

PACKAGING PARADISE: ORGANIZING REPRESENTATIONS OF HAWAII

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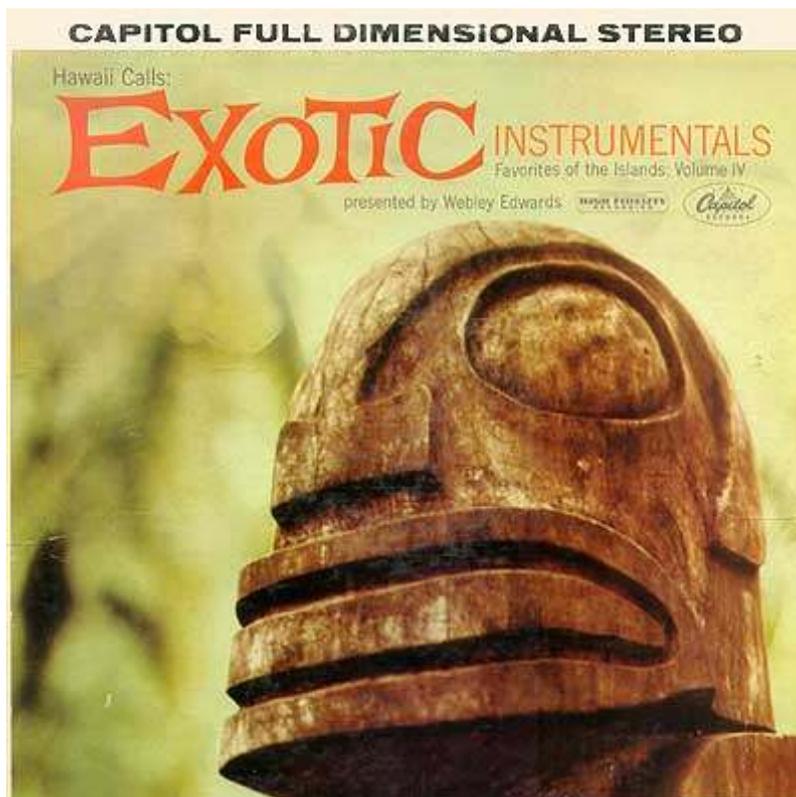
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Packaging Paradise: Organizing Representations of Hawaii

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The Hawaiian Islands are of volcanic origin and are edged with coral reefs. Generally fertile with a mild climate, they are sometimes called “the paradise of the Pacific” because of their spectacular beauty: abundant sunshine; acres of green plants and gaily colored flowers; coral beaches with rolling white surf and fringed with palms; and, rising with sober majesty to solitary heights, cloud covered volcanic peaks. (Columbia Encyclopedia, 5th ed., s.v “Hawaii”)

Hawaii was packaged for promotion and plunder. The objective of this paper is to focus attention on the image of Hawaii – a state, an ethnic identity, a race, and a cultural form – as a compelling example of how representation by dominant groups enables a colonialist process of objectification and imperialism. Representation often requires political, economic, and ideological choices made by those in power. We present a case study of how narratives and images were deftly combined and organized in the popular culture artifact, the Hawaiian record album, which encapsulates intersecting colonial interests. Hawaiian music calls forth an earlier era, and invokes a complex legacy of culture and history, tourist management and nostalgic hype. The iconic Hula girl and her musical accompaniment have for decades formed the foundation of a strongly appealing and attractive (popular) Hawaiian identity, helping make (a representation of) Hawaii instantly recognizable the world over¹.

Hawaii’s aural image – its sonic brand – specifically designed for consumption, has been reflected in and transmitted through familiar easy listening music—created mostly by white mainland songwriters with little or no connection to the islands. Moreover, airlines,

¹ In this project, we have used ‘Hawaii’ to refer to the represented entity, rather than Hawai’i, which refers to the orthographic spelling of the name.

travel agencies, the Kodak Film Company, and the US government's support of the *Hawaii Calls* radio show worked to develop her brand recognition; information technology helped frame Hawaii's image of carefree paradise. The marketing of Hawaiian popular music – through radio shows and record albums – aided the transformation of Hawaii from primitive paradise into the 50th State. Music forms an important element in the tourist industry's campaign to attract visitors to Hawaii – promoting Hawaii as a sound and way of life, as well as a place to visit (Borgerson and Schroeder, 2003; Buck, 1993; Farrell, 1982; Sturma, 1999).

In this way, record albums were a major vehicle in the campaign to assimilate Hawaii into the United States, serving to incorporate a cultural tradition of the exotic “Other” into Western culture through technology – the hi-fi stereo record. Hawaiian music is seen and heard as a modern achievement of America, incorporating hi-fi technology and Western ingenuity. Hawaii remains an important tourist destination, strategic military outpost, and a “tropical paradise” today. The records, songs, and album covers under scrutiny are still available, smartly repackaged as “exotica” in CD stores worldwide. The image of Hawaii they helped construct is still very much a part of how Hawaii – and other exotic island resorts – is viewed (cf. Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002; Williamson, 1986). In the paper, album covers and liner notes provide sites for a critical analysis of the representation of Hawaii in popular culture around the time it entered the Union in 1959. Hawaii's sonic history, now tapped for retro campaigns, nostalgic memories, lends an air of authenticity and play for many products and services – including Hawaii tourism.

Soundtrack in the South Pacific: Music, Branding, and Representation

Hawaii's assimilation into the United States is a classic case of imperialism, here defined as: “one of a number of oppressive relations that may hold between dominant and

subordinated cultures. Whether or not conscious and intentional, it serves to extend the political power, secure the social control, and further the economic profit of the dominant culture.” (Whitt, 1995). Philosopher Laurie Whitt claims that commodification of spirituality through trademarks and copyrights serves to colonize native belief systems, and

“Ultimately, it facilitates a type of cultural acquisition via conceptual assimilation: EuroAmerican culture seeks to establish itself in indigenous cultures by appropriating, mining, and re-defining what is distinctive, constitutive, of them. The mechanism for this is an oft-repeated pattern of cultural subordination that turns vitally on legal and popular views of ownership and property, as formulated within the dominant culture.” (Whitt, 1995).

As we shall see, the effects and antecedents of colonial discourse are still very much with us (cf. Cook, 1996; Engle, 2000; Wood, 1999). Furthermore, Hawaii provides visitors with the chance to be a colonizer, to experience first hand that heady feeling of encountering a new, virgin land, ripe for conquer. A Hawaiian vacation may represent the ultimate American consumer product – allowing anyone who can afford a ticket to participate in the colonial project through a re-creation of discovering Hawaii. This pattern emerges in the popular culture genre of Hawaiiana – including Tiki culture, Polynesian paradise, Hawaiian popular music, tourism, and surf fashion – each exemplars of cultural imperialism.

In his book *Radical Business Ethics*, philosopher Richard Lippke concludes, “we ought to be concerned about the enormous power that corporations have to impose beliefs, values, and attitudes congenial to their economic interests on individuals” (Lippke, 1995, p. 118). The turn to popular culture is important here (cf. Crabb and Dielawski, 1994; Diller and Scofidio, 1994; Storey, 1996), to show that seemingly innocuous and “fun” cultural artifacts serve to divert attention from the colonizing process that obscures and subsumes native cultural traditions, and erases indigenous peoples (see also Drinnon, 1997; Hussan, 1986).

Cultural analyst Judith Williamson asserts: “It is crucially important to study ‘mass culture’ and its specific texts, but not in order to understand ‘the masses’; the ideology of difference is not, in fact, different from the ideologies that imprison us all.” (Williamson, 1985, p. 116). We see (and hear) the ideology of the colonizer through the representation of the colonized. Hawaiian records – cover art, liner notes and song lyrics – reflect a fetishized cultural view of the exotic, the native, and the primitive (see Table 1). Moreover, the Hawaii represented on these albums is the Hawaii that exists for most of us. Thus seemingly innocuous popular culture artifacts create a reality that facilitates imperial domination. As educational theorist Henry Giroux argues, popular culture provides “sites that are often ignored...where the struggle over knowledge, power, and authority translates itself into a broader battle over the meaning of pleasure, self-formation, and national identity” (Giroux, 1994, p. x). We focus our attention on the dominant representations of Hawaii to underscore their influence. Here we cannot help but recognize the powerful ethical content of popular culture.

We are interested in analyzing how Hawaii has been organized in the minds of many, including ourselves, as a vacation paradise, simultaneously exotic and familiar. Further, we examine an important element in cultural relations – the representation and appropriation of indigenous culture by the dominant culture, and investigate the organizational and ethical implications that arise when representations of subordinate groups enable the erasure of identity and domination of that group. This is not to suggest that people do not live on Hawaii, with a rich culture, or to deny that Hawaiian identity is a complex issue. However, “packaged Hawaii” appears in a certain form for consumption as a product (e.g., Desmond, 1999; Kirsten, 2000; Schroeder, 1998). Marketing in this sense is like propaganda, produced to influence the way the people, the consumers, see the product, Hawaii – marketed as island paradise, tourist destination, and honeymoon resort. Indeed, “Hawaii” exists for many primarily through Hawaii's marketed image. In this way, Hawaii, island paradise, may appear

more real than the group of islands in the South Pacific so named (cf. Baudrillard, 1989). Here, we draw upon an ethics of representation, recognizing that the choices made in the marketing of Hawaii were ethical choices, incorporating typical representations of colonization, racism, sexism, and objectification.

Popular Culture, Commodification, and Colonialism

Examples of marketed and packaged Hawaii include the Kodak Hula Show, the Webley Edwards' Hawaii Calls Show, and the general appearance and claims to authenticity of Tin Pan Alley originated “Hawaiian Music.” Packaging Hawaii required representations of Hawaii (as island, as Paradise), Hawaii's people (as Nature, primitive, sexually sensual and accessible), and Hawaii's culture. We are not concerned with the quest for the authentic Hawaii, or even an authentic Hawaiian image or sound. We are interested in the representation of Hawaii constructed and organized by popular discourse. We suggest that the desire to create an image of Hawaii was affected by certain biases and purposes. There is a Hawaii that exists – in travel brochures, Hawaiian cookbooks, record albums, musicals – a Hawaii constructed through strategic marketing campaigns to resonate with vacationers, business interests, and honeymooners.

By looking at the popular culture evidence, such as album covers and liner notes, we can read some of the motives in packaging Hawaii. The musical history tells a story of propaganda to support statehood and capitalist economic and colonizing cultural expansion. Music provides a window on the “natural” state of Hawaii, allowing the uninitiated mainlander access to the spirit of Aloha through the technological marvel of radio broadcast, and, later, stereophonic hi-fi recordings. Music serves as an aural image of Hawaii, and the album covers serve to re inscribe the visual image of Hawaii.

We find typical colonial representations: Paradise, primitive, without literature, no melody, no development. We find typical sexist representations: comparing women to nature – woman as island – as the “lure” of the islands posed on waterfalls, always decorated with flowers, sexually accessible and unburdened by Western guilt, ignorant. We find typical racist representations: the “exotic” Other (yet anyone can assume the Hawaiian identity), the Anglo who through consumption, becomes the exotic – at least for a holiday. Many of the album covers were shot in Hollywood studios – but presented as if just a photograph. The image of Hawaii, constructed through album covers, musicals such as *South Pacific*, movies, and popular literature, is more real than real – the Hawaii of our dreams is more salient than any competing image for most American tourists.

As historian Edward Said discusses in his monumental work on *Orientalism*, any attempt to “start” a historical overview is difficult (Said 1978). However, the “assimilating” done in what is now called Hawaii would be more accurately described as devastating and destructive colonization. Christian missionaries arrived around 1820 and began a campaign to eradicate all traces of “primitive” culture (Sahlins, 1981). Christmas – that yearly ritual affirming Christ born a savior, was introduced later in the nineteenth century and has translated well. As one of the many “Hawaiian Christmas” albums in our collection points out:

Some of the songs are in English, others are heard in mellifluous Hawaiian translations that bring a new a piquant beauty to these scheduled favorites. The accompaniments feature the heavenly sounds of steel guitar, vibes, Hawaiian guitar, and other instruments of Hawaii—the land where, as many a happy visitor at any season will attest, it's Christmas every day (from *A Merry Hawaiian Christmas*, Capital Full Dimensional Stereo 1781).

The people who lived there, of course, had their own cultural rituals, holidays, and songs, but these made way for a commercialized Christmas.

Hawaii was seen as prime land for cattle, sugar, and later, pineapples – none native to the islands. In the 1890s, a faction led by investors in the sugar business, succeeded in convincing the U.S. government to “annex” Hawaii, despite the fact that most Hawaiians did not support a revolution. The tourist trade, which had grown to major proportions in the 1930s, expanded further with postwar advances in air travel and with further investments and development. The erasure of Hawaiian culture was fast:

Europeans and Americans brought with them devastating infectious diseases, and over the years the native population greatly reduced. The adoption of Western ways – trading for profit, using firearms, and drinking liquor – contributed to the decline of native cultural tradition. [...] and of the fewer than 10,000 people who speak Hawaiian, only a few hundred are native speakers, but the language is taught in some Hawaiian schools and remains important as a symbol of ethnic identity.” (Columbia Encyclopedia, 5th ed., s.v “Hawaii”)

Hawaii, of course, is a recent name. Often, Hawaiian histories start with the naming of the Sandwich Islands, for the Earl of Sandwich, who helped fund South Sea explorations.

Whereas European man “discovered” Hawaii, the natives had – inexplicably – “arrived” there, in some earlier time. This discovery motif is mirrored in cultural “resources:” thus it takes American entrepreneurs to bring Hawaiian music to civilized ears: “Here, for the first time in modern fidelity, are the unusual sounds of instruments that Hawaiians devised long before the islands were discovered by Captain James Cook in 1778. (from *Hawaii Calls: fire goddess*). Popular histories mirror this colonial theme, emphasizing how foreigners and missionaries were somehow necessary to extract value from Hawaii, and glossing over the

colonial nature of the U.S. “annexation” of the islands (e.g., Gerrit, 1961; Lewis, 1954; Ronck, 1984).

Cultural theorist Lisa Heldke discusses the process of cultural colonization in her analysis of the ethnic food market. Cookbook authors act as colonizers by appropriating recipes for Western consumption – converting the raw resources of food practices handed down over generations into commodities, copyrighted, and “improved” for Western palates (e.g., Beilenson, 1964). Authors “develop” recipes from “primitive” peoples, harming those who worked to create a cultural practice over centuries, asserts Heldke. The native cooks are erased, their authentic recipes overwritten by marketed cookbooks (Heldke, 2003).

Imperialism requires unequal power relations – Hawaiians are seen as primitive, pre-literate, happy, unconcerned with pressing matters such as land ownership – or song rights. Apparently, it took Western ingenuity to make the Hawaiian music a force in the market – much as Western cookbook authors transform native food into commodities. Liner notes openly acknowledge Hawaii as a resource – it is portrayed as one more reason why Hawaii is important to us. “Hawaii is not only a popular vacation land; but also an important commercial possession of the United States.” (Hawaiian Rhythm, Spinorama Records). This is an interesting, ontological paradox of Hawaii – Hawaiians are simultaneously not like us and us. The 50th state is a Polynesian paradise, filled with exotic natives who are Americans (see Table 1).

Records of Colonialism: Messages from the Hawaiian Music Industry

Webley Edwards created Hawaii Calls, the most successful radio show of its kind. Hawaii Calls, partially funded by the legislature, broadcast weekly for almost forty years, and was perhaps the most influential force in making mainlanders Hawaii-conscious (with the

exception of Pearl Harbor). But Hawaii Calls serves more than a case study in destination marketing and product packaging. The discourse produced by Hawaii Calls provides an insight into the colonial mind, intent on usurping native resources for gain, assured of superior status, transforming and erasing the Other. In this process, what is “authentic” becomes what the colonizer claims is authentic, thus: “Many indelibly Hawaiian tunes are written by mainland composers, who never get closer to the islands than Tin Pan Alley...Web is quick to admit that a song written yesterday by a tunesmith in Peoria can be as truly Hawaiian as a century-old favorite by a Hawaiian – as long as it has that certain undefinable something.” (from *Hawaii Calls Show, Webley Edwards presents*)

Hawaii Calls was the most popular show of its kind for twenty years. First, over the radio, then later through twenty-eight popular record albums, Webley Edwards was tremendously influential in reaching a worldwide audience with a carefully constructed image of Hawaii. His show, ostensibly providing beautiful music once a week, was “the greatest public relations program ever seen” (Kanahale, 1979). Radio, like hi-fi is another modern marvel uniting the primitive with the progressive. The radio show must go on, and technology assures us that a uniform product will be delivered on time.

Hawaii Calls is important for our discussion because in addition to representing Hawaii to a mainland (and worldwide via the Voice of Freedom) audience, the show became a spectacle. Hawaii Calls, its music, characters, records, and host, stand in for Hawaii. Even the name appropriates the identity of all Hawaii: “To them, and millions like them around the globe, Web Edwards and the stars of *Hawaii Calls are Hawaii*” (from *Hawaii Calls show, Webley Edwards presents*) (see Figure 2).

In Hawaii Calls discourse, Mr. Edwards insists that his show is the real Hawaii featuring real Hawaiian music, yet one need not be Hawaiian to produce it. Thus, he says, a song written yesterday in Peoria is as Hawaiian as something written a hundred years ago by

a native if it has the certain something, and is sung by a Hawaiian. Later, musicians gave up the need to be Hawaiian as well. Of course, also at work were copyright laws and royalty payments. Most of the songs on the Hawaii Calls shows were written – or at least copyrighted – by whites. The story of Hawaiian music (according to whites) follows the classic colonial pattern. It took “us” to discover and refine the native music. From primitive rhythms, Hawaiian music was transformed, improved, and modernized, for Western consumers. Note that it took a German to make Hawaiian music what it “is:”

Originally, Web says, Island music was little more than rhythm patterns – chants of praise for a god or a king. Sea chanteys brought by visiting whalers were an early influence. So was church music...Then a Hawaiian king who'd been to Europe imported a German bandmaster to conduct the Royal Hawaiian band. Name was Henry Berger. He arrived in 1872, and in the 45 years that followed, he gave Hawaiian music a full-flowing melody and sweetness it's never lost” (from *Hawaii calls show, Webley Edwards presents*).

Here, representation is about erasure of the Other by erasing the identity, skill, and legitimacy of native authors, composers, and musicians. The colonial gaze – underestimating and miscomprehending an entire cultural practice – demonstrated its blindness to other ways of living, other systems of meaning. For the chant, summarily dismissed in the quote above, is an organizing feature of Hawaiian music – the music that did exist “before the white man”. To apply Western standards to the music of the Hawaiian people was ignorant at best. For example, the chant was the key component of much of the pre-1900 music of the islands: “to the Hawaiian mind the chant was of great importance. Without it there was no dance.” (Kanahale, 1979 s.v. Hula). The chant also transmitted and preserved oral histories.

We do not mean to imply that some Hawaiians were not receptive to the influence of the colonizers, or that the music that we know today is or is not “authentic.” For, as many

liner note attests, the cultural production of music “is to a great extent dependent on the strangers who began coming to her shores scores of years ago: the gracefulness of Polynesian life, the art of Japan, the incredible bent for work of the Chinese, the rigid intellectual force of the New Englanders, and the governmental heritage of the English” (from *the Hawaii Calls Story*) However, to suggest that Western influence made Hawaiian music *better* is problematic. In any case, the marriage of technology and primitive music was a potent force – a Hawaiian craze swept the U.S. after World War Two, fanned by airlines, hotels, and the Hawaiian chamber of commerce. Tiki culture – complete with backyard luaus, tiki bars, hula hoops, Hawaiian shirts, and the hula dancing craze – emerged in the 1950s, and lives on as retro styles today (see Kirsten 2000).

By recording the tropical – and “primitive” – sounds of Hawaii on the latest in advanced recording equipment, the recording industry offered up Hawaiian music as part of the latest achievement of modern technology. By representing Hawaiian music as “captured” in hi-fi, records promoted a world in which everything can be universalized through technology. For example, the Living Strings orchestra:

is composed of Europe's finest string virtuosi... The lush sounds created by this unusual musical aggregation are effective in translating the musical idiom of the islands – *all* the islands, as a matter of fact, because Polynesian melodies are the *musica franca* of the whole Pacific area. The result is a magnificent instrumental ensemble custom-tailored for today's sensitive high fidelity systems” (*Living Strings play Music of Hawaii*, RCA).

Note that a European orchestra effectively represents not only Hawaii, but all of Polynesia, effectively erasing native musicians and their culture. We are not claiming that musicians cannot translate music from different cultures, however, to represent this as *authentic* is an ethical issue of representation, domination, and appropriation.

Texas Has A Hula Sister Now!

The song title “Texas Has a Hula Sister Now” is one of our favorites (see Table 2). The confluence of statehood, womanhood, and kinship is spectacularly suggestive, and deserves unpacking. Texas, of course, was a state – the lone star state, a big, brawny, braggart of a state. Hawaii is called a Hula sister – feminizing this distant, rather small exotic new state. By linking *Hula* with *sister* the songwriter captures much of the fascination of Hawaii. Hula was constructed and consumed as an exotic, alluring dance. Sister, of course, is a close familial relation. A Hula sister identifies a being that is at once similar and different, representing poles of mimesis and alterity (Taussig 1993). At once exotic and familiar, distant yet belonging, Hawaii stirs up issues of attraction and taboo. In the representation of Hawaii, there is a powerful conflation of paradise, female, and exotic with ownership, statehood, and familiarity, in the guise of sisterhood.

The hula is a royal and spiritual prerogative, historically practiced by both men and women (Kanahele 1979). The hula, a term that describes a dance, a communicative practice, a system of authority and hierarchy, and a discipline taught in special schools, is now most closely associated with females dancing for male titillation. Thus, the Hawaiian cultural and sacred tradition of the Hula is represented as an erotic pleasure for the male colonial gaze (see Lathan, 1995; Schroeder, 1998). The hula became a necessary site on the tourists “to do” list, and the tourist industry provided hula “shows” in a spectacle of representation: “These free Kodak Hula shows are staged especially for picture takers, in colorful Hawaiian surroundings, framed by the blue Pacific ocean” (from *Kodak Hula Show*). The hula dancer represents the female – primitive, different, undiscovered, exotic “who may have the ice-blue eyes of the Scandinavian, the warm coloring of the Tahitian, the femininity of the Japanese

and Chinese all apparent in the ancestry” (*Island Paradise*, Webley Edwards Presents, Capitol). Hula is generally represented as sexy moves – erotic and exotic dancing for sexual stimulation and all Hawaiian “literature” is reduced to the realm of pornography.

The colonial gaze – underestimating and miscomprehending an entire cultural practice – demonstrated its blindness to other ways of living, other systems of meaning. To apply Western standards to the music of the Hawaiian people was ignorant at best. For example, the chant was the key component of much of the pre-1900 music of the islands: “to the Hawaiian mind the chant was of great importance. Without it there was no dance” (Kanahēle, 1979). The chant transmitted and preserved oral histories. The chant, summarily dismissed as mere “rhythm”, is an organizing feature of Hawaiian music – the music that did exist “before the white man”.

The following two quotes suggest the way in which the Hawaiian cultural and sacred position of the Hula is read as a sexually erotic pleasure for the male colonial gaze:

The motions of the *hula* dancer were used to tell stories, just as in other lands the scratching of a pen on paper was used. Just how close a relationship the *hula* bears to great literature has never been determined. “Just let me tell you this,” remarked one delighted U.S. sailor, watching a group of beautiful *hula* dancers, “it beats reading books!” (from *More Hawaii in HI-FI*, RCA).

Perhaps Hawaii's most powerful influence on us has been its soft, lifting sensuous music, if not its graceful, swaying, suggestive dances. (from *Hawaiian Music*, Promenade Records).

Body movement in dancing as a form of story telling and epic is opposed to the literature of a written culture. The hula became a necessary site on the tourists “to do” list, and the tourist industry provided hula “shows” in a spectacle of representation: “These free Kodak Hula

shows are staged especially for picture takers, in colorful Hawaiian surroundings, framed by the blue Pacific ocean” (from *Kodak Hula Show*).

In her article “Women is an Island: Femininity and Colonization,” Judith Williamson describes how advertisements link woman and island paradise. Hawaii is overlaid with female and exotic, creating a difference to be appreciated and consumed:

The travel images of “colorful customs,” of exotic cultures, of people apparently more “natural” than ourselves but at the same time expressing our own “naturalness” for us – all these images of “otherness” have as their referent an actual Otherness which was and is being systematically destroyed, first by European then by American capital...But just as the commodity which expresses another's value loses its own identity in the process, so those “primitives”– women and foreigners – who are so valuable in reflecting capitalism's view of itself are robbed of their own meanings and speech, indeed are reduced to the function of commodities (Williamson, 1985, p. 112).

Williamson concludes her discussion of the representation of difference – between male and female, primitive and cultured, dark and white. Williamson's analysis of a Pond's Cream & Cocoa Butter ad with the headline “Discover the tropical secret for softer skin” shows how one culture incorporates traditions of another in popular media.

The hula dancer represents the female – primitive, different, undiscovered, exotic “who may have the ice-blue eyes of the Scandinavian, the warm coloring of the Tahitian, the femininity of the Japanese and Chinese all apparent in the ancestry.” (*Island Paradise, Webley Edwards Presents*, Capitol). In the representation of Hawaii, there is a powerful conflation of paradise, female, and exotic with ownership, statehood, and familiarity (sisterhood), as this prototypical lyric attests:

It's like heaven just to be at the Beach at Waikiki,

No there's just no place like Hawaii.

Girls with flowers in their hair

and the muu muus that they wear

(from “There's No Place Like Hawaii, Words and Music by Eddie Brandt copyright 1960, Criterion Music Corporation, Hollywood, California).

My Hawaii

Making Hawaii a state took an enormous propaganda campaign. Much more effort was needed to include Hawaii into the union than Alaska. To our knowledge, there exists no Alaskan music, or Alaskan food fad in the 1950s to parallel the Hawaii craze. The discourse found in the albums on statehood reflect the twin theme of exotic and familiar:

Hawaii is now American, a fact in which we take great pride – but let us not forget that but a short time ago, Hawaii was Hawaiian and was peopled by a race which had its own language, laws, and custom, long before the advent of the white man.” (from Blue Hawaii, Bing Crosby, Decca Records, Inc. DL 8269)

By becoming American, Hawaii became the leading edge of the frontier – a frontier that seemed to end at California, on the shores of the Pacific. Through statehood, the process of colonization was completed, Hawaiian became a state of mind, and a label one could earn by visiting or moving to Hawaii. Indeed, the identity of Hawaii itself is threatened: “You will come to know that Hawaii is really not a place; but a calm and wonderful way of life...where dreams go that want to come true. These are the Magic Islands” (from the Magic Islands, Decca Records, Inc. DL 79048.)

In this way, the cultural identity that was so alluring and exotic is erased – a way of life existing for centuries attainable for the price of a stereo record. This loss of identification is an important component in the ethics of representing Hawaii in popular culture. If anyone can be Hawaiian, then “natives” are unnecessary to produce music – or perhaps unnecessary altogether. Once culture is reproduced via technology – photography, recordings, writing – the “need” for the original culture is lessened. As mainland, white musician Martin Denny – an icon of the tiki and lounge revival – reveals:

I don't know about any tiki culture. What I did was of a musical nature, and you can *associate* the sound with whatever you want. But I didn't do any research into tikis, or anything like that...My music is a combination of the South Pacific and the Orient...what a lot of people *imagined* the islands to be like. Its pure fantasy, though. A lot of tourists have listened to my records, and when they come to Hawaii they expect some kind of romantic setting like James A. Michener conjured up in *South Pacific* (quoted in Vale and Juno, 1993, p. 142-143 emphasis in original)

Through the recording industry's appropriation of Hawaiian music, the native music became less vital and important. Native Hawaiians did, of course, appear on Hawaii Calls, and were active agents in the transformation of music from a cultural ritual to a commodity. However, the structure of the recording and tourism industry, with their emphasis on private gain, channeled much of the productive work into a homogenization and commercialization of Hawaiian music and culture.

Representing Hawaii

How did people get the images they have today of Hawaii? – Largely via marketed representations – which we are the first to admit are often beautiful, compelling, and provocative. Marketing – in the service of governments, cultural institutions, or business – is as much a creator of discourse as it is an appropriator of already existing discourse. Janeen Costa argues that by understanding the history and function of paradise in the West, we can understand the way Hawaii has been marketed as a tourist paradise. Exposure to what she terms "paradisaal discourse" is received through marketed representations of gender (male/female), race (black/white/ somewhere in-between), the histories of religion (saved/damned) and other cultural institutions that make use of hierarchically ordered dichotomies, including Us/Them (Costa 1998). Paradise is a large part of the image of Hawaii discourse. Many feature women clad in "native cloth," peering out from palm fronds, frolicking in the ocean tide. Hawaii has been represented as paradise on earth – reflected in such titles as "Island Paradise," "the Lure of Paradise," and "Hawaiian Paradise." Paradise has two central meanings in Western Judeo-Christian culture; the garden of Eden and heaven. Records emphasize the former, through cover photographs, liner notes, and song lyrics.

Certain knowledge gains domination over other knowledge through the power of representation. However, the relationship between knowledge and representation is not unidimensional. Representation not only reflects knowledge; representation creates knowledge (cf. Schroeder and Borgerson, 2005). The purposes for which representation creates knowledge raise ethical questions. We point to marketing's active role in the creation and construction of Hawaii discourse as it moved from colonized agricultural gem of U.S. big business to the 50th State. Marketing does not merely utilize a pre-existing discourse, but works to create and then sell that discourse through the use of carefully designed and brightly colored (and we know early use of color photography was in advertising) campaign of "exotic" Hawaiian scenes – the flora, fauna and females of Hawaii.

Represented “knowledge” frequently stands in for experience, especially when other sources have less prominence, and serve as a foundation for future attempts to comprehend and construct the world around us. Ours is not a naive claim that consumers believe artificial, stereotypical, or idealized realms can or do exist, or that consumers consume represented discourse from a single, unitary, or predetermined (so-called “structuralist”) perspective. Rather, marketing images contribute to the “reality” into which contemporary consumers are socialized and often evade notions of creative interpretation and critical resistance (Borgerson, 2005; Schroeder and Borgerson, 2005). Hawaii discourse does not just exist “out there.” Marketing created and is constantly in the process of recreating Hawaii discourse. Marketing is designed to sell elaborately positioned products – including geographical locations and cultures. Hawaii is a conceptual resource, and marketing has sold us the concept.

Conclusion: Hawaiian (Consumer) Paradise

Hawaii exists now as a fertile market for tourists, economic development, and agribusiness. Tourists come to experience an exotic land with U.S. currency, to photograph representations of their journey and to consume paradise a week at a time. Many of our records promise the listener a substitute for the actual journey to Hawaii. Listen, and be transported, they claim, offering a inexpensive alternative to a Hawaiian vacation. The records served to promote Hawaii, and Hawaiian music; they also served as mementos for a memorable trip.

In the packaging of Hawaii to mainlanders in support of the 50th State as a Honeymoon resort, and tourist Paradise and agricultural resource, we find echoes of colonizing discourse in the covers and liner notes of these Hawaiian albums. The album

provides a blank, “white,” space erased of natives to be written upon by Whites. Each visitor to Hawaii had the opportunity to feel the thrill of being a colonizer; the explorer who in stumbling upon an ignorant tribe of natives was welcomed as the White god, to whom they would pay allegiance, and to whom they owed their thanks for being ushered into a new age of modernization, advanced culture and religious civilization. The United States had colonialist motives in claiming Hawaii and these motives are masked by a (sexist and racist) discourse of Paradise, Holiday, freedom, and Statehood.

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Table 1 Constructing Hawaiian Representation: Theoretical Background

Paradisaal Discourse: (Borgerson and Schroeder 2002; Costa 1998)

- Orientalist: primitive, alluring, female, sexual, binary...
- Travel writing: liminal journey, natural, binary...
- Primitivism: ideal, sexual, primitive

Mimesis and Alterity: (Taussig 1993)

- Imitation and Difference
- Consuming the Other through appropriating, yet distancing
- Technology: recording, model building, surveying

Critical Race Theory: (Fanon 1967; West 1992; Gordon 1995)

- Hawaii as “Mini-melting pot”
- Necessary Otherness of the non-white
- Representing Hawaii – the “Polynesian”

Colonialism: (Cook 1996; Williamson 1986)

- Music as critical constructive element – not merely reflection
- Overarching framework for other discourses
- Evidence in songwriting credits, royalties, appropriation of culture

Consuming the Exotic: (Lalvani 1995; Schroeder and Borgerson 2005)

- Power and consumption
- Travel/tourism as domination

- Representation of the “other” in popular culture

Other issues to consider:

- Technology’s role in obscuring and erasing culture
- The role of the exotic, paradise discourse in the honeymoon
- The power of representation

Table 2 Provocative Hawaiian Music Lyrics

Texas Has A Hula Sister Now

by Aloma and Millican

The yellow rose of Texas wears an orchid in her hair
and her garland of white blossoms so sweet in the Western air

Chorus: For Texas has a hula, a hula, hula, hula

Texas has a hula sister now

From Dallas to Alaska red hibiscus has her day
she's the flower of proud Hawaii newest state of the USA

-Chorus-

She was born of a pagan marriage of the sand and the coral sea
and she learned from the restless tradewinds that men and the wind are free

The yellow rose of Texas and the rose of San Antone'
kissin' kin to the red hibiscus that had bloomed too long alone

-Chorus-

(banjo and bones solo)

She was born of a pagan marriage of the sand and the coral sea
and she learned from the restless tradewinds that men and the wind are free

The yellow rose of Texas and the rose of San Antone'
kissin' kin to the red hibiscus that had bloomed too long alone

-Chorus-

from the LP *Come to Hawaii*, Come to Hawaii, Grand Award Records, G.A. 237 SD

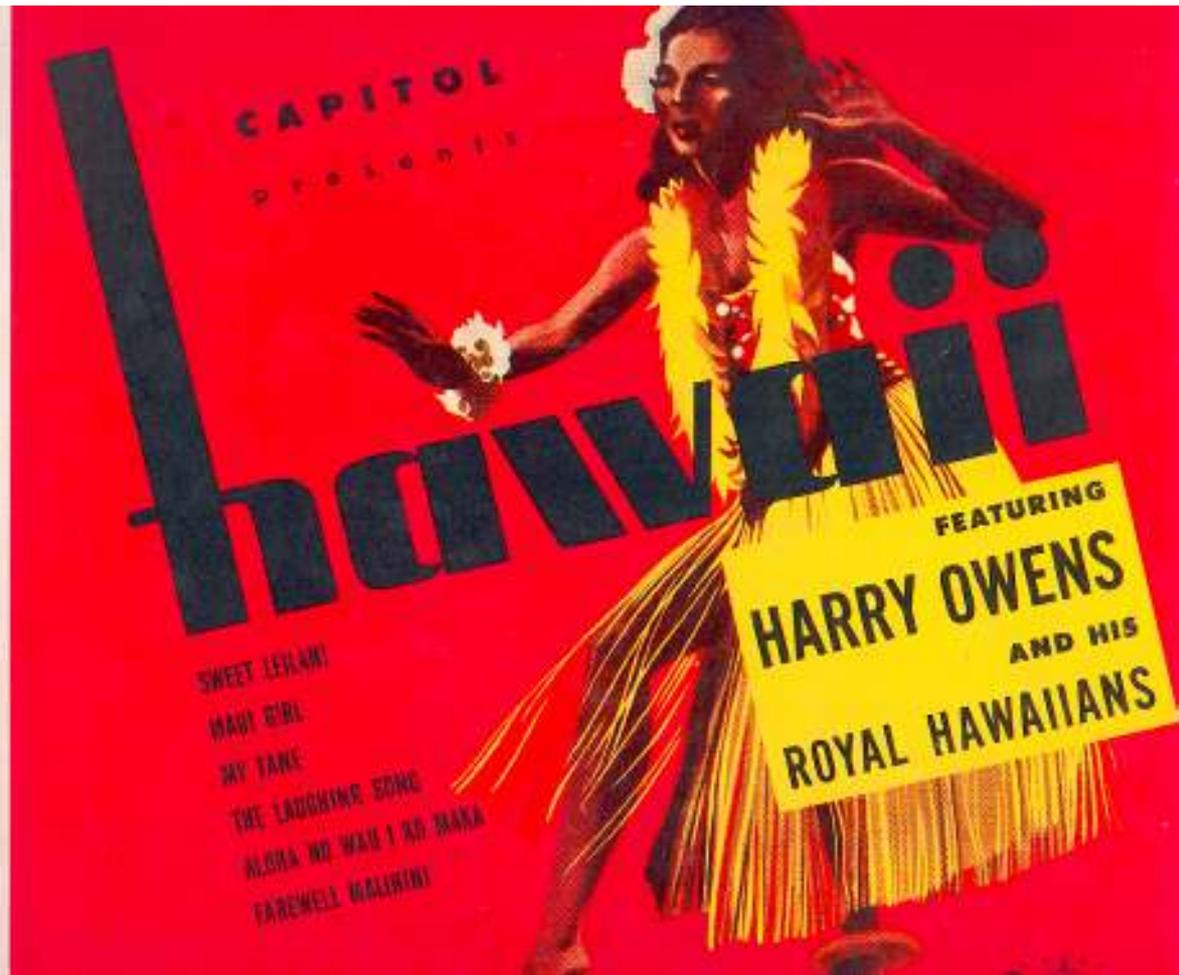


Figure 1 *Hawaii featuring Harry Owens and His Royal Hawaiians*, Capitol Records, c. 1950

(Collection of authors)



Figure 2 *Hawaii Calls Fire Goddess*, Presented by Webley Edwards, Capitol Records
(Collection of authors)



Figure 3 “W” magazine fashion pictorial, 2002.

Bienvenue
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Willkommen Aloha

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As specialists in marketing and advertising; our services include: PR, design, media buying, direct mail, website design, press and outdoor advertising.

As one of the fastest growing marketing and advertising agencies in the South East, our creative designs deliver winning solutions to any marketing campaign.



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Figure 4 Website for British Ad Agency Zero: Fifty One



Figure 5 Contemporary logo for Maui Coffee Roasters