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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Reimagining Paradise: Public Culture and the Los Angeles Hawaiian Community, 1950s-present

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by

Lani Cupchoy

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Vicki L. Ruiz, Chair
Professor Yong Chen
Associate Professor Glen Mimura

2015

DEDICATION

To

my parents

in recognition of their lucha, educational values, and unconditional aloha.

“Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.”

Nelson Mandela

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Reimagining Paradise: Public Culture and the Los Angeles Hawaiian Community, 1950s-present

By

Lani Cupchoy

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Irvine, 2015

Professor Vicki L. Ruiz, Chair

The Hawaiian community remains central to southern California life. From early public surfing exhibitions to aloha shirts to Hawaiian BBQ, “Hawaiianess” has permeated mainland U.S. culture. This dissertation brings visibility to a Los Angeles Hawaiian community, a presence that goes undetected since it lacks a residential center. I offer insight into the politics of place and Hawaiian racial hybridity as a means to track not an exclusively “Hawaiian” ethnic group, but rather to locate self-identified Hawaiians who navigate within a system of constant appropriation of Hawaiianess whether from the islands or from U.S. consumer culture. I examine the interregional network of a “diasporic” Hawaiian community in southern California and the ways in which Hawaiians in Los Angeles create community practices based on historical memories. I argue that their notions of Hawaiianess are negotiated through a “transgenerational imaginary,” the ways in which cultural knowledge transfers from one generation to the next and at times produces new expressions. The Hawaiian mainland community encompasses a broad identity beginning with those of native Hawaiian ancestry; people of other ethnicities born in Hawaii; individuals born on the mainland with ancestors from Hawaii; and spouses married to Hawaiian community members. Focusing on the production of identity and social agency, I

investigate how Hawaiianess manifests itself on the mainland through the experiences of families, community members, civic clubs, the growing food circuit, and community-driven projects like the *Hokulea* sailing canoe. I track the manner in which “Hawaiianess” develops in Los Angeles through ethnic foodways and how food identity is represented in the larger culture. I consider how issues around food become sites for identity formation and the extent to which ethnic entrepreneurs, as operators of these establishments, see themselves as connected to foodways in Hawaii. Hawaiianess also remains in dialogue with commercial appropriation or “contesting alohas” – competing ideas, representations, and discourses of the meaning of “Hawaiian.” Hawaiian migrants and their families, however, maintain their ties to the islands and self-identify as “Hawaiian” across ethnicities and in the process navigate a system of a constant commercial appropriation of Hawaiianess.

INTRODUCTION

I am a mainland Hawaiian; my parents named me Lani, which means “heavenly” in native Hawaiian, a conscious decision to connect me to our ancestral heritage. Of Hawaiian-Chinese-Mexican-Indigenous ancestry, I grew up during the late 1970s when racial indicators took the form of sharply demarcated categories that differ from today’s understanding of multi-layered identities. While my Hawaiian-Chinese father considered himself “Pacific Islander,” the birth certificates of his three children specified his race as “Oriental,” “Pacific Islander,” and “Caucasian.”

Leaving Hawaii in the early 1960s to pursue a teaching career in the Los Angeles Unified School District, my father Robert Cup Choy instilled a strong sense of Hawaiianess in our home including playing ukulele, teaching hula, giving leis, and cooking traditional foods like lau lau and haupia. Our yard contained an accumulation of exotic plants such as plumeria as well as red and green ti plants purchased at the annual Hoolaulea (Hawaiian festival). He would take the family to his favorite “local style” eatery at the Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop as well as newly opened Hawaiian-style restaurants. News from the islands came in the mail once a month through the *Voice of Hawaii*, a community-based newspaper and sometimes I would overhear him speaking pidgin to my aunts and uncles on the phone as he caught up on news from home. At a young age, I learned the cultural code of calling elders auntie or uncle, even if they were not blood kin and I also realized that we were part of a community that had left Hawaii to live throughout southern California. I first learned about my native Hawaiian identity in kindergarten when classmate “Leilani” said that unlike me, she was not “really Hawaiian” but that her Filipino father considered himself one given his birth in Hawaii. We became good friends since both of our fathers embodied a migrant generation that considered Hawaii their homeland.

Advertised as the “The Man Who Can Walk on Water,” 23-year-old Oahu born Hawaiian-Irish athlete George Freeth (1883-1919) gave public surfing exhibitions to entice visitors to the Redondo Beach area.¹ Freeth trained several Olympic-caliber swimmers and divers and was honored with the Congressional Gold Medal for his lifesaving feats. Freeth died at the young age of thirty-five from a flu pandemic, never realizing the far-reaching effects of his influence on Los Angeles as the person who brought the ancient Polynesian tradition of surfing to the mainland.

Another famed Hawaiian athlete, Olympic swimmer and “Father of International Surfing” Duke Kahanamoku (1890-1968), popularized and catapulted surfing worldwide. Like Freeth, Kahanamoku made Los Angeles his home and also gave local surfing exhibitions. He also made a career in Hollywood playing minor-character Polynesians and Native Americans in over twenty-eight motion pictures including the 1948 film *Wake of the Red Witch*, starring John Wayne.² Although he died in 1968, Kahanamoku remains the most celebrated Hawaiian surfer brought unprecedented attention to the Hawaiian Islands.

Both men, as Hawaiian cultural ambassadors of “aloha” and southern California migrants, embodied a nascent thread of transported “Hawaiianess” to the mainland.³ They represent the earliest examples of “kanaka maoli” (native Hawaiian) individuals who not only made Los Angeles their home but also contributed to a transcultural link between Hawaii and Los Angeles. During the golden era of the 1950s and 1960s with the rise of the defense industry, freeway construction and developing cities-suburbs, California became particularly attractive to

¹ “Swimming Race at the Beach,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 4, 1908; “Twenty Thousand Go To Redondo Beach,” *Los Angeles Times*, June 23, 1913.

² William Henry, “Kahanamoku is After Records,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 24, 1914; Leslie Boullon, *Surf Narratives: California Dreamin’ on a New Frontier*, (M.A. thesis, California State University at Fullerton, 2002); Joseph L. Brennan, *Duke: The Life Story of Hawaii’s Duke Kahanamoku* (Honolulu: Ku Paa Publishing, 1994); Sandra Hall, *Memories of Duke: The Legend Comes to Life* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1995).

³ “Aloha” means with love and is the key word to the universal spirit of real hospitality for greeting, family, friends, and loved ones in Hawaii.

migrants from the islands. As historian Lisa McGirr noted, “a southern California movement emerged from successful entrepreneurial types with modern lifestyles and bright futures as well as suburban pioneers that shaped new political and social philosophies.”⁴

I argue that Hawaiianess and the Hawaiian community in Los Angeles remain interconnected, often overlapping and negotiated through a “transgenerational imaginary,” the ways in which cultural knowledge transfers from one generation to the next and at times produces new expressions. Tied together by the process of public culture and what Yen Le Espiritu has called “home making,” Hawaiians in Los Angeles exerted lived community practices based on a historical memory of “Hawaiianess.”⁵ Yet, this memory remains in dialogue with external discourses that appropriate Hawaii for commercial gain. In this dissertation, I examine “Hawaiianess,” defined both within and outside the community.

This dissertation brings visibility to a Los Angeles Hawaiian community, a presence that goes undetected since it lacks a residential center. I offer insight into the politics of place and Hawaiian racial hybridity as a means to track not an exclusively “Hawaiian” ethnic group, but rather to locate self-identified Hawaiians who navigate within a system of constant appropriation of Hawaiianess from inside and outside their community. Building on Rona Halualani’s *In the Name of Hawaiians* and what she called “diasporic mainland Hawaiian communities,” I examine the interregional network of a “diasporic” Hawaiian community in southern California, with particular attention on the emergence of Hawaiianess in Los Angeles. The Hawaiian mainland community encompasses a broad identity beginning with those of native Hawaiian ancestry; people of other ethnicities born in Hawaii; individuals born on the mainland with ancestors from

⁴ Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002).

⁵ Yen Le Espiritu defined home making as “the processes by which diverse subjects imagine and make themselves home in various geographic locations” in *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 2.

Hawaii; and spouses married to Hawaiian community members. Focusing on the production of identity and social agency, I investigate how Hawaiianess manifests itself on the mainland through the experiences of families, community members, civic clubs, the growing food circuit, and the *Hokulea* sailing canoe. This dissertation explores lived community practices by examining the different historical moments, which altered the social relations that generally surrounded Hawaiians in California, the ways in which they have been identified, the way they identify themselves, and how they make sense of “who they are.”

This dissertation looks at the building and maintaining of ethnicity without a neighborhood base and the Hawaiian community that developed through cultural resources and practices. On the Hawaiian islands and on the mainland, there are many examples of Hawaiian cultural appropriation such as garish “Polynesian” revues, the Tiki mystique, the exotification of hula, ads using Hawaiian dance to sell condominiums, and the trampling of sacred heiau (temples) and burial grounds as recreation sites.⁶

The Los Angeles Hawaiian community embodies different social-political interests that includes those of Hawaiian ancestry (kanaka) who migrated out of Hawaii to the mainland after World War II, as well as their children born on the mainland (mainland kanaka). This population has historically been small in its early stages of migration, shifting to significant waves by the early twenty-first century. Also included in the community are kamaaina migrants, residents of

⁶ Cristina Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawaii and the Politics of Place: Tradition, Translation, and Tourism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007); Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); R W Wyllie, “Hana Revisited: Development and Controversy in a Hawaiian Tourism Community,” *Tourism Management*, Vol. 19, No. 2, 1998, 171-178; Nano K Takuma, *Cultural tourism in Hawaii: A Historical insight of Hula and its Impact on the Native Hawaiian Community*, Thesis (M.A.), University of New Mexico, 1993; Huanani-Kay Trask addresses these different forms to illustrate how Hawaiianess shifts from sacred religious rite to becoming an icon of exotic kitsch in what she calls the “prostitution of Hawaiian culture” - *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1999); Huanani-Kay Trask, “Hawaii: Selling the Erotic as Smut,” *AMPO, Japan-Asia Quarterly Review*, Vol. 22, No. 4, 1991, pp. 11-16; Rona Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

Hawaii who hailed from families that immigrated to Hawaii during the plantation era. In addition to European and American explorers, businessmen, and missionaries, Hawaii's society experienced large waves of Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Korean, Filipino, Puerto Rican, Samoan, and others who became agricultural workers. Once individuals leave the islands, the Hawaiian identity becomes blurred based on place versus blood and race. Thus, the Los Angeles Hawaiian community embodies a conglomeration of ethnic groups connected by memories of Hawaii.

This dissertation examines the formation of a "diasporic mainland Hawaiian community" in Los Angeles beginning with the peak migration of the 1950s and 1960s, a migration driven by the economic recession in Hawaii.⁷ During the Cold War, with an economy centered on the tourist industry and military defense, Hawaiians had limited access to land and economic opportunities and thus began to leave the islands. Hawaiian out-migration resulted from the lack of jobs and the difficulty in obtaining homestead lands that were regulated by the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.⁸ After the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 mandated that a person needed a 50% blood quantum to be considered "Hawaiian," the prospect of securing a Hawaiian homestead became more tightly constrained.⁹ Most mainland Hawaiian communities developed after World War II, as Hawaiian men had unprecedented mobility through the GI Bill.¹⁰ Hawaiian women also sought education on the mainland but for the most part, their migration became linked to marrying mainlanders (often non-Hawaiians). During the 1970s, out-migration to the mainland resulted from the rise of

⁷ The term "diasporic mainland Hawaiian communities" comes from Halualani's *In the Name of Hawaiians* which means Hawaiian communities existing outside of Hawaii situated in the continental United States. Her work centers on Diasporic mainland Hawaiian community formation in northern California.

⁸ Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians*.

⁹ J. Kehaulani Kauanui, "Diasporic Deracination and 'Off-Island' Hawaiians." *The Contemporary Pacific*. Vol. 19, No. 1, 2007, pp. 138-160.

¹⁰ Paul Wright, "Ethnic Differences in the Outmigration of Local-Born Residents from Hawaii," *Social Process in Hawaii*, Vol. 30, No. 7-31, 1983.

multinational and foreign investment in Hawaii's tourist industry and the state's failure to impart homestead lands to "verified" Hawaiians.¹¹ Out-migration during the 1990s resulted from growing economic pressures such as the cost of living, dead end low-wage jobs, and inflated home prices. Typical of immigrants and migrants, Hawaiians more often moved to areas where other Hawaiians, particularly family members, already resided. This migration led to bustling Hawaiian communities in places like California, Washington, Oregon, Florida, and Nevada. A 2000 census showed 401,920 people in the United States self-identified as Native Hawaiian, with 60,048 (15%) of them in California.¹² By 2002, there were 117,535 Hawaiians living on the mainland with California having the highest population of all states at 60,048 (over 50 percent of the total).¹³ While these general statistics point to Hawaiian permanent settlement on the mainland, they do not reveal much about the specifics of family life or cultural rhythms.

Government census records from the 1960s offer little insight in providing an accurate demographic breakdown of the Hawaiian community. Hawaiians were classified as either "Oriental" or "Asian" on the census records during the 1960s, a category which also encompassed other groups such as Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean. As historian Ronald Takaki reminds us "We need to re-vision history to include Asians in the history of America, not primarily in terms of statistics and what was done to them ... they are entitled to be viewed as subjects - as men and women with minds, wills, and voices."¹⁴ Indeed, some Hawaiian families chose not to participate in this census because they could not identify with the category of

¹¹ The avowed purpose of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was to rehabilitate Native Hawaiians, particularly in returning them to the land in order to maintain traditional ties to the land. Homestead lands were given to individuals who could verify they had 50% or more Hawaiian blood. See Kauanui, "Diasporic Deracination and 'Off-Island' Hawaiians," pp. 138-160.

¹² Koren Ishibashi, "Hawaiian Population Update," *PASE Report* 03-04:12, July. Honolulu: Policy Analysis and System Evaluation, Kamehameha Schools, Online at <http://www.ksbe.edu/pase/reports-year.php#2009>.

¹³ Timothy Hurley, Census Reveals Exodus, *Honolulu Advertiser*, 6 August. Online at <http://thehonoluluadvertiser.com/article/2003/Aug/06/Inora.html>. 2003.

¹⁴ Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1989).

“Asian.” Los Angeles Hawaiian identity remains highly complicated due to social implications in Hawaii and in Los Angeles. Most Hawaiians carry a mixed heritage due to miscegenation that occurred during Hawaii’s plantation era as well as mixtures transpiring from other immigrant waves. Hawaiian migrants who married mainlanders during the 1960s formed new Hawaiian hybrids as well. Thus, a simple federal categorization of “Asian” hardly fits.

This study traces the growth of the Hawaiian community focusing through family life, civic clubs, news bulletins, foodways, and cultural celebrations. The following questions guide my study. How do Hawaiians reinscribe community for themselves and for others? How are community and identity reinforced through leisure and food? What does it mean to be a Hawaiian living in Los Angeles? What are the boundaries of “authentic” Hawaiian membership? I examine how people self-identify as part of the Hawaiian community, as a regional identity and from a multigenerational stance. The Hawaiian Inter-Club Council of Southern California founded in 1979, *The Voice of Hawaii*, hula dance groups, and Hawaiian-themed restaurants underscore the presence of Los Angeles Hawaiians. I illustrate how Hawaiianess is remembered and practiced in the everyday lives of Hawaiian community members, on and off the islands.

Exploring community practices at different historical moments illuminates the lives of Hawaiians in southern California, who deal with both definitions of Hawaiianess on the islands and within American consumer culture. Hawaiian iconography embodies untidy forms of cultural expression from traditional foods to “exotic” representations. I also interrogate the politics of Hawaiian identity, on and off the islands, and between those who self-identify as Hawaiian and manufactured consumer fantasies.

I also utilize the concept of “disjunctive diasporas” as a theoretical framework to explain how Hawaiian cultural development in Los Angeles assumed a different course from that of the native Hawaiian population in Hawaii. And of course, this study engages with an array of works on Hawaiian diaspora.¹⁵ Paul Spickard’s *Pacific Diaspora* serves as a unique compilation of individual and community histories specific to Pacific Island peoples, and illustrates how diaspora tends to vary in culture, traditions, and other factors between remotely separated communities.¹⁶ Spickard’s work powerfully reveals how Hawaiians constitute a distinct cultural group within a pan-ethnic category of Pacific Islander Americans.

Equally as important, J. Ke’s “Off-island Hawaiians ‘making’ ourselves at ‘home’” and Rona Halualani’s *In the Name of Hawaiians* problematize census technology and blood quantum mandates as a means to distinguish various forces that led to Hawaiian out-migration and the formation of mainland communities.¹⁷ These works demonstrate how in the case of diasporic Hawaiians, lived community practice becomes the most important tool for permanent settlement. Likewise, J. Kehaulani Kauanui’s “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians” argues that racialization and deracination discounts Hawaiian histories and thereby contributes to a tension between diasporic and on-island identities.¹⁸ Kauanui reminds us that Hawaiian diasporic communities remain in dialogue with their native home as each shape and contest one another’s ethnoregional identity.¹⁹

¹⁵ I draw on Vicki L. Ruiz’s conception of “disjunctive diasporas” – the mapping of memories, migrations, and cultural conventions - as a means to locate Hawaiian identity within the constructs of gender, class, and region. Vicki L. Ruiz and John R. Chavez, Eds, *Memories and Migrations: Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 1-2.

¹⁶ Paul Spickard, Ed., *Pacific Diaspora: Island Peoples in the United States and Across the Pacific* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002).

¹⁷ J. Ke, “Off-island Hawaiians ‘making’ ourselves at ‘home:’ A [gendered] contradiction in terms?” *Women’s Studies International Forum*, Volume 21, Issue 6, 1998, pp. 681-693; Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians*.

¹⁸ Kauanui, “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians,” pp. 138-160.

¹⁹ Similar to Puerto Rican identity. For more details, see article on Antonia Pantoja in Vicki L. Ruiz and Virginia Sanchez Korrol’s *Latina Legacies: Identity, Biography, and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

This dissertation also converses with ethnic community studies in California as a means to chart cultural practices. Valerie Matsumoto's *Farming the Home Place* demonstrates community as constantly evolving where active engagement, adaptive strategies, and networking by its members helped to maintain strong ethnic ties.²⁰ Also, Yen Le Espiritu's *Home Bound* recounts the lives of individuals who transformed gender restrictions faced in immigrating to the United States as a means to remake the social world around them and thereby articulate a common self-definition.²¹ Both Matsumoto and Espiritu emphasize the power of subjects as agents and remind us that community can be more than just politics. I also look at Latino community studies such as George Sanchez's *Becoming Mexican American*, Matt Garcia's *A World of Its Own*, and Enrique Ochoa and Gilda Ochoa's *Latino Los Angeles*, all of which illuminate active community building through immigration, labor, and cultural affinities.²² Likewise, Daniel Hurewitz's examination of a gay community expands our understanding of the elastic nature of common bonds.²³

Finally, this study contributes to the growing field of food studies. In conversation with groundbreaking works like Donna Gabaccia's *We Are What We Eat*, Hasia Diner's *Hungering for America*, Harvey Levenstein's *Paradox of Plenty*, and Yong Chen's *Chop Suey, USA*, I demonstrate how "Hawaiianess" develops in Los Angeles through ethnic foodways and how food identity is represented in the larger culture.²⁴ I consider how issues around food become

²⁰ Valerie Matsumoto, *Farming the Home Place: A Japanese American Community in California, 1919-1982* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

²¹ Espiritu, *Home Bound*.

²² George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900 – 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900–1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and Enrique Ochoa and Gilda Ochoa, eds., *Latino Los Angeles: Transformations, Communities, and Activism* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005).

²³ Daniel Hurewitz, *Bohemian Los Angeles: and the Making of Modern Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

²⁴ Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998); Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering For America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of*

sites for identity formation and the extent to which ethnic entrepreneurs, as operators of these establishments, see themselves as connected to foodways in Hawaii or as part of a pan-ethnic Hawaiian identity. I further examine ethnic entrepreneurs' interaction with other Pacific Islander communities throughout greater Los Angeles.

Divided into four chapters, this dissertation illuminates different forms of contested aloha in an effort to trace how people give meaning to their community. As identities (both self-articulated and articulated from outside the community) are situated in multiple layers and histories, we can interrogate how diverse representations of Hawaiianess can inform the other and at times become internalized. Hawaiianess remains in dialogue with external discourses of Hawaii forming a community out of “contesting alohas” – competing ideas, representations, and discourses of the meaning of “Hawaiian.”

Chapter one examines the role of social venues as well as cultural and civic spaces in providing opportunities for intercultural exchange. It situates Hawaiian festivals in Hawaii and Los Angeles as a system for public culture and the performance of identity.²⁵ When the association between a place and tradition emerges, festivals become emblematic of communal bonds. I argue that for Hawaiians, cultural traditions remains central to performing identity as emblematic of a “transgenerational imaginary.” I examine how civic spaces and festivals remain tied to the experiences of out-migration as told through the narratives of four families.

In this chapter, I begin to trace who self-identifies as Hawaiian and what it means to be a Hawaiian living in Los Angeles. What are the boundaries of “authentic” Hawaiian membership?

Migration (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Harvey Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), and Yong Chen, *Chop Suey, USA: The Story of Chinese Food in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

²⁵ Garcia, *A World of Its Own*; Olga Najera-Ramirez, et al, Ed. *Dancing Across Borders: Danzas Y Bailes Mexicanos* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Jose M. Alamillo, *Making Lemonade out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town, 1880-1960* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

How do community members remember and practice Hawaiianess in their everyday lives?

Connected to family life, I examine the function of the Hawaiian Inter-Club Council of Southern California (HICCCSC since 1979) and *The Voice of Hawaii* newspaper (1971-1995) as a means to reveal the contours of civic organizing. Drawing on HICCCSC's community records, newspaper stories, and oral history interviews, I explore how the civic club and newspaper created a public culture through community networks particularly through their annual Hoolaulea Polynesian cultural festival.

Chapter two focuses on how "Hawaiianess" emerges in foodways through local community-based restaurants in Los Angeles from the 1960s to the present. This chapter examines the articulation of social power through food practices and the representation of food identity within the larger culture. Employing what I term a "culinary borderlands" to describe the intersections of food and memory, I explore how Hawaiian restaurants construct identity in three ways: through food items, physical space, and hybrid communities. My research reveals how Los Angeles Hawaiian food embodies a hybridization where food establishments mediate and further hybridize Hawaiian foodways while broadcasting these meanings of Hawaiianess to a general public. I explore the extent to which operators of these food establishments see themselves linked to foodways in Hawaii. Hawaiian foodways meld into local context and create home memories, either real or imagined, for Hawaiians in Los Angeles.

I reveal the symbolic roles of food, the creation of fusion cuisine as connected to hybrid identities, and the articulation of social identity through food practices. I draw on oral history interviews with owners and chefs of some of the more influential Hawaiian food establishments: Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop (Gardena, 1948), Miki Chan's Okazu-ya (Montebello, 1977), Shakas Hawaiian Flavors (Monterey Park, 1995; Alhambra, 2004), and Back Home in Lahaina

(Manhattan Beach, 2001; Carson, 2003) as well as national chains that began in Hawaii and expanded to Los Angeles such as King's Hawaiian (Honolulu, 1961-1990s; Torrance, 1977; Torrance, 1988; Torrance, 2002) and Roy's Restaurant (Honolulu, 1988; Los Angeles, 2005). Findings from this study highlight native response to the effects of culinary tourism and the degree to which Hawaiian food establishments, as "ethnic entrepreneurs," shape culture and identity.²⁶

Chapter three examines the role of advertisements in constructing Hawaiianess in relation to food. Drawing on advertising studies from such scholars as Roland Marchand, Stuart Ewen, and Gary Okihiro, I argue that Hawaiianess appealed to the imagination of entrepreneurs, writers, marketers, and tourists, which led to homogenized public representations of Hawaiianess.²⁷ My research centers on mass marketing from Hawaii to southern California and how it becomes localized in southern California through the Tiki craze of the 1950s.

Focusing on opposing cultural claims of a Hawaiian imprint in Los Angeles, this chapter explores the commercial appropriation of Hawaiian identity from major agricultural industries to Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room (1963). I contend that while each of these examples correspond to different forms of contesting aloha in public culture, as manufactured fantasies and/or acts of historical-cultural reclamation, they complement and remain in dialogue with one another. Expanding on ideas of "cultural prostitution" and Hawaiian market tourism, this

²⁶ I seek to build upon theories related to "culinary tourism" derived from Lisa Heldke's "Let's Cook Thai: Recipes for Colonialism" in Sherrie Inness's *Pilaf, Posole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001) and Heather Schell's "Gendered Feasts: A Feminist Reflects on Dining in New Orleans" in Sherrie Inness's *Pilaf, Posole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

²⁷ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1985); Stuart Ewen, *All Consuming Images: The Politics Of Style In Contemporary Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History Of Advertising In America* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); Barbara Kirshenbaett-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) and Gary Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009).

chapter traces the internal and external constructions as a means to identify who shapes “Hawaiianess.”²⁸ Disneyland’s the Tiki Room, in particular, embodies a hodge-podge of Polynesian cultures sold to audiences as an authentic mythical portrayal of a Hawaiian past.

Chapter four seeks to peel back layers beyond the imprint of exotica and fantasy to track the cultural reclamation by mainland Hawaiians. Huanani-Kay Trask’s *From a Native Daughter* provides a conceptual framework for understanding native Hawaiian identity as a “decolonial imaginary.”²⁹ How can we begin to understand the deeper connections evident in Hawaiian cultural expressions? By drawing extensively on newspaper research, oral histories and print culture, this chapter examines multiple strands of Hawaiian cultural memory. I argue that this reclamation of Hawaiianess emerges from a transgenerational imaginary that seeks to preserve indigenous knowledge by both insiders and outsiders.

Within the Pan-Pacific “New Oceania” movement of the 1970s, Native Hawaiians underwent their own renaissance that continued to influence the production of cultural knowledge, traditional practices, art-forms, politics, and language. While always inherently political, the 1970s represents an era in which the Hawaiian movement shifts from cultural preservation to direct action and social justice. Cultural awareness produced a political awakening for autonomy and sovereignty, the protection of traditional native gathering rights to water and land use. Emphasizing people as mediators and agents of cultural memory, this chapter takes an in-depth look into the first and second Hawaiian cultural renaissance, around issues of language, music, hula, maritime traditions, as well as the politics of museum exhibits.

²⁸ Huanani-Kay Trask critically pointed to a correlation between corporate tourism and the United States military presence in Hawaii calling it “cultural prostitution” in *From a Native Daughter*; Christen Sasaki interlaces the impact of the U.S. military during World War II, the rise in the tourist trade, and imbued meanings for locals and tourists in the aloha shirt industry in *Threads of empire: links between the growth of U.S. militarization and the aloha wear industry in Hawaii*, Thesis (M.A.), UCLA, 2006.

²⁹ Historian Emma Perez conceptualized “decolonial imaginary” as a tool to reject the colonizer’s assumption and empower voices that have been silenced in *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

Contrary to its name, the city of Hawaiian Gardens does not represent the Los Angeles Hawaiian community. The town derived its name from a 1927 bamboo shack refreshment stand resembling a “Hawaiian Garden.” However, people continue to falsely recognize it as “the Hawaiian community” of Los Angeles.³⁰ In reality, Hawaiians dwell throughout Los Angeles with higher concentrations in the South Bay (Carson, Gardena, Long Beach, and Torrance) and the San Gabriel Valley (Alhambra, Montebello, Monterey Park, and Whittier). This study examines the transformations of Hawaiianess from identity to community formation. Viewing Hawaiianess as a flexible category, I track its movement from Hawaii to its manifestation in southern California and beyond, demonstrating that for the Los Angeles Hawaiian community, it is not who you are but rather where you are from.

³⁰ Kauanui, “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians,” pp. 138-160.

CHAPTER 1: Hawaiian Festivals and the Performance of Identity

Invited to California by railroad and real estate industrialist Henry Huntington, in 1907, Irish-Hawaiian surfer George Freeth provided a demonstration of wave-riding in southern California to promote the Redondo-Los Angeles Railway earning the title of “The First Man to Surf in California.” Later popularized by Native Hawaiian Olympic medalist Duke Kahanamoku during the 1920s, surfing served as an important vehicle to develop cultural connections between Hawaii and California. Freeth and Kahanamoku symbolize the earliest icons of southern California Hawaiians beginning in the early twentieth-century. According to the 2000 United States Census Bureau report, 401,162 people identified themselves as “Native Hawaiian” in any combination, and 140,652 identified themselves as “Native Hawaiian.”³¹ The majority of Native Hawaiians reside in State of Hawaii and the American Southwest. Two-thirds live in the State of Hawaii while the other one-third resides among other states, with a high concentration in California. Indeed, Hawaiianess lingered in popular imagination through surfing and other cultural forms, however the notion of a Hawaiian community materializes when Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaʻole’s envisioned organizing Hawaiians through Civic Clubs.

On December 7, 1918, Prince Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaʻole “the citizen prince” founded the first Hawaiian Civic Club later labeled “the Mother Club,” an idea that sparked a movement stimulating civic efforts and education within the Hawaiian community. He went on to become the first native Hawaiian of royal blood elected to Congress, re-elected 10 times, and best remembered for his successful effort in enacting the 1920 Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, which provides lands for native Hawaiians to homestead. The following quote represents an account of the founding of the Hawaiian Civic Club of Honolulu (HCCH).

³¹ United States 2000 Census, <http://www.census.gov/> (Accessed October 2, 2015).

Jonah Kuhio Kalanianaʻole, while delegate in Congress from Hawaii, made a trip back home in early 1917 and one day, as he stood at the corner of Fort and King Streets watching people walk by – he with his hands in his pockets – he was mehameha (sad) – for he realized not only did he not know them as they passed by, but also, they did not know him. Kuhio knew that Honolulu was growing, that Hawaii was growing. He wanted his Hawaiian to be educated...to instill in and promote the economic, intellectual, social status, well-being of the Hawaiian in his community and he wanted sincerely to see Hawaii’s culture to be forever preserved, not only for the Hawaiian but for all Hawaii. With this trend of thought, he called together a group, seven in all, of his very close friends. He told them how...he wanted, most of all to commence the forming of the Hawaiian people into a group which would dedicate themselves to the education of the Hawaiian. The young and the old - all of them - to help elevate and promote their social, economic, civic and intellectual status, leaders in their communities so that they could and would take an active part and place in the civic progress of Hawaii and its people.³²

Amidst the Asian American student movement in the early 1970s as well as revitalization of ethnic pride traditions across the nation, parades honoring Prince Kuhio took place throughout the islands. Hawaiian Civic Clubs of Oahu would gather in the communities of Papakolea, Nanakuli, Kailua and Hawaii Kai to host this annual event with a pageantry of floats, equestrian units, marching bands, to celebrating the life and vision of Prince Kuhio. These festivals called “Aloha Festivals” and “Hoolaulea” provided clubs with an opportunity to promote culture through native Hawaiian arts and crafts, food, entertainment, as well as address relevant issues. Today, sixty-eight civic clubs reside in Hawaii and throughout the mainland United States. Through their work of Aloha Festivals and Hoolaulea’s (food-music festivals), clubs established a niche for cultural practice, becoming a vehicle to showcase and share the Hawaiian culture in the United States.

Building on literature that demonstrates the significant role of social venues as well as cultural and civic spaces in providing opportunities for intercultural exchange to develop, this

³² 1963 President Sis Widemann shared the history of the founding of the original Hawaiian Civic Club dated February 1980 in “Club History, Hawaiian Civic Club of Honolulu,” <http://www.hcchonolulu.org/> (Accessed August 21, 2015).

chapter examines Hawaiian festivals in Hawaii and Los Angeles as a system for public culture and the performance of identity.³³ Hosted by civic clubs, cultural festivals express and embody attitudes, practices, and rituals, revealing the intersection of Hawaiian food, music, dance traditions, and history. I examine festival elements in Hawaii and then track their manifestations in Los Angeles. Whether through food, music, hula, or civic service, each element contributed as a tangible means of identity affirmation and a public culture. The Hoolaulea served as a space where people can express their allegiances, aspirations, or aversions to religious, regional, and socio-economic factors in their lives. These festivals also reflected a pan-ethnic identity underscoring diversity among Pacific peoples.

For the Hawaiian community, it is not the location that matters but rather communal affiliation. The stories of four families featured in this chapter demonstrate how individuals remain tied to Hawaii while creating meaning for themselves in southern California. I argue that for Hawaiians, cultural traditions remains central to these festivals, manifestations of what I call “transgenerational imaginary,” the ways in which cultural knowledge transfers from one generation to the next and at times produces new expressions. Records on the Hawaiian community remain scarce and many founding members of civic organizations have passed away. Although civic clubs were never fully institutionalized, nevertheless, they played a fundamental role in the community. Drawing on photographs and community-based newspapers, I demonstrate how Hawaiians generated a sense of belonging. Sponsored by civic clubs, festivals became a primary vehicle to express cultural adaptation and to challenge social constructions of colonialism. Indeed, Hawaiian festivals provided affirmation of food-place association and

³³ Matt Garcia, *A World of Its Own: Race, Labor, and Citrus in the Making of Greater Los Angeles, 1900-1970* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); Olga Najera-Ramirez, et al, Ed. *Dancing Across Borders: Danzas Y Bailes Mexicanos* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009); Jose M. Alamillo, *Making Lemonade out of Lemons: Mexican American Labor and Leisure in a California Town, 1880-1960* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006).

brought members inside and outside the community. Hawaiian civic clubs therefore, remained central to identity which began with Prince Jonah's vision.

After the formation of the first civic club in 1918, which focused on bridging conversations and increasing membership, organizing took a shift as Hawaiians turned to organizing cultural events to bring community members together after World War II. Despite Hollywood's long tradition of exoticizing Hawaii and continued appropriation of its culture and native people, Aloha Festivals became highly popular cultural celebrations that featured concerts, parades, street parties as well as other special events run by locals in the Hawaiian Islands. Established in 1946 as Aloha Week by three former members of the Junior Chamber of Commerce in Hawaii, Aloha Festivals sought to preserve the Hawaiian culture and heritage. To get the needed start-up funds, one enthusiastic member even mortgaged his home. They believed that public celebration of Hawaii's diverse heritage would foster pride. Goriann Akau, former manager of the festivals, asserted that "In 1946, after the war, Hawaiians needed an identity. We were lost and needed to regroup. When we started to celebrate our culture, we began to feel proud. We have a wonderful culture that had been buried for a number of years. This brought it out again. Self-esteem is more important than making a lot of money."³⁴ The event took place during the month of September and underscored Hawaiian history and traditions with local residents and visitors alike. Today, Aloha Festivals continue this tradition.

Only allowed to take place at Aloha Festivals, the Royal Court investiture, a reenactment of an ancient Hawaiian tradition, illustrates the transformation from the old court into a new one. Held in Waikiki, the opening ceremony adheres to an exact replica of the ancient royal procession including the conch shell blower, the taboo stick bearer, four kahili bearers, chiefs,

³⁴ Junior Chamber of Commerce in Hawaii member Goriann Akau interview in Jeanette Foster, *Frommer's Maui 2012*, John Wiley & Sons (Accessed 8 May 2015).

ladies in waiting, princess, queen, a kahu as consort to the queen, the chiefs who protect the spearmen, and king.³⁵



Illustration 1. The Royal High Court Investiture at Aloha Festivals, Waikiki, 2013. Photo courtesy Hawaii Tourism Authority.

While the ceremony demonstrates how Hawaiians maintained a sovereign government prior to contact, for natives, the reenactment connects individuals to their roots. As Royal Court Cultural Advisor of Aloha Festivals Iolani Kamauu expressed, “We start out as strangers but by the end of the month, being in the court, we become a close knit family with friendships that continue on for years afterwards.”³⁶

³⁵ Established in 1795 with the unification of the independent islands of Hawaii, Oahu, Maui, Molokai, and Lanai into one government, the Kingdom of Hawaii emerged as a sovereign nation under King Kamehameha the Great with final unification in 1810 when Kauai and Niihau joined the kingdom. The royal structure included a King, Queen, ladies in waiting, princes, chiefs, consorts, and advisors to different divisions.

³⁶ Iolani Kamauu, *Aloha Festivals: Traditions of Aloha (Abridged)*, Aloha Festivals.org, 2013.

Like the royal court, women horseback riders wear long, colorful skirts (pau) and ride astride. The equestrian tradition began in the early nineteenth-century when Captain Richard J. Cleveland introduced horses to Hawaii in 1803. Although Kamehameha himself personally disliked the creatures due to the amount of food they consumed, Hawaiian men and women quickly gravitated to riding, establishing a long equestrian tradition that included the paniolo, the Hawaiian cowboy.³⁷ Hawaiian women joined the men in learning to ride astride. Riders initially began wearing long skirts to protect their legs while traveling, however, as the riders took part in performances and displays, women's outfits became more elaborate and elegant. Visiting Hawaii in 1873, nineteenth-century English writer Isabella Bird noted that women riding astride rather than sidesaddle in the European custom.³⁸ She wrote: "I have taken pleasure in learning how to ride astride and ... visiting remote regions which are known to few even of the residents, living among the natives, and otherwise seeing Hawaiian life in all its phases."

³⁷ "A History of Pau," *Hawaii Tribune-Herald*, April 5, 2007.

³⁸ From Isabella Bird's *The Hawaiian Archipelago* printed in London, England, 1875.



Illustration 2. Pau Rider Adele Kauilani Robinson Lemke, 1913. From Hawaii State Archives Courtesy of Ray Jerome Baker.

Impressed by the pau rider, Jack London wrote in his work *The Cruise of the Snark* (1917): “Then there were the pau riders, thirty or forty of them, Hawaiian women all, superb horsewomen dressed gorgeously in the old, native riding costume, and dashing about in twos and

threes and groups. In the afternoon, Charmian and I stood in the judge's stand and awarded the prizes for horsemanship and costume to the pau riders." The tradition declined after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom despite attempts to revive the custom. Pau riding reemerged in the early twentieth-century with the founding of formal organizations.

Today, pau riders participate in Kamehameha Day floral parades and festivals throughout the islands as well as the Pasadena Rose Parade. With the pau queen and her unit leading the way, each princess presides over her own unit representing one of the eight Hawaiian islands. They are joined by their respective attendants, outriders and page all adorned in the flowers and colors of the islands they represent. Preparing for parade day involves intense work for each unit, whether gathering natural materials from the mountains and ocean, sewing garments, creating banners, prepping the horses, making lei or learning pau wrapping techniques. Through this process, within a pau unit, participants come together forming family-like bonds. In the words of Dee Rego Balfour, fourth-generation pau rider for the Kamehameha Celebration Floral Parade, "anything for parade ... we become part of a larger Hawaiian family tradition," which reflects the pau mindset of dedicated women, many endowed by family legacies to perpetuate a treasured part of Hawaiian history and pageantry.³⁹ Traditionalists emphasize the importance of refined elegance and skilled horsemanship over the massive floral arrangements and ornate costumes that have filtered into modern-day parades.⁴⁰ Linked to nostalgia and memory, the meaning of a pau rider and their role in festivals has shifted over time as Shannon Jackson asserts, "readers, critics, artists, curators, and citizen-spectators have been contending with a

³⁹ Catherine Kekoa Enomoto, "One-time queen carries on an enduring love for pau riding," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Thursday, June 6, 1996.

⁴⁰ The pau is held in place with kukui nuts that are twisted inside the fabric and tucked into the waistband for a secure fit. Through the years, floral parades have become more flamboyant and elaborate, especially in Honolulu where pau units compete for best of show.

newly redefined ethos of performance... expanding cultural landscape, where all participants are encouraged to act, to experience, to stage, and to try out alternate selves and behaviors.”⁴¹

Established one year after the end of World War II as Aloha Week, these festivals grew in popularity and spread throughout the islands, later called Aloha Festivals in 1991. Aloha Festivals has different meaning to organizers and participants. For Momi Cazimero, “Aloha Festivals takes place because of the hundreds and hundreds of volunteers... if it were not for the volunteers, we would not be able to put this kind of event on.”⁴² Approximately 30,000 volunteers plan, organize, and provide labor for the Aloha Festivals each year and entertain over one million people from throughout the state and visitors from all over the world. “For me as a volunteer co-chair, you want the events that you do to be of good quality... you want it to be rewarding...it’s an opportunity for us that live here to be able to connect with visitors” stated 2013 Festival Co-Chair Debbie Nakanelua-Richards.⁴³ In the words of Former Floral Parade Chair Antoinette Lee: We are the only place in the world that lives aloha...we extend that aloha ...through our pageantry, our parade, our festivals that we have, through the culture we have, and that’s so important... if we taught people to live aloha, I think our world would be at peace.”⁴⁴

Whereas aloha festivals serve as a block of events over a week, the Hoolaulea, which literally means “celebration” epitomizes a two-day Hawaiian cultural festival highlighting Hawaii’s music, dance and history as a means of perpetuating island traditions. Typically organized by many volunteers, the community event caters to families and consists of hula, music, foods, vendors and games. In Hawaii, the Hoolaulea became a tradition in 1925 by the Kamehameha Schools at Kapalama Elementary in Honolulu. The event focused on building

⁴¹ Shannon Jackson, *Social Works: Performing Art, Supporting Publics* (New York: Routledge Press, 2011).

⁴² Oiwi TV and Communications Pacific, *Aloha Festivals: Traditions of Aloha (Abridged)*, Vimeo, 2013.

⁴³ Oiwi TV and Communications Pacific, *Aloha Festivals: Traditions of Aloha*, Vimeo, 2013.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

upon the legacy of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the great-granddaughter of Kamehameha the Great, who believed that education through the preservation of Hawaiian language, culture and tradition would offer native Hawaiians opportunities. She left her estate, about nine percent of the total acreage of the Hawaiian kingdom, to found Kamehameha Schools.⁴⁵

As Yen Espiritu reminds us, since the mid-1960s, diverse Asian groups came together as a new, enlarged pan ethnic group which allowed for a successful strategy against racism.⁴⁶ Coinciding with thousands of mainland Hawaiians in residence, Los Angeles in particular served as one of the earliest locations for civic organizations outside of the islands through the Hawaiian Inter-Club Council of Southern California (HICCSC) founded in 1976. This civic club has its earliest roots on a college campus. Robert “Uncle Bobby” Chun established the first Hawaiian club at UCLA in 1950 that eventually merged to become HICCSC.⁴⁷ He also organized the formation of inter-club council of college and universities, as well as the Hawaiian Clubs in Southern California, that same year. As Mia Tuan and Jiannbin Lee Shiao argue, “The Asian American experience means individuals must continually navigate society’s assumptions about themselves regardless of whether they choose to identify ethnically.”⁴⁸

Born on February 2, 1930 in Honolulu, Uncle Bobby moved to Los Angeles, California to attend Black Fox Military Academy in 1946.⁴⁹ After graduating, he enrolled at Los Angeles

⁴⁵ Bernice Pauahi Bishop’s estate comprised of 375,500 acres of Hawaii land valued at \$11 billion. Pauahi’s endowment supports Kamehameha Schools, which has grown into a statewide educational system serving more than 48,000 learners annually at 30 preschool sites; K-12 campuses on Hawai‘i, Maui and Oahu; and through a broad range of community outreach programs.

⁴⁶ Yen Le Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press), 1993.

⁴⁷ Hawaiian Inter-Club Council of Southern California, <http://www.hiccsc.org/> (Accessed August 18, 2015).

⁴⁸ Tuan Mia and Shiao Jiannbin Lee, *Choosing Ethnicity, Negotiating Race: Korean Adoptees in America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2011).

⁴⁹ “Life of Uncle Bobby Chun,” *Ainahu O Kaleponi Hawaiian Civic Club*, February Newsletter, <http://www.aokcc.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/NEWSLETTER1.pdf> (Accessed August 18, 2015).

City College majoring in Psychology then transferred to UCLA.⁵⁰ He laid the foundation to build a Pan Pacific community that remained more open and ethnically fluid thereby creating a space for people to participate and to belong. This fluidity made it much easier for many individuals to claim Hawaiianess in southern California than in Hawaii. Thus, Hawaiian ethnicity on the mainland was not limited to indigenous Hawaiians.



Illustration 3. Robert “Uncle Bobby” Chun driving Hawaii Governor George Ariyoshi and wife Jean, the first lady of Hawaii in the Nisei Week Grand Parade, 1976. Photo by Toyo Miyatake. Courtesy of Alan Miyatake.

⁵⁰ An electrical engineer, he developed a remarkable contribution that includes national recognition for the development of perimeter classroom lighting for schools in California in 1964, a system currently utilized throughout California and the United States.

Indeed, HICCSC co-founder Uncle Bobby played a dynamic role in both the Hawaiian and Japanese communities in Los Angeles and Honolulu, often serving as a cultural ambassador for different events like the one above. A longtime chair of Nisei Week Hospitality, he shaped the committee that continues to host visiting delegations of sister festivals from Hawaii, San Francisco, and Seattle. Equally impressive, he founded the *Voice of Hawaii* (1971-1995), which connected readers to community events, and Hawaiian eateries in southern California. He also created and ran the Miss Hawaii of California pageant, and participated in southern California organizations such as the Aloha Golf Club, the Aikane Club, and the HICCSC/Hoolaulea until his passing in January, 2015. Uncle Bobby fostered alliances and connections regionally and among diverse Asian groups that continue to thrive today. For example, Nisei week festivals began during the Great Depression by Los Angeles Nisei leaders, college graduates who desired a public expression of community pride. The event began in Little Tokyo, historically the hub of the largest Japanese American population on the U.S. mainland. These Nisei festivals also resonated with many people who left Hawaii to make a home in Los Angeles, like Uncle Bobby, thus contributing to a rise of hometown associations throughout the area for different Asian groups. This moment marked an important shift for native Hawaiian festivals in Hawaii and between Asians and Hawaiians living together in southern California.

Uncle Bobby's and HICCSC's legacy continues through approximately hundreds of members.⁵¹ HICCSC's activities include holding monthly business meetings, sending club representatives to attend mainland Council meetings, and issuing a newsletter *Ku I ka Lono* (Spreading the News) to inform members of upcoming activities. Club representatives register mainland Hawaiians in Kakau Inoa, "Sign your Name," a project that seeks to identify and locate

⁵¹ Since HICCSC is a volunteer-based non-profit, the organization does not keep track of its members. However in 1987, *Voice of Hawaii* newspaper circulated to 7,200 subscribers in 30 states and has grown tremendously in 28 years.

native Hawaiians on the continental United States and Alaska. Open to ethnic Asians from the islands, the club also conducts cultural workshops and provides scholarships to members of the community. As historian Shirley Jennifer Lim demonstrates, leisure activities by many second generation Asian Americans carved out their own public spaces after World War II.⁵² These young adults reclaimed a cultural citizenship, one that overcame stereotypes and asserted an American identity drawing from their own ethnicity that in shaping their “feeling of belonging.”

There remains a distinction in terms of who claims Hawaiianess in Hawaii versus on the mainland. In the process of asserting cultural citizenship through organized events, the HICCSC reflects an inter-ethnic politics or greater inclusion by members of native Hawaiian ancestry, former residents of Hawaii, or people married to a Hawaiian. With the visibility of nationalistic blood quantum discourses, Hawaiianess is less fluid in Hawaii in contrast to the inclusive markers of Hawaiian identity found on the mainland. For example, Japanese Americans from the islands would not be considered “Hawaiian” in Hawaii but are welcome as members of the Hawaiian community in Los Angeles.

The annual Hoolaulea serves as primary example for inclusive identity politics and a space for a transgenerational imaginary. Indeed HICCSC is best known for hosting the annual Hoolaulea in Lawndale, California, the first one held in 1976 in partnership with Los Angeles County Parks and Recreation. Alan Miyatake, son of hired photographer for HICCSC recalls “I was actually assisting my father, Toyo Miyatake when we covered the event for the *Voice of Hawaii* newspaper... it was my first exposure to Hawaiian culture... I found out there was a very large Hawaiian community in southern California.”⁵³ The photographer also played a role in terms of how he collaborated with the community to construct identity. The process of

⁵² Shirley Jennifer Lim, *A Feeling of Belonging: Asian American Women's Public Culture, 1930-1960* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

⁵³ Alan Miyatake, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 20 September 2015, Los Angeles, California.

highlighting certain members demonstrates who belongs in the community as well as Pan Pacific connections and the distinctiveness between communities in Los Angeles and in Hawaii.

Miyatake addressed the significance of the event “expressing and keeping the culture alive to teach the next generation.” Robert Cup Choy, a Maui-born Chinese-Hawaiian native who moved to Los Angeles in 1965 remembered “during that time, my cousin Marian was a core member of the civic club and she said that unfortunately the Hawaiian community in Los Angeles did not have an existing infrastructure like in Hawaii to host a parade, shut streets down, cover the cost for permits and police... pau riders clubs were not established here... so the club decided to focus on organizing a Hoolaulea with an emphasis on cultural presentations, food, and dance-music entertainment.”⁵⁴ He added, “the first Hoolaulea reinstilled a sense of Hawaiianess at a time when many people were terribly homesick and nostalgic for their homeland, especially while experiencing the opening ceremony that featured an ancient Hawaiian cultural presentation and the pageantry, plus the food, hula shows, and music... it reconnected us to our island roots.”

Beauty pageants became another method to claim Hawaiianess in Los Angeles. Alan Miyatake stated that “What I remember about the Hoolaulea was a basic pageant and setting up a studio backstage...all of the girls had the long Hawaiian dresses on.” Pageant officials required that contestants be single women between the ages of 18-24 sponsored by a club, school or merchant who had “never been married, had a marriage annulled, also been the mother of a child, or convicted of a felony.” “The women were required to be Hawaiian-born or first generation mainland daughter or granddaughter of someone born in Hawaii.”⁵⁵ Pageant organizers defined Hawaiianess based on associations of Hawaii as a multi-ethnic geographic space housing many cultural groups and not on solely a native Hawaiian identity. A pan-Hawaii

⁵⁴ Robert Cup Choy, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 7 August 2015, Montebello, California.

⁵⁵ Aunty Esther, “Miss Hawaii of California,” *Voice of Hawaii*, Vol. 15 no. 5, 1986.

intergenerational identity emerged open to migrants and their offspring across the spectrum of ethnicity. As Miss Hawaii of California became increasingly popular throughout southern California, an ethnoregional identity emerged.⁵⁶ The pageant inscribed a new mainland Hawaiian identity based on the experiences of local residents, one that encompassed inter-ethnic politics pertaining to who belongs and who can claim Hawaiianess. As sociologist Sarah Banet-Weiser reminds us, “beauty pageants represented political arenas where concerns about national identity, cultural hopes and desires, and anxieties about race and gender formed.”⁵⁷ Hawaiian pageantry, where it remains indigenous on the islands shifts in southern California. It also replicates the beautiful virgin model of the Miss America pageant. For Asian Americans, as Shirley Jennifer Lim asserts, “beauty pageants helped generations declare their Americanness through a feeling of belonging.”⁵⁸ Hawaiianess was based on cultural borrowing, where identities remained fluid and predicated on any tie to Hawaii making it easier to be Hawaiian in California than in Hawaii.

Indeed, the event offered a variation of Hawaiianess to mainland Hawaiians - anyone who chose to identify with Hawaii or had roots to it in the islands. In the words of former HICCSC first vice president Kaala Pang, “each year, our community from throughout the United States, join their ohana for a weekend of ‘ono ka mea ai’ and entertaining performances, while our many non-profit organizations are given a major fundraising opportunity.”⁵⁹ Successfully run by HICCSC, the Hoolaulea placed Hawaiians on the social map of Los Angeles creating a space for Hawaiian migrants to reconnect with one another. In the words of Robert Cup Choy,

⁵⁶ The pageant no longer exists and the actual date of when it discontinued remains unknown especially as Uncle Bobby passed away last year.

⁵⁷ Sarah Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World: Beauty Pageants and National Identity* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1999).

⁵⁸ Shirley Jennifer Lim, *A Feeling of Belonging: Asian American Women's Public Culture, 1930-1960* (New York: New York University Press, 2005).

⁵⁹ Kaala Pang, letter to Chad Baybayan and the Polynesian Voyaging Society, December 20, 1993.

“it was like going back home and many of us looked forward to the event every year after.” He added, “the main reason why folks go to the Hoolaulea is for the taste of Hawaiian-style home cooking and to partake in those hard to find items like kulolo, haupia, poi, because you knew that the food you bought would have the same flavor like Hawaii since many of the cooks were from there plus all purchases supported local clubs and businesses.” Writer George Ichiyama, a detailed list of food items would grace a large percentage of advertising for the Hoolaulea:

There will be many food booths that will be serving Polynesian food such as poi, kalua pig, lau lau, lomi salmon, pipkaula, opihi loko, raw crab, poki and many others. Also, there will be Asian booths serving chow fun, stuff pork hash, sweet sour pork, teriyaki meat, teriyaki burger, rice, salad, sushi, beef stew, curry stew, Portuguese sausage, eggs and rice (that soul breakfast food) and many other oriental dishes. On the lighter side, shaved ice, ice cream and soda pop will be available including boiled peanuts.⁶⁰

Foodways forged relationships and transferred cooking techniques across generations in a distinct Los Angeles-based Hawaiian culture. Marketed as Polynesian, Asian, and oriental, the play on authentic foods found at the Hoolaulea served as a mechanism to highlight a sense of Hawaiianess. As Valerie Matsumoto reminds us, Asian supermarkets, bakeries, produce stands, confectionary shops and restaurants in California reflect the growth of new communities.⁶¹ As an example, the daughter of a Japanese-Okinawan migrant who left Hawaii in 1950, Naomi Nagahama noted, “as children back in the late 1970s my siblings and I attended the Hoolaulea annually and went to watch the different halau’s perform.”⁶² The celebration had continuous entertainment for two days with a line-up of performances by different Polynesian dancers, and musicians. “Some groups came locally and others far and wide including Hawaii, northern California and Arizona... it was a great honor for groups to participate...mostly donated

⁶⁰ George Ichiyama, “HICC Hoolaulea,” *Voice of Hawaii*, Vol. 15 No. 5, 1986.

⁶¹ Valerie Matsumoto, “Teaching Asian American History and Foodways,” *Amerasia Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 2006. pp. 73-78.

⁶² Naomi Nagahama, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 14 October 2015, Los Angeles, California.

entertainment because they knew it supported the Hawaiian community on the mainland” expressed Cup Choy. Wally Takata, an Oahu-born Japanese who relocated to Los Angeles in 1957 stated that he attended the Hoolaulea every year for “the Hawaiian atmosphere, food vendors, entertainment, and to talk story with most people I knew from Hawaii or met after I got here.”⁶³ The event continues to this day held the third weekend in July.

The 1990s represented a peak moment in Hawaiian cultural events in Los Angeles, perhaps due to the rise of the Asian-Pacific Island movement.⁶⁴ In 1982, the non-profit Aina hau O Kaleponi Hawaiian Civic Club, helped form the Mainland Council Association of Hawaiian Civic Clubs, to organize a cultural festival similar to HICCCSC’s Hoolaulea. The event attracted an estimated “seven to eight thousand who attended over a two day period.”⁶⁵ More than a Hawaii-specific celebration, the event demonstrated Pan Pacific pride with cultural presentations from groups throughout the Pacific such as Fiji, Marshall Islands, New Zealand, Samoa, and Tonga. As Hawaiian historian Herb Kane reminds us: “To all pacific islanders whose ancestors explored and settled this ocean world, the voyaging canoe is a common symbol.”⁶⁶ The display of Pan Pacific pride illuminates the strengthening of communal ties, across the Pacific and between mainland Hawaiians to Hawaii itself.

Significantly, HICCCSC partnered with the Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS) and many mainland Hawaiian clubs to host the arrival of the *Hokulea*, a full-scale replica of a Polynesian

⁶³ Wally Takata, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 11 October 2015, Montebello, California.

⁶⁴ Asian Pacific Islander was an option to indicate race and ethnicity in the United States Censuses in the 1990 and 2000 Census as well as in several Census Bureau studies. Also, the category “Other Asian or Pacific Islander” was added to the questionnaire along with a write-in area for all unspecified groups of Polynesian, Micronesian or Melanesian cultural backgrounds. Works that have contextualized the Asian-Pacific Island movement include Fred Ho, ed. *Legacy to Liberation: Politics and Culture of Revolutionary Asian/Pacific America* (San Francisco: AK Press, 2001); Linda Trinh Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2004); Espiritu, *Asian American Pan-Ethnicity*.

⁶⁵ Kaala Pang, letter to Chad Baybayan, September 27, 1993.

⁶⁶ Herb Kawainui Kane, “A Canoe Helps Hawaii Recapture Her Past,” *National Geographic Magazine*, Washington, DC: National Geographic Society, Volume 149, Issue 4, p. 476.

double-hulled voyaging canoe, in Long Beach Harbor during its West Coast tour in the summer of 1995. The idea of the high-profiled Hawaiian canoe docking in California waters sparked excitement. As Carolyn and Rick Pompilio wrote “we just received our copy of the Polynesian Voyaging Society Newsletter and saw the article that you are bringing *Hokulea* to California...then we also read the announcement in Uncle Bobby Chun’s *Voice of Hawaii* ... and want you to know that we would be greatly interested and honored to be active participants.”⁶⁷ “Living on the mainland seems to some of our people to make us second class Hawaiians, stated Terry Waren, a mainland Hawaiian.”⁶⁸ This sentiment indicates how some mainland Hawaiians felt disconnected from the islands. The *Hokulea* served as an introduction to reconnecting mainland Hawaiians to the islands. The Polynesian Voyaging Society organized workshops that emphasized its vision and educational goals. The education plan included local radio communications, school packets, collaboration with museums and schools throughout Los Angeles and a conference with crew members.⁶⁹ In addition, visitors would be allowed to tour the canoe.

Hokulea’s visit represented a collaborative event. Chad Baybayan, Captain of the *Hokulea* west coast tour stated “we left the afternoon before, sailed at night, and arrived the next morning...a tugboat brought us in... and the canoe club came out and paddled in with us” stated Baybayan. Formed in conjunction with *Hokulea*’s west coast tour, Komike Hokulea canoe team of Long Beach, California, accompanied the historic vessel into the harbor. Members of Rapa Nui Outrigger Club (RNOC), flew in from the island to join in the celebration. The coming of the *Hokulea* helped forge new relationships in an effort to pull together resources. In the words of Jo Anne Van Tilburg, Director of the UCLA Rock Art Archive, “Ted Ralston located a used,

⁶⁷ Carolyn and Rick Pompilio, letter to Chad Baybayan, February 4, 1994.

⁶⁸ Terry Waren, letter to Polynesian Voyaging Society, January 14, 1994.

⁶⁹ “1994-1995 Education Plan,” *Polynesian Voyaging Society*, 1994.

but never named, Hawaiian Classic Racer for sale in Marina del Rey and with a generous grant from the Kelton Foundation and contributions from two hundred RNOC members and twenty corporate sponsors, including the Long Beach Sister Cities Program, we purchased the canoe.”⁷⁰



Illustration 4. Polynesian Voyaging Society’s *Hokulea* in Long Beach Harbor, escorted by paddlers, 1995. Photo by Jo Anne Van Tilburg.

Embodying a Pan Pacific vision, the ceremony symbolized a greater goal to foster awareness of the Pacific Islands’ voyaging heritage among children and the local California community. A talk radio station covered the series of events that included canoe races and the annual Hoolaulea. Baybayan expressed, “it takes a lot of work to sail the *Hokulea* but the West Coast tour was less effort than other voyages to Micronesia and Tahiti... the environment was different

⁷⁰ Jo Anne Van Tilburg, “Rapa Nui Outrigger Club and Hokulea,” *Easter Island Statue Project.org*, <http://www.eisp.org/> (Accessed Sept 1, 2015).

because we were sailing through cold water... but it was not long open water navigation but more like sail down and enjoy the ports, visit, and talk story with people.”⁷¹

Taking pride in the *Hokulea*, Robert Cup Choy reminisced, “Thousands from all over came to see the *Hokulea* to witness this historic moment and I brought my children because I wanted them to experience what that canoe meant to Hawaiians... it was a symbol of Hawaiian pride... it revealed the strength and navigational acumen of Polynesian wayfinders and linked those of us living in Los Angeles to our ancestral heritage.” A cultural exchange emerged to strengthen their network between Hawaii and the continental United States. Selected representatives from Alaska, Canada, Washington, Oregon, and California received the opportunity to participate in crew training programs and deep sea voyages on the *Hokulea*. Since 1975, the vessel holds a legacy of international voyaging with members coming from all over the world to partake in the program.⁷² Connected to the voyage was the annual Hoolaulea festival, which served as a central place for people to purchase Hawaiian food.

⁷¹ Chad Kalepa Baybayan, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 17 December 2008, Oahu, Hawaii.

⁷² “Hokulea,” Polynesian Voyaging Society, <http://www.hokulea.com/> (Accessed October 5, 2015).



Illustration 5. Food servers at the Hawaiian Civic Club Festival, Harbor City Regional Park, 1992. Shades of LA, Los Angeles Public Library.

Food plays a central role at the festivals. As historian Yong Chen reminds us, foodways reflect changes in taste and the need for a more leisurely lifestyle among politically disenfranchised groups.⁷³ Island home cooking represented culinary creativity, culture, and sustainability that drew from local as well as few imported source ingredients (i.e. poi and luau leaves). Food included lomi salmon, kalua pork, teriyaki burgers, plate lunch-style soul food and tropical-flavored shave ice. The food featured at these events, however, had a deeper meaning for the community. Naomi Nagahama expressed that “back in the 1970s because there were not too many places to eat except in Gardena, many went to festivals to eat local food... which was like comfort food from back home.” She added that “it was an opportunity to eat and run into family and friends from Hawaii.” In Robert Cup Choy’s words, “The number one reason why

⁷³ Yong Chen, *Chop Suey, USA: The Story of Chinese Food in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

people attend these festivals is for the food...from the taste and smells of varieties of food to the servers who were like your mom, grandma, auntie, cousin, friend chatting with you in pidgin English,” and “it didn’t matter whether you were blood-related or really knew anyone...Hawaiian style is you treat everyone with aloha and like family... simply by talking story.” As historian Jeffrey Pilcher reminds us “food creates emotional ties by way of things that can be seen, heard, and tasted, like a flag, anthem, or dish ... which conveys a sense of pride in the shared cultural heritage of ethnic and national communities.”⁷⁴

Through these types of cultural events, a pacific island identity and more prominent Hawaiian presence in southern California emerged. In Hawaii, planning and organizing remains predicated on indigenous heritage and close knit community ties. Claiming Hawaiianess in California embodies an inclusive community politics that transcends the bounds of race and ethnicity, allowing anyone identifying with connection to Hawaii to have a place in the Hawaiian mainland community.

Representing this inclusivity, I focus on four families and their day-to-day cultural experiences. Born on the island of Oahu in 1931, Wally Takata, a Sansei, has predecessors who left Japan to work on the sugar plantations. At age 26, Takata relocated to Los Angeles County in 1957 to work in the civil service field since “California paid better than Hawaii and employment was difficult to obtain on the islands due to an economic recession.”⁷⁵ As a member of the Japanese-American-Korean veterans group, Takata emphasized that “the mainland became a highly attractive place, the draft was in force so most men came out of the military on the GI Bill and went to the mainland because jobs were not plentiful in Hawaii.” He met Hide, another Hawaii migrant of Okinawan ancestry who had moved to Los Angeles a few

⁷⁴ Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *Planet Taco: A Global History of Mexican Food* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

⁷⁵ Wally Takata, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 11 October 2015, Los Angeles, California.

years earlier. They married and moved to Montebello. “It was important for us to expose our children to Hawaii, so we ate Hawaiian food like poi, poke, and lau lau at local eateries like King’s Hawaiian in Torrance and Shakas in Monterey Park and we attended different luaus in Gardena and throughout Los Angeles.” He added that “every year, we attended the annual Hoolaulea for the atmosphere, food vendors and entertainment but mostly because relatives and friends from Hawaii would be there.”

The Takatas maintained close ties to other families attending the Hoolaulea especially as one of Wally’s high school classmates served on the planning committee. “We went to support the fundraiser and to stay in contact with friends, especially since Los Angeles is very spread out” he stated. Evoking a sense of nostalgia, he stated “I am proud to have been born and raised in Hawaii... I came with the intention of working three years and then go back home but then I met my wife and decided to stay in Montebello, which is now my home...but I always think about moving back to Hawaii one day.” Like many individuals living in diaspora, instilling Hawaiianess remains an important part of their daily lives. Takata addressed inter-ethnic politics, “when I first got here, people on the mainland would often say, you are from Hawaii but you do not look Hawaiian and I would have to go into the history of native Hawaiians coming from Polynesians as well as all of the many groups that migrated to the islands and made it home.” Wally considers himself a member of the Hawaiian community given the welcoming spirit of the Los Angeles Hawaiian community. As sociologist Leland Saito explains, “Grass-roots political organizing assists diverse residents of a region to develop new identities, especially the panethnic affiliation Asian American.”⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Leland Saito, *Race and Politics: Asian Americans, Latinos, and Whites in a Los Angeles Suburb* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1998).

Born in 1935 on Maui, Allan Kawaharada is one of ten Nisei children whose parents came from Hiroshima, Japan. Kawaharada stated, “My father came to Hawaii as a bachelor and mom was a picture bride... as there were alien laws in place, Japanese could not buy property so dad used my brother’s name, who was 2 years old at the time to purchase, which became the family owned restaurant in Kuiaha, Maui from 1929-1994.”⁷⁷ In 1956, after his honorable discharge from the United States Army, Kawaharada moved to Los Angeles to work for the Pacific Telephone Company. He expressed, “While in the army, I was the only guy in my unit from Hawaii and I worked hard to get rid of my pidgin, so much that when I came to Los Angeles, people did not realize I was originally from the islands.” Kawaharada described life for early migrants living in 1950s Los Angeles. “I had sisters already living here, so when I first arrived, I ran around with a brother-in-law and high school classmates ...we would go to local Hawaiian food places like Atomic Cafe in Little Tokyo for saimin and the Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop where locals were known for ordering strange foods like spaghetti with rice.” He added, “In those days a lot of folks from Hawaii came up here, whether or not they had money, to find jobs and students would come to attend school...they settled all over Los Angeles like Gardena, Torrance, to Korea town.” However, in 1941, his “nineteen-year old sister Jane moved to Los Angeles to attend college and one month later, as World War II broke out, she was sent to Gila River internment camp in Arizona.” After the war, Jane came back to live in Los Angeles where she married a businessman and reared three children.

Although Maui remains his birthplace and he visits two to three times a year, Kawaharada exhibits a strong connection to the mainland. He emphasized, “For me, once I met my wife June Nishiyama and we purchased a house, Los Angeles became my home.” Allan and June, an Oahu born Nisei who migrated to Los Angeles in 1960, made it a point to impart

⁷⁷ Allan Kawaharada, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 30 October 2015, Los Angeles, California.

Hawaiianess to their children. Allan Kawaharada expressed, “I belonged to a Hawaii club at the Buddhist church where we played a big role in organizing the annual Obon festival and I took the family to many local festivals like the Hoolaulea and Long Beach festivals since the late 1980s.” Many migrants participated in various ethnically diverse hometown associations and civic clubs throughout Los Angeles. He added, “our family would also travel to Las Vegas to visit the California Hotel and Casino to mingle amongst Hawaiians and eat local food” alluding to the hotel-casino that focuses on the Hawaiian market through food and vacation packages.⁷⁸ Food reinforced ethnic mixing, which led to the emergence of a Pan Pacific identity in many places. Jon Kawaharada, the youngest son of Allan and June, nostalgically recalled “one of my fondest memories as a child was visiting Hawaii every summer for two to three weeks where my cousins and I would go torch fishing – fishing the tide pools at night with a flashlight – guri guri ice cream, trips to Hana, and I want my children to have these kinds of experiences with Hawaii.”⁷⁹ He added, “for me, Hawaiianess is all about the sharing – our foods, experiences, and life with others and especially our children.” Such remarks reinforce the transgenerational imaginary in everyday life.

A native of Los Angeles born in 1957, Naomi Nagahama is a Sansei of Japanese-Okinawan ancestry. Nagahama noted, “My dad was Okinawan born and raised in Honolulu and in 1950, he came to Los Angeles where he met my mom who grew up in Glendale, Arizona.”⁸⁰ Both parents relocated to Los Angeles seeking employment and opened a grocery store in East Los Angeles and a liquor store in the city of Maywood. One of three children, Nagahama and her siblings grew up in East Los Angeles attending local private and public schools. In her

⁷⁸ Opened by Sam Boyd, the California Hotel and Casino opened in 1975 at a cost of \$10 million with a hotel and casino located in Downtown Las Vegas, Nevada. Boyd's Hawaiian marketing, which extended to the Fremont and Main Street Station now brings in an estimated 80 to 90 percent of visitors to Las Vegas from Hawaii. Boyd is credited with helping to build a large Hawaiian community in Las Vegas.

⁷⁹ Jon Kawaharada, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 30 October 2015, Los Angeles, California.

⁸⁰ Naomi Nagahama, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 14 October 2015, Los Angeles, California.

words, “Friends had a hard time understanding my dad because his pidgin English was strong and he never lost his accent.” Yet, Nagahama added, “People were respectful to our family because my parents carried the aloha spirit of being friendly, open, and willing to help everybody just like in Hawaii where doors are open to everyone.”

In addition to attending the annual Hoolaulea since the late 1970s, Nagahama’s family practiced certain Hawaiian customs such as “taking off shoes before entering the home, keeping warm with Hawaiian quilt blankets, and using low tables and sitting on the floor to eat meals.” She emphasized the importance of Hawaiian spirituality, “we had ti leaf plants for protection and sprinkled Hawaiian sea salt around the house and our businesses to bless the locations.” She further noted, “we ate saimin, Lau Lau, poke... and dad would make fresh lomi lomi salad as well as buy poi when we could get it.” The family would also try local eateries in Los Angeles. “Back in the 1960s, there were not too many places to eat except for Gardena and South Bay but we did the commute just for a taste of Hawaiian-style flavors because it was comfort food from back home.” Nagahama addressed her connection to Hawaii, “The islands represent the love of the land, our ocean and ancestors... we continue to support family and friends there with the struggle against the disruption of sacred lands and burial sites such as the building of the rail line in Honolulu and the telescope issue on Mauna Kea.” Clearly, claims of belonging to Hawaii are not the sole purview of indigenous Hawaiians. As sociologist Linda Vo demonstrates, “community kinship emerges from ethnic and racial identities that are continually reconstructed, coexist and mutually inform each other impacting the lives, experiences, and political actions of Asian Americans.”⁸¹

In 1980, Oahu-born teenager Carli Figueroa and her family first moved to Arizona than later made southern California their home. “My father came from the mainland, mom, an

⁸¹ Vo, *Mobilizing an Asian American Community*.

islander was one of twenty children... and they decided to move the family outside of the islands for better economic opportunities.”⁸² Of mixed heritage, Figueroa embodies German, French, Mexican, Native American, and Spanish from her father as well as Filipino-Hawaiian ancestry from her mother. A teacher in the Montebello Unified School District, Figueroa added, “people often ask if I miss home and I say to them, Hawaii will always be my home but I can also have Hawaii here with me” demonstrating both migrant nostalgia while claiming a new home in diaspora. Figueroa remains connected to Hawaiianess through music, folklore, food, and entertainment. She expressed, “I attend different Hoolaulea’s, constantly listen to Hawaiian music, play ukulele and slack key guitar, wear flowers in my hair, and paddle outrigger and stand up paddle for a team in southern California.” Figueroa emphasized that paddling keeps her “connected to Hawaii and to other islanders,” as well as the “tendency to speak pidgin” freely with others “because they are kamaaina (resident of Hawaii).” In addition, she frequents Hawaiian-style eateries at least twice a week. “I will drive down in the early morning on a weekend for malasadas at a local place in Torrance” she said. Indeed Figueroa “brings the island and aloha spirit to students and colleagues by sharing the foods from Hawaii, like spam musubi and poke” and alluded to a responsibility for islanders to help others understand Hawaiianess. As sociologist Nadia Kim argues in reference to Korean immigrants: “Living in Los Angeles changes the attitudes of the new arrivals through new social interactions and the transnational circulation of racial discourse.”⁸³ Or as Figueroa asserts, “Hawaii means my home and family... I am proud of my heritage, ohana and who I am today because it means the aloha spirit.”

Each of the four families, the Takatas, Kawaharadas, Nagahamas, and Figueroas represent diverse identities and experiences in the Los Angeles Hawaiian community. All

⁸² Carli Figueroa, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 15 October 2015, Los Angeles, California.

⁸³ Nadia Kim, *Imperial Citizens: Koreans and Race from Seoul to LA* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008).

families connect and exude shared aspects of Hawaiianess based on their common links to the islands. Through their stories, we gain a deeper understanding of who considers themselves a part of the Hawaiian community and how individuals claim and shape their own identity in southern California. Through ethnic fluidity and cultural activities that transcend race, members claim a place within that community.

Also, spouses who learned the cultural codes and shared these traditions with their children also found acceptance in the mainland Hawaiian community. Eva Cup Choy expressed, “I am from Mexico but through my husband of hearing his childhood memories, visiting Hawaii, and becoming a member of his family, I felt Hawaiian because there were many similarities between our cultures like large close knit families, big gatherings, festivals, rhythmic dances, friendliness, and the importance of food traditions.”⁸⁴ She added that “We wanted our children to grow up in southern California but always stay connected to their Hawaiian heritage by cooking foods...through language, music, hula, ukulele, and more important learning their history so that they know about their ancestral roots.” As Philip Deloria asserts, non-natives that assume native identities through the appropriation of traditions, clothing, and culture develop a sense of self and a national identity for themselves.⁸⁵ Indeed, spouses carved a niche themselves into the mainland Hawaiian community supporting the transgenerational process.

This chapter examined who claims Hawaiianess in Hawaii and in southern California. Government census records reflect limited applicability in giving an accurate demographic breakdown of community. Culture, however, serves as the driving force that brings individuals together. As Los Angeles embodies a multi-ethnic region, Hawaiians, through a Pan Pacific connection have come together through community celebrations like the Hoolaulea. The mutual

⁸⁴ Eva Cup Choy, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 15 October 2015, Montebello, California.

⁸⁵ Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998).

support across regions binds the community together forging new Pan Pacific identities and reinforcing cultural ties to the Hawaiian Islands.

Hawaiian festivals remain an integral part of the southern California dynamic where celebrants have an opportunity to experience food, music, dance, and share an appreciation of Pacific Island traditions. These festivals perform several functions displaying ethnic pride, sustaining customs, and providing a learning opportunity for those outside the culture. Festivals serve what anthropologist Olga Najera-Ramirez described as “cultural making practices such as dance and rodeo become part of popular culture, these expressive forms of culture illustrate power dynamics and identity.”⁸⁶

Hawaiian civic clubs on the mainland embodied hometown associations, which provided a forum for migrants from the same area to gather, exchange experiences, and work together on issues of common interest. In addition to promoting their ethnic culture and heritage, Hawaiian clubs served as platforms for philanthropy as they helped fund social projects for the Hawaiian Inter Club Council of Southern California (HICCCS), such as scholarships and *Hokulea's* visit.

Communal kinships formed on the basis of shared migration histories and cultural connections to the islands remain at the heart of Hawaiian ethnoregional affinities in southern California. At the heart of civic club organizing, Hawaiian festivals and related activities on the mainland serve a much larger purpose than a good time. The events served as a celebration of belonging and hold great meaning. Exuding a Pan Pacific regional identity, many of Pacific Islanders participated in Hawaiian festivals based on shared experiences with colonialism, migration, and common traditions.

⁸⁶ Olga Najera-Ramirez, et al, Ed. *Dancing Across Borders: Danzas Y Bailes Mexicanos* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009), pp. 10-11.

The Hawaiian community remains in flux. Ninety-seven years after the formation of the first Hawaiian civic club, Prince Kuhio's vision for the preservation and perpetuation of Hawaiian values, culture and education continues to flourish. Cultural festivals shape identity, raise funds for community projects, and strengthen intergenerational knowledge, particularly through food spaces. As historian Jose Alamillo eloquently wrote, "cultural struggles and contested American relations in leisure, work, political, or domestic spaces can lead to new material culture."⁸⁷ Indeed, Hawaiian festivals provided affirmation of food-place association and brought members of the public together. These food spaces underscores how Hawaiianess emerged as an inclusive identity of different Pan Pacific groups that translated into a southern California-specific fusion cuisine. As Jeffrey Pilcher asserts, culinary uniqueness also serves as a marker of modern national identity."⁸⁸ Through foodways, people communicate their allegiances, aspirations, or aversions to various ethnic, racial, religious, and regional spaces. The next chapter explores the role of Hawaiian foodways in Los Angeles and its meanings to community identities.

⁸⁷ Alamillo, *Making Lemonade out of Lemons*.

⁸⁸ Pilcher, *Planet Taco*.

CHAPTER 2: Hawaiian Food in Los Angeles

*When a guy can't get his wahine (woman) to put some hala kahiki (pineapple) all over his io pipi i wili ia (hamburger). Then he's got to go someplace else. The Hawaiian teriyaki burger with grilled pineapple new at Carl's Jr.*⁸⁹

Launched in May 2007, Carl's Jr.'s provocative commercial for the 'Hawaiian Teriyaki Burger' epitomizes a stereotypical representation of "Hawaiian." Like other food associations - Japan to sushi, Italy to pasta, Mexico to taco - pineapple and teriyaki sauce have come to evoke the taste of the Hawaiian tropics. The rise of food networks and travel shows has contributed to the popularity of dining out for most Americans. Eating "Hawaiian" embodies culinary tourism, the process by which food and culture serve as a destination and leisure in public, commercial contexts as well as in private domestic spaces.⁹⁰ Lisa Heldke reminds us how the associations that are formed between food and identity can often slip into stereotypes. Moreover, how "cookbooks privilege written knowledge over oral narratives, and ... people on the basis of class ... as well as race and often sex."⁹¹ Experiencing "otherness" through food affirms white dominance over the colonized and therefore necessitates more attention to anti-colonial resistance through food exchanges such as skills, recipes, or products marketed from within the culture. The Hawaiian Teriyaki Burger commercial advertises one way of tasting "Hawaiian," one closely linked to the "sexual politics of meat" including hypersexual constructions of masculinity.⁹² This prevailing stereotype dangerously endorses a superficial construction of

⁸⁹ Carl's Junior television commercial, "Teriyaki Burger," *Youtube.com*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UWLzgh1Ctr8> (Accessed April 2, 2008).

⁹⁰ Lucy Long emphasizes that culinary tourism represents the appeal in experiencing "otherness" since the interest in ethnic food expands tastes and leads to commercial profit in *Culinary Tourism* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2004). Under this context, culinary tourism can serve as a positive mechanism over cultural identity offering a powerful way of exchanging ideas and traditions as well as setting the conditions for adventurous eating.

⁹¹ Lisa Heldke reveals a darker side of culinary tourism, calling it cultural imperialism that establishes power over colonized groups in "Let's Cook Thai: Recipes for Colonialism," in *Pilaf, Posole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food*, Sherrie Inness, ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2001), 185.

⁹² "Sexual Politics of Meat" refers to the patriarchal politics of culture that tends to equate meat eating with virility. See Carol J. Adams, *The Sexual Politics of Meat: A Feminist-Vegetarian Critical Theory* (New York: Continuum

colonial domination that overlooks the fusion and diversity of multiethnic foods that have come to comprise Hawaiian foodways. How does one counterbalance Hawaiian food as symbolized by this McDonaldization?⁹³

Centering on the 1960s to present day, I explore how “Hawaiianess” develops in local community-based restaurants in Los Angeles through foodways and how food identity becomes represented in the larger culture. My research interrogates the symbolic roles of food, the creation of fusion cuisine, and the articulation of social power through food practices. I use the term “culinary borderlands” to describe the intersections of food and memory, as articulated across cultural and physical spaces, both real and imagined. Moreover, I explore how Hawaiian restaurants construct identity in three ways: through food items, through physical space, and through hybrid communities. To what extent do operators of these food establishments see themselves linked to foodways in Hawaii? Do they see themselves as part of a pan-ethnic Hawaiian identity? What interactions do they have with other “Hawaiian-Pacific Islander” communities throughout Los Angeles? Further, I will consider how Hawaiian food establishments market themselves to their communities and to what extent they incorporate local food. Contending against Hawaiian essentialism, I demonstrate how Los Angeles Hawaiian food represents an evolving hybridization where food establishments mediate, change, shape, and further hybridize Hawaiian foodways while casting these constructions of Hawaiianess from the community out to public audiences. Los Angeles Hawaiian food depends upon the mediation of cultural brokers and the various local ethnic communities it encounters. The Hawaiianess these intermediaries produce, contribute to the process of creating home where Hawaiian foodways

International Publishing Group, 1999). Also, the People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) have an ongoing campaign of using naked female celebrities to demonstrate the sexiness of not eating meat.

⁹³ The process of “McDonaldization” was introduced by sociologist George Ritzer that means the technological rationalization to standardize food such as transforming ethnic and national cuisines into corporate fast food – In *The McDonaldization of Society* (Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press, 1993).

meld into local context and feeds into the discourse of the Hawaiian diaspora in Los Angeles. As historian Vicki L. Ruiz reminds us, homemaking and memory play an important role in “the historical consciousness of the individual and collective.”⁹⁴

This chapter stems from my personal connection to Hawaiian food as a first generation mainland Hawaiian who grew up savoring and cooking the recipes at home and venturing out with my father to locate Hawaiian-style eateries throughout Los Angeles. This investigation seeks to contribute to the historical understanding of Hawaiian cuisine, ethnic identity, and Los Angeles history as well as to the discussion of ethnic and regional foodways. I explore the construction of Hawaiian identity in Los Angeles through intermediaries – restaurant owners, managers, and chefs – to distinguish the types of “Hawaiian” cuisine they offer to the public. Hawaiian restaurateurs, who are not always community members, provide an opportunity to view how the local community constructs Hawaiianess; how they recast Hawaiian foodways into what Partha Chatterjee calls an intervention in the machinery of globalization.⁹⁵

Increased historical interest in “Foodways” in U.S. history has emerged over the past decade.⁹⁶ Historian, Donna R. Gabaccia has demonstrated how for hundreds of years, incoming European ethnics to the United States brought foods, culinary practices, and associated traditions

⁹⁴ Vicki L. Ruiz, “Introduction,” in *Memories and Migrations: Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories*, ed. by Vicki L. Ruiz and John R. Chavez (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 7.

⁹⁵ Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁹⁶ The term “foodways” joins two root words to describe what is carried with the act of acquiring and eating foods. Anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss played an early role in showcasing foodways as central in the study of cultures as it provided insight into the production, procurement, preparation, presentation and consumption of foods – Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked: Mythologiques - Volume 1*, Paperback Reprint Edition (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). Anthropologists, sociologists, historians, and food scholars use the term to describe the study of why we eat what we eat and what it means. When applied to popular culture, the term applies to food practices. Harvey Levenstein pointed to the important role of commercial and professional interest groups in shaping the national dietary foodways in America (1930s-1990s) in *Paradox of Plenty: A Social History of Eating in Modern America* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003).

along with them, creating their own unique ethnic foodways.⁹⁷ By focusing on immigrant reaction to American abundance, Hasia Diner emphasizes how immigrant groups fostered the tremendous ethnic and regional diversity of foods and cooking customs that have flourished in our midst.⁹⁸ Susan Kalcik argues that the processes of Americanizing ethnic food and ethnicizing American foods parallel the experiences of immigrant groups that immigrate to the United States.⁹⁹

Other works have contributed case studies to the broader conversation of ethnic and regional foodways in the United States. Several works have contributed to our understanding of ethnic food. Jeffrey Pilcher's well-researched historical account of Mexican mestizo cuisine demonstrates how food shaped and emulated the development of nationalism in Mexico.¹⁰⁰ Psyche A. Williams-Forsen's consideration of the intimate ties between chicken and black women's identity in the American South illuminates how fried chicken was crucial to black community formation.¹⁰¹ Sherrie Inness's comprehensive anthology of essays on ethnic foodways in America illustrates how ethnic food culture becomes embedded in women's memories among different American ethnic communities.¹⁰² A special issue of *Amerasia Journal* on Asian American food points to the connections between Asian foodways and

⁹⁷ Donna R. Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁹⁸ Hasia R. Diner, *Hungering For America: Italian, Irish, and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

⁹⁹ Susan Kalcik, "Ethnic Foodways in America: Symbol and the Performance of Identity," In *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity*, Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell, eds. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984).

¹⁰⁰ Jeffrey M. Pilcher. *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998) and *Planet Taco: A Global History of Mexican Food* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

¹⁰¹ Psyche A. Williams-Forsen, *Building Houses Out of Chicken Legs* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

¹⁰² Sherrie A. Inness, ed., *Pilaf, Pozole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

community formation.¹⁰³ Furthermore, Harvey Levenstein's *Paradox of Plenty* centers on the important role of commercial and professional interest groups in shaping the national dietary foodways in America.¹⁰⁴ However, books specifically documenting the Hawaiian culinary experience are still largely absent. Rachel Laudan's *The Food of Paradise* and Ann Corum's *Ethnic Foods of Hawaii* represent the closest historical accounts on Hawaiian foodways, but the books are cookbooks with historical anecdotes.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, scholars have yet to explore Hawaiian foodways outside of Hawaii, especially with the influx of mainland Hawaiian communities within the past years.

Although many Hawaiian food establishments define the landscape of Los Angeles, especially with the recent surge of Hawaiian BBQ franchises like L&L and Ono Grill, my sample of Hawaiian food establishments allow for the examination of the politics of foodways as connected to notions of cooking, consumption, and identity construction. These restaurants have used their food to produce a cultural and regional identity by blending Hawaiian foodways in a Los Angeles context. I posed the following questions to owners, managers, and/or chefs: How is food prepared? How do Hawaiian restaurants serve as centers for the community? Does the community influence menu items? What are signature items? Is décor and ambiance part of marketing strategies? What gives Hawaiian authenticity to the food? These and other questions facilitate a better understanding of the kinds of Hawaiian experiences food establishments promote and thereby illustrate their role in shaping Hawaiian culture in Los Angeles.

This chapter includes the following businesses: Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop (Gardena, est. 1948), Miki Chan's Okazu-ya (Montebello, est. 1977), Shakas Hawaiian Flavors (Monterey

¹⁰³ UCLA Asian American Studies Center, "Asian Americans on 'Meat versus Rice,'" A special issue of *Amerasia Journal*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2006).

¹⁰⁴ Levenstein, *Paradox of Plenty*.

¹⁰⁵ Rachel Laudan, *The Food of Paradise: Exploring Hawaii's Culinary Heritage* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996) and Ann K. Corum, *Ethnic Foods of Hawaii* (Honolulu: The Bess Press, 2000).

Park, est. 1995; Alhambra, est. 2004), and Back Home in Lahaina (Manhattan Beach, est. 2001; Carson, est. 2003). The following national chains began in Hawaii and expanded to Los Angeles are also considered, such as King's Hawaiian (Honolulu, est. 1961; Torrance, est. 1977) and Roy's Restaurant (Honolulu, est. 1988; Los Angeles, est. 2005). This study locates each food establishment's position within the broader spectrum of Polynesian-Asian-Pacific Rim-Hawaiian foodways. Findings from this chapter highlight the degree to which Hawaiian restaurateurs, as representative of ethnic entrepreneurs, shape food culture and identity.

Hawaiian cuisine emerges out of deep migrations and the process of colonization. The mix of ethnicities and cultural blends show up on the plate with signature ingredients, flavors, and textures. Its cuisine represents a multiethnic conglomeration of diverse foodways rooted in Polynesian settlers (i.e. poi), the plate lunch from the nineteenth-century Plantation era, as well as foods introduced by the United States military during World War II (i.e. spam). Foodways rooted to ancient Polynesian origins include poi (a paste made of the taro root), baked kalua pig, lau lau (consists of taro leaves, salted butterfish, and either pork, beef, or chicken wrapped in ti leaves and steamed), seafood, breadfruit, as well as several types of sweet potatoes.¹⁰⁶ Sea salt became the common condiment as well as inamona, an ingredient made of roasted mashed kukui nuts, and seaweed.¹⁰⁷ Labor migrations in the nineteenth-century became key to the development of Hawaii's multi-ethnic cuisine. Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, and Koreans arrived during the nineteenth-century wave while Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Samoans, and Vietnamese followed their immigrant presence graced Hawaii's foodways into the twentieth-

¹⁰⁶ Laudan, *The Food of Paradise*, 8. The early Hawaiian diet included as many as 130 different types of seafood and 230 types of sweet potatoes. Ancient Polynesians used different cooking methods - food was broiled over hot coals, spitted over a fire, or cooked in an earth oven called an "imu." The ancient practice of cooking with the imu or "kaluaing" continues to influence Hawaii's foodways to this day in dishes like kalua pig.

¹⁰⁷ Herb Kawainui Kane, *Ancient Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kawainui Press, 1998), 53.

century.¹⁰⁸ Plate lunches began when the sugar workers in Hawaii would share lunches with fellow workers from their kau kau tins (meal pails), combining dishes from different ethnic backgrounds. These groups came to Hawaii bringing along their own ingredients, utilizing available local ingredients in Hawaii, adapting them to their own cooking style, and developing them to their popular tastes. Today, for example, the common plate lunch typically consists of a base of rice (Asian), one scoop of either macaroni or potato salad (“American”), some pickled cabbage (Japanese takuwan or Korean kimchi), with a savory main course such as kalua pig (Hawaiian), teriyaki beef or chicken (Japanese), loco moco (Japanese), beef stew (“American”), pork adobo (Filipino), sweet and sour short spare ribs (Chinese), or lau lau (Hawaiian). These dishes could be served a la carte or combined. Portuguese sausage, Korean Kalbi, Samoan baked breadfruit, Puerto Rican patales, and Vietnamese soups are now part of Hawaii’s cuisine.

During World War II, Hawaii served as the main military outpost where thousands of military servicemen trained for and protected the Pacific fleet. Thus, the canned meats became readily available for locals. Hawaii’s residents fell in love with Spam during World War II.¹⁰⁹ Fresh meat became scarce throughout the Hawaiian Islands and civilians turned to brand name rations well known to GI’s such as Spam, luncheon meats, vienna sausages, and corn beef hash. Spam proved the most popular becoming a staple of the Hawaii diet and even transformed into

¹⁰⁸ Based on Laudan’s *The Food of Paradise* - Chinese immigrants brought Cantonese cooking with stir fry, sweet and sour, noodle dishes and soups, preserved vegetables, sauces, and dim sum like manapua. Portuguese immigrants introduced the forno (traditional beehive oven) to make pao doce, as well as chili peppers, Portuguese sausages, and malasadas. The Japanese introduced bento, sushi, sashimi, tofu and soy sauce, preserved vegetables. Their cooking relied on frying, steaming, broiling, and simmering which led to the popularization of teriyaki, tempura, and noodle soups in Hawaii. The Koreans imported kimchi and developed barbecue pits to roast marinated meats like kalbi. Puerto Rican immigrants began to settle in Hawaii, contributing spicy, thick soups, casseroles, fried bananas, and meat turnovers. Filipinos brought the abodo style of vinegar and garlic dishes, and preferred to boil, stew, broil, and fry food as well as eat sweet potatoes as a staple. Samoans introduced the technique of earth ovens above ground and made poi from fruit rather than taro. By the late 1970s, Vietnamese immigrants launched Thai and Vietnamese influences with ingredients such as Southeast Asian lemongrass, fish sauce, and green papaya.

¹⁰⁹ Carolyn Wyman, *SPAM: A Biography: The Amazing True Story of America’s Miracle Meat* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1999), 16 – Spam was launched by Hormel Foods Corporation in 1937. Spam emerged as an ideal ration food for feeding American troops as it required no refrigeration and was not under government meat restrictions.

new ethnic variations like the Spam musubi - a fried slice of spam on rice pressed together to form a small block, then wrapped with a strip of seaweed.¹¹⁰ Likewise, McDonald's outlets in Hawaii added Spam to its breakfast menu in 2002 while Hawaii Island chefs like Sam Choy and Roy Yamaguchi have used Spam in special dishes. To date, Hawaii residents consume more Spam per capita than anywhere else in the world, with nearly seven million cans in the state consumed annually.¹¹¹ Hormel Foods Corporation acknowledged Hawaii's unique relationship to Spam by developing a limited edition Hawaii can in 2003. Recently, Hawaii expressed its aloha (love) for the "miracle meat" with printed T-shirts that dubbed it "Hawaii's Official State Food."¹¹²

¹¹⁰ After Hurricane Iniki devastated Kauai, people sent water, diapers, and cases of Spam, with taped-on signs reading, "We're with you, Kauai!" The Honolulu Advertiser, "Spam," Living in Paradise, 2007-2008. *Honoluluadvertiser.com*. <http://ssl.honoluluadvertiser.com/livinginparadise/2007/spam> (Accessed April 21, 2008). Laudan, *The Food of Paradise*, 53.

¹¹¹ The Honolulu Advertiser, "Spam," Living in Paradise, 2007-2008. *Honoluluadvertiser.com*. <http://ssl.honoluluadvertiser.com/livinginparadise/2007/spam> (accessed April 21, 2008).

¹¹² Vendors sold T-shirts that read "Spam: Hawaii's Official State Food" at the annual Polynesian Hoolaulea festival, Alondra Park, Lawndale, California in summer of 2007.



Illustration 6. 'SPAM, Hawaii's Official State Food' T-shirt, 2007. Photo by author at the Hoolaulea Festival, Alondra Park, Lawndale on July 22, 2007.

Fish, fruit, and seasonings also define Hawaii cuisine. In particular, ahi poke (chunks of raw ahi mixed with seasoning, chopped seaweed, and onion) represents a Hawaiian soul food dish. While pineapple has a reputation as Hawaii's statefruit, other fruit such as guava, mango, papaya, lychee, star fruit, lilikoi (passion fruit) are also used for their intense savory flavors. Hawaii cuisine remains founded on nostalgic cultural roots, focused on fish and products of the land prepared with salty, sweet, and spicy condiments from Asia. Usually served in generous portions, Hawaii's cuisine features techniques from around the world. Hawaii's foodways represents a cultural pluralism, one that reflects its diverse history and cultures.

As historian Yong Chen asserted, California had already developed a Pacific Rim cuisine.¹¹³ Like Hawaii, Los Angeles has a multiethnic cuisine, marked by ethnic food and fusion, formed out of global foodways from places such as Latin America, Europe, Asia, and the Pacific Islands. Its worldwide culinary reputation was also influenced by veganism, the organic movement, as well as a long history of Hollywood fad diets. The largest city in the west, Los Angeles reflects a fluid process of resettlement and redefinition, whether healthy adaptation or social maladjustment, with diverse groups creating social spaces and shifting identities.¹¹⁴ Through time, indigenous peoples, Mexicans, multitudes of Midwesterners, Middle Easterners, Persians, and waves of Asians, African Americans, and Latinos have contributed to L.A.'s multicultural milieu. As a burgeoning site open to different foodways and transnational consumption, L.A. represents what Sylvia Ferrero called "the process of globalization [that] blurs the center-periphery distinction upon which previous models of global interaction have been based."¹¹⁵ Moreover, what Robert Dawidoff described Los Angeles as "the big rock candy mountain," an American experiment of pleasure, constitutional democracy, economic capitalism, cultural pluralism, and individualism.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ For Yong Chen's interview, see Jeffrey Selingo, "Cuisine and Identity: How Food and Memory Come Together" *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, July 30, 1997.

¹¹⁴ Notable food empires originate here like In-N-Out Burger in 1948, Denny's Restaurant in 1953, McDonald's in 1953, the Cheesecake Factory in 1971, to name a few. Los Angeles foodways today have distinct interpretations of ethnic food such as the "Mexican American taco. Jeffrey M. Pilcher considers the emergence of the "Mexican American taco" as part of a Los Angeles phenomenon in his article "Was the Taco Invented in Southern California?," *Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture*, vol. 8, no. 1 (2008).

¹¹⁵ Sylvia Ferrero, "Comida Sin Par. Construction of Mexican Food in Los Angeles: 'Foodscapes' in a Transnational Consumer Society," In *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*, Warren Belasco and Philip Scranton, Eds. (New York: Routledge Press, 2002), 195.

¹¹⁶ Robert Dawidoff, "From Ohio to the Big Rock Candy Mountain: Los Angeles as the Terminus of American Democratic Culture," In *Making History Matter*, Robert Dawidoff, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 168-179.

Los Angeles embodies a testing ground for diverse groups to cast ideas, practices, and customs into public spaces.¹¹⁷ Some of its culinary inventions emerging from this process include: The French Dip Sandwich, The Cheeseburger, The Hot Fudge Sundae, and Wolfgang Puck's wood-fired pizza.¹¹⁸ Victor Valle and Rodolfo Torres assert that urban consumption, particularly in restaurants, play a role in the city's globalizing of quasi-public spaces.¹¹⁹ For instance, the Los Angeles Farmer's Market at the corner of Third and Fairfax represents a landmark destination that serves an array of ethnic foods ranging from Middle Eastern and Cajun specialties to French crepes and traditional American apple pie. This landmark illustrates how restaurants can shape racialized images that appropriate culture into the creation of the city's pluralistic image. Los Angeles foodways, shaped by globalization and transnational elements, becomes a vast meeting place for diverse cuisine.

What happens when a food item like taro shifts from an indigenous staple in Hawaii to taro chips sold at specialty stores? Is this an example of culinary tourism or a reflection of a new food trend materializing in a different region? Hawaii's cuisine and "Hawaiian food" in Los Angeles seems generally similar but have pronounced differences as geography plays an important role. Hawaiian foods in Los Angeles appear as strong markers of cultural and regional identity that convey special connections about belonging and place. Such a process suggests how ethnic recipes change when removed from their "original" background, picking up new and

¹¹⁷ For different discussions of this topic see Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country, An Island on the Land* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1946); William Deverell and Tom Sitton, eds, *Metropolis in the Making: Los Angeles in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Eric Avila, *Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2004); and Mark Wild, *Street Meeting: Multiethnic Neighborhoods in Early Twentieth-Century Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

¹¹⁸ "The French Dip Sandwich" - Phillippe Mathieu (Phillippe Restaurant, Los Angeles, 1918); "The Cheeseburger" - Lionel Sternberger (Rite Spot Restaurant, Pasadena, 1924); "The Hot Fudge Sundae" - C.C. Brown's (Hollywood); "Wood-fired pizza" - Wolfgang Puck (Spago, Los Angeles, 1980s) - Taken from Los Angeles Almanac, Available from <http://www.laalmanac.com/history/hi08r.htm> (Accessed 16 May 2008).

¹¹⁹ Victor Valle and Rodolfo Torres, "Mexican Cuisine: Food as Culture," In *Latino Metropolis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 67.

sometimes unexpected meanings that exemplify transnational exchange. Thus, new cultural forms and a distinctive type of Hawaiianess materializes in Los Angeles.

A sample of L.A.'s Hawaiian restaurants highlights the strategies by which restaurateurs fit "Hawaiian" into market niches, making this further an empirical study of public ethnic culture. Dubbed as South Bay's "well-hidden culinary gem" for its "Hawaiian-style food," the Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop epitomizes one of the earliest spaces that catered to Hawaii migrants who resettled in Los Angeles in the 1960s.¹²⁰ Likewise, Miki Chan's Okazu-ya has served a blend of Chinese and Hawaiian-style fast food to Asians, Latinos, and African-Americans. Robert Taira, the son of Okinawan immigrants who settled in Hawaii, relocated King's Hawaiian to Torrance, providing an Asian and Polynesian based community with a restaurant-bakery and a quick service restaurant called The Local Place.¹²¹ Named after the "Shaka" sign, a common greeting gesture in Hawaii, Shakas Hawaiian Flavors serves Japanese-Hawaiian style cuisine to Asians, Latinos, and others in Monterey Park and Alhambra.¹²² Similarly, Back Home in Lahaina affixes the taste of "home" with Hawaiian fusion cuisine catering to Asian, Polynesian, and whites in Manhattan Beach and Carson.¹²³ Finally, Chef Roy Yamaguchi extended his "Hawaii fusion cuisine" and famed "aloha style of service" to a cosmopolitan clientele with the

¹²⁰ Chris Cognac, "Hawaiian Specialty Foods Right Up This Cafe's Alley," *Daily Breeze (Torrance, CA)*, May 30, 2003, Food section.

¹²¹ The King's Hawaiian Brand name dates back to the opening of King's Bakery in Honolulu because of its location on King Street. For a more detailed history on King's Hawaiian see Charles Perry, "The King of Hawaiian Sweet Bread; Robert Taira, Son of Okinawan Immigrants, has Built an Empire on Puffy Round Loaves," *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 2002, Food; Features Desk section, Home edition; and Jenny McTaggart, "Sweet Breads Get a New Look: Updated Packaging From King's Hawaiian is aimed at Ensuring Safety, Authenticity, and Taste," *Progressive Grocer* 82.9 (June 1, 2003): 98; and L. Smith and Merrill Shindler, "Island Flavors: King's Hawaiian and L&L Hawaiian Barbecue Dish Up Native Tastes," *Daily Breeze (Torrance, CA)*, February 14, 2003, Entertainment section, Home edition.

¹²² The "Shaka" sign is a common greeting gesture often associated with Hawaii and boarding sports like surfing, skateboarding, and snowboarding. It signifies "hang loose," "cool," "alright," "hello," and "goodbye." It can also convey the "aloha spirit" and serve as a gesture of friendship and understanding between the various ethnic cultures that reside within Hawaii. In June Watanabe, "Wherever It Came From, Shaka Sign Part of Hawaii," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Starbulletin.com, <http://starbulletin.com/2002/03/31/news/kokualine.html> (Accessed, April 30, 2008).

¹²³ Eddie North-Hager, "Eatery Brings Diners 'Home' to Carson," *Daily Breeze (Torrance, CA)*, August 15, 2004, Food section.

opening of Roy's Restaurant-Los Angeles, now part of a national chain of twenty-nine restaurants.¹²⁴ These food establishments represent cultural centers that mediate and market Hawaiian foodways bringing a sense of "Hawaiian" from the community out to public.

¹²⁴ Janice W. Henderson, *The New Cuisine of Hawaii: Recipes from the Twelve Celebrated Chefs of Hawaii Regional Cuisine* (New York: Villard Books, 1994), 116.

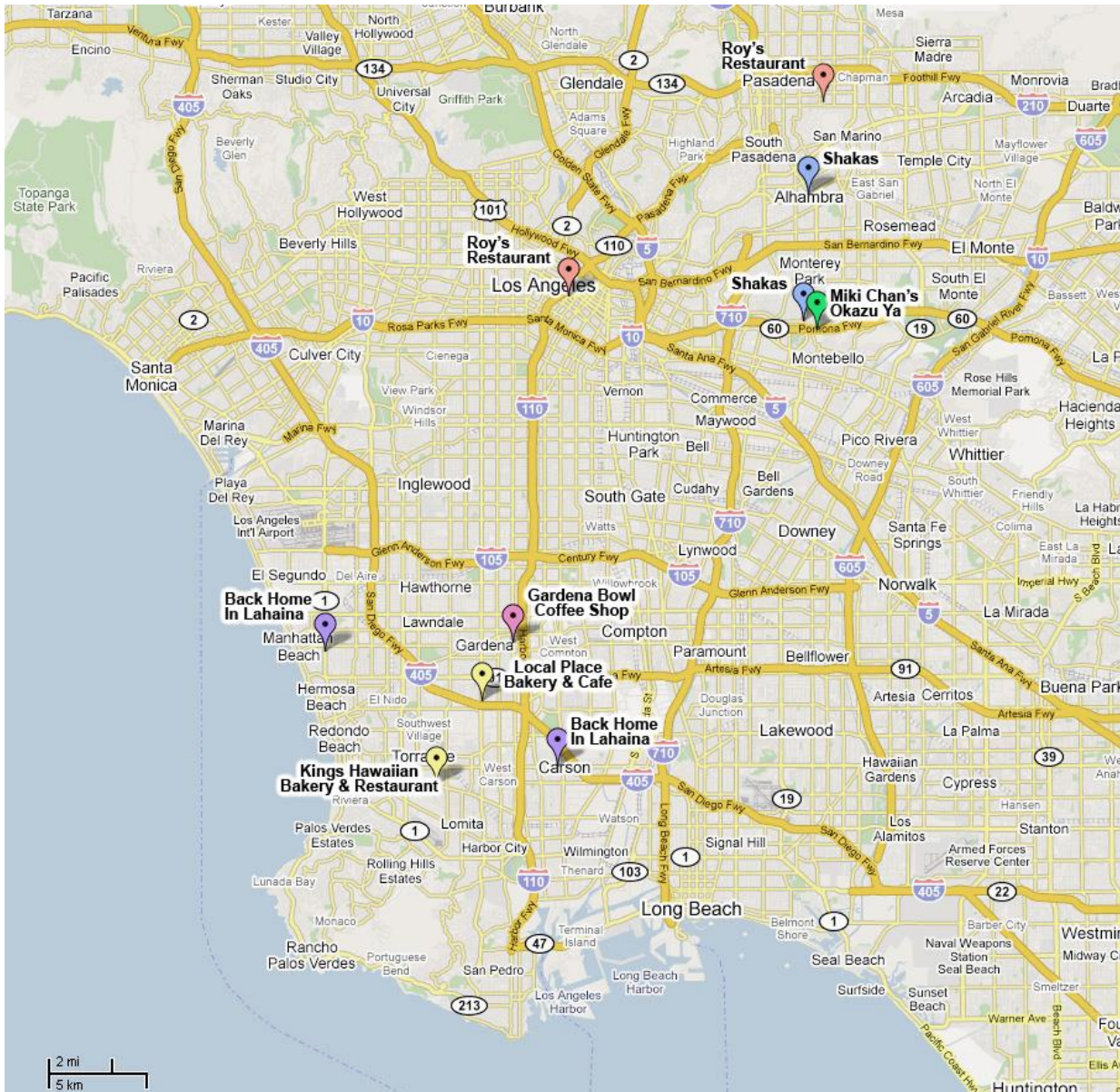


Illustration 7. Map of Hawaiian restaurants used as a research base. Illustration by author. 2012.

In the case of Hawaiian food in Los Angeles, then, to what extent has the quest for authenticity and the practice of seeking out new cuisines changed the meaning of Hawaiian foodways, both for those who prepare it and for those who consume it? Los Angeles Hawaiian restaurants not only catered to Hawaiian clientele but also brought Hawaiianess to the greater public through various representations of what they saw as “authentic.” Elspeth Probyn maintains that by advocating food in its “authentic” (that is in a national) form, “food writers by

and large serve up static social categories and fairly fixed ideas about social relations.”¹²⁵ For Probyn, authentic food has little to do with issues of physical nourishment and the needs of the eating body and more with how food and eating help shape identities and produce realities. Sylvia Ferrero reminds us that authenticity is not an objective criterion but rather a dynamic social construction. Food empowers a culture to overcome stereotypical concepts about the ethnic “other” in terms of class and social status while enabling its ethnic entrepreneurs to assert a social position in society.¹²⁶ Hybrid cuisines, for Ferrero, become an apparatus to articulate an underlying cultural resistance against culinary tourism.

Like in Hawaii, some Hawaiian food establishments in Los Angeles offer the plate lunch. Whether in a styrofoam container for customers on the go or on tableware for those dining-in, the mixed plate lunch has become a fixture of authenticity. Miki Chans Okazu-ya, for example, took the lau lau off the menu because it was too labor intensive and instead emphasized the popular ‘Hawaiian Chow Mein’ made of imported noodles from Hawaii, a homemade chasui that takes two hours to prepare, as well as carrots, celery, and bean sprouts. “This recipe is from the first original owner,” stated Pen Chou, the third former owner and current chef.¹²⁷ He added that “what is so important to this dish are the noodles from Hawaii because they are more chewy and different from Chinese crispy noodles.” Likewise, Shakas Hawaiian Flavors successfully revamped the plate lunch concept adding new items into its prized ‘Shaka plate’ - a sample plate with sesame chicken, beef teriyaki, spam musubi, macaroni salad, and Chinese chicken salad, which for co-owner Joel Nakabayashi, embodies the “philosophy of the plate lunch.”¹²⁸

Similarly, Back Home in Lahaina altered the plate lunch with its signature ‘Lahaina Fried

¹²⁵ Elspeth Probyn, *Carnal Appetites: Food, Sex, Identities* (New York: Routledge Press, 2000), 25.

¹²⁶ Sylvia Ferrero, “Comida Sin Par. Construction of Mexican Food in Los Angeles: ‘Foodscapes’ in a Transnational Consumer Society,” In *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*, Warren Belasco and Philip Scranton, Eds. (New York: Routledge Press, 2002).

¹²⁷ Pen Chou, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 26 January 2008, Montebello, California.

¹²⁸ Joel Nakabayashi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 4 January 2008, Alhambra, California.

Chicken’ – “sweet fried chicken made of boneless, skinless marinated nuggets - with a choice of eating it as an appetizer or as a create your own combo plate that comes with rice, mac salad, our version of miso soup and special ramen cabbage salad,” expressed Woody Wachi, one of the restaurants’ four partners.¹²⁹ With historical roots in the plantation workers’ diets and World War II rationing, the plate lunch represents a shared pan-ethnic creation that appreciates the multiethnic conglomeration of cultures in Hawaii.

In specific cases, Hawaiian food becomes closely connected to the idea of family. The Gardena Bowling Center is actually a family-based business owned by Italian Americans. “I’ve been here since I was seven ... and we are the blue collared country club providing a place to bowl, socialize, and have fun – it’s become family tradition, and we have a couple of cases where it’s four generations of family bowlers coming here to bowl and eat – and so the coffee shop is key to the family-oriented recreation that we offer,” stated Victor Amenta, one of three brothers who have owned Gardena Bowling Center since 1983.¹³⁰ Amenta expressed that “the coffee shop started out selling American food when it opened in 1948 and continued to sell it once my parents bought it in the 1960s, but [the coffee shop lease owners] Rick and Bob came up with the idea to add Hawaiian food items to the menu in 1967.”¹³¹ He added that “we had a lot of people from Hawaii coming in – we still have an ‘Island league’ that bowlers started in 1964 way back then, you had to be from Hawaii to participate but now it’s changed.” Former Chef Ethel Teshima provided family recipes still served at the Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop. She asserts that “the ‘Hawaiian Royal’ – a dish made of Portuguese sausage, chasiu (BBQ pork),

¹²⁹ Woody Wachi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 3 March 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹³⁰ Victor Amenta, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 27 December 2007, Gardena, California.

¹³¹ A local newspaper and a print advertisement substantiate the launching of the Gardena Bowling Center and Coffee Shop in 1948 - Author Unknown, “Construction of Bowling Alley to Start in 10 Days,” *The Gardena Valley News* (Gardena, CA), June 3, 1948; and Gardena Valley News Print Advertisement, “Grand Opening of the Beautiful-Distinctive Gardena Bowl,” *The Gardena Valley News* (Gardena, CA), December 23, 1948, Merchant News Section.

green onions, and eggs scrambled together, then served over a bed of rice with teriyaki sauce on top – remains the coffee shop’s signature dish and family favorite.”¹³² Constructions of family are central to the food and image of the Gardena Bowl Coffee shop as evident in a segment of the Food Network, which brought national attention to a community institution.

¹³² Ethel Teshima, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 9 January 2008, Torrance, California. The Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop and its ‘Hawaiian Royal’ was featured in The Hungry Detective: Los Angeles, Episode DC0107, *Food Network*, Los Angeles, 10:30AM, 25 January 2008.

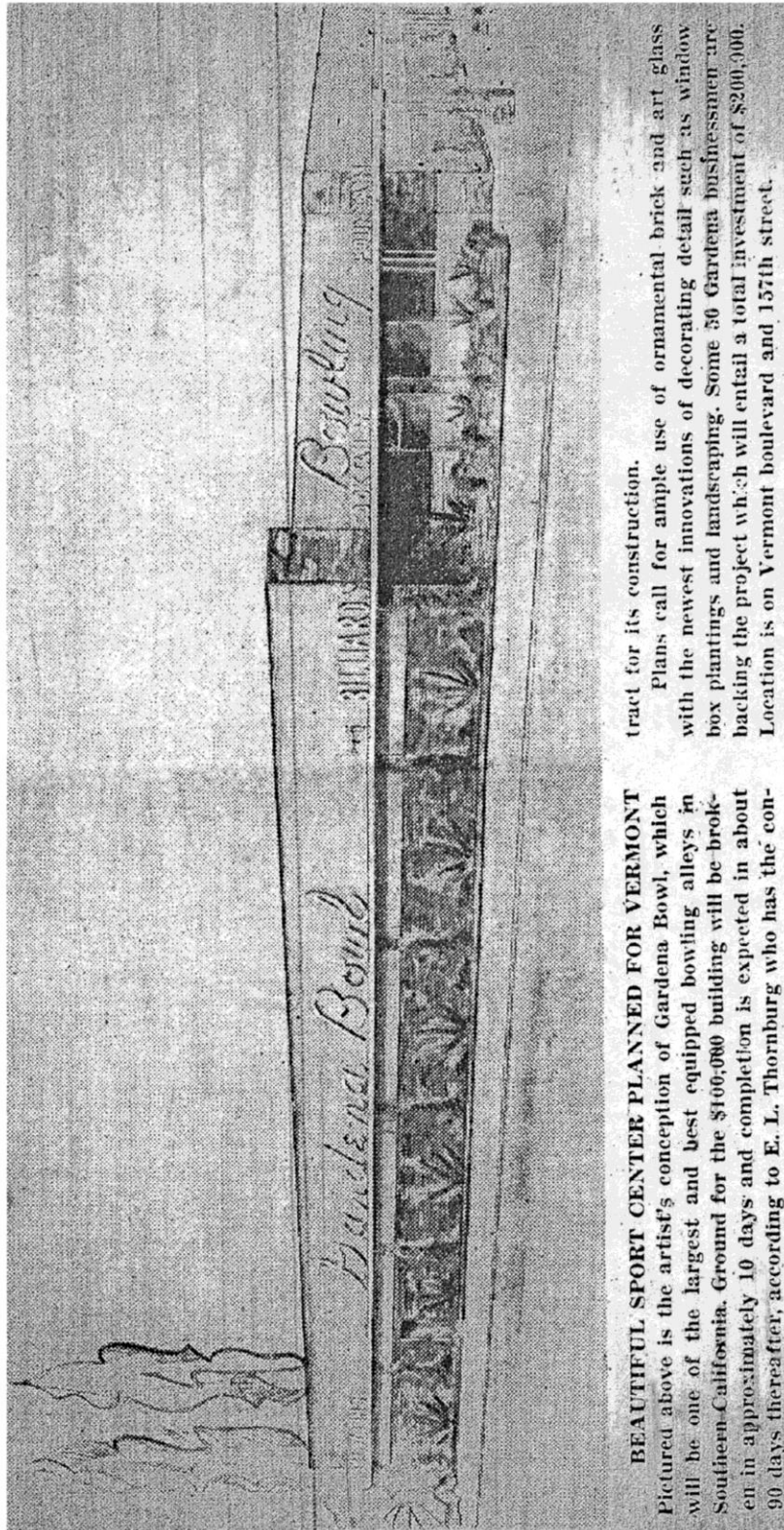
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BEAUTIFUL SPORT CENTER PLANNED FOR VERMONT
Pictured above is the artist's conception of Gardena Bowl, which will be one of the largest and best equipped bowling alleys in Southern-California. Ground for the \$100,000 building will be broken in approximately 10 days and completion is expected in about 90 days thereafter, according to E. L. Thornburg who has the con-

tract for its construction.

Plans call for ample use of ornamental brick and art glass with the newest innovations of decorating detail such as window box plantings and landscaping. Some 50 Gardena businessmen are backing the project which will entail a total investment of \$200,000. Location is on Vermont boulevard and 157th street.

Illustration 8. The Grand Opening of the Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop, ca. 1948. Source: *The Gardena Valley News* (Gardena, CA), June 3, 1948.

Robert Taira built an empire on the “Hawaiian sweet bread” recipe, a product inspired by pao doce, a Portuguese staple made on a sugar cane plantation outside Hilo where Taira had worked.¹³³ The ethnic entrepreneur had his share of challenges when he opened a bakery in Hilo and then expanded it into a bakery-coffee shop in Honolulu. He then had to struggle for a bank loan to build a bread facility in Torrance. According to Lucy Sheardown, King’s Hawaiian retail marketing manager and employee since 1988, “Robert Taira transformed the idea of a sweet bread loaf into a family business that emphasized quality, fresh items, and a neighborhood feeling.”¹³⁴ Robert’s son Mark Taira has served as President and chief executive officer since 1983. In his words, “my father started the business in 1950 [in Hawaii] where all of my uncles and aunties worked at the bakery - I grew up in the bakery along with my brothers and sisters, it was our second home – and so this business includes our family values, livelihood, and our commitment to the community to bring the highest level of bakery goods and local food delivered with the aloha spirit.”¹³⁵ He added, “there are extremely few family businesses today of our size and my goal is to have the next generation continue its growth into the international market.” King’s Hawaiian embodies opportunity and mobility through a Hawaiian food product rooted in family investment and culinary tourism.

¹³³ Mary-Margaret Wantuck, “A Baker’s Dozen? A Baker’s Millions!” *Nation’s Business* 72 (March 1984): 77. For a featured story on the mass production of King’s Hawaiian Sweet Bread see Unwrapped: Aloha Edibles, Episode CW1H10, *Food Network*, 9:00PM, 28 March 2005.

¹³⁴ Lucy Sheardown, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 13 January 2008, Torrance, California.

¹³⁵ Mark Taira, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 8 February 2008, Torrance, California.



Illustration 9. Outside King's Hawaiian Bakery and Restaurant, Torrance, California. Courtesy of King's Hawaiian Restaurant website.

Hawaiian foodways can also become haute cuisine. Celebrated Chef Roy Yamaguchi managed his vision of “Hawaiian Fusion Cuisine,” a blend of local ingredients found in the Pacific Rim with European sauces and Asian spices, onto a world market during the early 1990s.¹³⁶ He has expanded his empire to over thirty outlets throughout the United States and also in Japan and Guam, each restaurant always featuring Hawaiian Fusion classic dishes like the ‘Original Hawaiian Blackened Island Ahi,’ and the ‘Classic Roasted Macadamia Nut Crusted Mahi Mahi,’ along with many others. According to Dave Abella, Roy’s corporate executive chef, “In 1988, Honolulu, Hawaii, Chef Roy Yamaguchi was the first chef to ever blend European cooking techniques with the flavors of Asia and the Pacific Rim” thereby laying claim to ‘Hawaiian Fusion Cuisine.’¹³⁷ Roy’s Restaurant-Los Angeles, in particular, exudes a distinct Hawaiian- Los Angeles identity “uniquely offering the ‘Sous Vide of Kona Kanpachi,’ a popular favorite for our customers,” added Matt Dochin, managing partner for Roy’s Restaurant-Los Angeles, pointing to the way in which restaurants develop hybrid marketing identities.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Roy’s Restaurant, “About Roy’s,” Roy’s Restaurant.com. <http://www.roysrestaurant.com/aboutroys.asp> (Accessed April 2, 2008).

¹³⁷ Dave Abella, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 10 February, 2008, San Diego, California.

¹³⁸ Matt Dochin, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 16 February 2008, Los Angeles, California.



Illustration 10. Front of Roy's Restaurant, Downtown Los Angeles, California promoting the concept of "Hawaiian Fusion" cuisine. Courtesy of Roy's website.

Another component to the haute cuisine offered by Roy's Restaurant emerges from its distinctive food ties to ancient native Hawaiian traditions. Inamona, for example, the ground innards from roasted kukui nuts (candlenuts) typically prepared as a specialized Hawaiian seasoning for poke, "is used in our 'Ahi Poketini' and that's the secret to true Hawaiian poke," noted Matt Dochin.¹³⁹ But Roy's Restaurant also adheres to a cultural taboo "like not eating shark because it's an aumakua [a Hawaiian protective deity or ancestral spirit], and so it won't be featured on our menu because we want to stay true to Hawaiian culture and history," explained corporate executive chef Dave Abella.¹⁴⁰ Roy's Restaurant, serves fusion cuisine defined by its precise preparations, elaborate service, and, most importantly, obsessive attention to detail of Hawaiian food culture.

¹³⁹ Refer to Herb Kawainui Kane, *Ancient Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kawainui Press, 1998), 53 for a discussion on inamona. Roy's 'Ahi Poketini' is one of their signature appetizers and consists of yellow fin ahi with wasabi aioli, avocado, and tobiko caviar. Matt Dochin, interview with author on February 16, 2008, Los Angeles, California.

¹⁴⁰ Dave Abella, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 10 February 2008, San Diego, California.



Illustration 11. Front of Roy's Restaurant, Pasadena, California. Courtesy of Roy's website.

A modification trend has developed, especially at Hawaiian restaurants that want to change their foodways based on accommodating consumer taste and preferences. Most Hawaiian restaurants offer imported Hawaii-brand beverages like Hawaiian sun drinks, bottled water, and in some instances beer (e.g. from Keoki brewery and Kona brewery). Back Home in Lahaina sponsored several wine events featuring Maui's Ulupalakua Tedeschi vineyards "to keep with our whole Lahaina and Maui theme" noted Matt Matsuno, manager at the Manhattan Beach location.¹⁴¹

Healthy Hawaiian food exemplifies another movement. Since many customers believe that Hawaiian food is tasty but fattening, a few Hawaiian restaurants have revised their menus to offer a healthier selection. Shakas Hawaiian Flavors, King's Hawaiian Restaurant-Bakery, and Back Home in Lahaina use skinless chicken breast and offer salads. King's Hawaiian, moreover, features "a whole wheat and honey wheat variation of its sweet bread rolls."¹⁴² Back Home in Lahaina added wraps (lettuce and tortilla) to the menu, "substituted chasui chicken for chasui pork in the saimin, and sometimes gives brown rice instead of steamed white rice to give a healthier alternative."¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Matt Matsuno, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 1 February 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁴² Lucy Sheardown, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 13 January 2008, Torrance, California.

¹⁴³ Matt Matsuno, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 1 February 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

In certain instances, modifying Hawaiian foodways means juxtaposing foods to accommodate to the local community. With a growing consumer taste for Chinese fast-food in the United States and with neighboring Monterey Park close by, Miki Chan's Okazu-ya gave the Japanese American delicatessen a heavy Chinese accent.¹⁴⁴ Successive owners have reconciled this issue by "keeping the first owner's [Miki Chan] menu and slowly adding Chinese food items because customers wanted Chan's menu but with a Chinese style."¹⁴⁵



Illustration 12. Miki Chan's Chinese-Hawaiian fast-food delicatessen. Photo by author Montebello, California on August 12, 2010.

¹⁴⁴ Warren J. Belasco, "Ethnic Fast Foods: The Corporate Melting Pot" *Food and Foodways* 2 (1987): 1–30; According to the 1990 census, Asians make up 56 percent of Monterey Park's population (the majority being Chinese), followed by Hispanics with 30 percent, and whites with 12 percent. Timothy P. Fong, *The First Suburban Chinatown: The Remaking of Monterey Park, California* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

¹⁴⁵ Pen Chou, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 26 January 2008, Montebello, California.

This ethnic fusion, represents a Chinese based Hawaiian-style cuisine found only in Los Angeles. In heavily Latino Los Angeles, a Mexican-Hawaiian hybrid has also taken shape. Seeking to capitalize on the Latino market, King's Hawaiian, Back Home in Lahaina, and Shakas Hawaiian Flavors have adapted elements of "Mexican" food, forming new Mexican-Hawaiian hybrids.¹⁴⁶ The 'Kalua pork nachos' has become a top selling appetizer for King's Hawaiian. "Kalua pork is similar to the Mexican pork carnitas - it made for a natural substitute – so the black beans, guacamole, cheese, sour cream, tomatoes, green onions, and fried corn tortillas are from the Hispanic influence but its the mango tropical salsa - made from scratch – and the kalua pork brings in the Polynesian-Hawaiian side of it," stated Sheardown.¹⁴⁷ King's Hawaiian also offers a breakfast burrito made of eggs, fried rice, Portuguese sausage, cheese, and salsa. Similarly, Woody Wachi stated that "due to the influence of Hispanic clientele, we offer fish tacos and our Hawaiian nachos (made of fried won ton skins and Hawaiian tropical salsa) is a popular favorite."¹⁴⁸ For Shakas Hawaiian Flavors, Mexican-Hawaiian fusion derives from personal experience. Joel Nakabayashi, co-owner of Shakas Hawaiian Flavors, asserted that "the 'Kalua pork tacos' started out as an experimental joke - growing up in Los Angeles you're exposed to different foods that it becomes part of a daily diet ... plus normal conversations about food play a part in the development of how we perceive food ... and for us, a major influence comes from the Mexican food market."¹⁴⁹ During our interview, Nakabayashi did a taste test for their new breakfast burrito as he emphasized: "we embrace fusion and food hybrids because food

¹⁴⁶ Some works that account for Mexican and Mexican American identity formation in Los Angeles include: Gilda L. Ochoa, *Becoming Neighbors in a Mexican-American Community: Power, Conflict, and Solidarity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004). Editors Enrique C. Ochoa, and Gilda L. Ochoa explore the historical and modern dynamics of "Latinidad" (the Latin American presence) accounting for the way various Latina/o groups formed communities and (re)constructed identities in Los Angeles in *Latino LA: Transformations, Communities, and Activism* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005).

¹⁴⁷ Lucy Sheardown, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 13 January 2008, Torrance, California.

¹⁴⁸ Woody Wachi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 3 March 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁴⁹ Joel Nakabayashi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 4 January 2008, Alhambra, California.

is constantly evolving – variations of Mexican food is found in practically every major fast food chain, whether it's tacos, burritos, or nachos, so we want to move Hawaiian food to that universal level that Mexican food has on the market.” In short, Hawaiian foodways cross more than one transnational border.¹⁵⁰

From these examples, Hawaiian food stands out as both enduring and experimental. These ethnic practices, from food preparation to cooking to marketing, are mediated by different ethnic entrepreneurs and by consumer demand. The ethnic food market becomes an arena where individuals build up new social spaces for themselves. Donna R. Gabaccia reminds us how “enclave economies fostered a distinctive business culture which combined profit-making, family labor, high business risks, and communalism” and therefore food establishments can embody “ethnic entrepreneurship” as entities that embody both cultural affirmation and economic enterprise.¹⁵¹

For Hawaiian restaurateurs, historical memory through food and place remains a constitutive feature of (re)creating Hawaiianess. Evoking nostalgia by restaurateurs help reaffirm cultural authority to recreate an imaginary landscape across physical space. They represent community-based intermediaries who live in the areas they serve and seem to give customers personal connections to Hawaiian culture. As Phoebe Kropp avows, “In Southern California, as elsewhere, memory is like mortar, cementing in people’s sense of place – whether

¹⁵⁰ See Yen Le Espiritu’s *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992) for a discussion on pan-ethnicity and the Asian American community. Espiritu emphasizes that U.S. colonial and imperialist practices influenced a contemporary migration of Asians and Asian American pan-ethnicity emerges as a product of cross-group affiliation and institution building.

¹⁵¹ Gabaccia, *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998), 86.

a region's past exists as lived experience or marketed slogan, it stamps a place with a unique character.”¹⁵²

Hawaiian restaurateurs blend Hawaiian history and colonial memory to their food. Co-owner Woody Wachi explained that “the name Back Home in Lahaina plays off of the idea of missing Hawaii – we want people to feel like they are having food here on the mainland like as if you were back in Hawaii.”¹⁵³ Wachi added that “the food began as Asian fusion and evolved into Hawaiian food done like the old days of plantation – we emphasize the plate lunch because of its origins from plantations in Hawaii with different immigrants who would share their food at lunch time – so we aim to stay true to the plate lunch in Hawaii by offering different combos.” Back Home in Lahaina uses “diasporic nostalgia” as a means of recreating a feeling of belonging.¹⁵⁴ Simply put, “Back Home’s concept is like taking food you’ve grown up with from Hawaii and giving that same experience in Los Angeles – it’s about proving that you can open a Hawaiian restaurant as close as you can to the Aloha spirit away from Hawaii.”¹⁵⁵

Likewise, Shakas Hawaiian Flavors fuses historical memory to food. Hence items can sometimes include Hawaiian words in the titles like the ‘Honu (turtle) Pepper Chicken’ and the ‘Menehune (dwarf) Popcorn Chicken.’¹⁵⁶ Hawaiian mixed-language cuisine becomes a part of a cultural borderland where the boundaries of food and language overlap. A stellar example of memorializing food emerges out of the ‘442nd Combo,’ a plate lunch made in honor of co-owner

¹⁵² Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja: Culture and Memory in a Modern American Place* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 2.

¹⁵³ Woody Wachi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 3 March 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁵⁴ “Diasporic nostalgia” draws from Vicki L. Ruiz’s conception of “disjunctive diasporas” and the mapping of memories, migrations, and cultural conventions as a means to locate identity within the constructs of gender, class, and region in Vicki L. Ruiz and John R. Chavez, eds, *Memories and Migrations: Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 1-2.

¹⁵⁵ Matt Matsuno, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 1 February 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁵⁶ According to Hawaiian mythology, the Menehune are said to be a people, sometimes described as dwarfs in size, who live in the deep forests and hidden valleys of the Hawaiian Islands. For more detail, see Katherine Luomala, “The Menehune of Polynesia and Other Mythical Little People of Oceania” *Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin Vol. 203* (Kraus Reprint, Millwood, N.Y., 1986).

Joel Nakabayashi's father, a member of the legendary "Go for Broke" 442nd Japanese American combat unit during World War II.¹⁵⁷ The plate consists of a scoop of rice, potato-macaroni salad, spam musubi, and tsukemono (Japanese preserved vegetables), with the choice of two of the following proteins: Teriyaki Chicken, Teriyaki Beef, Chicken Curry, Kalua Pork and Cabbage, Sesame Chicken Wings, Honu Pepper Chicken, Char Siu, or Kalbi.



Illustration 13. Website advertisement for Shakas Hawaiian Flavors featuring the 442nd plate. Source: Courtesy of Shakas website.

In addition to utilizing food and memory to (re)produce experiences, several Hawaiian food establishments rely on representations of place. Creating the feel of the Hawaiian islands remains fundamental to the experience they provide. According to Lucy Sheardown, the scenery at the restaurant-bakery and the Local Place "is not touristy, rather a family restaurant that has lots of vegetation to give the island feel, salt water fish aquariums, and our signature pineapple for décor."¹⁵⁸ King's Hawaiian's perception of Hawaiian island feel conveys a mixture of a laid back family oriented atmosphere and of a tropical paradise located in Torrance.

¹⁵⁷ Joel Nakabayashi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 4 January 2008, Alhambra, California. The 442nd Regimental Combat Team of the United States Army was an Asian American unit composed of mostly Japanese Americans who fought in Europe during World War II and became the most highly decorated military unit in the history of the United States Armed Forces. For more info see "Go For Broke" at <http://www.goforbroke.org/>.

¹⁵⁸ Lucy Sheardown, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 13 January 2008, Torrance, California.

Giving the Hawaiian island feel through “Hawaiiana” seems quite significant in the experience Shakas Hawaiian Flavors provides.¹⁵⁹ Both locations in Monterey Park and Alhambra contain large wooden tiki statues, plastic leis, and scenic pictures of Hawaii which communicate, “on a tourist level, Hawaii as a paradise but there is still room for improvement in Hawaiian ambiance since food is our core and we are always looking to reinvent ourselves,” remarked Nakabayashi.¹⁶⁰ He added that, “our locations reflect how we see Hawaii - as a place of vacation and fun – and so this concept plus friendly staff in aloha shirts and the quality of our food are all part of creating a fantasy of paradise.” The Monterey Park location by contrast, conveys a non-tourist homage to Hawaiiana with lauhala (woven matting) covering one wall, posters of Hula Kahiko (ancient hula), and a panel of Spam cans customers have come to revere as the “Spam Wall.”¹⁶¹

Back Home in Lahaina invokes a sense of spectacle to its decor. Close to the beach, the inside of the restaurant embodies Hawaiian exotica as a commercial ethnic-themed attraction based on items you would find in historic Lahaina, Maui. “We hired artist Malti Kennedy to transform this place and give the feeling of Hawaii with tropical vegetation, murals based on locations in Hawaii, and our banyan tree in the center of the eating area with an open sky light above it,” explained Matt Matsuno.¹⁶² The artificial banyan tree from Back Home in Lahaina, in particular, serves as a nostalgic homage to its iconic image in Lahaina culture as a central

¹⁵⁹ The term “Hawaiiana” refers to the history and various aspects of the culture of Hawaii and was coined in 1948 by Hawaiian entertainer Nona Beamer.

¹⁶⁰ Joel Nakabayashi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 4 January 2008, Alhambra, California.

¹⁶¹ Lauhala is the Hawaiian art of weaving the leaves of the hala tree. Hula Kahiko is an older style of hula performed to mele (chants) accompanied by percussion instruments. For featured stories on Shakas Hawaiian Flavors see Charles Perry, “Restaurants; Counter Intelligence; Spam in the Sushi?; The Menu at Shakas Samples Some of the Distinctive Tastes that Hawaii Lends the Cuisine of the Pacific Rim” *Los Angeles Times*, July 4, 2002, Calendar Weekend section, Home edition; Jonathan Gold, “Spam, Spam, Spam, Spam...: Hawaiian Musubi in Monterey Park” *LA Weekly*, April 8, 1998.

¹⁶² Matt Matsuno, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 1 February 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

meeting point for storytelling, craft shows, and entertainment.¹⁶³ “Now customers can also have a Hawaiian-style meal underneath the banyan tree in a restaurant setting without ever having to actually fly to Lahaina,” noted Woody Wachi.¹⁶⁴ The Carson location typifies another Lahaina theme where “the inside of the restaurant was built to look like Front street, Lahaina, and we have live music bands from Hawaii - friends of the owners - who’ll play Hawaii local music just like you’d find it in Lahaina.”¹⁶⁵ Back Home in Lahaina owners, thus, reproduce a distinct Hawaiian themed attraction for the general consumer.

¹⁶³ The famous banyan tree is located in Courthouse Square in the center of Lahaina. It was brought to Maui from India when the tree was eight-feet tall and planted to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the establishment of Lahaina’s first Christian mission. The tree now reaches a height of about 50 feet and extends over 200 feet from side to side.

¹⁶⁴ Woody Wachi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 3 March 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁶⁵ Matt Matsuno, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 1 February 2008, Manhattan Beach, California. Lahaina was once a bustling whaling port in the early 1800s. The architecture of Lahaina is distinctly colonial with wooden buildings proudly displaying their date of origin and the old stone walls of the much frequented jail still standing - several classical inns still operate.



Illustration 14. Inside view of Back Home in Lahaina, Carson, California. Source: Courtesy of Back Home in Lahaina website.

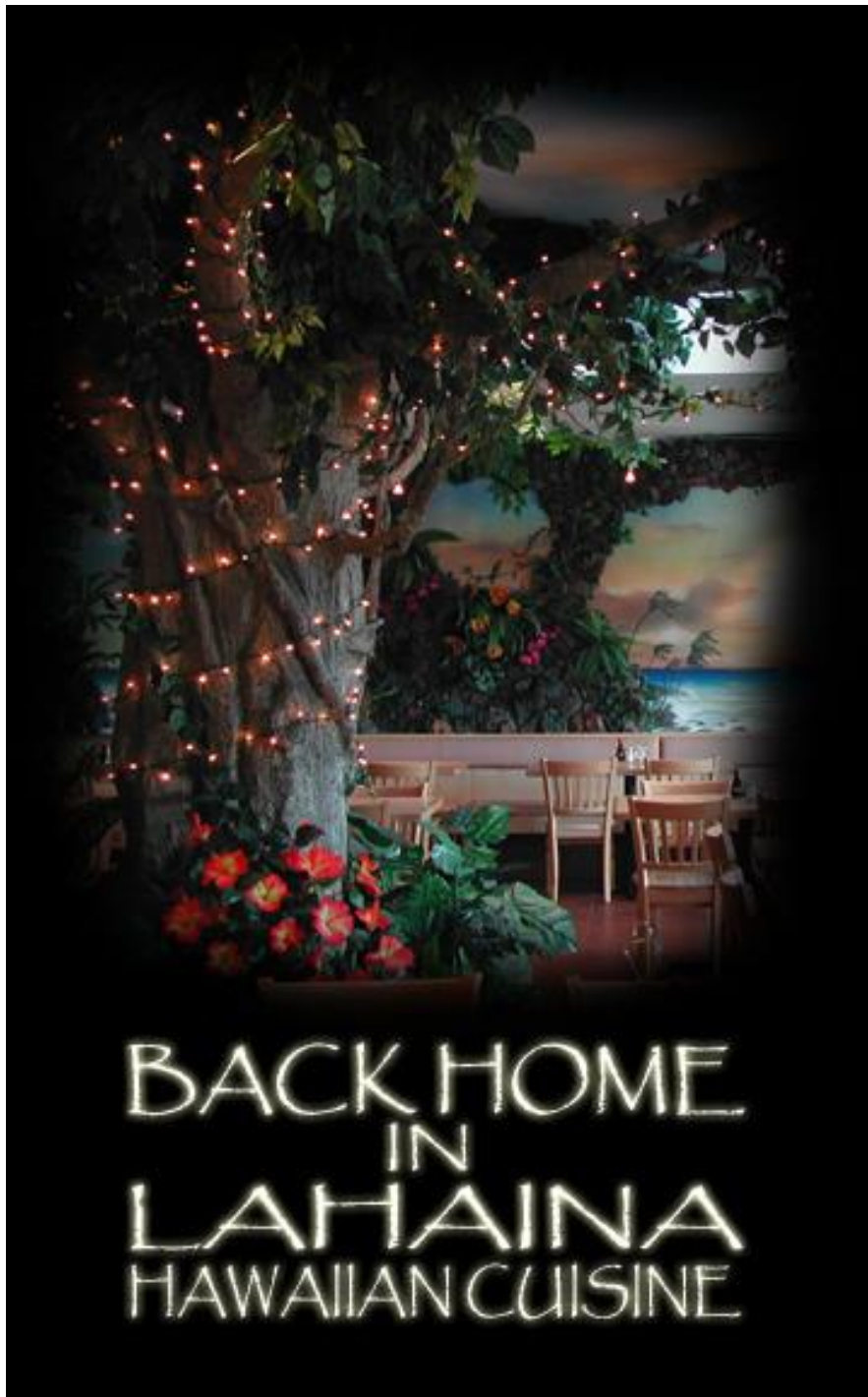


Illustration 15. Inside view of Back Home in Lahaina, Manhattan Beach, California. Source: Courtesy of Back Home in Lahaina website.

Roy's Restaurant-Los Angeles moves away from Hawaiiana and spectacle, instead exuding a type of mainland aloha ambiance through an intermingling of Hawaii and Los

Angeles. Located in the heart of downtown, the restaurant radiates a modern, urban experience with light jazz playing in the background. Also blended into the ambiance are a series of glass panels with garden-style etchings along with large sculptures of various colored plumeria mounted on walls, giving a touch of Hawaii. “Fine dining with lots of aloha is what we emphasize at Roy’s and we give that feeling from the moment you walk through our door with our Hawaiian fusion cuisine and service,” remarked Dochin.¹⁶⁶ For Roy’s Restaurant-Los Angeles, the Hawaiian island feel emerges more from its cuisine and service; its overall cultural representation revealing a tension of the Hawaiian culture with the urban vibe of downtown Los Angeles. There remain obvious class differences between Roy’s Restaurant and other more down home Hawaiian eateries. Whereas Roy’s emphasizes fine dining, other places like the Gardena Bowl Coffee shop and Miki Chan’s represent a more mom and pop atmosphere.

Some restaurants generate the Hawaiian island feeling by providing customers with baked goods and imported products for sale. Both King’s Hawaiian and Back Home in Lahaina contain bakeries and mini-markets inside their restaurants. The mini-markets generally carry “Hawaiian salt, assorted soyu sauces, T-shirts, Hawaii-brand cookies, candies, and jams.”¹⁶⁷ The appeal of baked goods and Hawaii-imported products lets customers take the island feeling home. Whether through baked goods for the general consumer or offering those hard to find Hawaii-imported products for mainland Asian-Polynesians, Hawaiian restaurateurs market the experience of taking Hawaii home.

Historical memory looms large as Hawaiian restaurateurs to connect with public culture through food and public space. As Historian Phoebe Kropp maintains, “People do not passively

¹⁶⁶ Matt Dochin, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 16 February 2008, Los Angeles, California.

¹⁶⁷ Matt Matsuno, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 1 February 2008, Manhattan Beach, California. And ‘King’s Hawaiian French Toast’ has been featured on two news stations: KABC7 Breakfast in a Minute, *KABC7, Channel 7 News*, Los Angeles. 6:38AM, 1 September 1999 and King’s Hawaiian Bread: French Toast, *Good Day Sacramento, KMAX-TV (UPN)*, Sacramento. 9:00AM, 24 February 2006.

inherit memory, whether from a person or a building - they actively produce it.”¹⁶⁸ Colonial nostalgia, Hawaiiana, and mainland Aloha emerges in a cultural context best understood as a diverse set of responses for restructuring Hawaiianess. Central to all Hawaiian restaurateurs are the experiences they offer through food memories and visual expressions.

Hawaiian restaurateurs connect to communities through food memories, perceptions, and advertising. Ethel Teshima from Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop spoke fondly of her memories of “learning to cook at Kau Kau corner” and working part time in her “uncle’s restaurant - Emma Street Café in Honolulu.”¹⁶⁹ Dave Abella from Roy’s Restaurant reminisced of school field trips with “bento lunches, Hawaiian sun drinks, and other foods like tuna fish, fried rice, and plate lunch.”¹⁷⁰ Woody Wachi from Back Home in Lahaina remembered summers in Hawaii and down home cooking such as “my auntie’s macaroni salad, sushi, and Matsumoto’s shave ice from Haleiwa.”¹⁷¹ Food memories from Shakas Hawaiian Flavors included “Obon festivals, church carnivals, family gatherings, potlucks, and the Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop, which largely influenced Shakas’ saimin.”¹⁷² As Sherrie Inness emphasizes, food memories connote meaning to individuals and express special connections about belonging and place.¹⁷³ For some restaurateurs, food helps to recall a sense of homeland and for others, food forms a connection to a place they have grown to love. Food memories aid Hawaiian restaurateurs in reaffirming pan-ethnic identity and transmitting Hawaiianess to public culture.

“Hawaiian cuisine” encompasses many labels such as Polynesian, Oriental, Hawaiian, Pacific Rim, and Asian cuisine; it can also be called “grinds,” - a common phrase used to refer to

¹⁶⁸ Phoebe S. Kropp, *California Vieja* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 13.

¹⁶⁹ Ethel Teshima, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 9 January 2008, Torrance, California.

¹⁷⁰ Dave Abella, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 10 February 2008, San Diego, California.

¹⁷¹ Woody Wachi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 3 March 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁷² Joel Nakabayashi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 4 January 2008, Alhambra, California.

¹⁷³ Sherrie A. Inness, ed., *Pilaf, Pozole, and Pad Thai: American Women and Ethnic Food* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

tasty food, local food, and comfort food.¹⁷⁴ Many Hawaiian restaurateurs do not describe their offerings as “Hawaiian food” but rather assert Hawaii-based influences in their cuisine. Ethel Teshima, retired chef from the Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop emphasized “American food with Hawaiian-style” and “because the coffee shop and bowling center have been around for a long time it’s pulled a lot of customers” to a point that “people in Hawaii, Los Angeles, and even in Las Vegas all know that they can stop there and get this type of food.”¹⁷⁵ Similarly at Miki Chan’s Okazu-ya. “Miki Chan’s customers come here and say they like our Hawaiian food – maybe it’s the recipes or the food items we offer ... I’m not familiar with Hawaiian food items because when I first bought this place, I required the previous owner to leave his cooks and train us with how to cook the recipes – that’s why I don’t see us as selling Hawaiian food because it’s more our Chinese influence on it,” explained Chef Pen Chou.¹⁷⁶ Likewise, Dave Abella, Roy’s corporate executive chef, asserts that what they offer “really isn’t Hawaiian food since true Hawaiian food is poke, lau lau, poi, opihi, lomi salmon – foods that the general public won’t eat - but Roy has made a trademark out of his style of food [Hawaiian Fusion Cuisine] ... and there is finesse and elegance to his style of cooking with hints of what we grew up with in Hawaii.”¹⁷⁷

Hawaiian restaurateurs from King’s Hawaiian, Shaka’s Hawaiian Flavors, and Back Home in Lahaina fully embrace a “Hawaiian” label with noted distinctions. Lucy Sheardown, emphasized that “there are many different labels because it’s based on a personal interpretation of the food and King’s Hawaiian is mainly ‘Hawaiian local food’ or a type of comfort food.”¹⁷⁸ Joel Nakabayshi articulated that “Shakas’ food difference on the Hawaiian food spectrum is based on lifestyle differences mixed with a Los Angeles urbanism.” He continued, “it’s basic for

¹⁷⁴ Grind is a pidgin phrase that means “to eat” and is a common localism used in Hawaii.

¹⁷⁵ Ethel Teshima, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 9 January 2008, Torrance, California.

¹⁷⁶ Pen Chou, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 26 January 2008, Montebello, California.

¹⁷⁷ Dave Abella, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 10 February 2008, San Diego, California.

¹⁷⁸ Lucy Sheardown, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 13 January 2008, Torrance, California.

Hawaiian natives, like fish and poi, locals have general food like plate lunch, and maybe for tourists it's about fine dining at Roy's."¹⁷⁹ Woody Wachi from Back Home in Lahaina spoke of his native Hawaiian ancestry and stressed the importance in using the Hawaiian food label as a means to carry on Hawaiian culture. "For me," said Wachi, "Hawaiian food keeps the culture alive... and we are part of a first generation Hawaiian food in Los Angeles and pride ourselves in providing food here on the mainland like as if you were back in Hawaii."¹⁸⁰ These cases reveal a conscientious use of the "Hawaiian" label but see it in a nuanced way based on regionalism, business concepts, or culture connection.

Hawaiian restaurateurs use of advertisements and marketing strategies also helps to fortify bonds with communities. Hawaiian foodways in Los Angeles inhabit specific marketing arenas: local distribution newspapers, television commercials, websites, and word-of-mouth. Hawaiian food marketing reveals a distinct intersection between identity and consumption - of imagery, products, desires, and passions in consumer culture. As historian Roland Marchand suggests, advertisements exemplified a new mode of social communication where "advertising can preside over a communication process essential to national prosperity and business modernization and ripe with potential for social betterment."¹⁸¹ Advertising can embody expansive business goals in what Andreas Huyssen sees as a "high art fusion of mass culture, politics, and the everyday."¹⁸² Marketing remains an important tool that allows these restaurants to shape Hawaiianess. Whereas Roy's utilizes national marketing, other restaurants use local approaches. Moreover, these marketing practices become infused in modernity practices created what Marchand has termed "a 'community of discourse,' an integrative common language

¹⁷⁹ Joel Nakabayashi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 4 January 2008, Alhambra, California.

¹⁸⁰ Woody Wachi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 3 March 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁸¹ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 29.

¹⁸² Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, and Postmodernism* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), x.

shared by an otherwise diverse audience.”¹⁸³ Advertisements represent modernity and push the public into a new age of expanded consumption. They also reveal Hawaiian restaurateurs influences on their own class and cultural values as well as their understanding of consumer demand. A greater awareness of the connections between the conventions of visual culture and their impact on the production and consumption of advertising enhances our understanding of how advertising works as a representational system for Hawaiian food establishments.

Hawaiian restaurateurs from Gardena Bowl Coffee Shop, Miki Chan’s Okazu-ya, and Shakas Hawaiian Flavors indicate that word-of-mouth epitomizes the most successful form of advertisement for their food establishments. As co-owner Victor Amenta from the Gardena Bowling Center asserted, “The Penny Saver is a big source of advertisement but its word-of-mouth that makes us successful - the coffee shop is not listed as a Hawaiian food restaurant but because we’ve been around for a long time with most of our customers having relatives living in Los Angeles and Hawaii people know that it’s a place to get Hawaiian food – so much that I’ll wear a Gardena Bowling Center T-shirt in Hawaii and even in Las Vegas and people recognize it and say they’ve eaten there.”¹⁸⁴ Miki Chan’s Okazu-ya credits its success to an established clientele and customer referral. “We don’t advertise - never have - I think word-of-mouth by customers who have been coming here since Miki Chan’s first opened in 1970s is what keeps our business running,” stated chef Chou.¹⁸⁵ Joel Nakabayashi from Shakas Hawaiian Flavors explains “we were lucky in Monterey Park because we came out at the right time and place – it

¹⁸³ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 13.

¹⁸⁴ Victor Amenta, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 27 December 2007, Gardena, California.

¹⁸⁵ Pen Chou, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 26 January 2008, Montebello, California.

was a product the community wanted, had viral marketing, and is successful due to word-of-mouth.”¹⁸⁶ Leaflets and take-out menus also aid the word-of-mouth referrals.

Back Home in Lahaina, King’s Hawaiian, and Roy’s Restaurant deploy different marketing strategies. “Our main source of advertisement comes from local distribution like *The Los Angeles Times* and the *Daily Breeze*, our website, coupon books passed out at the beach, and our connections with local businesses,” stressed Matsuno.¹⁸⁷ Sheardown, expressed that their marketing entails “a 30 second commercial on local cable television as well as print ad inserts distributed in the *The Los Angeles Times*.”¹⁸⁸ Roy’s Restaurant utilizes a larger marketing base since “it’s partnered with OSI Restaurant Partners and Outback as well as national advertising through American Express and Discover.”¹⁸⁹

For certain Hawaiian food establishments, websites serve as an effective marketing device that links to their locations, menu items, prices, a history of their food establishment, and upcoming events. Shakas Hawaiian Flavors promotes itself as a “fast casual lifestyle restaurant that serves foods from the Hawaiian culture.”¹⁹⁰ With its iconic image of a breaching whale in front of a sunset, Back Home in Lahaina’s website highlights its claim as one of “South Bay’s Best Hawaiian food” (the *Daily Breeze* in 2007) and “Top 7 Southern California Restaurants for Big Portions” (*ABC7 Eyewitness News*).¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ Joel Nakabayashi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 4 January 2008, Alhambra, California.

¹⁸⁷ Matt Matsuno, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 1 February 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁸⁸ Lucy Sheardown, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 13 January 2008, Torrance, California.

¹⁸⁹ Dave Abella, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 10 February 2008, San Diego, California.

¹⁹⁰ Shakas Hawaiian Flavors, Available from <http://shakas.com/> (Accessed 16 May 2008).

¹⁹¹ South Bay’s Best Hawaiian Food was taken directly from the website: Back Home in Lahaina, Available from <http://www.backhomeinlahaina.com/> (Accessed 16 May 2008). Jane Monreal, “Top 7 SoCal Restaurants for Big Portions – Back Home in Lahaina” *ABC7 Eyewitness News Network*, Online video clip, Tuesday, January 15, 2008, <http://abclocal.go.com/kabc/story?section=news/local&id=5892053> (Accessed January 30, 2008).

King's Hawaiian's sophisticated website features products and assorted recipes, along with events happening in Hawaii.¹⁹² The website underscores a Hawaiian homeland feel drawing on the aloha spirit with phrases like "created with aloha," "fresh aloha delivered daily," and "bring the aloha spirit to your table."¹⁹³ Roy's Restaurant's website pays careful artistic detail to its concept of Hawaiian fusion cuisine utilizing the colors green (nature and environment) and deep purple (associated with nobility) to accentuate a sense of natural Hawaiian elegance as well as showcasing a range of professional photos of popular menu items, exotic flowers and fruits, and Roy himself.¹⁹⁴ The website highlights critical acclaim including the fact that "Chef Roy Yamaguchi is Hawaii's first-ever James Beard Award winner." Also, text like "... discover a fusion of the world's finest flavors deliciously wrapped in a Hawaiian state of mind" alludes to Roy's cosmopolitan approach to Hawaiian food.

Advertising provides a fascinating window to interrogate the construction of Hawaiianess through the prevailing model of Hawaiian exotica, the family, and the taste of homeland. Advertisements offer an American dream built on new commodities that stress personal relationships, individualism, and community. One by one, advertisements illustrate individual attempts to sell a product or service. Combined, they serve as a pivotal medium by which Hawaiianess is shaped, depicted, communicated, and sold.

Hawaiian restaurateurs also connect with communities in other ways by donating food and catering services as well as supporting education programs, community festivals, and civic functions. The Gardena Bowling Center "sponsor sports teams and basketball tournaments."¹⁹⁵ Miki Chan's Okazu-ya "donates food party trays and catering services to different organizations

¹⁹² King's Hawaiian Bakery, Available from <http://www.kingshawaiian.com/> (Accessed 16 May 2008).

¹⁹³ King's Hawaiian defines "the aloha spirit" as "a way of life, a belief in sharing, affection, energy and community." King's Hawaiian Bakery, Available from <http://www.kingshawaiian.com/> (Accessed 16 May 2008).

¹⁹⁴ Roy's Restaurant, Available from <http://www.roysrestaurant.com/> (Accessed 16 May 2008).

¹⁹⁵ Victor Amenta, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 27 December 2007, Gardena, California.

for school events and local community festivals” and “King’s Hawaiian sponsors civic clubs, participates in local festivals/events, and donates to educational programs.”¹⁹⁶ Shakas Hawaiian Flavors “purchases advertisements in high school band programs and yearbook ads, provides a door prize for a annual city golf tournament, and has started a scholarship program.”¹⁹⁷ Back Home in Lahaina makes “donations in the form of gift certificates to churches, local schools in the area, and city functions.”¹⁹⁸ Support from Roy’s restaurants reach many communities as “each Roy’s does charity work within the community but we don’t like to talk about it because we don’t do it for publicity - we do it because it is the right thing to do.”¹⁹⁹ Abella added that Roy’s charity work varies from donating to cancer research to auctioning a cooking workshop.

Hawaiian restaurateurs connect to their respective communities through food memories, advertising, and philanthropy. As Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell emphasize, foodways serve as a metaphor of group identity.²⁰⁰ Whether using informal names like grinds and comfort food or the more formal brands as Hawaiian local food, or Hawaiian fusion cuisine, Hawaiian restaurateurs connect to a pan-ethnic identity.

The means by which Hawaiian food is constructed in Los Angeles epitomizes cultural pluralism and fluidity; its ingredients and products embody foodways born in Hawaii and enacted in Los Angeles. These restaurants, in particular, serve as a viable unit of analysis since they demonstrate how food has evolved. Some first emerged as attempts to feed a local Asian-Pacific-Polynesian community, migrants who left Hawaii to settle in Los Angeles. Hawaiian food restaurants then gained a favorable mainstream consumer market. Restaurants, as cultural

¹⁹⁶ Pen Chou, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 26 January 2008, Montebello, California and Lucy Sheardown, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 13 January 2008, Torrance, California.

¹⁹⁷ Joel Nakabayashi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 4 January 2008, Alhambra, California.

¹⁹⁸ Matt Matsuno, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 1 February 2008, Manhattan Beach, California.

¹⁹⁹ Dave Abella, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 10 February 2008, San Diego, California.

²⁰⁰ Linda Keller Brown and Kay Mussell eds, *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States: The Performance of Group Identity* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984).

brokers and ethnic entrepreneurs, became successful in mediating, recreating, and propagating the Hawaiian food experience. As Yen Le Espiritu notes, “Pan-Asian ethnicity emerges from a common Asian American heritage comprised of diverse histories yet based on a shared history of exploitation, oppression, and discrimination.”²⁰¹

Los Angeles Hawaiian foodways and the creation of Hawaiianess remain in constant flux. As Donna R. Gabaccia and Vicki L. Ruiz demonstrate in their important volume on U.S. immigration history, long distance migrations embody a “messiness of human identity, experience, and relationships” where its “meaning of the ‘mainstream’ differs across the many regions of the United States.”²⁰² Hawaiian foodways represents a “messy” subculture that both symbolizes the group’s uniqueness to its members and marks its social boundaries. It remains impossible to re-create exactly the foods of Hawaii but adjustments, substitutions, and modifications are created. This process of adjustment exemplifies, what I term a “culinary borderlands” as a symbolic tool of identity and social power.

Hawaiian food establishments remain central to the process of “home making” within the Hawaiian diaspora in Los Angeles. Yen Le Espiritu defines “home making” as “the processes by which diverse subjects imagine and make themselves home in various geographic locations.”²⁰³ By maintaining colonial foodways and using location to spread aloha, Hawaiian restaurateurs recreate an expression of a physical and figurative community. Likewise, receiving needed ingredients from relatives or friends still living in Hawaii demonstrates a link to homeland. They partake in food politics while “spreading the American dream.”²⁰⁴ Hawaiian restaurateurs create

²⁰¹ Espiritu, *Asian American Panethnicity*, 17.

²⁰² Donna R. Gabaccia and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds, *American Dreaming, Global Realities: Rethinking U.S. Immigration History* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 3.

²⁰³ Yen Le Espiritu, *Home Bound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 2.

²⁰⁴ Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic & Cultural Expansion 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982).

and distribute Hawaiianess from within the community outside of it, complicating notions of home making in public spaces. They rebuild home as a dialogue between Hawaii and Los Angeles, past and present. In this sense, homes represents a mode of traveling caught up between imagination and foodways. Los Angeles Hawaiian foodways reveal Hawaiianess as transnational communities of different cultural passages. Hawaiianess through foodways articulates diasporic identity located somewhere between memory and experience as well as a space between absence and presence.

This chapter revealed a case study of food in diaspora utilizing interviews with a selected sample of chefs and managers of Hawaiian restaurants in Los Angeles. Los Angeles Hawaiian foods represented an evolving hybridization where restaurants mediated and shaped Hawaiian foodways by projecting Hawaiianess out to public audiences. The following chapter explores advertising and contested meanings of Aloha. Specifically how early forms of Hawaiian marketing through cultural tourism becomes cast into larger ideas of Hawaiian national identity, particularly through the intersection of corporate power, nostalgia, and leisure.

CHAPTER 3: Iconography of Hawaiianess

With the ukulele strumming in the background, Hawaii-born singer Edward Kenney steps out of a Hawaiian sugarcane field in a grass hat joyfully stating: *“Hey kids, let’s sing that song you like. The one about the sugar cane.”* Six island children wearing “aloha attire” run up to Kenney and join him in song: *“C&H, C&H, everyone sings about C&H. It’s the only pure cane sugar from Hawaii. That’s our sugar. C&H, C&H, mommy uses it to bake her cakes. She makes the greatest cookies snacks and candies—they’re dan, dan, dandy.* Kenney distributes cane sticks to the children while singing *“Island kids all love that cane it grows so clean and sweet. They eat it when it’s freshly cut and man that’s quite a treat—neat.”* Then the smallest girl of the bunch who has a flower in her hair begins to dance the hula while the chorus continues with *“blessed by sun, kissed by rain, C&H comes from the sugar cane. It’s the only pure cane sugar from Hawaii.”* One of the boys excitedly utters *“In the bright pink package.”* Kenney ends the commercial with an upbeat *“C&H, the pure can sugar from Hawaii”* as the children wave their hands to the camera saying *“whee.”*²⁰⁵

This 1950s C&H Sugar commercial scenario featuring Edward Kenney and island children serves as a representation of the appropriation of Hawaiian culture, one fueled by promoting a popular market-driven notion of Hawaiianess. In the early twentieth-century, sugar plantations and pineapple companies dominated the Hawaiian Islands. These plantations not only transformed the landscape but also contributed to the re-populating of the islands by introducing immigrant laborers from China, Portugal, Japan, Okinawa, Korea, Norway, Russia, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico, who provided the muscle that built the wealth of the sugar and pineapple industries. In promoting their products, these industries crafted messages of exotic appeal using natural scenery and native people. Likewise, American travel writers also promoted the islands as an earthly paradise. As historian John Rosa reminds us, these media representations contributed to the “cultural production of collective identity” of Native Hawaiians in which a romanticization of Hawaiian history became an extension of the American

²⁰⁵ C&H Sugar Commercial, “Ed Kenney and Kids,” *Youtube.com*, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jFEIxp3D_0 (Accessed November 2, 2010).

West.²⁰⁶ The Hawaiian Islands fantasy came to embody Hawaii as a magical dream, a perception of constructed Hawaiianess, which continues to lure people to its shores for well over a century.

Building on groundbreaking advertising studies by Roland Marchand, Stuart Ewen, Jackson Lears, Barbara Kirshenbaett-Gimblett, and Gary Okiihiro, this chapter draws on various advertisements as a means to examine differing perceptions of constructed Hawaiianess in relation to food.²⁰⁷ I argue that Hawaiianess appealed to the imagination of entrepreneurs, land barons, writers, marketers, and tourists, but more importantly, such imaginaries propelled static portrayals of Hawaiianess extending out to a global public. I focus on the development of mass marketing in relation to Hawaiian economic development, its export to southern California, and its transition into becoming a southern California phenomenon through the Tiki craze of the 1950s.

First introduced to Hawaii in the late eighteenth-century, sugarcane turned into big business by missionary families and American businessmen by the early nineteenth-century. Mark Twain wrote about the nineteenth-century Hawaiian Islands including the sugar and whaling industries.²⁰⁸ Labeling the Hawaiian culture as “wealthy,” Twain’s powerful descriptions shaped public view of Hawaii as an exotic locale for trade and commerce. The U.S. Civil War opened up new opportunities for Hawaii, as the loss of Louisiana’s sugar crop and

²⁰⁶ John Rosa, “Local Story: The Massie Case Narrative and the Cultural Production of Local Identity in Hawai‘i,” *Amerasia Journal* 26:2 (2000), 8.

²⁰⁷ Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1985); Stuart Ewen, *All Consuming Images: The Politics Of Style In Contemporary Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 1988); Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History Of Advertising In America* (New York: Basic Books, 1995); Barbara Kirshenbaett-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998) and Gary Okiihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009).

²⁰⁸ Grove A. Day, Ed. *Mark Twain’s Letters from Hawaii* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966).

Union demand stimulated sugar cane production.²⁰⁹ As plantations developed throughout the islands and as production increased on a large scale throughout the nineteenth-century, the demand for labor soared. As historian Ronald Takaki asserts in *Pau Hana*, a classic work on Hawaii's plantation history, between 1850 and 1920 over 300,000 men and women from across the globe came to Hawaii to work on the sugar plantations.²¹⁰ These immigrants created variegated ethnicities where Hawaii became a modern model of economic development and cultural blending. By 1906, many of the member sugar companies in Hawaii had sold their interests to an agricultural cooperative becoming the California and Hawaiian Sugar Refining Company (C&H). Under a cooperative, C&H modified and dramatically shaped Hawaiian sugar production by refining raw Hawaiian cane sugar in Crockett, California, and eventually C&H became one of the leading sugar brands in the United States. Today, only one sugar plantation exists with the C&H brand at Puunene, Maui.

During the 1950s, C&H created a series of commercial illustrations that associated their product with figures of native Hawaiian children carrying boxes of cane sugar and the slogan "Aloha from C&H."

²⁰⁹ John Liu, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Sugar Plantation System: Asian Labor in Hawaii, 1850-1900," in *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism: Asian Workers in the United States Before World War II*, Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich Eds. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984), 187.

²¹⁰ Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 15.

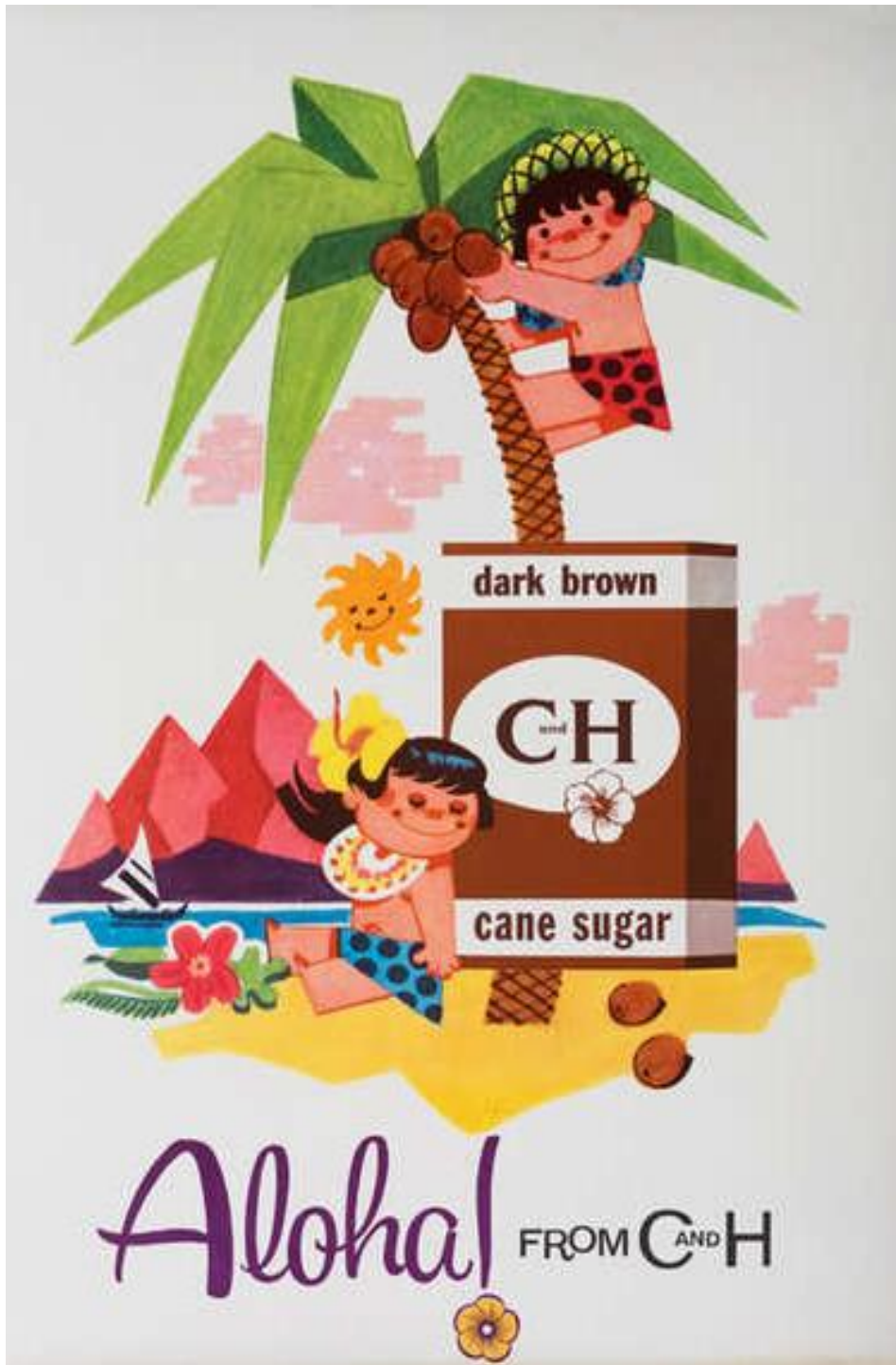


Illustration 16. C&H Poster (1959).

Highlighting cartoon characters wearing leis and floral prints, C&H ads create playful ideas of a carefree exotic environment, a key strategy that distinguishes cane sugar in Hawaii from its sugar beet rival on the mainland. Such iconography came to symbolize an imagined pre-modern innocence of Hawaii, one that dated back to the geographic imaginary of “unspoiled virgin land.”²¹¹

C&H also successfully marketed their product through commercials. As historian Roland Marchand argues in *Advertising the American Dream*, advertisements embody a distorted mirror that enhances certain images of fantasy, social realities, and everyday life experiences.²¹² In underscoring the advertising industry's move towards modernization during the 1920s and 1940s, he powerfully demonstrates the importance of advertising tropes designed to sell consumer goods. Indeed, during the 1950s and 1960s C&H commercials created consumer appeal by emphasizing happy, carefree natives. The words “clean,” “sweet,” and “fresh” evoke purity of the product and “blessed by sun, kissed by rain” alludes to Hawaii’s appealing natural landscape. By the 1970s, C&H commercials became more sophisticated by appropriating a more traditional form of Hawaiian authenticity. C&H commercials continued to feature native children in aloha attire leisurely sitting near a cascading waterfall chomping on sugar cane. They also juxtaposed new C&H lyrics to the melody line from an old popular Hawaiian song entitled “Pearly Shells.”²¹³

For example:

²¹¹ Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” *American Historical Association*. Chicago Worlds Fair. Chicago, 12 July 1893; Henry Nash-Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Harvard University Press, 1950), 3.

²¹² Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1985), 3-5.

²¹³ In 1928, Webley Edwards composed the song “Pearly Shells” by placing English words to the melody of an older Hawaiian language song called “Pupu A O Ewa.” He played the song on the world-famous radio show “Hawaii Calls.”

[Male narrator]:	In Hawaii, our children grow up with the sugar cane
[Male narrator]:	C&H
[Children]:	C&H
[Male narrator]:	Pure cane sugar
[Children]:	Pure cane sugar
[Male narrator]:	From Hawaii
[Children]:	From Hawaii
[Male narrator]:	Growing in the sun
[Children]:	Growing in the sun
[Narrator & Children]:	Island sugar growing pure, fresh and clean, C&H pure cane sugar is the one

By applying new lyrics to a traditional song, C&H’s new jingle became a memorable melody that further establishes the company as a cultural marker of Hawaii.

From the 1950s to 1970s, C&H commercial advertisements promoted Hawaiians as child-like, beguiling native subjects echoing Mark Twain’s travelogues during his visit to Hawaii. Twain served as a highly influential cultural arbiter in which Americans read and lived vicariously through works like the *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *A Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court*. In Hawaii, Twain satirized the missionaries’ effort to “civilize” natives yet he also perceived Hawaiians as child-like. Twain mirrored a western fascination with Hawaii and more importantly developed a perception of Hawaiianess that became an enduring cultural stereotype. As literary critic Brook Thomas reminds us, Twain remains “one of the most important practitioners of American realism” in which public audiences accepted Twain’s marketing of Hawaii as an accurate portrayal of culture.²¹⁴

By the 1980s, C&H commercials featured different Hawaiian story lines and introduced new family portraits designed as more cultural sensitive. These commercials included a native boy who bought a cookie with a marble from a store owner in “Kimo’s Mom,” an elderly sugar cane farmer transplanting a seedling plant to a larger plant to surprise a young boy in “Kimo’s

²¹⁴ Brook Thomas, *American Literary Realism and the Failed Promise of Contract* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 196.

Cane,” and a family all dressed in aloha attire gathering together for a birthday party in “Waipahu Birthday.”²¹⁵ These commercials implied to native endorsement of C&H products through the theme of family and friends. By the end of the decade, C&H advertisers began to explore a wider demographic market. C&H remained competitive by continuing to build customer relationships through product awareness as well as tapping into diverse markets. For example, one late 1980s commercial featured mariachi music to appeal to those who watched Spanish language television. The commercial highlighted the following Spanish lyrics:

English translation:	Spanish lyrics:
The sugar	El azúcar
C&H	C y H
Is very sweet	Es tan dulce
And natural	Y natural
The sugar	El azúcar
The sugar	El azúcar
C&H	C y H
With sweetness	Con dulzura
Great purity	Gran pureza
And Quality	Y calidad
The sugar	El azúcar
C&H	C y H
Off sweet cane	De caña dulce
And natural	Y natural ²¹⁶

Rather than Hawaiian actors, this Spanish C&H commercial highlights a young Latina who gives her teacher sweet bread wrapped in a cloth tied with one of her hair ribbons. Interestingly, Hawaiianess does not appear in the lyrics but instead emphasizes words like “sweet,” “natural,” “quality,” “purity,” and “cane sugar.” Although images of natives and Hawaii had disappeared

²¹⁵ C&H Sugar Commercial, “Kimo’s Mom,” 1984, *Youtube.com*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HJUR6yFvGP8> (Accessed November 2, 2010); C&H Sugar Commercial, “Kimos’ Cane,” 1984, *Youtube.com*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YQk3nNkA8Ws> (Accessed November 2, 2010); C&H Sugar Commercial, “Coming Home,” 1986, *Youtube.com*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bTWufyjHJ3s> (Accessed November 2, 2010); C&H Sugar Commercial, “Waipahu Birthday,” 1987, *Youtube.com*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qhJIPXhsyco&feature=related> (Accessed November 2, 2010).

²¹⁶ C&H Sugar Commercial, “C&H Pure Cane Sugar Commercial Jingle 1970’s to 1980’s,” 1989, *Youtube.com*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w2RNh2neIRI> (Accessed November 2, 2010).

from its commercials by the end of the 1980s, C&H continues to feature the hibiscus flower on its company logo subtly pointing to its ties to Hawaii and Hawaiianess.

Similar to sugar, the pineapple industry also built upon a constructed Hawaiian fantasy. Hawaii's commercial undertaking with pineapples began in the late 1800s but took off when American industrialist James Dole began experimenting with the crop in 1899. Dole purchased sixty acres of land at Oahu in 1901 to build a cannery and packing plant in the town of Wahiawa under the name Hawaiian Pineapple Company or HAPCO later to become the Dole Food Company. Pineapple began to yield immense popularity for HAPCO, especially in 1907 as Dole purchased magazine advertisements to promote his canned pineapples. He developed a successful nationwide consumer advertising campaign in the United States. By 1909, he exported 180,000 cases of pineapple a year placing canned pineapple in every grocery store across the nation.²¹⁷

Dole made "Hawaiian" and "pineapple" synonymous through the use of magazine advertisements. In periodicals like *National Geographic* and the *Saturday Evening Post*, these advertisements enticed consumers to purchase pineapple through different advertising campaigns that shifted over time. Dole gravitated to portraying a trope of modernization at its finest with images of conveyor belts and spotless factories as noted by the following:

²¹⁷ Gary Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 132.

WORLD'S LARGEST GROWERS AND CANNERS OF HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE



A great picture of our "perfect servant" — the machine that handles each pine from the fruit picked from 2500 acres. Without man's help, and the steady and accurate timing and timing possible for him. Indeed, these top engineers actually prepare to move in a machine pineapple in 1928.

The "perfect servant" lives in Honolulu

In this great kitchen of ours, the world's largest fruit country, there is a most amazing servant—a servant that does what human hands can do, faster than human eyes can follow. It is a perfect servant, a magical machine, a marvelous creation.

And what does "Ginger" do? It peels and cores pineapples. If you have ever tried to peel a pineapple, you know what a laborious task that is. Our marvelous servant thinks nothing of peeling and coring as many as 60 pineapples a minute—sometimes nearly 100,000 in 24 hours.

off each prickly shell. Zip!—and away with each top and bottom! Out with the fibrous core! And there, lying before you, is the golden meat of a perfect pineapple. All this in less than a second.

Because it would seem precious minutes, James O. Dole, head of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, gladly paid \$500,000 for the idea of the mechanical "Ginger Machine"—then spent much more to perfect it.

Costly? Yes! But speed is vital! That choice field-blaze of plant-produced Hawaiian Pineapple must be captured. It is—thanks to the help of 25 such "perfect servants" in our kitchen.



Long lines of the fresh, ripe fruit speed to its magical, knife-like jets. Swift blades whir

You Can Thank "Jim" Dole for Canned Hawaiian Pineapple

30 New
inspiring recipes, and a
charming little instant Free
Book in the new Dole "The Dole Pineapple Cook Book" 40¢. The Dole Pineapple Cook Book is a beautiful new book that contains 30 new and inspiring recipes that will help you make the most of your Dole Pineapple. The Dole Pineapple Cook Book is a beautiful new book that contains 30 new and inspiring recipes that will help you make the most of your Dole Pineapple.

Head Office: Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Inc., P.O. Box 211, Honolulu, Hawaii.
Sales Offices: 211 Market Street, San Francisco; 1111 Broadway, New York; 1111 Broadway, New York; 1111 Broadway, New York; 1111 Broadway, New York.

NAME _____
CITY _____ STATE _____
ZIP _____

Send 10¢ to: 211 Market Street, San Francisco

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE COMPANY

Illustration 17. Hawaiian Pineapple Company Advertisement (1928).

Underscoring the “perfect servant,” early Dole ads emphasized factory workers and modernity. With catchphrases like “there’s delicate flavor at stake,” “Speed...speed...split-second speed...,” and “World’s largest growers and canners of Hawaiian pineapple,” these ads did not focus on a primitive fantasy but rather on industrial efficiency derived from the work by the perfect servant. These illustrations emphasized organized cleanliness that appealed to the mainland consumer housewives.

WORLD'S LARGEST GROWERS AND CANNERS OF HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE



Photo: N. G. G.

Most people who visit our cannery speak of the white rubber gloves our workers wear. Perhaps it is unusual—but it is just one more example of what James O. Dole has done to make his cannery the model of the industry.

Speed... speed... split-second speed...

— there's a delicate flavor at stake



It takes from one to two years to grow a single pineapple. We can it in a minute and a half. Why such astonishing speed? Speed is vital. That delicate field-flavor of Hawaiian Pineapple must be caught.

Seconds count from the moment our pineapples are ripe. Fast motors rush them from the field—but trains catch them to the cannery. Conveyors shoot them into swift machines. Gilded fingers whisk them into gleaming cans. Peeled—cored—sliced—graded—into the tin in 91 magical seconds. We've mastered speed.

Mastered cleanliness, too. Though we can pack as many as 50,000 cans of pineapple in an hour, everything is orderly, immaculate, neat as a new pin.

There's a delicate flavor at stake—the flavor of plant-ripened pineapple. Speed and cleanliness captures it for you.

You can thank "Dole" TM for Canned Hawaiian Pineapple.

30 New HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE RECIPES



Free

The book is all yours—free. "The Kingdom That Grows Out of a Little Boy's Garden." It is all so good and so easy. Just fill the return card of James O. Dole, Director of the Hawaiian Pineapple Industry and Dole Company.

Books you will want to get are: "How to Grow Pineapples" and "How to Grow Pineapples in the Home." They are available from the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, 211, Market Street, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Name _____
 Address _____
 City _____
 State _____

Honolulu HAWAII

HAWAIIAN PINEAPPLE COMPANY

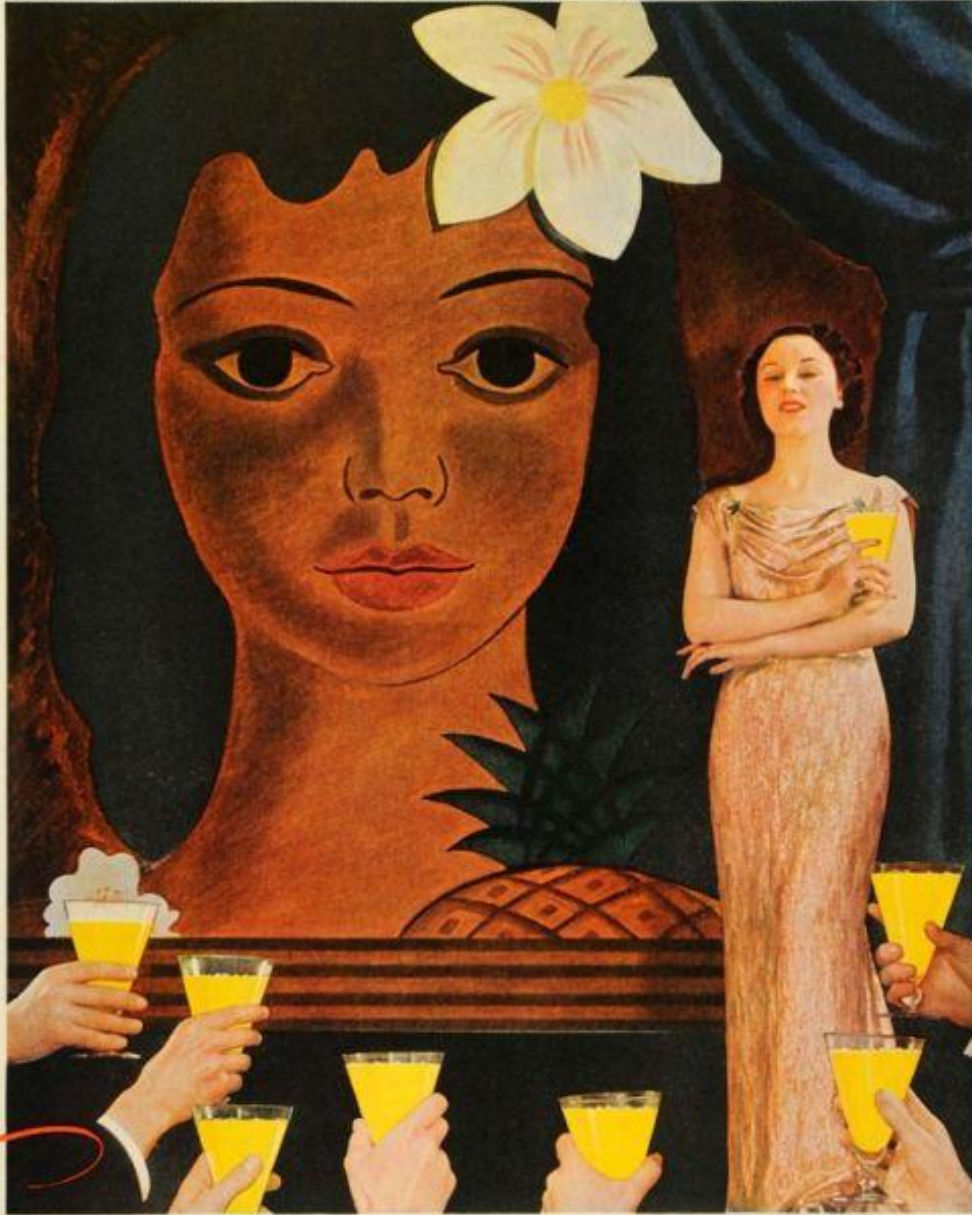
211, Market Street Honolulu, Hawaii

Illustration 18. Hawaiian Pineapple Company Advertisement (1928).

During the Great Depression, Hawaiianess became packaged and marketed in a brand new way. Not surprisingly, the Dole Hawaiian pineapple company experienced a fiscal crisis that threatened the business with bankruptcy in 1932. In an attempt to revive the brand, the company enlisted advertising services from art director Charles Coiner to help introduce its new commodity -- pineapple juice. Marketing the product under the Dole family name, the advertising campaign during the 1930s evoked tropical romance. These ads from embodied sophistication, for example, highlighting the theme of the primitive native versus the sophisticated American woman:

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

POSED BY MISS FAY WRAY, STARRING FOR COLUMBIA PICTURES



© 1935, H. F. O., Ltd.

Starring Here

COOL GLASSES lift in colorful tribute to a new taste sensation. Pure, unsweetened DOLE Pineapple Juice from Hawaii . . . quickening jaded appetites with the tropical aroma of luscious, sun-ripened fruit . . . its precious



fresh-fruit flavor and important nutritional values captured in the exclusive DOLE Fast-Seal Vacuum-Packing Process. Hawaiian Pineapple Co., Ltd., also packers of DOLE Sliced Pineapple, Crushed, Tidbits, Gems, and the new Royal Spears. Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.A. Sales Offices: 215 Market Street, San Francisco, California.

DOLE PINEAPPLE JUICE from HAWAII

Illustration 19. Dole Pineapple Juice ad which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* (1935).

With its new “Truly Hawaiian” campaign, 1930s advertisements played upon mainstream stereotypes of objectified natives and idealized tropical landscapes, perceptions that the Hawaiian tourist industry also encouraged to attract visitors. 1930s ads like the one seen below superimposed elegantly attired Americans alongside a pretty native woman pouring pineapple juice. Words like “Starring here” and “Glamorous Hawaii” promoted Hawaiian pineapples as exotic, fashionable, and alluring status symbol.



Illustration 20. Dole Pineapple Juice ad which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* (1935).

Until the 1960s, Dole Food Company continued advertising campaigns that played primarily on Hawaiian exotica to promote consumer appeal. As Gary Okihiro reminds us, “Dole’s Hawaiian Pineapple Company, with its clean, efficient machines and cannery and its advertising campaign and distribution system, capitalized upon an image of Hawaii and created a market where none existed.”²¹⁸ The cannery tin roof became an important symbol of the romanticization of Hawaii’s modernization. As Dole and C&H confronted a new reality, sugarcane and pineapple represented a Hawaiian imprint in public culture. This Hawaiian imprint also piggybacked on the effective labor of “imperial hospitality” as workers served Dole and C&H as an island family operative which allowed both companies to thrive.²¹⁹

Like sugar and pineapple, Kona coffee constructed another Hawaiian imaginary as highlighted by Mark Twain who noted “Kona Coffee has a richer flavor than any other, be it grown where it may and call it by what name you please.”²²⁰ Considered one of the most expensive coffees in the world, Kona coffee represents the earliest plant variety brought to Hawaii exclusively cultivated on the slopes of Hualalai and Mauna Loa in the North and South Kona Districts of the Big Island of Hawaii. Attempts to grow coffee in Hawaii had begun since 1813, however, Brazilian cuttings brought to Kona by missionary Reverend Samuel Ruggles in 1828 exhibited the most success.²²¹ However, many commercial ventures in coffee ended in failure on Kauai in 1836 and the big island outside of the Kona area in 1845. Changes in Hawaiian policy, such as the Great Mahele in 1848, allowed private ownership of land for the first time and many farmers began to partake in growing coffee but crops faced several

²¹⁸ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 3 and Donald Worster, “New West, True West: Interpreting the Region’s History,” *The Western Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (April, 1987), pp. 141-156.

²¹⁹ In *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*, historian Adria Imada defines “imperial hospitality” as enacted and imagined scripts in which islanders and soldiers play roles as host and guest respectively.

²²⁰ Grove A. Day, Ed. *Mark Twain’s Letters from Hawaii*, (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966).

²²¹ Gerald Kinro, *A Cup of Aloha: The Kona Coffee Epic*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 25.

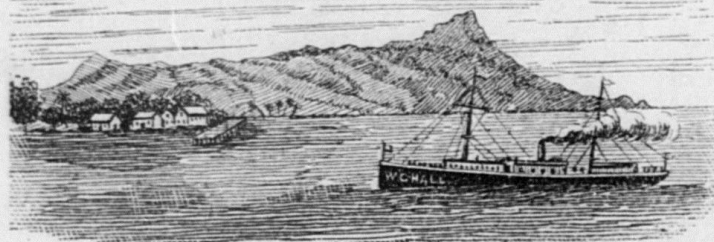
challenges.²²² In particular, scale insects infected the coffee trees on the islands and farmers replaced plantations with other crops. Growers on Maui turned to sugarcane while pineapple became a thriving business on Lanai. On the island of Hawaii, the slopes in the Kona area seemed unsuitable for sugarcane due its terrain but the area emerged as the center for the coffee industry. Kona coffee became an important crop on the island when English merchant Henry Nicholas Greenwell sold the coffee beans in his Greenwell farm store and he developed a reputation for consistent quality Kona coffee in 1850.²²³ In 1873, the world's fair in Vienna awarded Greenwell an award for excellence, which attributed recognition to the "Kona" name and its exclusive cultivation in only this district. In 1880, entrepreneur John Gaspar, Sr. built the first coffee mill in Hawaii near Kealahou Bay. As importantly, an influx of lady bugs began to control an enormous insect infestation that had prevented large scale commercial farming. Kona coffee began to thrive and by the late 1800s, the Kona coffee export business became highly lucrative due largely to advertising:

²²² The Great Mahele "to divide or portion" was the Hawaiian land redistribution proposed by King Kamehameha III in the 1830s and enacted in 1848.

²²³ Henrique D. Vieira, "Coffee: The Plant and its Cultivation," in *Plant-Parasitic Nematodes of Coffee*, Ricardo M. Souza Ed. (2008), 17.

A New Departure in the Coffee Business.

CHOICE KONA COFFEE



TRADE MARK.

We have lately received from the East a full set of machinery for roasting, grinding and packing coffee, and we are now prepared to furnish, ready for use, as good a grade of coffee as can be found anywhere. We will only put up two grades—you can “pay your money and take your choice.”

For the trade we will pack a one-pound package, (4 dozen to the case), freshly roasted, ground and packed in a neat and attractive paper, which is prepared especially to preserve the strength and aroma of the coffee.

This is the only establishment that puts up Kona coffee, which is far superior to any imported.

In opening up a trade in this line it is to our interest to give the public a good coffee, at a reasonable price, something that will recommend itself.

There will soon be coffee enough raised here, not only to supply Hawaii, but the Pacific Coast as well. And it is in honor of the new Republic that we are looking forward and preparing for the inevitable.

When ordering coffee, always bear in mind that you can add to your order, a few cases of Hawaiian-made Soap, and they will be shipped promptly.

3799 1587-1t

M. W. McCHESNEY & SONS.

Illustration 21. San Francisco Harbor (1875).

Sugar, Coffee, Rice!

LX BARQUE MATTIE MACLEAY FROM
Honolulu

3156 kegs Islands Sugars.
Assorted Grades.

134 mats Islands Sugars;
From the following: Favorite Plantation Brand

**Pioneer XXX,
Pioneer A
Lihue,
Koloa,
Kaneohe,
Heeia.**

300 sks Islands Rice. (Grown
from Carolina Seed.

100 sks Kona Coffee. This
Coffee is growing in favor, combining
the flavor of Java with greater strength.

The above cargo is offered at **IMPORTING
RATES**, in quantities to suit the trade, by the
undersigned.
my11-2p **CORBITT & MACLEAY.**

FOR HONOLULU--Direct.

**THE HAWAIIAN BARQUE
"MATTIE MACLEAY,"**
D. H. WALTER.....MASTER.
Having the greater portion of her cargo engaged
will have quick dispatch.
For Freight or Passage apply to
my11dzw 2p **CORBITT & MACLEAY.**

DRY GOODS.

Illustration 22. The Hawaiian Gazette (September 25, 1894).

Late nineteenth century advertisements capitalized on the idea of coffee grown in rich, volcanic soil. Words like “Kona coffee... far superior to any imported” and “This Coffee is growing in favor” promoted the burgeoning growth of a new product for export. These advertisements

enticed new entrepreneurs, predominantly Japanese, that would shape the coffee growing industry.

In 1885, nearly 180,000 Japanese immigrated to Hawaii in search of economic opportunity.²²⁴ While the majority worked on sugar plantations, others found their way to the remote coffee lands in the district of Kona on the Big Island, leasing small farms in Kona after their employment contracts expired.²²⁵ The coffee industry, which had struggled in the nineteenth century, became rejuvenated with the arrival of Japanese coffee farmers anxious to develop their new enterprise. They restored long forgotten fields, planted hundreds of additional acres, improved the processing techniques, and developed drying technologies. These coffee farmers began building their futures in the Kona district raising families as well as opening churches, schools and community organizations. They developed partnerships and established strong ties with other ethnic groups already living in the district. What began as an economic adventure evolved into a lifelong pursuit that affected Kona's overall social-cultural landscape. Kona coffee, at the hands of primarily Hawaiian, Asian, and European families, propagated a world reputation of Kona coffee by 1900 thus shaping a highly profitable commercial industry to the Hawaiian economy.

National and world events also affected the coffee market. When the United States annexed Hawaii in 1898 (establishing the territory of Hawaii), the decrease of tariffs made sugar more profitable, and some businesses opted to replace coffee trees with sugarcane. Prices dropped with the 1899 world coffee market crash, which caused many plantation owners to sell remaining plantations throughout the islands. World War I in 1917 and a severe frost in Brazil in

²²⁴ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Pineapple Culture: A History of the Tropical and Temperate Zones*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2009), 17.

²²⁵ Baron Goto, "Ethnic Groups and the Coffee Industry in Hawaii," *Hawaiian Historical Society*, 1982, pp. 112-124.

1918 caused a global shortage in coffee, and market prices rose again. By the 1920s, the majority of coffee production in Hawaii had disappeared except in the Kona district where small groups of local farmers of Japanese descent sustained their family owned coffee businesses. By 1900, roaster companies on the islands began to advertise emphasizing flavor, quality, and purity.



Illustration 23. The Maui News (October 03, 1922).

Founded in 1904 by a group of Chinese-Hawaiian entrepreneurs, Wing coffee promoted a romanticized image of the Hawaiian Islands through depictions of Hawaii's famous Diamond Head, active volcanoes, and hula girls.²²⁶ In particular, this 1920s advertisement alludes to

²²⁶ Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 140.

modern by its reference to sanitary electric roasters. Indeed, Wing became one of the first companies to mass market and produce world famous Hawaiian Kona Coffee. Japanese group and family-based cooperatives leased and transformed old sugar fields into coffee plantations shaping the industry's transition to large scale production. Farmers leased parcels of between 5 and 12 acres as a family commune that produced large crops.²²⁷ Eventually, Hawaiian grown roasted coffee evolved into cooperative growers' beginning with farming in Kona, Hawaii, to coffee roasters throughout the other islands. Due to Alien Land Laws, Isei could lease land or would use their children's names to purchase property for them. Similar to Wing, American Factors under the brand name "Mayflower" created a larger market for Kona coffee becoming one of the first and largest distributors global of Kona coffee:

²²⁷ Debra Barayuga, "Kona coffee farmers win fake-bean suit: Cheap coffee had been repackaged as expensive Kona beans for years," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, (September 29, 1999).

Blowing the Blue Out of Monday



A Cup at breakfast, with rich cream, will make the gloomiest day delightful.

Nothing is harder to describe than the superior flavor of Mayflower Pure Kona Coffee. Mainland folk, tourists, epicures, all give the verdict: "—the best I ever tasted."

Wont you try this Hawaiian-grown, Hawaiian cut and roasted

MAYFLOWER PURE KONA COFFEE

Your grocer has it or can get it.

H. MAY & CO., LTD.

Distributors

Illustration 24. The Garden Island, (July 27, 1920).

Again, flavor and taste emerge as the focal language in the “Blowing the Blue Out of Monday” advertisement which appealed to tourists and a mainland consumers alike. By the 1930s Kona coffee became one of the most profitable products on the islands. The government altered school schedules so that children could help their families pick coffee during the harvest season as Kona had nearly 5000 acres of coffee cultivation.²²⁸ Even with the Great Depression of the 1930s, which caused many farmers to default on their debts, local farmers in the Kona district managed to survive.

After World War II and with another frost in South America, prices rose again in the 1950s which stimulated the rise of a strong local labor force of small family run farms with terrain. Production reached over 18 million pounds in 1957.²²⁹ The Daisaku Uchida Coffee Farm and Greenwell brand, for example, became internationally known as well as other family farms, mainly Japanese-origin families along with Filipinos, mainland Americans, and European farmers.²³⁰

The life of Daisaku Uchida epitomizes the typical Kona coffee grower pioneer story in which many young Japanese men came to Hawaii seeking economic opportunity. Raised on a farm in the Kumamoto region, nineteen-year old Uchida saw the prospects for earning cash wages on Hawaiian sugar plantations and left to seek his fortune in Hawaii in 1906. After completing a three-year contract with Lihue sugar on Kauai, he made his way to the Kona district in 1909.²³¹ In 1912, he married Shima Maruo and together they leased their 5.5-acre farm in Kealakekua from Kona rancher Arthur Greenwell in 1913.²³² For over eighty years, three generations of the Uchida family have farmed their land. The Uchidas, like other coffee

²²⁸ Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 39.

²²⁹ Gerald Kinro, *A Cup of Aloha: The Kona Coffee Epic* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 27.

²³⁰ *Kona Historical Society*, “Kona Coffee Living History Farm,” www.konahistorical.org (Accessed July 23, 2014).

²³¹ Kinro, *A Cup of Aloha*, 44.

²³² *Kona Historical Society*.

families persevered through two world wars, earthquakes, epidemics, crop failures, and occasional booms and busts of a fickle industry. Despite the hardships, the Uchidas found prosperity in the rugged coffee lands where they built a community based on a strong work ethic, close family ties, and an agricultural lifestyle that has become synonymous with Kona's multicultural heritage. The children of these pioneers like Stanley Oka, fourth-generation Yonsei of the Family Farm and Ralph Fukumitsu, second-generation Nisei of the James Greenwell Farm, continue to work the coffee lands of their childhood and carry many of the traditions transmitted by their parents.²³³ The Uchida Farm, in particular serves as the most well preserved example of the Kona coffee growing industry with a living history farm that showcases a Japanese bathhouse, coffee pulping mill, drying platform, and handmade tools.

The history of Kona coffee and the people who produced it, represents a microcosm of America's long tradition of foreign immigration, farming, and ethnic diversity. Kona coffee growing had its ups and downs, which created a series of owners throughout the region but nevertheless maintained the traditions of small family farming. Today, the coffee belt in Kona stretches approximately two miles wide and consists of approximately 800 coffee farms with an average size of less than 5 acres.²³⁴ Its influence has encouraged several former sugarcane and pineapple plantations to change to coffee production, such as the Kauai Coffee Company. The Kona coffee name, however, remains exclusive to this district only. For well over a century, this labor shaped the economic and social landscape of Kona district which transformed Hawaii's plantation structure and produced one of the most coveted coffee brands in the world. Its heritage remains protected by the Kona Coffee Farmers Association and Kona Coffee Council, which lobbies the Hawaii State legislature, supports farming activities, and secures the economic

²³³ *Oka Family Farm*, "About us," www.okafamilyfarms.com (accessed July 23, 2014) and *Greenwell Family Farm*, "The Farm and Tour," www.greenwellfarms.com (Accessed July 23, 2014).

²³⁴ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 56.

interests of Kona coffee growers. This legacy continues to influence the memory of Hawaiianess.

Similar to the sugarcane, pineapple, and the Kona coffee, the macadamia nut also contributed to the Hawaiian fantasy, especially the Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corporation, currently the largest macadamia nut processor in the world. From humble beginnings of small nut farming, this company developed a non-traditional high-valued product highly desirable to tourists. In addition to Australia, the macadamia nut became a commercial crop in Hawaii by 1956. William Purvis introduced macadamia nut trees to Hawaii in 1881 as a windbreak crop for sugar cane on the Island of Hawaii.²³⁵ Massachusetts native Ernest Van Tassel planted the first Hawaiian macadamia nut plantation on government land near Honolulu in 1921 and by the 1930's small-scale production of macadamia nuts had begun.²³⁶

In 1922, University of Hawaii tested 60,000 macadamia nut trees and eventually developed nine strains through a grafting method that produced a high quality nut.²³⁷ The Hawaiian Agricultural Experiment Station encouraged planting of macadamia nuts in Kona to supplement coffee production. Many local farmers began to purchase sugar plantations to grow macadamia nuts. Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corporation underwent many company transfers beginning with Castle & Cooke that planted the first orchards on its original plantation in 1946 on the Big Island of Hawaii. However, as macadamia nut trees take time to mature, the first commercial crop came to market ten years later in 1956.²³⁸ In 1973, C. Brewer purchased the macadamia nut operations and by 1976, as Hawaii's old sugar plantation business began to fade, Mauna Loa converted five sugar plantations to macadamia plantations at the rate of 1000 acres a

²³⁵ Krisnawati Suryanata, "Products from Paradise: The Social Construction of Hawaii Crops," *Agriculture and Human Values*, 17:2, (2000). pp 181-189.

²³⁶ Krisnawati Suryanata, "Diversified Agriculture, Land Use, and Agrofood Networks in Hawaii," *Economic Geography*, 78:1, (2002). pp. 71-86.

²³⁷ Suryanata, "Products from Paradise," pp 181-189.

²³⁸ *Hersey's Mauna Loa*, <https://www.maunaloa.com> (accessed December 7, 2014).

year. The Mauna Loa volcanic eruption in 1984 brought much attention to macadamia nut plantations located on its slopes of the Big Island. People seemed curious about the detailed cultivation and processing procedure of this unique nut grown on the largest active volcano in the world. Visitors came to Hawaii, tasted the product and took a variety of samples back to the mainland. Acquired by Buyco Inc. during the 1980s, Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corporation went national with a major advertising campaign.

Enjoy the taste of Paradise.
Even if you don't live in Hawaii.



Even though you don't live in Hawaii, Paradise still awaits you. Just bring home a jar of Mauna Loa® Macadamia Nuts that we send to you from Paradise. Discover the nut so smooth, so crunchy so delicious, one taste and you'll feel like you're in Paradise.

25¢ Off On 3 1/2, 5, 7 Or 12 oz. Size
Mauna Loa Macadamia Nuts.

Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corp. is a registered trademark of Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corp. © 1980 Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corp. All rights reserved. Hawaii, Hawaii. Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corp. is a registered trademark of Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corp. © 1980 Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corp. All rights reserved. Hawaii, Hawaii.

25¢ 72992 102777

© MAUNA LOA® MACADAMIA NUT CORP.
45, Bennett Cir., Honolulu, Hawaii

Illustration 25. Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Color Advertisement (1980).

The plumeria, Diamond Head, and sail boat depict exotica while phrases like “enjoy the taste of paradise, even if you don’t live in Hawaii,” “paradise awaits you,” and “discover the nut so smooth... one taste and you’ll feel like you’re in paradise” represent cultural codes as well. These examples demonstrate how advertising feeds into consuming paradise. The Shansby Group took over Mauna Loa in 2000 but Hershey Foods Corporation acquired Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corporation three years later, introducing chocolate-covered macadamia nut products. Mauna Loa Macadamia Nut Corporation remains the largest Macadamia Nut processor in the world with its primary processing plant in Hilo. The macadamia nut embodies one of the most famous memories of paradise.

Of all the crops that perpetuate Hawaii’s exotic image, papaya represents a later crop that emerged through commercial farming beginning in the early twentieth century. Similar to the Kona coffee and macadamia nut narratives, growers underwent similar problems adjusting Hawaiian grown papaya to the islands environment. Cultivated in Mexico and Central America prior to 1492 by indigenous groups, the papaya originated along the Caribbean coast of Central America.²³⁹ In the sixteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese explorers brought seeds from the Caribbean to the Pacific Islands, India, Malaysia, and South East Asia places with an ideal tropical climate highly suitable for growing papayas. Spanish explorer Don Francisco Marin brought papaya to Hawaii from the Marquesas in the 1800s.²⁴⁰ However, botanist Dr. Garritt Wilder introduced the Solo papaya in 1910 establishing papaya cultivation in Hawaii with Solo becoming the dominant type.²⁴¹ The papaya did not reflect single crop agriculture as growers deemed mixed fields as more lucrative. By the 1920s, Hawaiian grown papayas became a global

²³⁹ W.B. Storey, “Genetics of the Papaya,” *Journal of Heredity*, 44:2 (1953), pp. 70-78.

²⁴⁰ Geoffrey R. Dixon and David Aldous, Editors, *Horticulture: Plants for People and Places, Volume 1: Production Horticulture* (New York: Springer Science Press, 2014).

²⁴¹ *Hawaii Papaya Industry Association*, www.hawaiipapaya.com, (Accessed July 23, 2014).

commodity and peaked as a major export crop in 1948.²⁴² Prior to Puna on the Big Island, papaya had been grown mostly on Oahu, however, an aphid virus decimated crops in the 1950s forcing the relocation back to the Big Island.

In 1965, the Hawaiian papaya industry partners formally met for the first time in Hilo, Hawaii. Comprised of 150 producers, handlers, wholesalers, and shippers, the group sought to form an organization, not a marketing cooperative. The Hawaii Papaya Industry Association gained momentum over the years with Hawaii's largest yield hitting an all-time high of 80.5 million pounds by 1984.²⁴³ During the 1990s, however, the papaya industry experienced unprecedented economic losses in production due to the devastating papaya ring spot virus (PRSV).²⁴⁴ The virus led to the development of the transgenic Rainbow papaya, a genetically modified crop.

A genetically modified organism (GMO) represents an organism whose genetic material has been transformed utilizing genetic engineering methods. Commercialized in 1998, plant pathologists Dr. Dennis Gonsalves and Dr. Richard Manshardt created the "Rainbow" papaya, a virus resistant GMO fruit. Within four years, the genetic improved variety had not only ended the rapid decline of the Hawaii papaya industry, but production had actually returned to levels close to where they reached before the papaya ring spot virus infestation.²⁴⁵ Although resistant, the Rainbow papaya brought its own GMO baggage. Controversial issues related to GMO food include the type of label, the role of government regulation, the impact of these crops on health and the environment, and its role in feeding the world population. In particular, papaya growers

²⁴² *The Kohala Center*, "The County of Hawaii Agriculture Development Plan," The Research and Development Department County of Hawaii, October 19, 2010.

²⁴³ *Hawaii Papaya Industry Association*.

²⁴⁴ Richard Manshardt, "UH Rainbow papaya," *Germplasm*, G-1. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii College of Tropical Agriculture and Human Resources, 1998.

²⁴⁵ Dennis Gonzalves, P.F. Tennant, C. Gonsalves, K.S. Ling, M.M. Fitch, R. Manshardt, and L.J. Slightom, Editors, "Differential protection against papaya ringspot virus isolates in coat protein gene transgenic papaya and classically cross-protected papaya," *Phytopathology*, 84(11), 1994, pp. 1359-1366.

argued regulation shut down a lucrative export in organic markets as well as weakened selling prices.²⁴⁶ Farmers also claimed that GMO technology had too many strings attached and began to leave the papaya industry. Within a year, Hawaii lost almost half of its papaya farmers who claimed that multinational corporations further alienated access to agricultural opportunities.

Over the last century, Hawaii’s papaya remains a posh global delicacy symbolized as an exotic fruit of the tropics with Hawaii and Florida as the only states that grow papaya in the United States. The Hawaii papaya industry offers four papaya varieties to consumers: the pear-shaped Kapoho, GMO red-flesh variety Sunrise/sun up, GMO rounded fruit Kamiya/Laie Gold, and GMO Rainbow grown and shipped globally from the islands.²⁴⁷ Two of the strongest Hawaiian grown papaya growers include Volcano Isle Fruit Company on the Big Island and Menehune Papaya Inc. on Maui.²⁴⁸ Today, the Rainbow papaya makes up about 77 percent of the exported crop.²⁴⁹

Canada	\$5,132,901	(68%)
Japan	\$1,376,097	(16%)
China	\$943,543	(12%)
Hong Kong	\$264,592	(3%)
Germany	\$110,973	(1%)
Totaled:	\$8,637,162	

Illustration 26. Hawaiian Papaya Exports in Value (2012).

²⁴⁶ Dennis Gonsalves, “Control of papaya ringspot virus in papaya: A case study,” *Annual Review of Phytopathology*, Volume 36, 1998, pp. 415-437.

²⁴⁷ *Hawaii Papaya Industry Association*.

²⁴⁸ Limited information exists pertaining to these companies. *Volcano Isle Fruit Company*, www.papayas.net. Menehune Papaya Inc. was part of Hana Tropical Plantation, which eventually closed down and its parcels were leased to various local farmers in Hana now operated by family-based farms like Ono Organic Farms and Hana Farms.

²⁴⁹ *Hawaii Papaya Industry Association*.

Japan, which has historically been a major consumer of Hawaii papaya, did not accept the Rainbow variety until December 2011, and only a tiny fraction of that variety exports to that country. In addition, Japan has also required non-transgenic papaya to be tested regularly to ensure its genetic purity, which presents additional challenges to organic farmers in Hawaii. Interestingly though, Japan imported \$1.3 million worth of papaya in 2012, about 16 percent of all of Hawaii's papaya exports.²⁵⁰ Contrary to other products, papaya growers do not advertise and tend to depend on its consuming paradise imagery as well as established connections with other countries.

The Hawaiian grown papaya, however, continues to remain at the focal point of Hawaii's polemic debate regarding biotech crops. Hawaii has been the global center for open field-testing of GMOs and Big Pharma crops for Monsanto, Dupont/Pioneer, Syngenta, and BASF in terms of toxic pesticide use. The papaya remains on a list of GMO foods that has received negative publicity from GMO Free Hawaii activists. These consumers are concerned with produce-profiteers who work against the laws of nature and in the process risk human health and create problems for the ecosystem.²⁵¹ Critics also worry about pesticide use that genetically modified crops such as the papaya require.

²⁵⁰ Tom Callis, "Papaya: A GMO Success Story," *Hawaii Tribune Herald*, June 10, 2013.

²⁵¹ GMO Free Hawaii now called Hawaii Seed, www.higean.org and Hawaii Seed www.hawaiiseed.org serves as the most prevailing anti-GMO organization.

Hawaiian Papaya: GMO Contaminated



photo by Jeri Di Pietro

By Melanie Bondera & Mark Query

Hawaii SEED¹

2006

www.gmofreehawaii.org

¹ GMO Free Hawaii changed its name to Hawaii SEED in February 2006 .

Illustration 27. Research study format, GMO Free Hawaii Marketing of the Hawaiian Papaya (2006).

WIDESPREAD GMO CONTAMINATION FOUND IN HAWAIIAN PAPAYA



COEXISTENCE IS NOT POSSIBLE.

www.gmofreeusa.org
www.facebook.com/gmofreeusa
www.facebook.com/gmofreecanadagroup

Illustration 28. GMO Free Hawaii Marketing of the Hawaiian Papaya (2006).

As protests against genetically modified food grow, others see the Rainbow papaya as a transgenic success story.²⁵² Growers and scientists remind the public that the first GMO Papaya “Rainbow” was created as part of an effort to save a crop that might have otherwise disappeared from the Hawaiian Islands. Despite GMO efforts, the GMO Free Hawaii campaign gained momentum when in 2013, Puna council withdrew anti-GMO Bill 79, a bill that sought to ban new GMO crops and prohibit biotech companies from farming on the Big Island.²⁵³ A few months later, the Hawaii anti-GMO movement celebrated as Hawaii County Council passed Bill 113, which limited the expansion of transgenic crops grown on the Big Island by restricting facility usage to enclosed structures, such as a greenhouse.²⁵⁴

Demonstrating a different image from the nostalgic sugar and pineapple plantation era, Hawaiian papaya seems caught between its GMO past and a steady movement toward a GMO-free Hawaii. Hawaii news media, predominantly the *Hawaii-Tribune Herald*, *Honolulu Star Advertiser* and community-based internet outlets such as *Hawaii Seed* and *GMO Free Hawaii* have consistently profiled different aspects of the GMO controversy. Several national newspapers have also covered the GMO issues with headlines such as “A Lonely Quest For Facts In The Big Island’s GMO Debate” in the *New York Times*, “Kauai’s Anti-GMO Regulation Challenged By Big-Ag Lawsuit” from the *The Huffington Post*, and “U.S. Judge Overturns GMO Crop Curbs in Hawaii” in the *Wall Street Journal*.²⁵⁵ With its GMO past, the Hawaiian papaya remains at the center of economic debates regarding ecofriendly sustainable agriculture. Science

²⁵² *Hawaii Papaya Industry Association*.

²⁵³ Mileka Lincoln, “Hundreds gather for Hawaii Island proposed GMO bill ban hearing,” *Hawaii News Now*, Jul 02, 2013, (Accessed July 20, 2014).

²⁵⁴ Ocean Robbins, “Hawaiian Mayor Signs GMO Ban into Law,” *Alter Net*, December 9, 2013, (Accessed July 20, 2014).

²⁵⁵ Amy Harmon, “A Lonely Quest for Facts on Genetically Modified Crops,” *The New York Times*, January 4, 2014; Carla Herreria, “Kauai’s Anti-GMO Regulation Challenged By Big-Ag Lawsuit,” *The Huffington Post*, January 14, 2014; Jacob Bunge, “U.S. Judge Overturns GMO Crop Curbs in Hawaii,” *The Wall Street Journal*, August 25, 2014.

and genetically modified foods have attributed a heavy stigma on all Hawaiian papaya, in particular on Monsanto products. Nevertheless, the powerful papaya lobby continues to downplay the controversy while underscoring how GMO Free Hawaii campaigns seem to only hurt local farmers. Despite negative publicity and a lack of commercial advertising by papaya growers, the Hawaiian papaya still represents one of the largest exports out of Hawaii.

As sugarcane, pineapple, Kona coffee, macadamia nuts, and papaya shaped and reinforced exotic representations of Hawaiianess, the Tiki craze forged regional connections between Hawaii and California while broadcasting larger cultural threads of Hawaiianess to a general public. The craze became a leisure fantasy manufactured for a generation that came of age during the Great Depression and World War II best represented through suburban Don the Beachcomber aloha shirts as well as cocktails in wacky Tiki cups.²⁵⁶ This mystique appropriated Hawaiian-Polynesian culture as a trendy form of southern California living, a type of “white man’s garden of eden” which stimulated people to become agents of transformation by recreating culture through consumption.²⁵⁷ In particular, Walt Disney’s “Enchanted Tiki Room” (1963), played out the idea of a tropical oasis. A wave of Tiki-themed bars and hotels sprung up across the mainland, such as the Sip ‘n Dip Lounge in Great Falls, Montana that added the spectacle of having women dressed as mermaids swimming in the pool within sight of the bar’s patrons.²⁵⁸ In its original concept, the Enchanted Tiki Room was envisioned as a restaurant with an after-dinner performance by a group of exotic birds. Disney imagineers, however, decided that the dinner and show combination would be impractical, and so the audio-animatronics expanded to fill an entire seventeen minute show. Walt and his team of imagineers felt that the

²⁵⁶ Frederic Jameson, “Postmodernism, or the Cultural logic of Late Capitalism,” *New Left Review* 146 (1984), pp. 53-92.

²⁵⁷ Jeffrey Valance’s notion of “white man’s garden of Eden” appears in by Jeffrey Valance and Otto von Strohiem’s *Tiki Art Two: The Second Coming of a New Art God*, 9mm (Books: Los Angeles, 2005), pp. 3-6.

²⁵⁸ Kim Skornogoski, “Manager of world famous Sip-N-Dip Lounge gives tips on what makes a great bar,” *Great Falls Tribune*, (Accessed July 21, 2014).

new “space-age Audio-Animatronics” could carry their own weight as a floor show attraction.²⁵⁹

Disney innovators promoted the attraction as the following:

“An Entirely New Concept in Entertainment! Surrounds you in a sit-down theatre show. Nature comes to life in the Enchanted Tiki Room as a cast of more than 200 tropical birds, flowers, and tikis amaze and entertaining you...all brought to life through the space-age electronic wonders of AUDIO ANIMATRONICS! 10 years in research and developed at a cost of more than \$1,000,000...now in its premiere engagement in Adventureland! Surrounded by Disney-woven magic, it’s like eavesdropping on a tropical paradise! You have to see it to believe it...”²⁶⁰

Sparing no expense, Disney imagineers drew upon a mixture of adventure, tropical themes, and cutting edge technology to (re)create an exotic world of the South Seas at a cost of more than one million dollars.²⁶¹ With United Airlines as its official sponsor, Disney marketed a singular image where Micronesian, Melanesian, Polynesian, and Hawaiian cultures were collapsed into one large ethnic group. This singular image drew upon mechanical animals, flowers, and drums as its representations rather than highlighting people as evident in attractions like It’s a Small World and Alice in Wonderland where cultural diversity is celebrated. With people lacking from its narrative, the Tiki Room promotes an image of South Pacific culture devoid of people.

The Enchanted Tiki room sold a hodge-podge of constructed Polynesian culture as an authentic representation of the Hawaiian past. When Dole Food Company became the official sponsor in 1976, viewers watched a brief documentary of the company’s history as they waited in line and were given an opportunity to purchase pineapple soft serve ice cream, juice, and fruit at the Dole snack bar. While waiting outside in a lanai area for the show to start, visitors are serenaded with Hawaiian music by popular musicians Martin Denny and Bud Tutmarc. Best

²⁵⁹ Information was created into a pamphlet. Walt Disney Productions, *Disneyland, the First Quarter Century*, (California: Walt Disney Productions, 1979), P. 7.

²⁶⁰ Brochure from The Enchanted Tiki Room in Anaheim - 1963, Author’s private collection. Part of this brochure was incorporated in to two grand opening announcements in the Los Angeles Times - June 10, 1962, “Show of the Week,” *Los Angeles Times*, p. A8 ; June 20, 1963, “Enchanted Tiki Room Opens at Disneyland,” *Los Angeles Times*, p. A12.

²⁶¹ Wayne Warga, “Studios Invite the Outsider for Inside Look,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 13, 1968, p. C13.

known as the “father of exotica,” Denny, an American pianist and composer, popularized his brand of lounge music, which included exotic percussion, imaginative rearrangements of popular songs, as well as original compositions that celebrated Tiki culture. Similarly, Tutmarc was a well-known Hawaiian steel guitarist whose gospel sounds echoed nostalgic Hawaiian music. Both musicians captured a distinct sound that would come to represent popular construction of Hawaiianess. Directly at the front entrance, Hawaiian gods such as Hina Kuluua, goddess of rain, Pele, the volcano goddess, and Maui the demi-god, graced the perimeter of the Tiki hut and each had a rhyming legend told through Audio-Animatronics. Inside the Tiki hut, over 150 animated talking totem poles and drummers, flowers, parrots (with French, English, and Spanish accents), along with tropical sounds embellished Polynesian stories.²⁶² The show finale features every Audio-Animatronic figure performing an upbeat version of Martin Denny’s “Hawaiian war chant.”²⁶³

Advertisements during its heyday of the 1960s heightened the surround sound and visual experience with such words as “See! Hear! Enjoy!”

²⁶² “Disneyland Enchanted Tiki Room,” *YouTube.com*, <http://www.geocities.com/hollywood/boulevard/1877/tikivirtual.html> (Accessed April 23, 2011). The animatronic cast list is as follows: 54 singing orchids, 4 totem poles, 12 tiki drummers, 24 singing masks, 7 birds of paradise (the plant variety), 8 macaws, 12 toucans, 9 forktail birds, 6 cockatoos, and 20 assorted tropical birds.

²⁶³ The Hawaiian War Chant was an American popular song whose original melody and lyrics were written in the 1860s by Prince Leleiohoku. The original title of the song was *Kaua I Ka Huahua`i* or “We Two in the Spray” whose Hawaiian lyrics described a meeting between two lovers.

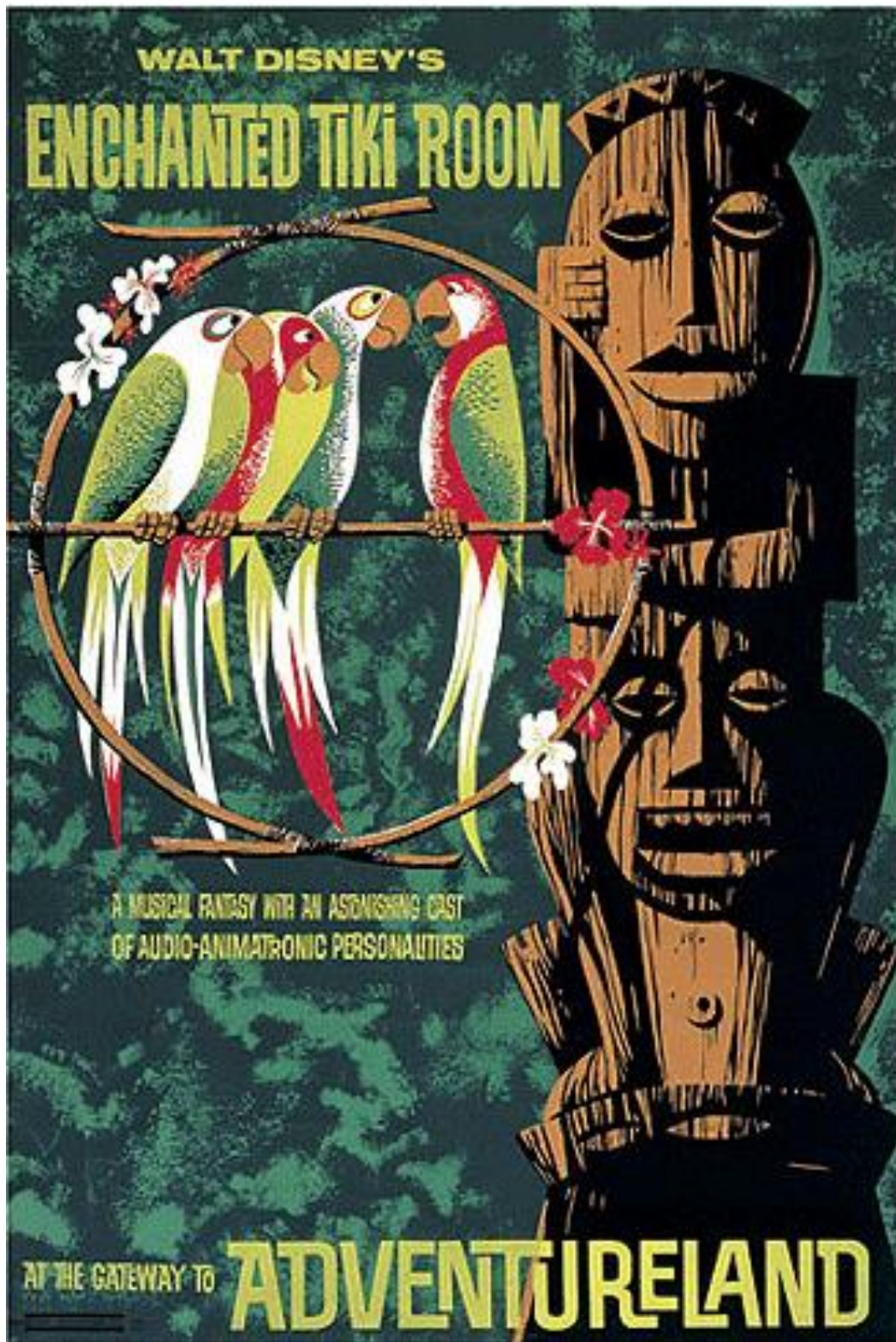


Illustration 29. Original Disney theme park poster and brochure for Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room (1963).

The Enchanted Tiki Room represents an imagined construction that blurs the boundaries between reality and artifice. Words such as “a musical luau,” and “aloha” demonstrate historical references to Hawaiian culture but lyrics like “The Gods have been angered” reflect fractured misconceptions of indigenous roots. The term Tiki did not really exist in Hawaiian mythology rather such Gods were called Ki’i’s, figures celebrated not feared. Other examples of tropical transgressions include the use of parrots, a non-native species of Hawaii and totem masks unknown to Hawaiian culture. These sounds and images portray imagined glossy representations with little or no authenticity. In this blog written by British television reporter Samira Ahmed, she creates a blurring of imagination and reality:

“I live in England, but have fond memories of the Enchanted Tiki Room that compel me to join your campaign. The first time I went was as an 8 year old in 1976, and I was charmed by the simple fun of it. Especially the rainstorm effects and the singing Tiki gods. But more recently, last year when I was posted to L.A. as the BBC’s correspondent, I went back to Disneyland and was enchanted by the cultural importance of it. From the hostess’s cute floral sarong-style skirts at the entrance (surely one of the coolest cast uniforms) to the perfect vision of Polynesia. I did a few features about the whole 1950s-1960s inspired lounge scene. And given that it was born in L.A., Disneyland should be cherishing this ride as a hip cultural emblem. Aloha!”²⁶⁴

Through Ahmed’s nostalgic recalling of the Tiki room, words like “perfect vision of Polynesia” and “aloha” illustrate her whole-hearted acceptance of fictional fantasy. Audience members often accept these representations as accurate cultural portrayals. Such cultural flattening that covers all Pacific groups, “Polynesian,” “Melanesian,” “Micronesian,” and “Hawaiian” disappear into a constructed fiction. Again, no actual people are represented in the Tiki narrative, which compounds the fantasy.

²⁶⁴ Samira Ahmed, “Fond Memories of the Tiki Room,” *Dedicated to Walt Disney’s Tiki Room*, <http://www.oociies.org/hollywood/Boulevard/1877/tikimemories.html> (Accessed April 20, 2011).



Illustration 31. Black and white postcard of outside view of Walt Disney's Enchanted Tiki Room illustrating the final site during the grand opening of the attraction (1963).

What began as an attraction “overflowing with the color and spirit of the islands” became a dialectic movement between fantasy and reality.²⁶⁵ Although manufactured as an imagined fantasy, the Disney attraction resulted in racial stereotyping based on an exploitation of indigenous beliefs that reduced all Polynesians-Hawaiians to kitsch while reinforcing a notion of Hawaiian as exotic. The Tiki room continues to serve as the most permanent remnant of the Tiki craze.

²⁶⁵ I was denied access into Disney archives to explore information on the Enchanted Tiki Room and therefore had to focus on drawing upon community resources. Walt Disney Productions, *Disneyland, the First Quarter Century*, (California: Walt Disney Productions, 1979), pp. 5-7.

Trends of selling food products that played on the Tiki motif begin to emerge in U.S. popular culture as evident in “Hawaiian fruit punch” and its chief character Punchy. In 1934, initially called “Leo’s Hawaiian Punch,” A.W. Leo, Tom Yates and Ralph Harrison developed the recipe for Hawaiian Punch in a garage in Fullerton, California as a syrup-based ice cream topping for Pacific Citrus Products Company. In 1946, quart bottles of the concentrate appeared on store shelves across the west. In 1950, a ready-to-drink version of the red Hawaiian Punch became available and by 1955, Hawaiian Punch was recognized nationwide. Hawaiian Punch had seven fruit flavors reflecting the “exotic” nature of Hawaii: apple, apricot, guava, orange, papaya, passion fruit, and pineapple. Advertising agency Atherton-Privett developed the Punchy character in 1961 for the product now owned by Dr. Pepper Snapple Group, Inc. In 1962, the first commercial with Punchy aired on *The Tonight Show* with Jack Parr and received great reviews. Parr even declared, “Let’s run that again... the second time for free!”²⁶⁶ Children connected with Punchy’s silly nature and his catch phrase, “How about a nice Hawaiian Punch?” Overall, Punchy represented a kitschy hallmark of the stereotypical tourist view of Hawaiianess:

²⁶⁶ *TV Acres.com*, “Advertising Mascots – People,” http://www.tvacres.com/admascots_hawaiian_punch.htm (Accessed July 17, 2014).



Illustration 32. Hawaiian Punch Advertisement from 1965.



Illustration 33. Hawaiian Punch Advertisement of modern surfer Punchy from 2003.

His television commercials centered on a double entendre that reflected both the juice and the physical nature of a punch. Wearing a blue and white aloha style shirt and red grass-like hat, Punchy would ask his sidekick Opie if he would like “a nice Hawaiian Punch” and after Opie said yes, Punchy would clobber him.²⁶⁷ Entertainers Donny and Marie Osmond participated in a series of commercials for Hawaiian Punch during the late 1970s and early 1980s, shifting its image to typify clean wholesome family fun.

During the 1990s, Punchy returned in a less violent role with a revamped set of commercials using the catch phrase “Punch! Punch! How ‘bout it?”²⁶⁸ During this time, Punchy also graced assorted products such as Brach’s jelly beans, and Hawaiian Punch-flavored bubble gum. However, in 2003, Punchy changed from an angry character to a surfer with a new three dimensional look to appeal to a new generation of children. “The new Hawaiian Punch graphic changes are a 21st century makeover to make the brand more relevant for the world that Hawaiian Punch fans now live in” expressed Jaxie Alt, vice president of marketing for juice drinks at Dr. Pepper Snapple Group.²⁶⁹ The cross marketing of Hawaiian punch products brought international success.

In the case of Hawaiian Punch, as a non-Hawaiian based company, its story reveals how the marketing of Hawaiian culture served as a useful strategy that overshadowed the company’s lack of authenticity. On another level, Hawaiian punch epitomizes a robust representation of a revival of Hawaiian sugar. Although conveyed indirectly, drawing from a nostalgic past along with a strong marketing message, Dr. Pepper Snapple Group revived the memory of Hawaiian

²⁶⁷ Hawaiian Punch lacked origins to the Hawaiian Islands. *Hawaiian Punch*, “History,” <http://www.hawaiianpunch.com/history.php> (Accessed July 17, 2014).

²⁶⁸ *TV Acres.com*, “Advertising Mascots – People,” http://www.tvacres.com/admascots_hawaiian_punch.htm (Accessed July 17, 2014).

²⁶⁹ *Dr. Pepper Snapple Group*, “Hawaiian Punch Unveils New Packaging Graphics and an Updated Punchy, the Brand’s Iconic Mascot – June 2011,” <http://news.drpeppersnapplegroup.com/press-release/product-news/hawaiian-punch-unveils-new-packaging-graphics-and-updated-punchy-brands-i> (Accessed July 20, 2014).

sugarcane. As historian Vicki L. Ruiz reminds us, sometimes evoking a nostalgic past involves the constant negotiation and shaping of scholarship, which parallels the fluidity of memory and identity.²⁷⁰ Hawaiian Punch's larger marketing message has successfully convinced consumers of its "Hawaiian" roots.

Iconic cultural historian Jackson Lears explains that gendered and racialized images create ideas of consumer desire as "advertising disconnects human beings from the material world."²⁷¹ Advertising undergoes a contradictory yet persisting struggle between managerial rationality and carnivalesque sensuality. This tension demonstrates how racialized images become tested and embedded in popular culture, what Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls "production of heritage" which exemplifies a mode of cultural production that provides for marketing opportunities linked to tourism and economy.²⁷² Thus, Punchy evolved as a kitsch cartoon character based on the allure of exotic goods that to this day continues to fortify marketing connections between Hawaii, sugar, and surf. Punchy exemplifies the ways in which modern advertising urges us to rethink the relationship of people to world goods as well as the tenuous relationship between advertising and the broader culture.

The Mai Tai cocktail, a dark rum drink invented at Trader Vic's restaurant in Oakland, California, remains a symbol of Polynesian-style settings and the Tiki motif. A popular cocktail in the 1950s and 1960s, the Mai Tai was prominently featured in the Elvis Presley film *Blue Hawaii*, amplifying a strong connection between the Tiki craze and the Hawaiian Islands. The Mai Tai remains synonymous with Tiki culture both past and present as a luxury drink that symbolized Hawaii. A failing sugar industry and lingering question as to the authenticity of a

²⁷⁰ Vicki L. Ruiz and John Chavez, Editors, *Memories and Migrations: Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

²⁷¹ Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History Of Advertising In America* (New York: Basic Books, 1995). P. 4.

²⁷² Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage* (University of California Press, Berkeley: 1998).

Mai Tai with Caribbean rum inspired the production of locally grown rum utilizing Hawaiian sugarcane. Businesses saw opportunity in reviving Hawaiian rum to create a new twenty-first century product.

For centuries, rum has been associated with tales of adventure and intrigue broadcast with pirates making a living off of the rum trade while terrorizing ships in the eighteenth century.²⁷³ Rum first came to Hawaii through Captain James Cook and the crew of the *HMS Discovery* when they landed on Kauai in 1778.²⁷⁴ A derivative of sugarcane, home-brewed rum developed in Koloa Town in 1835 on the Koloa Plantation.²⁷⁵ Those plantations with the decline of sugar as a commercial crop shifted to growing different and more lucrative crops, and home-brew rum became dormant in the Hawaiian Islands until recently. The rise of rum moves from home-brew to artisan in 2009 as businesses revive the sugar industry.

Four rums have emerged as the leading Hawaiian-brands distilled, aged, and bottled in Hawaii: Maui Rum, Old Lahaina Premium Rum, Sammy's Beach Bar Rum, and The Koloa Rum Company. Most Hawaiian-brand rums do not derive from a corporate enterprise and reflect business community partnerships between close knit or family-run companies and local businessmen. Launched in 2009, Maui Rum has had great success in combining local sugarcane with Haleakala Distillers. With simple text-based labels that state "Maui Rum," the company has gained a strong following based on an exclusive commitment to 100% Maui-grown natural ingredients.²⁷⁶ They export to retailers along the west coast in California, Washington state and Alaska. The company remains dedicated to supporting the local economy by keeping an ancient

²⁷³ Colin Woodard, *The Republic of Pirates: Being the True and Surprising Story of the Caribbean Pirates and the Man Who Brought Them Down* (Orlando: Harcourt, Inc., 2007).

²⁷⁴ J.C. Beaglehole, *The Life of Captain James Cook* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974).

²⁷⁵ Robert L. Cushing, "Beginnings of Sugar Production in Hawaii," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Volume 19, 1985, pp. 17–34.

²⁷⁶ Maui Rum operates under Haleakala Distillery. *Haleakala Distillers*, www.haleakaladistillers.com, (Accessed July 21, 2014).

agricultural tradition alive, assisting local farmers to keep Maui self sufficient in at least one area. Of the four rum brands, Maui Rum has the least amount of press and advertising support on its product yet thrives due to its reputation of helping local farming and steady donations to Hawaiian charities and non-profit organizations.

Created by a father and son team Paul and Brian Case, Old Lahaina Premium Rum represents a product of Maui Distillers and sugarcane from Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. Maui Plantation, a different distillery from C&H Sugar Company.²⁷⁷ Constructed by the Case father-son team and local labor, the distillery took three years to complete. By 2009, they perfected their formula and began to commercially produce rum sold throughout the state of Hawaii. Old Lahaina Rum asserts its reputation on old style rum processes using two steam-fired, Badger pot stills, originally developed in 1946. Old Lahaina Premium Rum has an exclusive contract with receiving molasses from its Puunene mill on Maui and continues to be available only in Hawaii. The Case family promotes a distinctive mission: “To create unique tasting, premium rums based on the first rums brought here in the 1700s by sailors and whalers, our goal is to have Old Lahaina Rums become widely regarded as The Spirit of the Islands by both visitors and kama’aina.”²⁷⁸

²⁷⁷ Maui Distillers, www.oldlahainarum.com, (Accessed July 21, 2014).

²⁷⁸ “About us,” *Maui Distillers*, www.oldlahainarum.com, (Accessed July 21, 2014).



Illustration 34. Old Lahaina Premium Rum (2009).

The company's label highlights a native hula girl waving to sailors as they approach the beach and the words "Old Lahaina" evokes Polynesian nostalgia. From 1700s to 1865, Lahaina served as the center of the global whaling industry where hundreds of whaling ships spent winters waiting for the spring thaw before heading for the arctic whaling season.²⁷⁹

In 2011, encouraged by the island's reputation for tropical drinks and his love of rum, former Van Halen front man and part-time Maui resident Sammy Hagar opened Sammy's Beach Bar Rum restaurant on Maui and his signature rum resulted from a partnership between Hagar

²⁷⁹ Honolulu became the capital of Hawaii in 1865. Maui Historical Society, *Lahaina Historical Guide* (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, Co., 1971).

and Hailemaile Distilling Company on Maui.²⁸⁰ Prior to rum, Hagar had already established his Cabo Wabo Tequila brand in the 1990s, a cantina in Cabo San Lucas Mexico, and a chain of restaurants throughout the United States. Contrary to a family-run mom and pop business, Sammy's Beach Bar Rum represents an expansion of Hagar's spirits empire. Using only Hawaii-grown sugar cane, the brand prides itself on waiting a full two years of sugar maturation rather than the one-year method typically employed by other rums, as a means to intensify the aged character and aroma.²⁸¹

²⁸⁰ Sherie Char, "Rocker Sammy Hagar launches Maui-made rum in Waikiki, shares mai tai recipe," *HawaiiMagazine.com*, Nov 22, 2011 (Accessed July 16, 2014).

²⁸¹ *Sammy's Beach Bar and Rum*, "About," www.sammysbeachbarrum.com (Accessed July 22, 2014).



Illustration 35. Sammy's Beach Bar and Rum (2011).

The design of the rum label contains a native Hawaiian quilt pattern and natural photography of the green sugarcane stalks, exuding a sophisticated local feel. The success of the product remains highly dependent on its marketing as a local Hawaii product nationwide.

The Koloa Rum Company, operating since 2009, prides itself on a distinct Kauai-product with its “tall cane” sugarcane and the pure mountain waters of Mt. Waialeale, the wettest spot in the world. Ironically, that year, farmers stopped raising cane on Kauai, as the islanders abandoned its agricultural past in order to concentrate on tourism. Koloa rum had its humble beginnings in Kalaheo where Hiroshi and Aster Tateishi had a family business specializing in producing jams, jellies, and syrups, from handpicked wild fruit such as guava, passion fruit, coconut, and pineapple.²⁸² In 1990, patriarch Hiroshi Tateishi fell ill and the family sold the business. Hiroshi’s daughter, Fay stayed on making Hawaiian Kukui Brand fruit specialties. However, the business annual revenue had dropped significantly from \$1 million to \$40,000 a year. In 1992, after Hurricane Iniki blew off part of the roof of the production facility, the company moved its operations to the back of the building.

Difficulty turned into opportunity for the Tateishis’ when entrepreneur John Schredder bought the company and named it Koloa, after Kauai’s first sugar mill, and included Tateishi’s Hawaiian Kukui Brand fruit products.²⁸³ Utilizing the functioning food-processing plant with added equipment to produce a small-batch of rum, Schredder modernized production with an original 1931 recipe and warehoused a three-year supply of sugar from Kauai’s only remaining plantation, Gay & Robinson that harvested its last crop in 2009. “People seem excited to have a

²⁸² *Koloa Rum Company*, www.koloarum.com (Accessed July 20, 2014).

²⁸³ Also known as the candlenut, ancient Hawaiians extracted oil from kukui nuts to burn and provide light. Kukui nuts are now used decoratively to create leis and others use the Hawaiian condiment known as Inamona in their cooking made from roasted kukui nuts.

genuine, premium local product,” expressed Schredder.²⁸⁴ He built a brand new Koloa Rum’s facility in the old Hawaiian plantation style to blend in with its surroundings and sought to include a restored sugar mansion, a restaurant, a number of galleries and boutiques, a plantation railroad ride, and luau grounds all on the historic Kilohana plantation.

²⁸⁴ John Heckathorn and Derek Paiva, “Kauai’s tasty, mai tai-ready Koloa Hawaiian Rum now award-winning, too,” *Hawaiimagazine.com*, August 25, 2010.

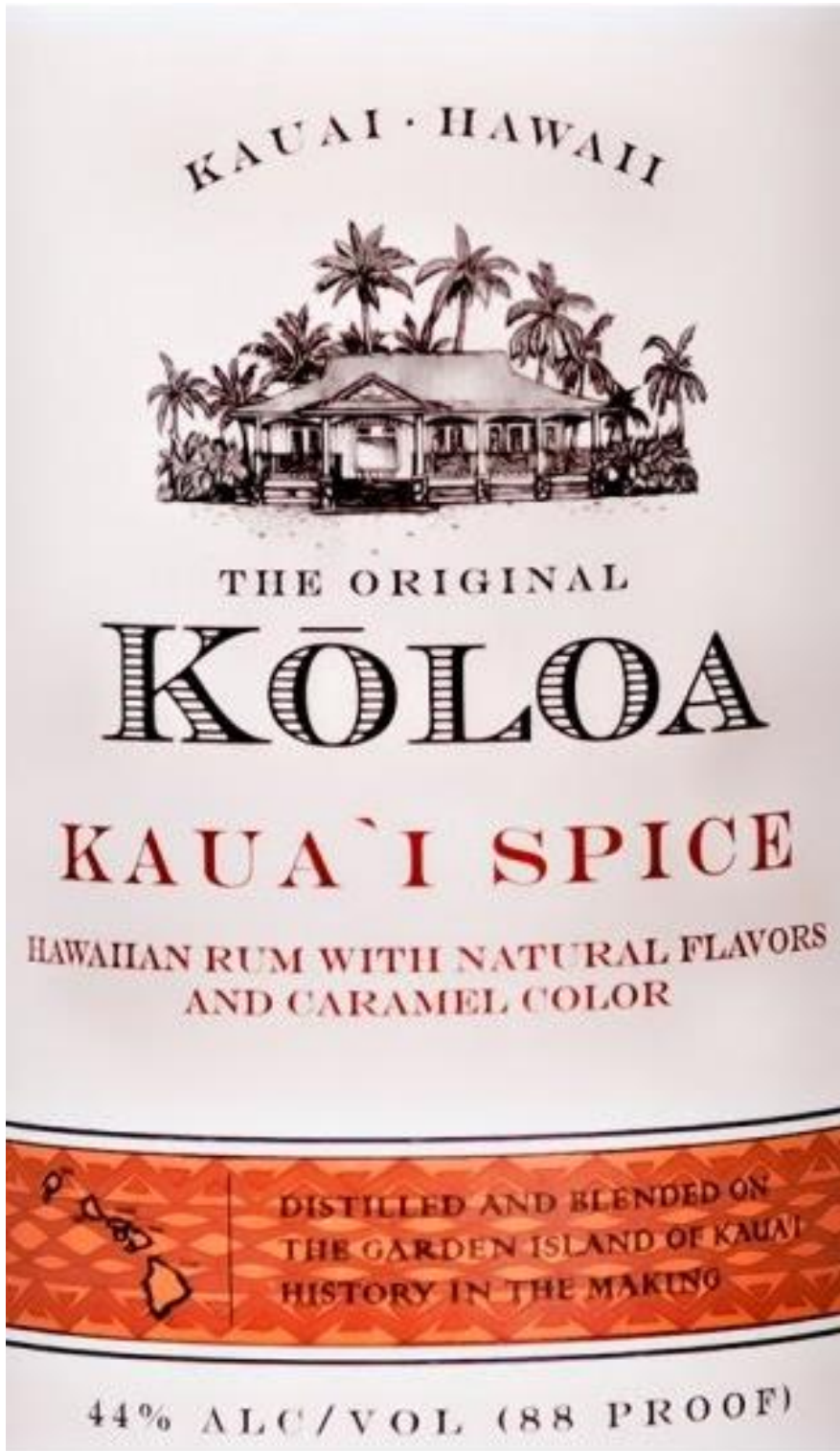


Illustration 36. Koloa Rum (2009).

The design of Koloa rum contains an elegant, old Hawaii-style label featuring a plantation house, Hawaiian quilt pattern and the state of Hawaii. The marketing strategy conjures a sense of old time nostalgia to remind consumers about Kauai's ties to the sugar industry and serves as a reminder to a traditional way of life. Select liquor retailers throughout Hawaii and Southern California distribute Koloa Rum Co. Premium Hawaiian Rums.

These four rum companies have attempted to revive Hawaii's sugarcane heritage, modified and reborn into a niche market. Their specialty product, however, moves beyond simply being a consumable product. Each company prides itself on the commercial production of Hawaii-rum that contributes to the identity of Hawaii from reinforcing sustainable agricultural practices in its local industry to stimulating employment. In three cases, certain non Hawaiian-based brands continue to draw upon Hawaii's sugarcane past to piggyback their product.²⁸⁵

Other than the name of a city, Lahaina Rum has nothing to do with Hawaii as its rum comes from the Virgin Islands. Hana Bay Rum and Diamond Head Rum represent corporate rums. Hana Bay Rum, made in Mira Loma, California, then exports the rum to a Honolulu company outlet called Hawaiian Distillers. Similarly, Diamond Head rum imports its rum to Hawaii from the West Indies. All three of these rum brands do not commercially advertise and rely on the consuming paradise paradigm.

Whether Hawaiian-based or not, these seven examples of rum all nostalgically draw on Hawaii's sugarcane imagery. While all cases reveal a resurgence of rum, there remains a distinction between the home-brew artisan companies that reflect culturally organic and non-Hawaiian based brands that represent cultural appropriation. Another key component to the

²⁸⁵ Lahaina Rum, Hana Bay Rum and Diamond Head Rum are not as popular as the Hawaiian-based brands. They do not have company websites. Information regarding their products was obtained from retail distributors. Lahaina Rum: http://www.beveragewarehouse.com/search/more_info.php?item_id=8294; Hana Bay Rum: <http://www.ministryofrum.com/rumdetails.php?r=395>, and Diamond Head Rum: http://www.beveragewarehouse.com/search/more_info.php?item_id=10478.

success of home-brew artisan rum remains the emphasis on island family. Koloa rum and Old Lahaina companies revamped old sugar plantations to fit their needs and in the process established an effective close-knit family style labor with current members or acquaintances that became like family. Hawaiian rum, as connected to home-grown farming and local distilleries, manage to promote a culturally organic product linked to a revival of Hawaii's sugarcane. While the three non-Hawaiian based brands choose cultural appropriation, the four home-brew artisan brands seek to respect and honor Hawaii's culture and tradition.

Given a distinct and unique taste profile, consumers and the spirits trade exuded excitement about Hawaiian rum. In 2012, after it created a niche sub segment in the market, many perceived Hawaiian rum as supporting the overall category growth. According to the 2013 industry report, the top ten rum brands such as Bacardi and Captain Morgan collectively grew 0.2 percent by volume, while other notables in the category like Admiral Nelson and Sailor Jerry expanded 7.5 percent.²⁸⁶ As all rum brands received remarkable gains, the spirits trade saw value in Hawaiian rum. The market also appreciated the celebrity factor from Sammy Hagar's rum brand, which heightened interest. Within all spirits, rum represents the third largest category globally and remains one of the top cocktail products used in drinks such as the Mai Tai. Hawaiian rum has nearly 25% of the market share of all spirits in Hawaii.²⁸⁷ Again, the Hawaiian rum derived from Hawaii's tall-grass sugarcane creates authenticity and an exclusive identifiable Hawaiian product allowing it to gain momentum in the rum spirit market economy.

Hawaii's foodstuffs whether sugarcane, pineapple, Kona coffee, macadamia nuts, papaya, a fruit drink, and rum captured a value of place-association due to the social construction of

²⁸⁶ *Technomic Trends in Adult Beverage 2012 State of the Industry Report*, www.technomic.com/Reports_and_Newsletters/Industry_Reports/dyn_PubLoad_v2.php?PID=135 (Accessed September 25, 2014).

²⁸⁷ *Technomic Trends in Adult Beverage 2014 State of the Industry Report*, www.technomic.com/Reports_and_Newsletters/Industry_Reports/dyn_PubLoad_v2.php?PID=135 (Accessed September 26, 2014).

Hawaii as a place. Tourism encouraged diversified agriculture resulting in the niche production of specialty fruit, gourmet coffee, nuts, and flowers thus making it easier for Hawaii's foodstuffs to thrive in global competition. An expansion of the niche markets, however, allowed the social meaning of these products to be appropriated and reconstituted by corporate interests as evident through partnerships such as C&H sugar, Dole pineapple and Disney. These particular partnerships demonstrate how corporate capital continuously seeks new opportunities for high value crops conducive to mass consumption.

Hawaiians have maintained some degree of control in terms of the presentation of their food in southern California, despite inauthentic marketing and cultural representations. Food represents one place where they can exercise their authority but the American fascination looms large and remains in constant dialogue with Hawaii and the consumption of paradise. The next chapter examines how Hawaiians intervene in a larger conversation of national and global appropriations of Hawaiianess and how they shaped their own social-cultural landscapes.

fantasy. How can we begin to understand the deeper connections evident in Hawaiian cultural expressions? Drawing extensively on newspaper research, oral history, and print culture, this chapter examines multiple strands of Hawaiian cultural memory. Community events embodied a “transgenerational imaginary,” that is, the ways in which cultural knowledge transfers from one generation to the next and at times produces new expressions. I argue that this reclamation of Hawaiianess emerges from an intergenerational dialectic process (e.g. parent/grandparent to child or aunt/uncle to niece/nephew) that seeks to preserve indigenous knowledge.

Huanani-Kay Trask’s *From a Native Daughter* provided a conceptual framework for an intriguing, provocative framework for understanding native Hawaiian identity as a “decolonial imaginary.”²⁸⁹ She declared, “. . . part of the beauty of Hawaiian decolonization is the reassertion of power in the sovereignty movement as a defining element of cultural and political leadership.”²⁹⁰ In her critique of colonial “cultural prostitution,” she argued that, “the attraction of Hawaii is stimulated by slick Hollywood movies, saccharine Andy Williams music Tourists flock to my Native land for escape, but they are escaping into a state of mind while participating in the destruction of a host people in a Native place.”²⁹¹ More recent scholarship has built upon Trask’s framework by addressing Hawaiian cultural memory through hula, oral traditions, and native storytelling in order to (re)contextualize how Hawaiians have grappled with nationalism and identity over time.²⁹² Indeed, Hawaiians have engaged in a cultural

²⁸⁹ Historian Emma Perez conceptualized “decolonial imaginary” as a critical pedagogy to uncover the hidden voices that have been silenced in *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicanas into History* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991).

²⁹⁰ Haunani-Kay Trask concept of “cultural prostitution” served as a warning to others about the danger of native traditions becoming mere local fascination for swarms of tourists. Huanani Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993).

²⁹¹ Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii*, 137.

²⁹² Kuualoha Meyer-Hoomanawanui, “The Revival of the Hawaiian Language in Contemporary Storytelling,” in *Traditional Storytelling Today: An International Sourcebook*, edited by Margaret Read MacDonald (New York: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1999); Huanani Kay Trask, “Decolonizing Hawaiian Literature,” in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and identity in the New Pacific*, edited by Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson, 167-82, (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999); Jeannette Marie Mageo, *Cultural Memory: Reconfiguring History*

renaissance, which has served as a powerful tool for reclaiming indigenous identities.

Emphasizing people as mediators and agents of cultural memory, this chapter takes an in-depth look into the first and second Hawaiian cultural renaissance, around issues of language, music, hula, maritime traditions, as well as the politics of museum exhibits. As historian Vicki L. Ruiz reminds us, groups engage in constant mediation and shaping of information, which underscores the fluidity of memory and identity.²⁹³

During the nineteenth century, the first Hawaiian cultural renaissance focused on bringing back native culture to urban areas where large communities of Native Hawaiians lived. Linked to the nationalist movement of King Kamehameha V, the first Hawaiian Renaissance sought to develop a national identity rather than modeling their nation after Great Britain and the United States. Yet, prevailing Calvinist missionary repression continued to force traditional Hawaiian arts underground for several decades, until the succeeding King Kalakaua brought back the Hawaiian culture throughout the islands. Kalakaua replaced the considerably Christian national anthem *He Mele Lahui Hawaii* with *Hawaii Pono* in 1876. Then he rebuilt the aged Iolani palace in 1882. Limiting western influence, he continued to place Hawaiian culture at the forefront, sponsoring several traditional Hawaiian practices such as hula, chants, and sports. He also called upon archivists to preserve myths, island legends, and chants in written form. The Kalakaua renaissance of Hawaiian culture, however proved short lived, since four years after his death in 1891 the Hawaiian Kingdom came to an end.

After King Kalakaua's renaissance, a brief resurgence of Hawaiian political altruism occurred.

Prince Jonah Kuhio introduced to the U.S. Congress the Hawaii Statehood Act in 1919, however,

and Identity in the Postcolonial Pacific (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001); Adria Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); Seri Luangphinit, "Hawaiian Literature," in *Ethnic American Literature: An Encyclopedia for Students*, edited by Emmanuel Belson (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 2015).

²⁹³ Vicki L. Ruiz and John Chavez, Editors, *Memories and Migrations: Mapping Boricua and Chicana Histories* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

Congress enacted the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921 that put in place a system to rehabilitate Hawaiians through a homestead land arrangement, one that required high blood-quantum criteria instead of granting it fee-simple.²⁹⁴ Nevertheless, the Act secured homes for Hawaiian families who had experienced displacement. As a complement to this program, Kuhio fostered the Hawaiian Civic Club movement designed to promote the educational and cultural welfare of native Hawaiians.²⁹⁵ These clubs served as neighborhood networks that engaged the business community to promote education and social welfare particularly by raising scholarship funds to support education. They organized a number of events such as Hoikeike, Kamehameha and Kuhio Day Parades that provided opportunities to showcase Hawaiian cultural traditions. As discussed in an earlier chapter, ignited by Prince Kuhio's vision in the 1920s, many Hawaiian Civic Clubs became formalized throughout the 1960s and served as a precursor for cultural reclamation. Hawaiian Civic Clubs have extended out to mainland Hawaiian communities, such as the Hawaiian Inter-Club Council of southern California.²⁹⁶

During the 1970s, Native Hawaiians joined together their cultural renaissance with political action. Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and other peoples came together in a heightened recognition of their common historical experience of colonial subjugation and loss. Indeed, formal meetings between Hawaiian and Maori representatives have a fifty-year history; Hawaiian nationalists have attended American Indian conferences; and there were significant parallels between the fight for the island of Kahoolawe, Hawaii and Puerto Rican activism over the island of Vieques, in that the U.S. Navy used both sites as target practice. Rooted in the

²⁹⁴ Jonah Kuhio Kalaniana'ole (1871–1922) was a prince of the Kingdom of Hawaii until its overthrow in 1893. He later went on to become a representative in the Territory of Hawaii as delegate to the United States Congress, and is the first native Hawaiian and only royal person ever elected to that body. Ann Rayson, "Chapter 3: Prince Kuhio and the Hawaiian Homestead Act," *Modern History of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 2004).

²⁹⁵ The Hawaiian Civic Club, *pkhcc.com*, Accessed March 20, 2015.

²⁹⁶ The Hawaiian Inter-Club Council of southern California was established in 1976. Other clubs include the Las Vegas Hawaiian Civic Club created in 1989 and latest member Kuhina Nui Kaahumanu Hawaiian Civic Club of Elmwood Park, Illinois established in 2012.

same pressures of American colonial policy and inspired by the American Indian Movement and racial/ethnic student protests on the mainland, Hawaiians moved beyond cultural memory to advocacy and protection of native lands.²⁹⁷ As Haunani-Kay Trask explained: “More akin to the American Indian Movement than to the Black Civil Rights Movement, the Hawaiian Movement began as a battle for land rights ... but by the mid 1970s, these land claims had broadened to cover military-controlled lands and trust lands specifically set aside for Hawaiians by the U.S. Congress but used by non-beneficiaries, ... and would evolve, by 1980, into a larger struggle for native Hawaiian autonomy.”²⁹⁸ Embracing both a local and Pan-Pacific identity, Native Hawaiians experienced a political awakening rooted in culture, land, and history, as represented by the occupation of Kahoolawe. Unlike mainland movements dominated by young adults, the Hawaiian cultural and social awakenings embodied cross generational participation with elders playing a prominent role. Thus, the Hawaiian movement emerged organically and evolved into a growing political consciousness around the issue of self-determination and sovereignty.

While cultural memory, sovereignty, and AIM played an important role in the political awakening of Native Hawaiians, the movement also drew heavily from the “Pacific Way” and a Pan-Pacific identity.²⁹⁹ Many Pacific Islanders shared common characteristics, such as an imperial and colonial past, which facilitated the development of regional cooperation. The South Pacific Commission, The Australia, New Zealand, United States Security Treaty (ANZUS) of 1951, the South Pacific Forum, and a range of judicial, educational, tourism, and trade organizations contributed to the early growth of the Pacific Way. Also, scholars like Ratu

²⁹⁷ The American Indian Movement (AIM) represents a Native American advocacy group in the United States since 1968 that addresses sovereignty, treaty-tribal issues, and social-culture politics.

²⁹⁸ Haunani-Kay Trask, “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, Oahu,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1987. While not much has been studied in the case of political conversations between native Hawaiians and AIM leaders of the American Indian Movement, there are clear parallels.

²⁹⁹ Fiji’s Ratu Kamisese Mara coined the term “Pacific Way” after the founding of the Forum in 1971. Michael Haas, *The Pacific Way: Regional Cooperation in the South Pacific* (New York: Praeger, 1989).

Kamisise Mara and Epeli Hauofa led the latter part of the movement with contributions that underscored the diversity and uniqueness of islander experiences. The Pacific Way became a means to address perceived insensitivities of the colonial powers that controlled institutions. This term broadened to a more inclusive “New Oceania” identity to extend, connect, and politicize island-centered experiences.³⁰⁰ Hawaiian political activists embraced a pan-pacific island identity. Within the Pan-Pacific “New Oceania” movement of the 1970s, Native Hawaiians underwent their own renaissance that continued to influence the production of cultural knowledge, traditional practices, art-forms, politics, and language. This movement reestablished pride in Hawaiian identity as Native Hawaiian historian George Kanahale declared, “If anything is worth celebrating, it is that we are still alive, that our culture has survived the onslaughts of change during the past 200 years, and indeed, not only has it survived, it is now thriving.”³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ J. Rolfe, “The Pacific Way: Where ‘Non-Traditional’ is the norm,” *International Negotiations*, 2001. P. 434.

³⁰¹ “The Hawaiian Renaissance” by George S. Kanahale, *Polynesian Voyaging Society Archives*, May 1979.

KA
LAMA HAWAII.

HE MEA IA E HOOLAHAIKE. A HE MEA HOI E PONO AI KE KULANUI.

"I naauipo ka uhane, aole ia he maikai."NA SOLOMONA

Makahiki 1.

LAHAINALUNA, MAUI, DEKEMABA 17, 1834.

Helu 23.



HE ILIO.

Ike no ka ilio i ke ano o ka lole a na kanaka e komo ai. Ina i aoia ka ilio pela, malama maikai ao ia i ka malihini i hele mai me ka lole maikai a me ka hana maikai, aole nahu aku ia ia. Aka, ina hele ke kanaka ino, me ka lole ino, kiai no ka ilio ma ka puka o ka pa, aole hookomo ia ia iloko o ka pa.

Ma na wahi a pau loa, he makamaka, a he hoanoho ka ilio, no ke kanaka. Aole ia e makemake e noho ma kahi e, me ke kanaka no e noho ai. Nolaila, noho no ia ma na aina a pau i nohoia e kanaka, ma na aina anu a ma na aina wela.

Ua like na helehelena o ka ilio maoli, me ko ka iliohae; aka, ma ka hana ana, ua like ole loa.

He huhu ka iliohae, a hihui loa, aka, o ka ilio, ua lokomaikai, a ua hoolohe. He oiaio, hookamani ole kona aloha, aka, o ka iliohae, ina lokomaikai oia i kekahi haalele hala ole oia. O ka ilio maoli, ina i ao pono ia a pono, he waiwai loa ia; aka,

Illustration 38. Ka Lama Hawaii Newspaper (1834).

The Native Hawaiian language became the first tool for the cultural reclamation of the Hawaiian community as it served as a flashpoint for resistance and early politics in Hawaii. Well-established for over a hundred years, Hawaiian language newspapers were introduced by Protestant missionaries as a device to transmit information to natives.³⁰² These newspapers, such as *Ka Lama Hawaii* and *Ke Kumu Hawaii* often included articles on constitutional government and Christian teachings.

³⁰² *Ka Lama Hawaii* and *Ke Kumu Hawaii* both began publishing in 1834 and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* ran from 1861 to 1927.

Ke Aloha Aina, the longest running newspaper, documented historical moments including the leprosy epidemic in Hawaii, the labor strikes in the plantations, and the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy.³⁰³ Overall, these newspapers demonstrate Hawaiian perspectives on their changing world.³⁰⁴

The Hawaiian language, which had disappeared from the academic curricula, re-surfaced. During the 1980s, the establishment of the Hawaiian language immersion schools produced a new generation of Hawaiian-literate scholars, who reclaimed their heritage through the re-examination of ancient Hawaiian documents and texts. In 1984, public Hawaiian-language immersion preschools called Punana Leo appeared. The students who began in an immersion preschool are now college educated and have remained fluent Hawaiian speakers. Also, the Hawaiian National Park Language Correction Act of 2000 ushered authentic spellings for several national parks in Hawaii. For example, on the Big Island of Hawaii, the City of Refuge National Historical Park (founded in 1955) changed to Puuhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park in 1978.³⁰⁵

While Hawaiian remained the prevailing language spoken in the nineteenth-century, English dominated the schools. Similar to Spanish speakers in southern California, children who spoke Hawaiian at school, including on the playground, faced discipline for speaking their native language. Even all-Hawaiian Kamehameha Schools, founded in 1887, adhered to an English-only curriculum. Hawaiian scholar Mary Kawena Pukui, co-author of the first Hawaiian-English Dictionary, was denied food and holiday home visits for speaking her native language while

³⁰³ Originally formed in 1895 by Joseph Nawahi, a journalist who served in the Territorial legislature, and his wife Emma, who edited the paper after her husband's death through its last issues in 1920.

³⁰⁴ Including succeeding Act 57, section 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawaii.

³⁰⁵ Greg Ward, *The Rough Guide to Hawaii* (London: Rough Guides, 2004).

attending school during the early 1900s.³⁰⁶ Similarly, in 1937, Kamehameha Schools expelled a young Winona Beamer for chanting Hawaiian long before she would become a champion for authentic hula dance and ancient culture.³⁰⁷

While English prevailed in schools, Hawaiians sought to preserve the complex history of its language. In 1949, the legislature of the Territory of Hawaii hired Mary Pukui and Samuel Elbert to create a new Hawaiian dictionary. In 1957, Pukui and Elbert brought greater attention to the Hawaiian language and culture by including the proper usage of diacritical marks. Efforts to promote the Hawaiian language have increased in recent decades with the influx of immersion schools that have encouraged multilingualism among families that want to introduce Hawaiian as a second language. The Hawaiian movement remains tied to cultural reclamation and pride. In the words of George Kanahale, “like a dormant volcano coming to life again, the Hawaiians are erupting with all the pent-up energy and frustrations of people on the make.”³⁰⁸

Like language, hula served as a hidden script of resistance. Adria Imada’s *Aloha America* tracked the hula circuit as connected to Hawaii’s cultural renaissance after Hawaii became a U.S. territory. In 1900, the world discovered Hawaiian music due to touring ensembles and traveling minstrels who promoted Hawaiian culture through hula and music.³⁰⁹ Touring ensembles included hula and music entertainment as forms of storytelling that drew on traditional instruments such as the large drum gourd, small hand stones called ili ili, hand held

³⁰⁶ Mary Kawena Pukui, 1895–1986 was a Hawaiian scholar, dancer, composer, and educator. Educated in the Hawaiian Mission Academy, Pukui taught Hawaiian at Punahou School and was fluent in the Hawaiian language. She worked at the Bernice P. Bishop Museum from 1938-1961 as an ethnological assistant and translator. Pukui also taught Hawaiian to several scholars and published more than 50 scholarly works including the Hawaiian-English Dictionary.

³⁰⁷ Winona Beamer, 1923-2008 remains an influential figure for advocating authentic and ancient Hawaiian culture, publishing many books, musical scores, as well as audio and video recordings on the subject.

³⁰⁸ “The Hawaiian Renaissance” by George S. Kanahale, *Polynesian Voyaging Society Archives*, May 1979.

³⁰⁹ In *Aloha America*, Adria Imada conceptualizes hula circuits as typifying “imagined intimacy,” cultural spaces in early America that enabled individuals to coalesce fantasy and memory as well as shape gendered and sexualized relations between colonized and colonizer. Imada, *Aloha America*.

feathered gourds, nose flute, and two foot sliced bamboo sticks. The storytelling culture of Hawaii functioned as entertainment in the royal courts and the private homes of the ancient Hawaiians. Since then, storytelling hula served as a method of preserving the histories, genealogies and mythologies of the Hawaiian people, a tradition that has prevailed across generations. The music draws on the traditional drum beats from rough-hewn drums carved out of a single log and stretched shark skin called Pahu, as well as sounds of blown conch shells, and hummed chants.³¹⁰

Created in the 1960s, the Merrie Monarch festival established a significant space for Hawaiians to perpetuate cultural traditions. In 1963, Executive Officer of Hawaii Helene Hale, sought to create an event to increase tourism to the Island of Hawaii.³¹¹ With the collapse of the sugar industry, Hale believed that a cultural festival would boost the depressed economy. Along with Hula masters George Naope and Gene Wilhelm, she planned the first Merrie Monarch Festival in 1964, a title that honored the memory of King David Kalakaua, called the “Merrie Monarch” for his patronage of the arts and who restored many Hawaiian cultural traditions during his reign, including the hula. This festival “consisted of a King Kalakaua beard lookalike contest, a barbershop quartet contest, a relay race, a re-creation of King Kalakaua’s coronation, and a gala among other events.”³¹²

By 1968, the festival had decreased in popularity but resurfaced when new Merrie Monarch festival Executive Director Dottie Thompson took charge and transformed the event into a private community organization. Focused on strictly authentic Hawaiian culture, Thompson sought to center the festival events around hula. In 1971 Thompson and Naope

³¹⁰ The pau is a sacred traditional musical instrument generally kept in a temple and used to accompany a repertoire of sacred songs called hula. The pau is found in Polynesia: Hawaii, Tahiti, Cook Islands, Samoa, and Tokelau.

³¹¹ “Merrie Monarch Festival,” *Hawaii Tribune Herald* (Accessed 21 September 2014).

³¹² “History of the Merrie Monarch Festival.” Merrie Monarch Festival official site. (Accessed 2 January 2015).

introduced a hula competition in which nine wahine (female) halau competed the first year.³¹³ In 1976, the Merrie Monarch festival allowed for kane (male) halau participation signaling a significant shift in who can dance hula. Long overshadowed by Western concepts of gender and sexuality, it became acceptable once again for male participation in hula since the missionary ban of performers during the 1800s.³¹⁴ The festival reprioritized its goals to develop live demonstrations of Hawaiian arts and crafts through exhibitions as well as to encourage participation, especially among Hawaii's youth.

Winona "Auntie Nona" Beamer and "Uncle George" Naope exemplify two of the most influential figures of the hula revival. Born in 1923, Auntie Nona has published several books, musical scores, as well as audio and video recordings on hula.³¹⁵ She learned to dance at age three from her grandmother and began to compose lyrics (meles) as a teenager. Despite her knowledge, Beamer found it difficult to express her Hawaiianess as a child as she came from a generation that had endured Hawaiian cultural suppression. At Kamehameha School for Girls where Beamer studied, hula had strict limitations and in 1937, as a ninth grader, she was expelled for teaching a Hawaiian chant to her schoolmates, ironically on a private campus originally founded by a Hawaiian princess.³¹⁶ Kamehameha School for Girls later readmitted her where she graduated in 1941 as senior class president. She poignantly revealed:

³¹³ Malika Dudley, "History of the Merrie Monarch," *KFVE: The Home Team* (Accessed 25 September 2014).

³¹⁴ In ancient Hawaii, men learned hula along with the martial arts of battle and continued to practice hula under missionary ban, until the Merrie Monarch Festival and Hawaiian cultural renaissance of the 1970s.

³¹⁵ Winona Beamer was born in 1923 in Honolulu, United States Territory of Hawaii. Nona studied hula at the age of three under her grandmother Helen Desha Beamer. *Hula Preservation Society.org* (Accessed February 5, 2015).

³¹⁶ Kawika Eyre, "Suppression of Hawaiian Culture at Kamehameha Schools," *Kaiwakiloumoku*, 2001.

“I was successful in a Western way. In my Hawaiian way, no. My life wasn’t focused on Hawaiianess as much as it was on fitting into today’s society. I couldn’t let my heart lead my life because we were frowned upon. There was nothing in the Hawaiian culture worth preserving – lewd and lascivious culture – that was the Western thought.”³¹⁷

Torn between the Hawaiian and American cultures, she earned a degree in anthropology from Columbia University, coining the term “Hawaiiana” in 1948.³¹⁸ She returned to the Kamehameha school system to teach high school in 1949 where she remained for forty years. One of her greatest accomplishments involved integrating Hawaiian culture into the school’s curriculum. In 1997, budget cuts threatened the Hawaiian curriculum but Auntie Nona took action becoming the catalyst for public protest and a legal investigation, which led to the resignation of trustees.³¹⁹ In her words:

“This Hawaiianess has always been very precious to me all my life, and I never had a chance to live it. There was always a governor in my life, a stopper in the bottle. It has been a real deep-rooted sadness – a lot of hurt that piled up in my life. I’m just beginning to get over it.”³²⁰

A gifted storyteller, dancer, singer, and composer, Beamer contributed to the cultural wealth of Hawaiians. She embodies a treasured resource and remains an inspiring example of how individuals spark movements and social imaginaries.

³¹⁷ MJ Harden, *Voices of Wisdom: Hawaiian Elders Speak*, Hong Kong: Aka press, 1999. pp. 95-101.

³¹⁸ Linda Kane, *Hawaiian Documentary: Nona Beamer: A Legacy of Aloha* (Honolulu: Chameleon Productions, 2013).

³¹⁹ Advertiser Staff, “Nona Beamer dies on Maui at age 84,” *Honoluluadvertiser.com*, April 10, 2008 (Accessed March 23, 2015).

³²⁰ Harden, *Voices of Wisdom*, pp. 95-101.



Illustration 40. Winona "Auntie Nona" Beamer. Photo by Tim Wright. Courtesy of the Honolulu Advertiser.

Like Auntie Nona Beamer, hula and chant master Uncle George Naope served as an early proponent of ancient chants and hula through teaching and public performances.³²¹ He studied hula under his mother Edith Kanakaole at the age of four and then opened his own school at the age of thirteen where he continued to teach hula for over sixty years. Although Uncle George had a long career performing the more modern mode of hula, even comic versions, he also served a role in reviving ancient forms of this sacred dance. As he explained:

“The hula is Hawaii. The hula is the history of our country. The hula is a story itself if it’s done right. And the hula, to me, is the foundation of life. It teaches us how to live, how to respect, and how to share. The hula, to me, is the ability to create one’s inner feelings and no one else’s.”³²²

Since Hawaiians did not have a written language to record history, chants and hula served the purpose of storytelling and therefore relied on memorization. The words “live,” “respect,” and “share” served as a simple philosophy, validating chants and hula against the prevailing commodified images of grass skirts and coconut bras. He built a hula community asserting that “no matter what race or what color, when they dance they’re Hawaiian.”³²³

One of the founders of the Merrie Monarch Festival, Uncle George is most remembered for his advocacy for the preservation of native Hawaiian culture as well as his flamboyant personality. At the festival, he would often appear in a broad-brimmed hat adorned with long feathers and silk tropical foliage, gold medallions around his neck and oversized rings on each of his fingers. Truly an ambassador of Hawaiiana, he disseminated sacred hula and chanting in Europe, South America, Australia, Japan and in the continental United States. Naope stated: “I felt the hula was becoming too modern and that we have to preserve it but didn’t realize that it

³²¹ Born in Kalihi Hawaii, George Naope (1928–2009) represents one of the most influential hula and chant masters with 60 years professional teaching experience in worldwide.

³²² Harden, *Voices of Wisdom*, pp. 129-137.

³²³ Dennis Hevesi, “George Naope, Master of Sacred Hula, Dies at 81,” *The New York Times*, November 5, 2009.

was going to turn out to be one of the biggest things in our state.”³²⁴ Uncle George earned the “Treasure of Hawaii” award by President George W. Bush and the Smithsonian Institution.

³²⁴ Editor, “Keepers of culture named,” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. January 13, 2007.



Illustration 41. George Naope. Courtesy of the *New York Times* and Hula Preservation Society.

Both Auntie Nona and Uncle George represent powerful examples of the hidden scripts of resistance as hula was appropriated and commodified. They revived the art of the ancient hula to counter a more commercialized version invented for the tourism trade. As historian Natalia Molina reminds us, these “racial scripts” represent paradigms of policymaking, attitudes, and identities of racialized groups linked across time and space that thereby affect one another, even when they do not directly cross paths.³²⁵

Today, more than thirty “halau hula” from the United States as well as international performers compete in the Merrie Monarch Festival.³²⁶ The festival runs in early spring as a week-long event ending in three days of hula competitions. Proceeds support educational scholarships. While the competition includes modern-contemporary interpretation of hula called “auana,” the tournament emphasizes kahiko, or traditional dance. Oftentimes, traditional hula steps infused with personal style show how hula lives beyond boundaries and demonstrate how the art of storytelling constantly evolves. The festival has received much attention with live television coverage throughout Hawaii.³²⁷

Hula and its associated music becomes a social practice that allows for the construction of national and regional identities and ethnicities interconnected with hula and Hawaiian musicians, which developed significant discursive evocations of “place.” In addition to contributing to the second cultural renaissance, Hawaiian music has expanded beyond its scope and influenced the sounds of other Polynesian islands such as Fiji, American Samoa, and Tahiti. As ethnomusicologist Peter Manuel noted, Hawaiian music exemplifies a “unifying factor in the

³²⁵ Natalia Molina, *How Race Is Made in America Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Los Angeles: UC Press, 2013).

³²⁶ A halau hula is a school in which the ancient Hawaiian dance form called hula is taught.

³²⁷ KFVE (channel 5) provides statewide televised coverage of the Merrie Monarch Festival.

development of modern Pacific music” pointing to a pan-pacific island identity.³²⁸ This identity also connects to Hawaiian mainland communities who share cultural ties through music as noted in the previous chapter on cultural festivals.

Exhibiting cultural borrowing and aligned with storytelling, hula, and entertainment, a few committed artists in the 1970s began expressing Hawaiian culture, history, and traditions through music. The Beamer family proved integral to both hula and music serving as a linchpin to late twentieth century cultural reclamation. In addition to slack-key guitarist and singer Gabby Pahinui, Keola and Kapono Beamer’s traditionalist slack-key and twin-hole guitar designs redefined Hawaiian music.³²⁹ Sixth generation musicians, the Beamers connect their music roots through their grandmother Helen Desha Beamer, an influential songwriter and hula dancer, as well as their mother, Auntie Nona Beamer.³³⁰ Keola Beamer’s musical career includes seventeen albums that mixes traditional sounds and mainland pop influences into what is now called “Hawaiian contemporary.” Kapono Beamer is a Grammy-nominated recording artist and a multiple winner of Hawaii’s version of the Grammy Awards. The Beamers have dedicated their lives to teaching, performing, and composition.

Another hidden script of resistance and reclamation of Hawaiianess can be located through maritime ventures begun by the Polynesian Voyaging Society.³³¹ Founded by anthropologist Ben Finney, Hawaii artist Herb Kawainui Kane, and sailor Tommy Homes, the Polynesian Voyaging Society built a performance-accurate full-scale replica of an ancient

³²⁸ Peter Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World: An Introductory Survey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

³²⁹ Philip Kunia Pahinui, also known as Gabby Pahinui (1921-1980) recorded with the enormously popular “Sons of Hawaii.” In *Hawaiian Son* by James D. Houston with Eddie Kamae, (Honolulu: Ai Pohaku Press, 2004).

³³⁰ Keola Beamer was born in 1951. He is a Hawaiian slack-key guitar player, best known as the composer of the song “Honolulu City Lights” which fused Hawaiian roots and contemporary music. Kapono Beamer is the youngest brother of Keola and focuses on producing new artists as well as developing new music that highlights his unique acoustic guitar style.

³³¹ Founded in 1973, The Polynesian Voyaging Society (PVS) is a non-profit research and educational corporation based in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Polynesian double-hulled voyaging canoe, christened *Hokulea* or “Star of Gladness.” This project sought to counter the accidental drift theories pertaining to Polynesian settlement from Hawaii to Tahiti to support the theory of the Asian origin of native Oceanic people as the result of purposeful navigation.³³² The canoe and voyage would contribute to the cultural revitalization among Hawaiians and other Polynesians as the project relied on chants and legends to configure the vessel’s size and shape, utilizing both traditional and modern materials. The members also depended upon maritime historians and other specialists to design the shape and weight of the craft.

³³² Some of the most prevalent works that have documented the history of the *Hokulea* include: *Na Inoa Hoku: A Catalogue of Hawaiian and Pacific Star Names* (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., 1975); Herb Kawainui Kane, “A Canoe Helps Hawaii Recapture Her Past,” *National Geographic*, April 1976, pp. 468-489; Ben Finney, *Hokulea: The Way to Tahiti* (Dodd: Mead Publishers, 1979); Will Kyselka, *An Ocean in Mind* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987); Clyde Hostetter, *Star Trek to Hawaii* (Honolulu: Diamond Press, 1991); Benn Finney, *Voyage of Rediscovery: A Cultural Odyssey Through Polynesia* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1994); Rubellite Kawena Johnson and John Kaipo Mahelona, Kuuki Ihara, *Voice of Hawaii*, 1995, May 4 vol. xxiv no. 5,2; “Canoe Fleet Revives a Polynesian Tradition,” *Geographica*, January 1996, Vol. 189, No. 1 (xvii); *Wayfinders: A Pacific Odyssey*, Maiden Voyage Productions, 1999 and Ben Finney, *Sailing in the Wake of the Ancestors: Reviving Polynesian Voyaging* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2004).

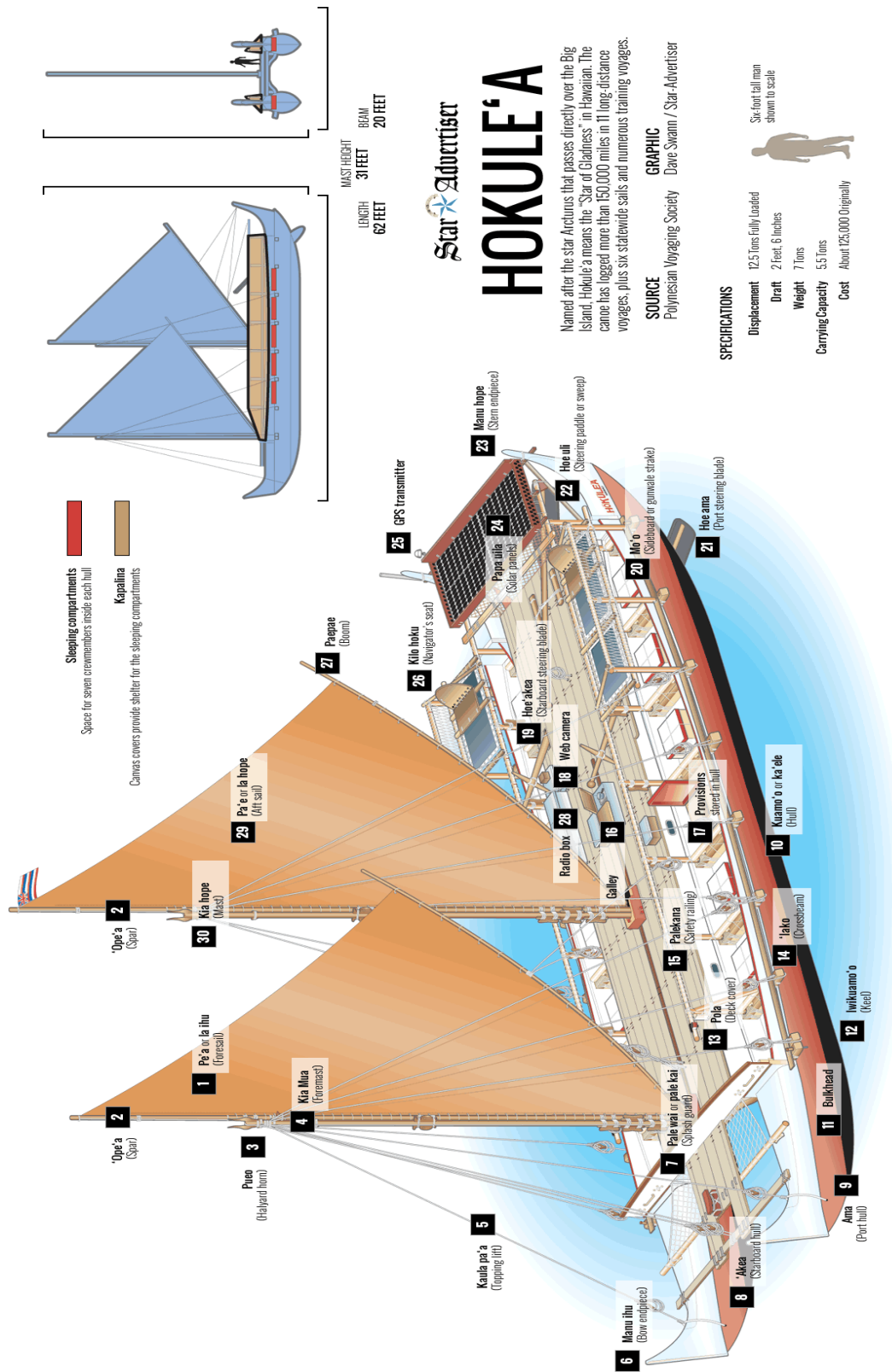


Illustration 42. Polynesian Voyaging Society *Hokulea* Design, courtesy of the Star-Advertiser.

Under wayfinder Mau Piailug, a traditional navigator from Micronesia, the *Hokulea* sailed from Hawaii to Tahiti, successfully altering scientific perceptions of a migratory past.³³³ Mau relied on star constellations, and observations of the sun, moon, and ocean swells, as a natural compass to guide the canoe. On the inaugural voyage, fifteen members relied on watch captains, cooks, and photographers with shifts comprised of three to four people. The vessel revived the reputation of Polynesians as seafaring peoples that included Hawaiians, Cook Islanders, Maori, Marquesans, Samoans, Tahitians, and Tongans. They reclaimed a renewed pride in their heritage as oceanic voyagers. According to Captain Chad Baybayan, “the *Hokulea* represents a tested artifact on traditional route that costs more than \$500,000 for one launch” and “involves years of preparation and the collaboration of different organizations all over the world.”³³⁴ Simply put, as crew member photographer Moana Doi recalled, “the *Hokulea* epitomizes a voyaging legacy that has involved hundreds of volunteers to make any voyage happen.”³³⁵

A successful voyage depends on crew compatibility, experience, and specialty. Baybayan mentioned that “at one point, the Maritime museum held a selection process that chose voyage members based on their preference, however, now potential voyagers must demonstrate capabilities inherent in the technology and methods of their ancestors that provide for long-distance voyaging.” He emphasized that interpersonal qualities remain crucial since crew individuals need to work well together especially in unforeseeable circumstances. Moana Doi said that she “always has to prepare physically, mentally, and spiritually for any voyage and one goes with the understanding that you may not return which means taking care of your family,

³³³ Wayfinding became a term emerging from the 1980s Polynesian oceanic community to indicate social navigation and was utilized to establish the individual and cultural uplift for Pacific Island peoples.

³³⁴ Chad Kalepa Baybayan, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 17 December 2008, Oahu, Hawaii.

³³⁵ Moana Doi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 23 December 2008, Oahu, Hawaii.

job, bills before you leave.” Doi added that “women are treated equal and do all of the same jobs as the men and therefore the only required preparation is knowledge in sailing.” Women have participated as crew members but a woman captain has yet to sail the *Hokulea*. Both Baybayan and Doi alluded to the risks involved. In the words of Norman Piianaia, “Despite the potential dangers, for many members, the opportunity to sail the *Hokulea* and to share the mission of promoting Hawaiianess far outweighed any risks.”³³⁶

According to Baybayan, crew members have a reason to fear not returning from sea. In 1978 the Tahiti voyage was aborted when *Hokulea* capsized in high wind and seas southwest of Molokai, five hours after leaving Honolulu’s Ala Wai Harbor.³³⁷ With the emergency radio dead, the fourteen-member crew launched flares and hung on to the swamped canoe throughout the night. By mid-morning, with no real sign of rescue and the *Hokulea* drifting farther away from land, crew member Eddie Aikau, a North Shore lifeguard and a 1977 Duke Kahanamoku big-wave surfer champion, attempted to paddle a surfboard 12-15 miles to Lanai seeking help.³³⁸ Nine hours later, a Hawaiian Airlines flight spotted the flares and radioed the Coast Guard who rescued the crew who had drifted 22 miles southwest of Molokai.³³⁹ Eddie Aikau, however, was never seen again. Nainoa Thompson, wayfinder for the Polynesian Voyaging Society recalled:

³³⁶ Norman Piianaia, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 22 December 2008, Oahu, Hawaii.

³³⁷ Finney, *Voyage of Rediscovery*.

³³⁸ *Wayfinders: A Pacific Odyssey*, Maiden Voyage Productions, 1999.

³³⁹ Finney, *Sailing in the Wake of the Ancestors*.

“You had the Civil Air Patrol, the Coast Guard, commercial aircraft all looking for him. You had the National Guard faking missions flying low altitude so they could search. Then you had people in private helicopters. You had people in private planes. You had people out in boats, fishing boats, in the gale. It was chaos. Organized groups on every single island, but I also remember disorganized groups just getting together instinctively, innately, having to find the person who went out 500 times and got everybody back. And, we couldn’t find him. Searching every inch of the shorelines. Maybe he made it. Maybe he was hurt.”³⁴⁰

After ten days, the search was called off. Many in Hawaii mourned the loss of one of their native sons. Thompson expressed, “It’s only fair to mention that it wasn’t all perfect and glorious...we made mistakes... and we were a broken generation full of fear, anger, and shame over the loss of Eddie.”³⁴¹ Later, Thompson found the courage to publish an entire account of the events and called Aikau’s story one of leadership and vision. In the heartfelt publication, he shared Aikau’s view of the *Hokulea* prior to his decision to join the crew: “You know, Nainoa, I need to sail *Hokulea*... and go down the road of my ancestors. I need to be in their wake... pull Tahiti out of the sea and bring back dignity and honor to our kupuna [ancestors]. And give it to children.”³⁴² Here we see how Aikau developed his own imaginary of *Hokulea*’s mission.

³⁴⁰ Nainoa Thompson, “Eddie Went,” *Mana Magazine*, May/June 2013.

³⁴¹ *Wayfinders: A Pacific Odyssey*, Maiden Voyage Productions, 1999.

³⁴² Thompson, “Eddie Went.”

“Eddie Aikau had this dream about finding islands the way our ancestors did. Whenever I feel down, I look at Eddie and I recall his dream. He was a great teacher. He was a lifeguard ... he guarded life, and he lost his own, trying to guard ours. After Eddie’s death, we could have quit. But then Eddie wouldn’t have had his dream fulfilled. He was my spirit. He was saying to me, ‘Raise those islands.’ His tragedy also made us aware of how dangerous our adventure was, how unprepared we were in body and in spirit. It is perhaps from trying to make sense of Eddie’s tragic death that I have come to understand that success should not be measured by the outcome of something we do but by reaching a new place within ourselves.”³⁴³

Thompson transformed the loss of Eddie Aikau as a catalyst for improving navigation preparation and safety. Since the incident, the Polynesian Voyaging Society requires escort vessels to accompany all voyages.³⁴⁴

In 1980, navigator Nainoa Thompson became the first native Hawaiian to practice the ancient Polynesian art of navigation since the fourteenth century, having navigated two double-hulled canoes (the *Hokulea* and the *Hawaiiloa*) from Hawaii to other island nations in Polynesia without the aid of western instruments. Reviving traditional voyaging arts, Thompson trained under master navigator Mau Piailug from the island of Satawal during the first voyage of the *Hokulea* in 1976. “Mau’s greatness as a teacher was to recognize that I had to learn differently... I never knew when a lesson started... since he would suddenly sit down on the ground and teach me something about the stars...he’d draw a circle in the sand for the heavens; stones or shells would be the stars; coconut fronds were shaped into the form of a canoe; and single fronds represented the swells...he used string to trace the paths of the stars across the heaven or to connect important points.”³⁴⁵ During this time, Thompson developed a system of

³⁴³ *Wayfinders: A Pacific Odyssey*, Maiden Voyage Productions, 1999.

³⁴⁴ Also, as a result of the incident, the *Hokulea* houses a plaque honoring Aikau’s memory.

³⁴⁵ Nainoa Thompson, “Hawaiian Voyaging Traditions,” *PolynesianVoyagingSociety.org* (Accessed February 13, 2015).

wayfinding, or non-instrument navigation, combining traditional principles of ancient Pacific navigation and modern scientific knowledge.³⁴⁶

The *Hokulea* captured the Hawaiian imagination as well as international attention. Hundreds of Hawaiians and other Polynesians sailed on *Hokulea* seeking to rediscover their maritime heritage. Also, the voyages have provided maritime knowledge over a number of routes in Polynesia that enhanced the understanding of the discovery and settlement of the islands. The voyaging canoe embodies a cultural renaissance that allow Polynesians to link an uprooted past to an ancient cultural oceanic heritage. As wayfinder Mau Piailug noted: “When *Hokulea* arrived at the beach in Papeete Harbor, over half the island’s people were there, more than 17,000 strong, and there was a spontaneous affirmation of what a great heritage we shared.”³⁴⁷ *Hokulea* anchored a memory of the ancient ways of life that once sustained Polynesians and inspired Tahitians, New Zealand Maoris, and Hawaiians to work together to reconstruct their own voyaging canoes and sail them over sea routes around the world. This collaborative network continues to thrive, as evident by their participation in the International Festival of Canoes and worldwide excursions, such as the 2011 *Te Mana O Te Moana Spirit of the Sea* event where seven voyaging canoes representing different Pacific regions (e.g. Cook Islands, Easter Island, Fiji, French Polynesia, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, and Samoa) with more than 150 crew members, sailed across the Pacific to raise awareness about the state of the ocean.³⁴⁸ The historic odyssey, over several voyages, which traveled the route from New

³⁴⁶ Pwo is a sacred initiation ritual where students of traditional navigation in the Caroline Islands in Micronesia become master navigators and are initiated in the associated secrets. Piailug remains well known for mentoring Hawaiians to regain their traditional navigation skills that had been lost for six centuries. In 2007, under Piailug’s leadership, Thompson and four other native Hawaiian navigators were inducted into Pwo as master navigators.

³⁴⁷ Interview with Mau Piailug, Polynesian Voyaging Society Records, *Polynesian Voyaging Society.org*. (Accessed December 18, 2008).

³⁴⁸ The Voyage ‘Te Mana O Te Moana,’ *Pacific Voyagers.org* (Accessed 11 June 2015).

Zealand to Hawaii, California to Cocos Islands, and the Galapagos to Solomons, remains a significant symbol of pan-Pacific Islander heritage.

Funded by the Polynesian Voyaging Society, the *Hokulea* has undergone different voyages each with a unique purpose and distinct set of crew members. “Short distance voyaging sites were selected based on if there were Hawaiians in the community, Hawaiian civic clubs in the areas as well as safe ports to anchor and access, while long-distance voyages were based on broadening and connecting to new cultures.”³⁴⁹ For example, during the West Coast tour of 1995, the first time *Hokulea* came to the mainland, the vessel made short distance trips drawing upon an established regional network of Hawaiian civic clubs running from Fort Vancouver, Washington down to San Diego, California. It took one year to work out the plans, which typically included port entry support, a meet and greet ceremony, media, food celebration, and sometimes overnight lodging. The success of this tour demonstrated the important role West Coast Hawaiian civic clubs played as a regional dialogue link. As discussed in a previous chapter, these civic clubs supported a transgenerational imaginary by coordinating cultural events that strengthened Hawaiian mainland communities. Since the 1976 inaugural voyage, the *Hokulea* has completed ten voyages to Micronesia, Polynesia, Japan, Canada, and the United States, utilizing ancient wayfinding techniques of celestial navigation.

³⁴⁹ Chad Kalepa Baybayan, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 17 December 2008, Oahu, Hawaii.

YEAR:	VOYAGE:	DESCRIPTION:
1976	Inaugural Voyage	Hokulea departed Honolua Bay, Maui, Hawaii for Papeete, Tahiti, as part of the celebration of the United States Bicentennial.
1977	Kealaikahiki Project	Recreated the traditional Kealaikahiki Point departure of ancient voyages to Tahiti.
1978	Tahiti Voyage	A second voyage to Tahiti that was aborted when Hokulea capsized.
1980	Tahiti Voyage	Nainoa Thompson serves as navigator in a recreated 1976 voyage to Tahiti to become the first Native Hawaiian in modern times to navigate a canoe thousands of miles without instruments.
1985-1987	Voyage of Rediscovery	Hokulea traveled a total distance of 12,000 miles to destinations throughout Polynesia.
1992	No Na Mamo	Hokulea sailed to Tahiti, Raiatea, and Rarotonga for the Festival of Pacific Arts then back to Hawaii.
1995	Na Ohana Holo Moana	Spring tour: Hokulea, along with sister ships Hawaiiiloa and Makalii, sailed from Hawaii to Tahiti. Summer tour: Hokulea sailed the West Coast of the United States sailing south to San Diego via Portland, Oregon, and the California ports of San Francisco, Santa Barbara, and Long Beach.
1999-2000	Closing the Triangle	Hokulea sailed from Hawaii to Easter Island and back, via the Marquesas Islands of French Polynesia.
2003-2004	Navigating Change project	Hokulea sailed to Nihoa, the closest of the Leeward, Northwestern Hawaiian Islands and promoted stewardship of sea life in the Papahānaumokuākea Marine National Monument.
2007	One Ocean, One People	United two voyages in celebration of Pacific voyaging, Pacific Islands, and cultural ties through passages to Micronesia and Japan.
2014-2017	Malama Honua	Sailing across earth's oceans Voyage that covers 47,000 nautical miles, 85 ports, and 26 countries to support the global movement of a more sustainable world. Voyage is currently in progress and will not be complete until 2017.

Illustration 43. *Hokulea* Voyages (1976-2014).

The *Hokulea* symbolizes something more than a traveling treasure. As Captain Norman Piianaia expressed, “the *Hokulea* was a catalyst that called upon all aspects of Hawaiian culture to support a living, breathing modern day voyage and not exist simply as artifacts of our material culture.”³⁵⁰ In May 2014, the *Hokulea* and her sister vessel, *Hikianalia* embarked on a circumnavigation of the planet in which the journey will cover 47,000 nautical miles with stops at 85 ports in 26 different countries. The voyage will be completed in 2017. As crew member Moana Doi noted, “as *Hokulea* travels throughout different areas in the world, representing Hawaiians both ancient and modern while connecting to different peoples, it becomes part of a global community.”³⁵¹

The cultural renaissance and the political awakening of the 1970s sparked a movement for the Hawaiian community. As exemplified by hula and maritime traditions, the awakening opened a political gateway for the assertion of the Native Hawaiian identity and rights led by Senator Daniel Akaka. Born in 1924 of Native Hawaiian-Chinese ancestry, Senator Akaka became the first U.S. Senator of Native Hawaiian descent, serving for twenty-three years (1990-2013).³⁵² In 1993, thousands of Native Hawaiians and their supporters staged an emotionally charged four-day observance of the 100th anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Their political pressure on Hawaii’s Congressional delegation led to United States Public Law 103-150, informally known as the 1993 Apology Resolution, introduced by Senator Daniel Akaka and approved by Congress, and then signed by then President Bill Clinton. The 1993 Apology Resolution acknowledged the U.S. government’s participation in the overthrow and recognized that “the Native Hawaiian people never directly relinquished to the United States

³⁵⁰ Norman Piianaia, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 22 December 2008, Oahu, Hawaii.

³⁵¹ Moana Doi, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 23 December 2008, Oahu, Hawaii.

³⁵² Michael Levine, “Akaka Retiring: Plenty Aloha, But What About Accomplishments?” *Honolulu Civil Beat*, November 2012.

their claims to their inherent sovereignty over their national lands.”³⁵³ The resolution remains at the heart of the Hawaiian sovereignty and self-determination movement.

Senator Akaka, however, is best known for sponsoring the 2002 Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act, more commonly known as “the Akaka Bill” that sought to afford sovereignty to native Hawaiians.³⁵⁴ He stated, “When I was growing up, we didn’t have the Hawaiian language in Hawaii schools...My parents spoke Hawaiian but I was discouraged from learning it...they thought that I should learn English the best I can, and not Hawaiian...there was a stigma associated with being a Hawaiian.”³⁵⁵

The Akaka Bill pursued the restoration of Hawaiian self-determination lost in 1893, which included losing the right to sue for sovereignty in federal courts in exchange for recognition by the federal government. The bill would facilitate the formation of a governing entity organized by Native Hawaiians for those individuals able to demonstrate ancestry. Akaka proposed various forms of this bill from 2000 through 2007.

In 2009, a Congressional House Committee passed an unamended version of the Akaka Bill and the following day, the Senate Indian Affairs Committee approved the amendments. The bill proposed to establish a process for indigenous Native Hawaiians to receive federal recognition similar to Native American nations. However, the bill prohibited indigenous Native

³⁵³ In 1993, Congress adopted United States Public Law 103-150, informally known as the Apology Resolution that “acknowledges that the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii occurred with the active participation of agents and citizens of the United States and further acknowledges that the Native Hawaiian people never directly relinquished to the United States their claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people over their national lands, either through the Kingdom of Hawaii or through a plebiscite or referendum” and sparked the Hawaiian sovereignty movement. Jess Bravin and Louise Radnofsky, “Regrets Only? Native Hawaiians Insist U.S. Apology Has a Price,” *The Wall Street Journal*, March 2009.

³⁵⁴ The Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act of 2009 S1011/HR2314 was a bill that went before the 111th Congress and is commonly known as the Akaka Bill after Senator Daniel Akaka of Hawaii.

³⁵⁵ Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act: hearing before the Committee on Indian Affairs, United States Senate, One Hundred Ninth Congress, first session, on S. 147, to express the policy of the United States regarding the United States relationship with Native Hawaiians and to provide a process for the recognition by the United States of the Native Hawaiian governing entity, March 1, 2005, Washington, DC. United States. In Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, U.S. G.P.O., 2005.

Hawaiians from gaming and other benefits available to federally recognized American Indian nations. The most updated Senate version brought forward in 2011, however, allowed Native Hawaiians to pursue claims in court and allowed for sovereignty claims under international law. The bill has faced criticism as discriminating on the basis of ethnic origin in that only Native Hawaiians would be permitted to participate in the governing entity. Nevertheless, the 2011 Senate version allows Native Hawaiians to pursue claims in court in order to “remember, preserve and celebrate” the modern renaissance in Hawaii.³⁵⁶ The Akaka bill lost its champions with the death of U.S. Senator Daniel K. Inouye in 2012 and the retirement of Akaka in 2013. While the current members of Hawaii’s congressional delegation support federal recognition for Hawaiians, it remains unclear as to whether they have enough influence to get the bill passed.

Like the black, Chicano-Latino, and Asian-American student protests, political rights and cultural reclamations go hand in hand. Exhibitions reveal the cultural politics surrounding curatorial strategies, challenges, and critical receptions. As art historian Bridget R. Cooks demonstrates in *Exhibiting Blackness*, America’s art museums, whether traveling or stationary, have functioned as important spaces for ethnic groups to protest against their exclusion and affirm to their contributions in visual arts.³⁵⁷ Unequal and often contested relationships among artists, curators, and visitors, shape and reflect museum exhibition practices regarding the representation of people of color. Bishop Museum represents the largest museum in the state of Hawaii, and one that details the cultural and political journey of Native Hawaiians. Dedicated to Hawaiiana for more than one hundred and twenty years, Bishop Museum has completed a \$16

³⁵⁶ Senator Daniel Akaka, in Congress, Senate, Committee on Indian Affairs, U.S. G.P.O., 2005.

³⁵⁷ Bridget R. Cooks, *Exhibiting Blackness: African Americans and the American Art Museum* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2011).

million renovation of Hawaiian Hall that houses priceless artifacts and cultural treasures.³⁵⁸

Bishop's Hawaiian Hall offers a unique journey into Native Hawaiian history beginning with the first floor Kai Akea, which explores Hawaiian gods, legends, and beliefs, as a gateway into the world of pre-contact Hawaii. The other two floors examine daily life and labor as connected to Hawaii's land and environment as well as vignettes about Hawaiian royalty.



Illustration 44. Hawaiian Hall at Bishop Museum.

The Bishop's Hawaiian Hall embodies a Native Hawaiian worldview, perpetuated in meaning and authentic in voice that offers the public deeper insights into Hawaiian culture and access to treasured collections. Hawaiian Hall also captures the legacies of royal figures including King Kamehameha, King Kalakaua, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Princess Ruth

³⁵⁸ The Bishop Museum was founded in 1889 by Charles Reed Bishop in honor of his late wife, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop who was the last descendant of the royal Kamehameha family. The museum displays a large collection of Hawaiian artifacts, documents and photographs about Hawaii and other Pacific island cultures.

Keelikolani, and Queen Emma.³⁵⁹ Their contributions and sacred artifacts reflect a wide historical scope of ancient Hawaii. Later, in 2013, Bishop Museum added the Pacific Hall, an \$8.5 million renovation project that linked Hawaiiiana to its Polynesian roots while celebrating ethnic diversity among the Pacific Islands.³⁶⁰

In 2002, partnered with the Bishop Museum, the Smithsonian launched a temporary exhibit entitled *Kahoolawe: Steadfast Love of the Land*, which centered on Kahoolawe's history from pre-Western contact to its degradation by the U.S. military to its rescue and revitalization by Native Hawaiians. This exhibit stemmed from an earlier 1996 display at the Bishop Museum called *Kahoolawe: Rebirth of a Sacred Hawaiian Island*. The cost of the exhibit totaled \$185,000, with a \$100,000 donation from several nonprofit groups and Maui County.³⁶¹ Israel "Iz" Kaanoi Kamakawiwoole's Hawaiian rendition of *Somewhere Over the Rainbow/What a Wonderful World* greets visitors through an exhibit that included a computer-simulated tour of the island along with newspaper stories covering the topic, and resident profiles. The pre-Western contact displays included sites where natives practiced celestial navigation, a fishing temple at the eastern end of the island, and a demonstration of flotsam and jetsam to the northeast at Kanopou Bay.³⁶² The Protect Kahoolawe Ohana organization asserted that the display of ocean debris underscored a serious challenge facing Kahoolawe, particularly trash debris from as far as Chile and Japan that continuously wash up on its shores. As discussed earlier in the chapter, the American Indian Movement (AIM) and other social movements

³⁵⁹ Hawaiian Hall distinctly displays restored architecture exhibits such as famous exhibit designer and architect Glenn Mason's structural renovations as well as Melanie Ide's Ralph Appelbaum Associates planning and design of the exhibitions.

³⁶⁰ "Bishop Museum unveils \$8.5M renovated Pacific Hall" in September 23, 2013, *Honolulumagazine.com*, (Accessed February 15, 2015).

³⁶¹ Kahoolawe: Ke Aloha Kupaa I Ka Aina debuted in 2002. Gary Kubota, "Kahoolawe's past gets exhibit at the Smithsonian," *HonoluluStarbulletin.com* (Accessed February 4, 2015), <http://archives.starbulletin.com/2002/05/28/news/index2.html>.

³⁶² Kahoolawe: Rebirth of a Sacred Hawaiian Island, Honolulu, Hawaii, 1996, and the Smithsonian Institute Kahoolawe: Ke Aloha Kupaa I Ka Aina - Steadfast Love For The Land, Washington, DC, 2002.

perhaps inspired native Hawaiian protests. During World War II, the U.S. Navy seized the land as a wartime testing ground for military weapons. Long after the war's end, the Navy continued to use the island as target practice with ship-to-shore shells, rockets, grenades, guided missiles, flares, and bombs. Continuous activism from the 1970s through the 1990s by natives, sympathetic whites and Asian islanders led to the Navy ending its bombing in 1990 and turning the island over to the state in 1994 as a cultural reserve with a cleanup ordnance-clearing project approved by the U.S. Department of Defense by 2003.³⁶³

³⁶³ In "Kahoolawe subject of Smithsonian exhibit," *Honolulu Advertiser.com*, May 28, 2002 (Accessed February 4, 2015).

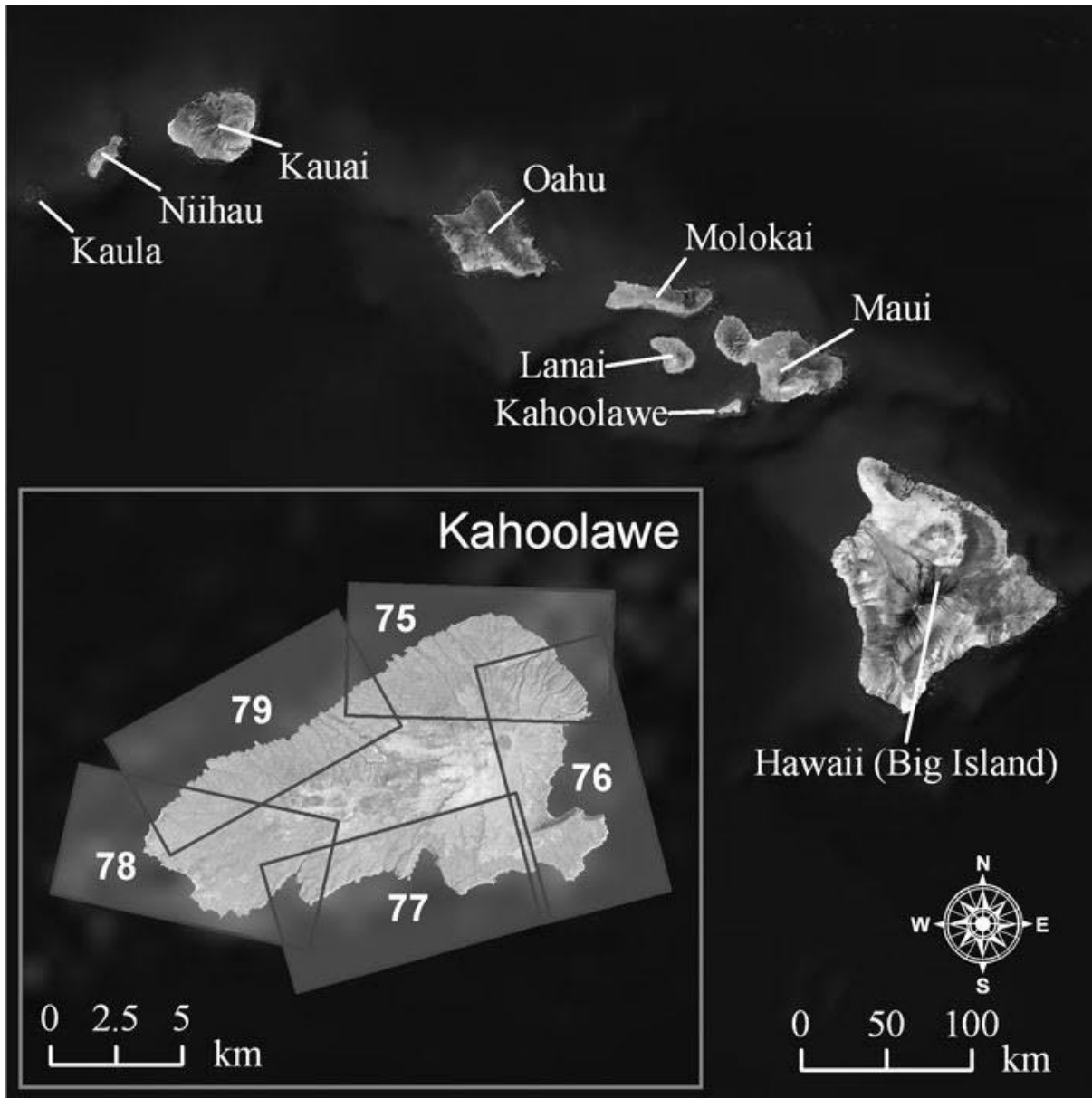


Illustration 45. Map of Kahoolawe, 2012. Photo courtesy of National Ocean Service and the Center for Coastal Monitoring and Assessment.



Illustration 46. "Missile Shells," Black and white photography featured in the Kahoolawe exhibit, 2002. Photo courtesy of Protect Kahoolawe Ohana.

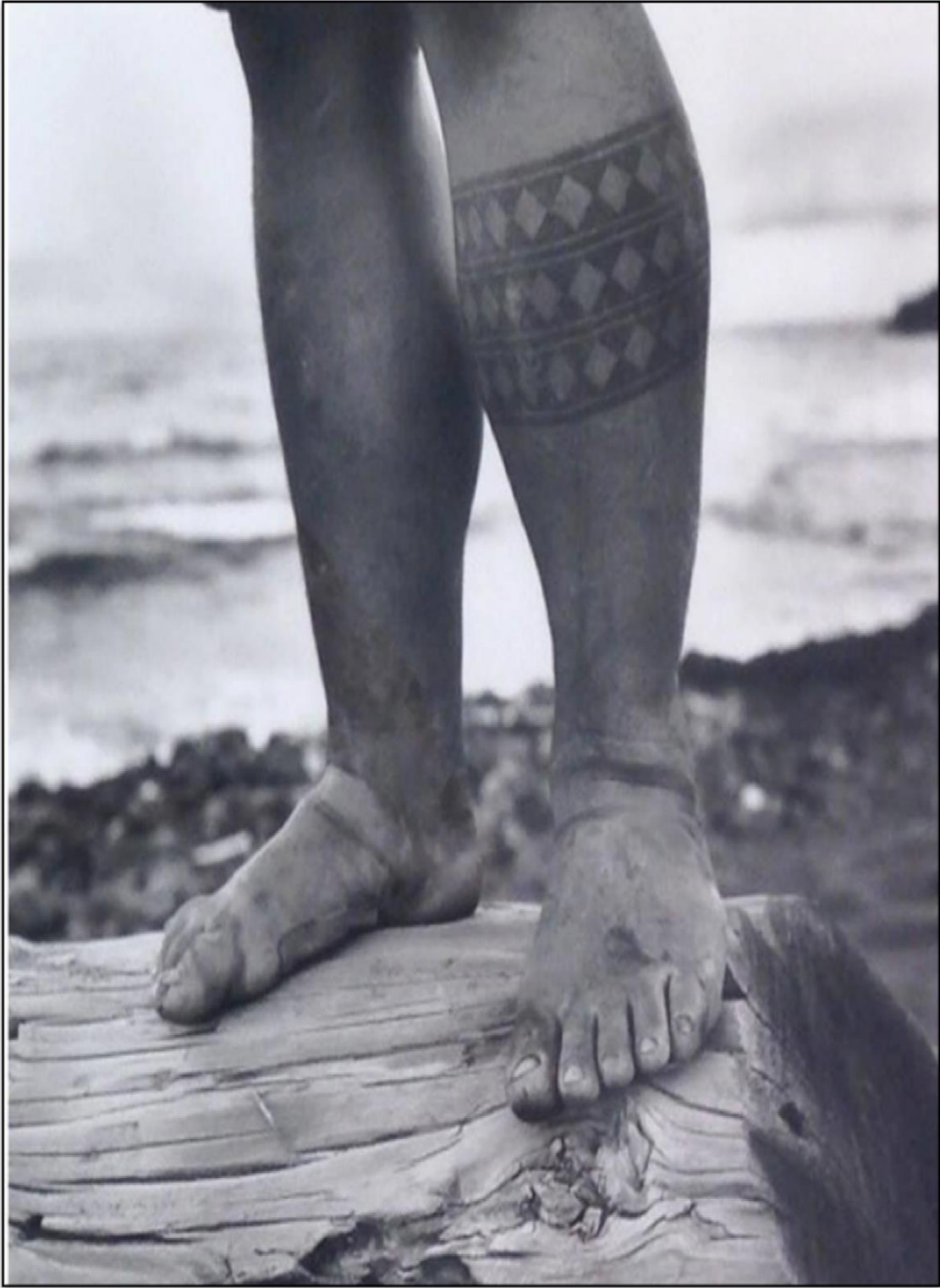


Illustration 47. "Barefoot," Black and white photography featured in the Kahoolawe exhibit, 2002. Photo courtesy of Protect Kahoolawe Ohana.

These illustrations compare synthetic versus natural elements in which one photo depicts military presence with the used missile shells while the other portrait connotes a tattooed barefoot on a wood log. The uniqueness of the exhibit emerges from its resident profiles, which highlighted personal and familial histories of Kahoolawe as a religious place with numerous temples of worship and where Native Hawaiians trained in navigation by studying the stars. This exhibit revealed residents as ranchers, shepherds, and cowboys who contributed to a thriving Kahoolawe community before it became a navy bombing site. In October 2014, the Kahoolawe Island Reserve Commission and Maui Historical Society sponsored a month-long photo exhibition featuring the work by three of Hawaii's most acclaimed photographers, Wayne Levin, Franco Salmoiraghi and David Ulrich.³⁶⁴ Dedicated to portraying a collective view of the return of Kahoolawe to the people of Hawaii, the exhibition drew from artists earlier works displayed in Bishop Museum's *Kahoolawe: Rebirth of a Sacred Hawaiian Island* (1996) and the Smithsonian Institution's *Ke Aloha Kupaa I Ka Aina – Steadfast Love for the Land* (2002).

³⁶⁴ "Kahoolawe Exhibition Opening," *Mauimagazine.org*, October 10, 2014 (Accessed 3 June 2015).



Illustration 48. “Native Hawaiian Kupuna (Elders) traveling to Kahoolawe to identify sacred sites, 1976” featured in the *Kahoolawe: Rebirth of a Sacred Hawaiian Island* exhibition. Photo by Franco Salmoiraghi.

This photo demonstrates the initial stages of when Native Hawaiians were allowed to return to the Island. In 1976, as part of the preservation and protection efforts, elders from the entire state of Hawaii, traveled to the island of Kahoolawe to identify and classify sacred artifacts and sites. The elders played an important role in helping to heal the island by caring for native plantings, reviving ancient ceremonies, and serving as a cultural resource for the educational youth programs. Some of the most active elders included Uncle George Helm of Oahu, Auntie Edith Kanakaole of the Big Island, Auntie Dorothy Tao of Kauai and many others from Molokai.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁵ “History, Kahoolawe Island,” *Protectkahoolaweohana.org* (Accessed 22, June 2015).



Illustration 49. “Ceremony on Kanaloa Kahoolawe, 1976” featured in the *Kahoolawe: Rebirth of a Sacred Hawaiian Island* exhibition. Photo by Franco Salmoiraghi.

“Ceremony on Kanaloa Kahoolawe” highlights the 1976 campaign by a group of nine individuals calling themselves Protect Kahoolawe Ohana (PKO) who occupied the island in protest against the bombing and military exercises.³⁶⁶ Under George Helm, Native Hawaiian activist and musician, the organization filed suit in U.S. Federal District Court, *Aluli et al. V. Brown* (civil suit no. 76-0380) to stop the Navy’s use of Kahoolawe as well as to require compliance with environmental laws, and to ensure protection of the island’s cultural resources. In 1977, the U.S. District Court for the District of Hawaii ordered a partial summary judgment in favor of the *Aluli et al.*, which required the Navy to conduct an environmental impact study and

³⁶⁶ Perhaps inspired by AIM, there seems to be an organic parallel movement between the occupation of Alcatraz in 1971 and the occupation of Kahoolawe in 1976 as both embody civil rights movements emerging from the 1970s.

supply an inventory of the historic sites on the island.³⁶⁷ However, the bombing continued. More Kahoolawe landings by protesters followed, and in January 1977, five activists (Helm, Walter Ritte, Richard Sawyer, Charles Warrington, and Francis Kauhane) occupied the island in an attempt to gain public recognition of the struggle.³⁶⁸ Everyone was arrested except for Ritte and Sawyer, who stayed hidden on the island for 35 days, with very limited food and water. Concerned for Ritte and Sawyer, Helm set out, first by boat, then by surfboard to Kahoolawe, with park ranger Kimo Mitchell and water expert Billy Mitchell. They reached the island, but Sawyer and Ritte had already left. The three attempted to return to Maui but as Helm sustained a head injury when entering the water and weather conditions turned treacherous, Billy Mitchell took the long board and headed back to Kahoolawe to get help. Never found, George Helm and Kimo Mitchell, were last seen near Molokini.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁷ U.S. Navy, “Kahoolawe Island Reserve UXO Clearance Project Cleanup Plan” 64.78.11.86/uxofiles/enclosures/kahclear.pdf , p. 7.

³⁶⁸ Walter Ritte, Jr., and Richard Sawyer, *Na Manao Aloha o Kahoolawe: Hawaii Warriors Love for Land and Culture* (Honolulu: Aloha Aina o na Kupuna Inc., 1978).

³⁶⁹ George Helm was a Native Hawaiian from Molokai and remains one of the Aloha Aina movement’s greatest heroes in Rodney Morales, *HoiHoi Hou, A Tribute to George Helm & Kimo Mitchell* (Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press, 1984).



Illustration 50. George Helm, Founder of Protect Kahoolawe Ohana, playing for a fundraiser in 1972. Photo by Ed Greevy. Courtesy of StarBulletin.com.

The tragedy of Helm and Mitchell, further steeled the will of Protect Kahoolawe Ohana activists. Finally, the Navy and Protect Kahoolawe Ohana agreed to a consent decree in 1980 that allowed continued naval training on the island, monthly access to the island for the Protect Kahoolawe Ohana, the surface clearance of 10,000 acres of the island, soil conservation, and an archaeological survey. Four years after its initial campaign, the Protect Kahoolawe Ohana had successfully safeguarded Kahoolawe's cultural sites, and by 1981, the island was listed on the National Register for Historical Places as the Kahoolawe Archaeological District. Protect Kahoolawe Ohana's preservation were strengthened when President George Bush signed a bill in

1990 that prohibited the use of the island for weapons delivery training.³⁷⁰ In 2003, the control of Kahoolawe was transferred from the US Navy to the State of Hawaii.

The Protect Kahoolawe Ohana initiative still thrives today as a sustained investment in the Hawaiian community. The PKO story demonstrates how activists were successful by using their core value of “aloha aina” (love of the land) as their guiding belief, a principle connected to nationalist sovereignty movements. As Stanton Enomoto, former director of the Kahoolawe Commission expressed, “The healing of the island is a metaphor for the restoration of the Hawaiian people, not only reviving the culture but it could ultimately lead to the reestablishment of the nation.”³⁷¹

In a different tack, the University of Hawaii’s Hamilton Library in Honolulu houses the archival materials from Richard Kekuni Blaisdell, M.D. a leading doctor who became highly respected for facilitating dialogues around Hawaiian sovereignty and independence.³⁷² A Professor of Medicine at University of Hawaii, Blaisdell focused on indigenous healing traditions and spearheaded the University of Hawaii Native Hawaiian School of Medicine. In his words: “I began to realize that it goes back to basic feelings about our own identity... through colonization, we have been taught that we are a lesser breed and therefore the way to begin to recover is to decolonize ourselves and use that as the basis for reviving our culture and restoring

³⁷⁰ Senator Daniel Akaka, Democrat of Hawaii, sponsored Bill S.3088 later signed by President George Bush.

³⁷¹ Stanton Enomoto statement in “Navy Completed Withdrawal from Kahoolawe,” Press Release from the Kahoolawe Island Reserve Commission, April 8, 2004.

³⁷² Blaisdell gained a reputation for serving as a convener for the 1993 Kanaka Maoli People’s Tribunal, which documented in detail U.S. abuses throughout all major islands before an international panel of judges. *Hawaii Inuiakea School of Hawaiian Knowledge*, <http://manoa.hawaii.edu/hshk/title-of-the-main-story/> (Accessed February 16, 2015).

our nation.”³⁷³ Blaisdell not only advocated for native Hawaiian control over ocean and land resources, he also perceived knowledge production as a critical strategy for the community.³⁷⁴

“We’re caught in a cultural conflict and have been ever since the first foreigners arrived. Yes, I’m considered radical in the sovereignty movement but we consider ourselves to be conservative. We want to conserve our people and our lands, our traditions and our language. We cannot let them be wiped out. It’s part of the process of strong, distinct self-identity.”³⁷⁵

Blaisdell’s archive contains critical documents on sovereignty, self-determination and self-governance for an independent Hawaiian as well as valuable sources on land and water rights and native genealogy. As performance studies scholar Diana Taylor reminds us, the repertoire of traditions and embodied practice whether through movement, dance, song, gestures, exhibits, and other displays make political claims and transmit memory that creates cultural identity.³⁷⁶

A student-driven exhibition in southern California represented both a Hawaiian transgenerational imaginary and a broader Pan-Pacific narrative. In 2008, the Pacific Asia Museum in Pasadena showcased the “Pacifika: Young Perspectives on Pacific Island Art,” an installation introduced by exhibit coordinator Julian Bermudez and curated by students from Carson High School’s Pacific Islanders Club and UCLA’s Pacific Islander Student Association (PISA).³⁷⁷

As the first in a series of experimental community-driven works, the exhibit explored an eclectic portrait of the arts, cultures, and traditions of Pacific Islanders living in southern

³⁷³ Harden, *Voices of Wisdom*, pp. 103-111.

³⁷⁴ Kekuni Blaisdell, M.D., Historical and Philosophical Aspects of Lapaau Traditional Kanaka Maoli Healing Practices, *Motion Magazine*, April 1996.

³⁷⁵ Harden, *Voices of Wisdom*, pp. 103-111.

³⁷⁶ Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2003).

³⁷⁷ Julian Bermudez, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 20 August 2008, Pasadena, California. Works that covered the Pacifika exhibit include Lynn Heffley, “Pacifika: Young Perspectives on Pacific Island Art,” *LA Times*, May 25, 2008; “The Arts: Perspectives on Pacific Island Art” *Pasadena Now*, April 28, 2008, (Accessed June 8, 2014). The exhibition was supervised under Christina Hellmich, curator of the Jolika Collection of New Guinea Art and of Oceanic Art at the De Young Museum in San Francisco.

California through interpretive materials developed by college and high school students on topics such as migration, tattoos, and costumes. “We’re a region that’s often not represented at all, is misunderstood or just not portrayed correctly” stated Christine Santos, a Guamanian by heritage and then co-chair of UCLA’s Pacific Islander Student Association.³⁷⁸ She further added “the exhibition is the first of its kind addressing pre-contact Pacific Island history as well as highlighting the student voices of new generation Pacific Islanders.” Oral histories of Carson High School students conducted by UCLA students aired continuously over a speaker in the gallery, providing first person cultural context about the meaning of the exhibition. A video loop of photographs displayed traditional dance performances by the high school students. On loan from the Bishop Museum, a nineteenth-century Hawaiian necklace was an exhibit centerpiece, a stunning cultural treasure composed of human hair, coconut fiber and a carved whale tooth representing a symbol of ruling class power.

³⁷⁸ Christine Santos, interview by Lani Cupchoy, 18 August 2008, Los Angeles, California.



Illustration 51. Nineteenth-century Hawaiian Necklace (lei niho palaoa), displayed at the Pacifika exhibit, Photo by Julian Bermudez.

Worn by Hawaiian chiefs as regalia, the lei niho palaoa, (whale tooth necklace) was made from a single continuous length of finely braided human hair close to 1,500 feet long gathered into two large coils. Hawaiians perceived hair as holding sacred power and finely woven human hair represented the strength of family ties. The necklace, as a depiction of Hawaiian identity, served as a component to the larger Pacific island theme, ones represented by such artifacts as Samoan textiles derived from bark cloth, a Tongan style coconut-shell purse, and Fijian cowry-shell necklaces. The exhibit underscored how Pacific people demonstrated resilience and vitality

by blending traditional concepts and modern beliefs. *Pacifika* broadened the cultural and intergenerational scope in Los Angeles, home to thousands whose ancestral ties include Hawaii, Fiji, Tahiti, Tonga, Guam, American Samoa, and Micronesia.³⁷⁹ Indeed, *Pacifika* demonstrated the power of students as curators and the way in which youth can take responsibility for their own histories.

Amid the cultural milieu of activism that occurred in black power, AIM, the Chicano and Asian American movements in the west coast, as well as the emergence of a Pan-Pacific identity, many native Hawaiians took their longstanding cultural work to a political level. While always inherently political, the 1970s represents an era in which the Hawaiian movement shifts from cultural preservation to direct action and social justice. Cultural awareness produced a political awakening for autonomy and sovereignty, the protection of traditional native gathering rights to water and land use, as well as an end to the bombing of Kahoolawe. As George Kanaha reminds us, “Look at the thousands of young men dancing the hula; or the overflow of Hawaiian language classes at the university; or the revived Hawaiian music industry; or the astounding productivity of Hawaiian craftsmen and artists... consider such unprecedented events as the voyage of the Hokulea and the occupation of Kahoolawe.”³⁸⁰

The chapter demonstrated how local and regional Hawaiian identities moved into a wider Pan-Pacific identity when politically advantageous. As part of the second Hawaiian cultural renaissance, exhibitions served as powerful cultural and political tools to assert and reclaim Hawaiianess as well as to claim a Pacific Islander identity. As sociologist Yen Espiritu reminds us, pan-ethnicity serves as a single shared identity and allows for a stronger and more unified

³⁷⁹ According to the 2010 U.S. Census in “The Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander Population: 2010 Census, 2010 Census Briefs,” *United States Bureau of the Census*, May 2012. Since the 1960s, approximately 8,500 Native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders have lived throughout Los Angeles in *Hawaiians in Los Angeles* by Elizabeth Nihipali, Lessa Kananiopua Pelayo, Christian Hanz Lozada, Cheryl Villareal Roberts, and Lorelie Santonil Olaes (Los Angeles: Arcadia Publishing, 2012).

³⁸⁰ “The Hawaiian Renaissance” by George S. Kanaha, *Polynesian Voyaging Society Archives*, May 1979.

collective voice.³⁸¹ The cultural renaissance of the 1960s-1970s arose from the hidden scripts of resistance throughout the century, especially resistance to the continued commodification of native cultural practices. As a process that includes both reclamation and regeneration, the transgenerational imaginary among native Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders provides the foundation for their cultural memories and political identities.

³⁸¹ Coined in 1992, Yen Le Espiritu uses the term “pan-ethnicity” to describe an over-arching Asian American ethnic identity constructed in the 1960s. The term is well elaborated in Yen Le Espiritu’s book *Asian American Panethnicity: Bridging Institutions and Identities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992).

CONCLUSION

Without a neighborhood base, Hawaiian migrants and their families maintain their ties to the islands and to their self-identification as “Hawaiian” regardless of their ethnicities and in the process navigate a system of a constant commercial appropriation of Hawaiianess from Hollywood, tourism, advertising, and restaurants (to name a few). Though festivals and other public expressions, they celebrate and reinforce their own historical memories of “Hawaiianess.” For kanaka (native Hawaiian) and kamaaina (born in Hawaii) migrants, Hawaiianess remains predicated on keeping a constant connection to Hawaii, including travel back to the islands to reconnect with family. Hawaiianess also involves transmitting cultural values to their children through learning hula, the ukelele, or Hawaiian words, as well as cooking family recipes, listening to Hawaiian music, and learning the islands’ history. Foodways and festivals become an open arena for members to practice Hawaiianess. They search for local eateries that offer a taste of the home, join a civic club, attend the annual Hoolaulea festival, and support fundraisers by purchasing luau tickets hosted by local clubs. Differing from public notions of exotic Hawaii, the Los Angeles community articulates their own meaning of Hawaiianess.

A Los Angeles Hawaiian community continues to thrive, reinforced by lived community practices, leisure, and food, all rooted in a historical memory of “Hawaiianess.” The Los Angeles Hawaiian community embodies a diverse ethnic and generational palette as each individual negotiates his or her own ideas of “Hawaiianess,” a sense of belonging not necessarily bound by race, ethnicity or nationalistic ties, but by the common bonds of region and culture. An ethnoregional identity developed from migrants and their families who search for home, community, and acceptance. On the islands, there remains a distinction between ethnic Asian Hawaiians and indigenous Hawaiians, however these categories shift on the mainland and

become more fluid regarding who identifies with the community. Simply put, in the case of southern California what matters most is not who you are but where you are from. Future research should explore the experiences of other prominent mainland Hawaiian communities such those in Boston, Las Vegas, Orlando, and Salt Lake City.

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