choice for destination travel advertising campaigns and promotional materials. Likewise, understanding

what types of images align with cultural values, the travel industry will have the tools to work with the culture on future representation.

## APPENDIX A

### **Hawaiian Word Definitions**

Source: Hawaiian Dictionaries (2007), <http://wehewehe.org>

Note: Many Hawaiian nouns are both singular and plural

*Ahu*: Mound, offering mound

*Kahiko*: ancient, historical

*Kii*: statue or image of a deity

*Kumu*: Teacher or source

*Kupuna*: elder or source, knowledgeable one

*Makahiki*: annual fall celebration declared as a time of peace

*Pa`u*: Women who ride horseback with long skirt or dress draped over the animal



## APPENDIX B

### **Interview Participants**

Note: Participants identified in quotes by order of interview, not by alphabetical listing below.

- Peter Apo, Director of Culture and Education, Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association
- Lulani Arquette, Executive Director, Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association
- Nalani Brun, Former Tourism Specialist for Kaua`i County Economic Development, Program Manager, Ho`olahui Hawai`i.
- Stella Burgess, Director of Hawaiian Culture for Grand Hyatt Kaua`i; member of the board of directors, Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association
- Robbie Koholokula, Tourism Specialist, for Kaua`i County Economic Development Department
- Aletha Kaohi, Director of Waimea Visitor Center
- Sabra Kauka, Hawaiian Studies Kumu for Island School; Member of the Tourism Advisory Committee for the Native Hawaiian Hospitality Association, Master Weaver, President of the Na Pali Coast Ohana.
- Ramsay Taum, Community Outreach Coordinator and Lecturer, University of Hawai`i, Travel Industry Management School.
- Keli`ihoalani Wilson, Hawaiian Cultural Coordinator, Hawai`i Tourism Authority.

## APPENDIX C

### IMAGE RESOURCE LIST

#### **Source of Image**

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All About Hawai`i home page, <http://allaboutHawai`i.com>, (retrieved December 28, 2006)

All About Hawai`i brochure, 2006, front cover

All About Hawai`i Web site home page, <http://allaboutHawai`i.com>, (retrieved 12/5/06)

Alternative-Hawai`i Web site home page, <http://alternative-Hawai`i.com>

Alternative Hawai`i Web site, Hawai`i culture section,

<http://Alternative-Hawai`i.com/hacul/intx.html>. Ku, the War God  
(retrieved December 28, 2006)

Apple Vacations Hawai`i Web site, Hawai`i section,

<http://www.applevacations.com/region.do?command=showRegion&regionCode=HAW>, (retrieved December 28, 2006)

Apple Vacations Web site, Hawai`i section,

<http://www.applevacations.com/region.do?command=showRegion&regionCode=HAW>, (retrieved December 28, 2006)

Apple Vacations Hawai`i home page, <http://applevacations.com/Hawai`i>, (retrieved December 29, 2006)

Apple Vacations brochure, 2006, p. 8

Big Island Visitors Bureau, Travel Planner, 2006, pp. 38-39

Big Island Visitors Bureau Travel Planner, 2006, p. 43

Big Island Visitors Bureau Travel Planner, 2006, p. 19

Big Island Travel Planner, 2006, front cover

Big Island Visitors Bureau Travel Planner, 2006, p. 14

Big Island Visitors Bureau Travel Planner, 2006, p. 42

Big Island Visitors Bureau Travel Planner, 2006, p. 42

Big Island Visitors Bureau Travel Planner, 2006, p. 41

Classic Hawai`i brochure, 2006, p. 44

Classic Hawai`i brochure, 2006, Hawai`i section, p. 45

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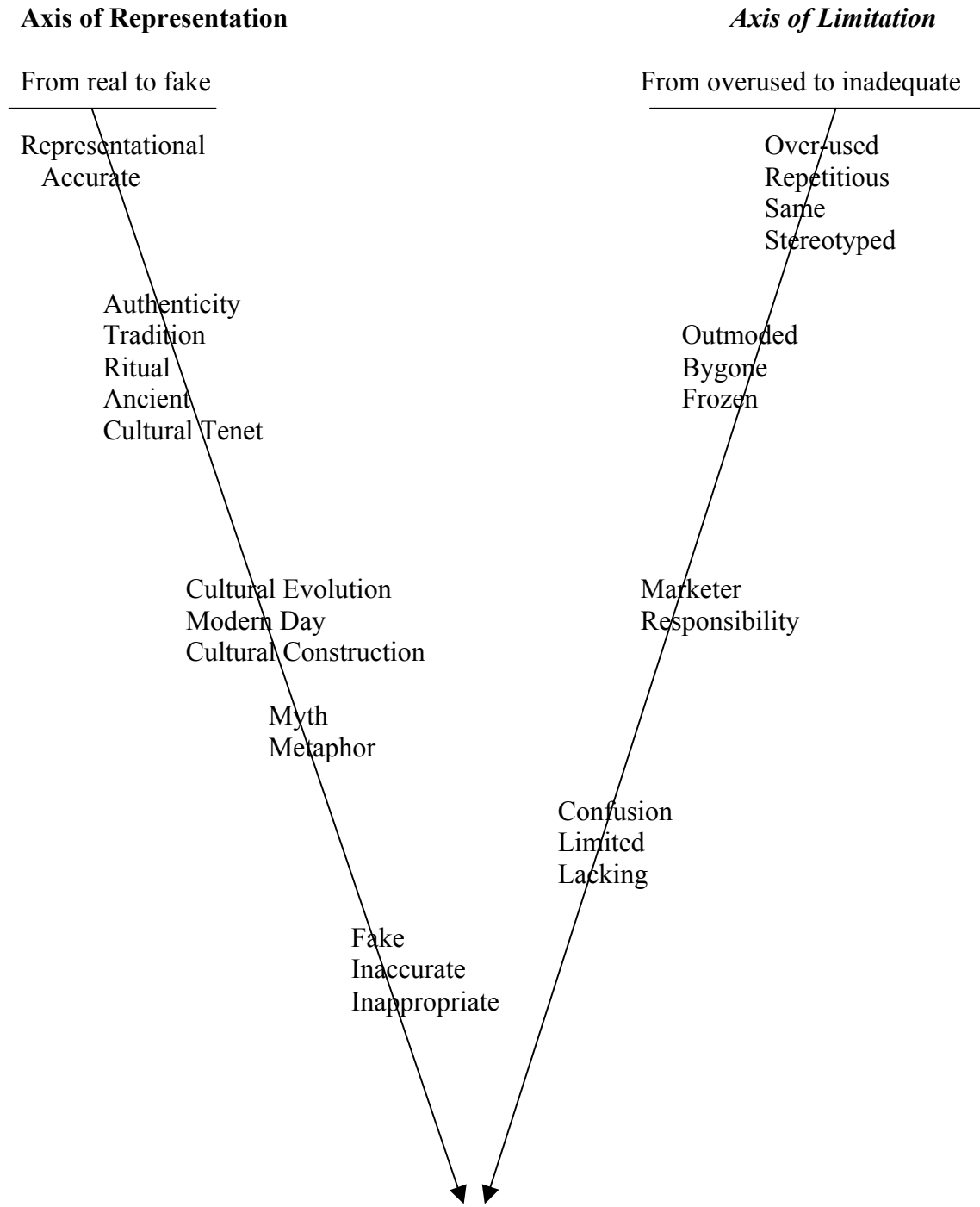
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APPENDIX D : Table 1, Figures 1-16

Table 1, Categories and phenomenon found in open coding – see Figures 3-16

<b>Categories/Concepts</b>	<b>Phenomena/Central Ideas</b>
Authentic (See Figure 3)	Authentic, ancient, respect, life force, correct, real, essential, truthful, who-we-are, foundational
Cultural Confusion (See Figure 4)	Mixed messages, confusing, another culture, cross cultural, elsewhere, too many cultures, not allowing
Evolving/Modern (See Figure 5)	Modern, modern day, evolved, today, cultural evolution, not traditional, adopted, adapted, mixed cultures, modernized
Fake/Inaccurate/Inappropriate (See Figures 6 and 7)	Not allowing, fake, inaccurate, inappropriate, another culture, not representational, mislabeled disrespectful, not authentic, not traditional, not good, not Hawaiian
False/Distorted Expectations (See Figure 8)	Not real, visitor expectations, cultural expectation, self-expectation, false expectation, not found, hard to find, disconnect, see oneself
Lacking/Limited (See Figure 9)	Not enough, limited, missing, not seen, lacking, deficient, no credit, singular, no context, hardly seen, no significance, narrow, one-dimensional, not understood, not represented
Marketer Responsibility/Non Interest (See Figure 10)	Catching attention, advertising culture, stuck, selling Hawai`i, western re-branding, role, responsibility, non-interest
Myth/Fantasy (See Figure 11)	Not understood, all for show, representations of exoticism, fantasy, paganism, pain, shallow, staged, lack of understanding
Outmoded/Bygone (See Figure 12)	Another era, Elvis, times past, continuation, frozen, over-used
Representational/Accurate/Appropriate See Figures 13, 14, & 15	Accurate, strong representation, highly representative, essential, important, truth, correct, cultural tenet, demonstrative, reflective, powerful
Stereotype/Sameness/Branded (See Figure 16)	One-dimensional, stereotype, singular brand, sameness, again and again, repetition, generational

Figure 1. Axis of Representation, Axis of Limitation



False/Distorted Expectations



Figure 2. Kamehameha ad.



Figure 3. Authentic – *kahiko* costume.



Figure 4. Cultural confusion – Samoan fire dancer.





Figure 5. Modern day --pa`u rider.

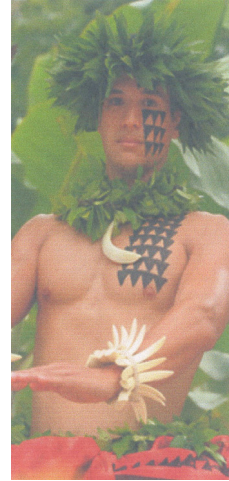


Figure 6. Fake -- tattoos.



Figure 7. Inappropriate -- kayaking in bay at Pu`u Honuahonaunau, a sacred place

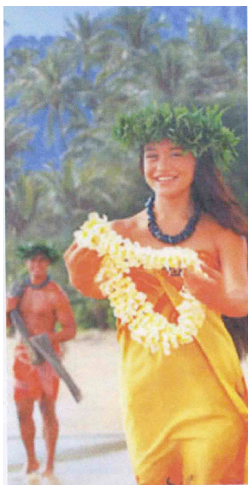


Figure 8. Expectations -- lei greeting.



Figure 9. Lacking/Limited -- Iolani Palace, no context.





Figure 10. Marketer non-interest -- repetitive stylized hula. Figure 11. Myth – pagan, exotic.

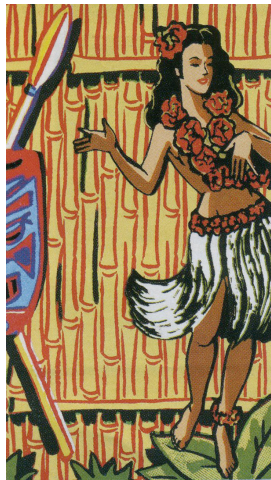
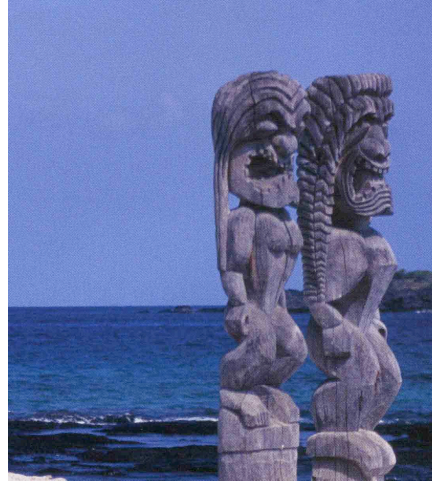


Figure 12, Outmoded --hula girl.



Figure 13. Representative –ahu at makahiki ceremony.



Figure 14. Accurate – elder teaching child

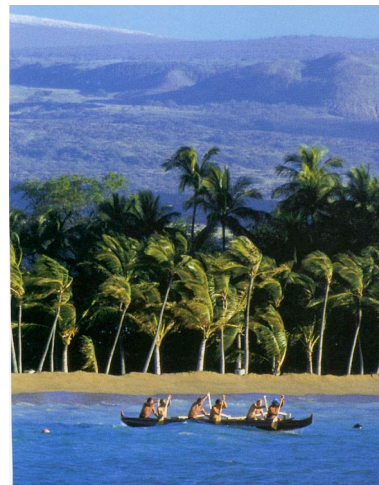


Figure 15. Appropriate –canoe paddlers



Figure 16. Stereotype/Sameness/Branded – Hula dancer  
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