

REPRESENTATIONS OF WAIKĪKĪ: AN ANALYSIS OF HAWAIIAN TOURISM  
THROUGH HOTEL BROCHURES AND WEBSITES

By

Victoria S. Downey

Submitted to the Department of Geography  
and the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Kansas  
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master's of Arts

---

Garth A. Myers, Chairperson

Committee Members:

---

James R. Shortridge

---

Terry Slocum

Date Defended: \_\_\_\_\_

The Thesis Committee for Victoria S. Downey certifies  
That this is the approved Version of the following thesis:

REPRESENTATIONS OF WAIKĪKĪ: AN ANALYSIS OF HAWAIIAN TOURISM  
THROUGH HOTEL BROCHURES AND WEBSITES

Committee:

---

Garth A. Myers, Chairperson

---

James R. Shortridge

---

Terry Slocum

Date Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

## **ABSTRACT**

Tourism dominates the Hawaiian economy, and the economic stronghold of the tourism industry is Waikīkī. This thesis focuses on the various representations of Waikīkī from a postcolonial perspective, using textual analysis to examine brochures and websites from hotels in the area. The development of the tourism industry in Waikīkī has its roots in the creation of romanticized images of the Pacific as a whole during the colonial era. Waikīkī continues to be depicted as both a familiar and an exotic entity in mainland United States tourism advertising, perpetuating Orientalist discourse. The themes of excitement, familiarity, exoticism, “native” hospitality, perfection, and nostalgia are used to show the continued commodification of Native Hawaiian culture and the ways in which these representations are contributing to Waikīkī’s tourism development. This research contributes to a larger body of literature which considers the ways postcolonialism and tourism might intersect.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

There are so many people that have helped me along the way in completing this thesis, and to them I am forever indebted. First, I would like to thank the entire Geography Department at The University of Kansas for providing me with the opportunity to complete such a project. I would particularly like to thank my advisor, Garth Myers, as well as my committee members, Pete Shortridge and Terry Slocum, for their endless assistance, suggestions, and support. I am grateful for the help and encouragement of many of my fellow graduate students, who are too numerous to name. Their patience, kindness, and experience helped me through some of the most trying times of the thesis process. I would also like to thank my esteemed predecessors, Amy Potter, Tim Brock, and Jason Woods, who blazed a path toward two-year thesis completion and gave me hope that I might do the same. My thanks, of course, go out to my parents and brother, my boyfriend Clay Mrkonic, and the Mrkonic family for always listening when I needed to vent and for keeping me from starving while I wrote. I would also like to thank my aunt and uncle, Jeannie and Mike Butel, for providing me with the opportunity to first travel to Hawai'i. I am blessed to have the support of a number of friends both in Lawrence and elsewhere. My endless thanks go out to Josh and Elena Long for not only their encouragement, but also for providing me with time, a space, and their wonderful dog, Whiskey, with which to complete my textual analysis this spring. To my dear friends Sophia Tamblyn and Paige Edelman, I cannot thank you enough for always believing in me

and being there for me at all hours of the day. And, finally, I would like to thank my cat, Popoki, for providing me with endless love and affection.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
2. Historical Overview	4
3. Previous Research	12
<i>Tourism Geography</i>	12
<i>Representations of Hawai'i</i>	14
<i>Cultural Commodification and Consumption</i>	20
4. Theoretical Framework	26
<i>The Critique of Orientalism</i>	26
<i>Discourse Analysis</i>	31
<i>Other Postcolonial Approaches to Tourism</i>	32
5. Textual Analysis	37
<i>Excitement</i>	42
<i>Familiarity</i>	44
<i>Exoticism</i>	46
<i>"Native" Hospitality</i>	48
<i>Perfection</i>	53
<i>Nostalgia</i>	54
6. Conclusions	61
7. References	68

## 1. INTRODUCTION

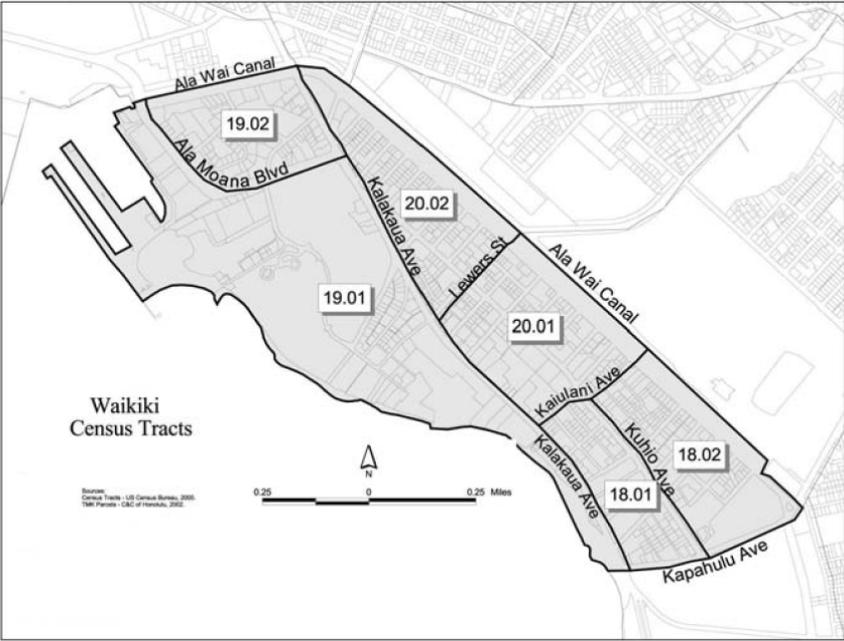
Tourism dominates the Hawaiian economy, and the economic stronghold of the tourism industry is Waikīkī<sup>1</sup>—the central seafront neighborhood of the state’s capital, Honolulu. Honolulu is located on the leeward side of the island of O’ahu, one of the eight principal islands that constitute Hawai’i. Although exact designations of the area of Honolulu that makes up Waikīkī vary, it is most typically defined as 660 acres bounded on the north and west by the Ala Wai Canal, on the east by Kapahulu Avenue, and on the south by the ocean (Figures 1,2). Its name means “place of sprouting waters” in Hawaiian, in reference to its original wetland state (Chan and Feeser 2006). Today it is highly developed, and variously referred to as a “tourist ghetto,” “money machine,” and “paradise” (Desmond 1999, McGranaghan 1999). Waikīkī contained 40.15 percent of rental units statewide in 2005 and in 2002 was responsible for 45.5 percent of total visitor expenditures in the state (DBEDT 2003, 2006c). As Farrell (1982, 38) wrote, “Apart from advertising and other types of promotion, Waikīkī *is* the concrete symbol of Hawai’i tourism” (emphasis in original).

The development of the tourism industry in Waikīkī, and Hawai’i generally, has its roots in the creation of romanticized images of the Pacific as a whole during the colonial era (Desmond 1999; Hall 1998; Hall and Tucker 2004; Linnekin 1997a). Such representations were romanticized in part to draw colonial settlers to the area.

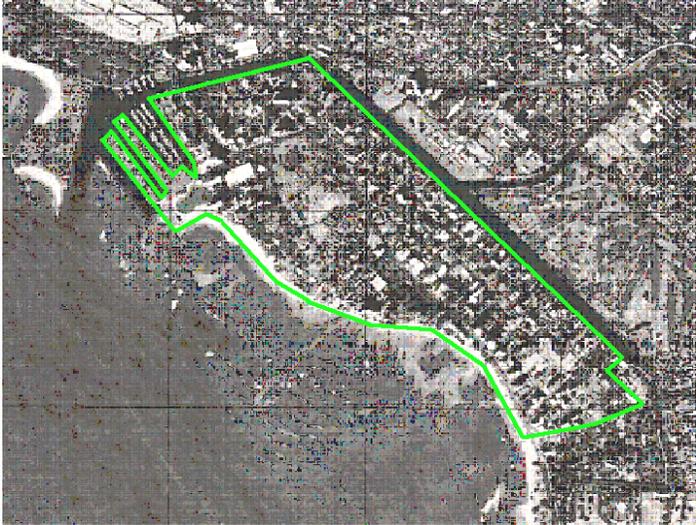
---

<sup>1</sup> Wherever possible, I have included the commonly accepted Hawaiian spellings of place names, including Waikīkī, O’ahu, and Hawai’i.

Today, the continued depiction of Waikīkī as both a familiar and exotic entity has led to continued development of the tourism industry. The number of visitors to the Hawaiian Islands and the number of days those visitors spend on the islands have increased markedly. Tourism echoes colonialism in the continuation of “resource” dependency; The Hawaiian Islands are still dependent upon outsiders as an economic base and the outside tourists are dependent upon Hawai’i as an outlet for leisure. Hawai’i’s representation to the outside world has been a product of this relationship of dependency, conveying what outsiders want in an effort to bring people to Hawai’i. This thesis employs textual analysis in order to study how Waikīkī is represented through hotel brochures and websites. I investigate this cultural construction and commodification from a postcolonial perspective (Johnston et al. 2000, 612), specifically the ways these representations are contributing to Waikīkī’s continued tourism development.



**Figure 1:** The area of Honolulu defined as “Waikīkī.”  
 (Source: DBEDT 2003, 1)



**Figure 2:** Orthophoto of Waikīkī.  
 (Source: USGS 1978, Photo taken 1976)

## 2. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Pinning down the exact date of settlement in Waikīkī is extremely difficult. The earliest radiocarbon dating for the area is 1100 A.D., but at least one authority suspects that settlement actually occurred far earlier than that, perhaps earlier than 600 A.D. (Kanahele 1995). Other estimates vary, generally lying closer to the time indicated by the radiocarbon dating (Craig 1998). Prior to European arrival, each of the Hawaiian Islands were broken into *‘okana*, or special districts that ran from the ocean to the mountains. Each of these was subdivided into *ahupua’a*, wedge-shaped sections of land that ran from the ocean to the mountains (Trask 1999). These *ahupua’a* were controlled by rulers, or *ali’i*, through the *kapu* (or taboo) system. “Unlike feudal European economic and political arrangements—to which the ancient Hawaiian system has often been erroneously compared—the *maka’āinana* (people of the land) neither owed military service to the *ali’i* nor were they bound to the land” (Trask 1999, 5). Although land was further divided through a process known as *‘kai’aina* (land carving), people living within an *ahupua’a* were able to use all of the resources in their area (Beamer 2007). The system was neither feudal nor communal. The *ahupua’a* of Waikīkī was originally a marsh used for taro farming and fishponds, the “broad wetlands of Waikīkī [being worked] in an ecologically and socially integrated way” (McDonald 1999, 181).

Two events, the conquering of the Island of O’ahu by neighboring islands’ high chiefs, and the entrance of Europeans into the historical picture, “were to change

O’ahu and the history of Hawai’i forever” (Craig 1998, 3). Captain James Cook discovered the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, bringing Western political, economic, and religious ideas and structures, along with disease (Trask 1999). In 1795, High Chief Kamehameha, from the Island of Hawai’i, invaded Maui with the help of sixteen non-Hawaiians and Western arms technology. After successfully taking Maui, Kamehameha pressed on to the Island of Moloka’i, and then to O’ahu. With this victory, Kamehameha gained control of all of the principal Hawaiian Islands, excluding Kaua’i and Ni’ihau<sup>2</sup>. The capital of the chiefdom government was set at Waikīkī (Craig 1998; Kanahēle 1995).

While parts of Hawai’i were significantly altered in the period immediately following the first influx of Europeans in the early 1800s, Waikīkī was left largely untouched. Kamehameha moved the capital of his kingdom to Honolulu in 1809, largely because of the influx of foreigners and foreign goods to Honolulu Harbor. Around 1810, trade in fur and sandalwood between China and America’s Pacific Northwest began to take off. Hawai’i provided valuable sandalwood for this trade and also served as a way station for ships (Kent 1983; Whitehead 1997).

The sandalwood trade reversed the post-Cook primacy of British interests in Hawai’i. Almost from its inception, the trade was U.S. dominated, with New Englanders playing the major role: three of the four commercial houses represented in Hawai’i were based there

(Kent 1983, 17).

Shortly after, U.S. interests also began to take over whaling and plantation agriculture, extending Hawai’i into the U.S.’s sphere of influence (Kent 1983).

---

<sup>2</sup> Kaua’i and Nu’uanu were not included into the kingdom established by Kamehameha until 1825 (Craig 1998, 5).

Honolulu was quickly becoming the “crossroads of the Pacific” (Craig 1998, 1). Waikīkī, meanwhile, declined with the loss of its position as Kamehameha’s capital and the decimation of Native Hawaiians living in the area from introduced European diseases. “Within 50 years of Cook’s arrival, Waikīkī had become a graveyard of deserted taro patches and homes and dead planters” (Kanahele 1995, 103).

In the 1840s, after pressure from foreign missionaries and business interests, the old Hawaiian land system was changed in an act called the “1848 *Mahele*” (using the Hawaiian word for apportionment, literally meaning “to divide”). According to Herman (1999, 76), “this portioning (*mahele*) . . . resulted in the previously fluid land-tenure system becoming fragmented into a fixed grid of privatized parcels.” In 1848, the first act was passed that divided the land between the ruling king, Kamehameha III (son of Kamehameha I, who had previously united the Hawaiian Islands), and 245 of his chiefs (Kanahele 1995). The chiefs were required to pay a transfer fee for their lands. Following this, the kings’ territories were divided into private holdings (or Crown Lands) and government land. Two years later, commoners were allowed to claim lands that they actively cultivated, but the process was extremely difficult to navigate. During the same year, foreigners were allowed to purchase lands. Contrary to popular belief, foreign ownership within Waikīkī was limited initially (Kanahele 1995), but overall, because private land ownership was an unknown concept to Hawaiians, the *Mahele* remains one of the most destructive blows to native sovereignty in history.

The earliest commercial hotels appeared in Waikīkī in 1888, shortly before the

overthrow of the reigning Hawaiian ruler, Queen Lili'uokalani, by U.S. business interests. On January 16, 1893, U.S. Marines landed at Honolulu, allowing a group of eighteen men, largely comprised of the sons and grandsons of missionaries, to declare themselves the new "Provisional Government" (Denoon 1997, 234). Queen Lili'uokalani ceded her authority to the U.S. on January 17, 1893, in an effort to curb possible violence. Although President Grover Cleveland harshly opposed the overthrow and denounced the actions of the men, the "Provisional Government" declared that the U.S. had no jurisdiction in Hawai'i and therefore should not meddle in their affairs, despite, as Denoon (1997, 235) has pointed out, "[the "Provisional Government's"] having invoked their U.S. citizenship to justify the landing of the Marines." On July 4, 1894, Sanford Dole declared himself President of the Republic of Hawai'i and proclaimed a new constitution. Following a stalemate on the issue between Congress and the executive branch for the remainder of the Cleveland presidency, the election of imperialist President William McKinley in 1898 opened the door for annexation. Dole soon ceded sovereignty to the U.S. and became Governor of the U.S. Territory of Hawai'i (Denoon 1997). As Trask (1999, 12) has written of the U.S.'s political extension to Hawai'i, "The [U.S.], in collusion with white settlers in Hawai'i, moved inexorably to fulfill the prophecy of Manifest Destiny. Extending the American imperium into the Pacific seemed entirely natural to a people and a government seasoned by centuries of genocide against American Indians." This annexation of Hawai'i, in combination with the privatization of lands through the *Mahele*, paved the way for increasing tourism development. Although

some land in Waikīkī had remained (and continues to remain) in royal hands and trusts,<sup>3</sup> even this acreage was generally available for lease and development.

The single largest landholder in Waikīkī today remains the U.S. military. In 1904, the Army began purchasing 69.4 acres of land in the area of Kālia, where Fort DeRussy stands today. Like much of Waikīkī, the area of Kālia was once an active area of taro farming and fish ponds. By 1928, however, the Army had filled these fishponds in order to create land for development, “and many of Kālia’s Native Hawaiian residents ended up ‘squatting’ not only on coral reef that once had fed them, but also garbage” (Chan and Feeser 2006, 45). Following the tourism initiatives of most of the rest of Waikīkī, in 1977 the Army opened the Hale Koa Hotel at Fort DeRussy, a recreation center that caters to vacationing military individuals and families (McDonald 1999).

In the 1920s the majority of Hawai’i’s economy was controlled by “The Big Five” companies—Alexander and Baldwin, C. Brewer and Company, Theo H. Davies and Company, Castle and Cooke, and American Factors. “The Big Five” oversaw the production and sale of sugar (which accounted for 90 percent of Hawai’i’s income) and pineapple, as well as tourism and other economic areas (Craig 1998). Although agriculture dominated the economy, tourism was beginning to grow. During the 1920s in Waikīkī, the Ala Wai Canal was constructed, draining the former wetland

---

<sup>3</sup> Prior to the Mahele, land was “held” by a supreme chief and then subdivided in a process known as *‘kalai’aina’* (land carving). The Mahele occurred before the overthrow of Queen Lili’uokalani, leaving some land in the hands of Hawaiian royalty. A number of these plots have been retained by royal descendants, and many today belong to trusts whose funds help fund various social services in Hawai’i (McDonald 1999). For a summary of the outcome of the Mahele in Waikiki, see Kanahēle (1995).

and displacing many Hawaiian and Chinese farmers (McDonald 1999). At the time, it was argued that the duck ponds that currently occupied a large portion of Waikīkī were unsanitary and a threat to public health. Evidence supporting this claim, however, was never presented. On the contrary, it seems that the canal's construction actually produced the health hazards. The Ala Wai remains today an odiferous, unsanitary and unnatural eyesore. As Chan and Feeser (2006, 26) describe it:

Signs posted near the canal inform those who pause to read them that fish and shellfish living in the waterway are contaminated. This information comes as no surprise—if you stand next to the Ala Wai to look closely and breathe deeply, your eyes and nose are assaulted by the trash and poisons in the water. Styrofoam cups, cigarette butts, pesticides, and auto emissions swirl about in the canal, producing a hideously toxic concoction.

Not unexpectedly, the true reason for the creation of the Ala Wai Canal was to create land for commercial and residential real estate development (Chan and Feeser 2006). Following its completion in 1928, streets were constructed throughout Waikīkī. As hoped by the developers, these two events led to further private investment opportunities.

Waikīkī hotels largely targeted affluent visitors during the early period (1890s-1920s), but tourist numbers dropped during the Depression of the 1930s and World War II. Following the war, these numbers again began to grow, including more “budget-minded” people (McDonald 1999, 196). In 1959, as Hawai'i became a state and saw the arrival of the first passenger jet, a genuine boom began (Chart 1, page 41). Visitor numbers quickly rose from 1 million in 1967 to 2 million in 1972 and to 3 million in 1976 (McDonald 1999). The advent of the jumbo jet in 1970 contributed directly to this growth along with heavy advertising. Although guide

books and other promotional literature aimed at U.S. audiences was first mass produced in the late nineteenth century (Chan and Feeser 2006), “Hawaiian statehood in 1959 created yet another wave of interest in all things tropical and a Polynesian craze followed on the mainland with tiki-themed restaurants, backyard luaus, plastic leis and, of course, hula girls in every shape and form” (Heimann 2003, 3).

In the mid-1970s, the City and County of Honolulu created the Waikīkī Special District, which aimed at improving the infrastructure and appearance of Waikīkī. Potential improvements to existing structures, as well as new developments, were to follow strict codes, which included limiting building heights and creating open spaces. These restrictions were costly and unwelcome by owners, meaning that many hotels remained untouched. “Waikīkī spent the late 1970s and the early 1980s worrying about its old infrastructure, its tired appearance, and its loss of luxury-class travelers to the neighbor islands” (McDonald 1999, 205). This period also saw a growth in independent hotel management firms that operated separately, but beneath, the hotel owners. The result was that “the name over the door of a hotel in Waikīkī is likely to reveal only the management company, and not the owner of the hotel or the land” (McDonald 1999, 211).

In 1996, the city council eased some of the restrictions put forth in the framework of the 1976 Special District, making reinvestment easier.<sup>4</sup> Some of these reinvestment schemes are catalogued in the Halekulani Corporation’s website, “Renaissance of Waikīkī.” Collectively, according to the website they ensure that:

---

<sup>4</sup> For a more detailed synopsis of the redevelopment allowances permitted within the Waikīkī Special District by Ordinance No. 96-72, see McDonald (1999, 217).

Another chapter in Waikīkī's storied history is being written. Waikīkī is currently undergoing a dramatic renaissance, a transformation that is brimming with beauty, charm, and a renewed Hawaiian sense-of-place making Waikīkī the most sought after cosmopolitan beachfront cityscape.

The Waikīkī Beach Walk, currently under construction, is to be the largest development initiative ever in Waikīkī, encompassing 7.9 acres. It will contain four hotels, forty retailers, six restaurants, and an outdoor entertainment area (Halekulani Corporation). Also included within the "Renaissance of Waikīkī" are the renovation of the Royal Hawaiian Shopping Center and the construction of Trump Tower Waikīkī. This goal of creating a Hawaiian sense-of-place in Waikiki was initiated by Hawaiian historian George Kanaha. Kanaha was also largely responsible for the development of the Waikīkī Historic Trail, which provides interested tourists with historical text about the area located on surfboard-shaped markers. The efforts of Kanaha and others have produced tourism developments within Waikīkī that are now more sensitive to the frequently obscured histories of the area's former and current *kānaka maoli* (Native Hawaiian) inhabitants (Chan and Feeser 2006). Still, however, the desires of tourists remain foremost in the developers' minds (Wood 1999). The tourism that continues in Waikīkī today makes the area one of the state's most important economic assets.

### 3. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Extensive work has been done in the areas of tourism geography, cultural consumption, and representation that relate to my thesis. I will briefly consider the overall trends found in tourism geography, followed by an analysis of the latter two topics.

#### *Tourism Geography*

According to Mitchell and Murphy (1991), the field of tourism geography began in the U.S. in the 1920s, with a distinct increase in research in the 1950s accompanying the development of mass tourism. Until the 1990s, however, this work was largely quantitative, focusing either on cartographic or economic modeling (Del Casino and Hanna 2000; Moore 2002; Shaw and Williams 2002; Squire 1998). Two primary concerns contributed to the lack of qualitative studies. First, there was personal concern among scholars that their work would be viewed as trivial and not be taken seriously. Second, early research questions were overly simplistic, frequently considering only whether tourism should be viewed positively or negatively (Crick 1989; Wood 1997).

Shaw and Williams (2002, 23) have divided the work being done within the field of tourism today into three broad categories: spatial models and behavioral research, the political economy of tourism, and cultural interpretations. While the research of the former tends to be positivistic in nature, the latter two are generally

framed in critical theory. There was and remains concern among some authorities that tourism studies tend to lack theoretical grounding (Britton 1991; Shaw and Williams 2002; Squire 1998). Moore (2002) has supported a push toward more theory and others have joined the trend.

Dean MacCannell, with his 1976 book *The Tourist*, was influential in turning a number of geographers toward the study of tourism. He saw tourism as a part of the larger subject of modern mass leisure, and his analysis is based on social structural differentiation. Recently, tourism geography has gained credibility due to the realization of its development potentials, prevalence, and global scale. Books, articles, and journals focusing on issues related to tourism are now common in geography, as people realized that “tourism is one of the most important elements in the shaping of popular consciousness of places and in determining the creation of social images of those places” (Britton 1991, 475).

Differing directions and approaches exist within tourism research. One of the more popular considers tourism as a search for authenticity that is lacking in the everyday world (Cohen 1995; Goss 1999; MacCannell 1976; Urry 1995). MacCannell (1976) has argued that this authenticity can never be discovered, as tourists consume only signs of authenticity created particularly for them. According to Hall and Tucker (2004), tourism studies are increasingly being influenced by postcolonial theory, which will be examined in more depth in the theoretical framework chapter of this thesis. Briefly, postcolonial theory seeks to examine the constructed representations of the colonial and postcolonial states, neocolonialism as

a political, economic, and cultural phenomenon, and postcolonial efforts to give voice to the oppressed and unheard (Hall and Tucker 2004). One of the subsets of this postcolonial investigation of tourism involves those taking a Foucauldian approach to tourism research, investigating power/knowledge and representation through discourse analysis (a selection of these includes: Del Casino and Hanna 2000; Goss 1993; Saarinen 1998; Simmons 2004; Squire 1998). The ways in which places are represented through tourism marketing can be instrumental to the formation of images and conceptions of these places. As Hughes (1998, 19) has stated, “. . . [representations] insinuate dreams and myths into the public perception of places which may come, in time, to stand, like icons, logos or mottoes, as shorthand statements of their character.” Previous research concerning representations within tourism, generally, will now be considered in more depth, followed by a more detailed analysis of the work done on cultural commodification within the field.

### *Representations of Hawai'i*

Every tourist arrives in Hawai'i with a preconceived idea of local life and tropical landscape. Elements making up this mental picture come from persons who have previously visited the state, television, films, and magazines. This is the pre-contact level, where the mystique of the Pacific, if not specifically Hawai'i, gathered from artists such as Gauguin or LaFarge, writers such as Stevenson, Twain, or Michener, and articles from the *National Geographic* or *Sunset* magazines help color the imagination  
(Farrell 1982, 227).

The ways in which places are represented by the people who live in them, by state and local governments and public organizations, and by privately owned companies, differ according to the agendas of the various groups and the mediums

employed (Hughes 1998). In places aiming to develop or possessing a large tourism industry, like Hawai'i, these representations carry enormous importance as they can directly affect the number of visitors coming to the location and the ideas these visitors have about the place. A great deal of work has been done regarding representations generally (Bramwell and Rawding 1996; Cornelissen 2005; Crick 1989; Mellinger 1994; Schwartz and Ryan 2003), as well as specifically on Hawaiian place representation. Some of the work done in the broad field of tourism representations includes that of Del Casino, Jr. and Hanna (2000), who examined a map of Bangkok, Thailand, produced for German sex-tourists, and the ways in which tourism representations are ambiguously reproduced through the map. Gibson and Connell (2003) investigated how representations of Byron Bay, Australia, have aided in developing that place for cultural consumption. Through her examination of tourism discourse in Western popular magazines, Simmons (2004) argued that imaginations from the colonial era are not only retained, but also highlighted within the modern discourse. This study ties particularly well with the current representations of Hawai'i and their colonial predecessors, as detailed below.

As Hall (1998) and Hall and Tucker (2004) have explained, Hawai'i and the Pacific were romanticized during the early colonial era for two primary reasons. First, this romanticization was intellectually fashionable at the time, and second, colonial governments were attempting to draw settlers to the region. With specific reference to Tahiti, d'Hautesserre (2005, 197) has explained this created stereotype:

Europeans interpreted Polynesian society through prevailing trends in Western intellectual thought. The Romantic era fantasized the natural world and led to

the ascription of differences between the Polynesians and their visitors, who then proceeded to capture and maintain them. It was assumed that Tahitians instinctively lived in perfect harmony with their (to these early observers) fertile environment, and they became stereotyped as “noble savages.”

Edwards (2003, 263) also noted that, during this early period of Pacific exploration, the area was viewed as a result of, and in direct opposition to, developments in Europe. The Pacific, she says, “was perceived increasingly through a series of self-reflective cultural tropes, constructed in the popular imagination as a paradise, the inversion of developing industrialization, alienation and capitalist culture of early modernity.” A number of other authors have remarked upon and offered supporting evidence of these early representations as well (Connell 2003; Desmond 1999; Kaomea 2000; Trask 1999; Wood 1999).

Early colonial images remain as a part of imaginative geography, which is employed by the tourism industry in the development of “destination imaging—the development of a particular image with which a region can be associated” (Cornelissen 2005, 675). Romantic images of Pacific island nations prevail in advertisements enticing potential travelers. Hall (1998, 145) has demonstrated how these images have become vital to economic prosperity (through tourism) in the Pacific today as a draw for both tourists and, as a result, foreign “capital for economic development and the transport links that enable the export of goods and services.”

In their chapter concerning the vicinity of the International Marketplace within Waikīkī, Chan and Feeser (2006) investigated early American representations of Hawai’i and Native Hawaiians, including the use of Hawaiian history in representations. One specific text that was used was an Aloha Week brochure

published in 1959 in an effort to promote and boost tourism. The brochure specifically references “old” Hawaiian ways and the retention of Native Hawaiian culture and customs. Chan and Feeser (2006, 95) have noted that “. . . the Aloha Week brochure sums up decades of promotion work in Hawai’i: the islands and its native people exist to be appropriated by foreigners to fulfill their dreams of exotic, carefree adventure.” Through an historical evaluation, Chan and Feeser continue to investigate Hawaiian representations and the development of Waikīkī in subsequent chapters.

Drew Kapp (1999, 21) analyzed the evolution of Hawai’i Visitor’s Bureau (HVB) pictorial maps over time in order to highlight how these creations “contribute to the reproduction of the myth of Hawai’i as a little more than a recreational paradise in which indigenous culture is also trivialized, finally reducing Hawai’i to an amusing cartoon.” Beginning in the 1920s, the Hawai’i Visitor’s Bureau (then the Hawai’i Tourist Bureau, and now the Hawai’i Visitors and Convention Bureau) produced colorful, rather geographically inaccurate maps complete with cartoon figures and points of interest. Through this investigation, Kapp showed that “these maps serve to restrict, rather than broaden, knowledge of a place—something antithetical to the ostensible purpose of mapping” (27).

Through a deconstructive reading of current Hawaiian school textbooks and a series of historical materials, Julie Kaomea (2000, 325) showed similarities between early colonial and modern representations of Hawaiians, in the “seemingly progressive Hawaiian studies curriculum.” Kaomea linked together early

representations of “happy natives rushing out to greet visiting foreigners” (332) and today’s images of “hospitable Hawaiian natives” (334), exposing the tourism industry and the economically minded state as the culprit in this potentially misleading but purposeful representational continuation. Perhaps most disturbingly, Kaomea presented evidence that these representations within the Hawaiian studies curriculum have been made in order to encourage Hawaiian children to support the tourism industry:

In a society that is totally dependent on tourism as its primary economic mainstay, it is not surprising that the state’s “official” Hawaiian studies curriculum and the “social” curriculum made available to children through popular culture and books outside of school would subtly and not so subtly promote a notion of the Hawaiian culture as a commodity to be consumed by visiting foreigners while interpellating Hawaiian students as its front-line peddlers

(Kaomea 2000, 340).

Serge Marek’s (1997) master’s thesis also examined representations through the 1992 Waikīkī Master Plan, which aimed to redevelop Waikīkī with greater emphasis on the incorporation of Native Hawaiian connections. Rather than seeking to incorporate “authentic” aspects of Native Hawaiian history and culture, Marek (quoted in Wood 1999, 92) found that the plan imagined “a reconstruction of space and place in Waikīkī along the lines of an attractive theme park for tourists. History trails, ‘public’ spaces, street signs, and entire neighborhoods will be designed to fit the needs of tourists who expect an exotic Hawaiian experience in urban Waikīkī.” Both Marek (1997) and Goss (1993) have noted that this reconstruction is supported by a narrative of nostalgia that reflects a longing for a rather imaginary past. Wood (1999, 85) further developed this idea in his chapter on “echo tourism.” He began by

examining historical racialized representations of Native Hawaiians as inferior, connecting them with modern tourism development in Waikīkī. He argued that tourism has developed in Waikīkī largely because “tourism [that] fetishizes echoes of a supposed authenticity now available mostly to those with the ability to pay” (92). In her work on Hawaiian cultural commodification, Desmond (1999, 141) has also documented the racial stereotyping of Native Hawaiians throughout history. The exoticization of representations of Native Hawaiians (and especially Native Hawaiian women) are a tremendous part of what draws tourists to the Hawaiian Islands, and are therefore repeatedly reproduced. Desmond concluded, “Hawai’i, as a part of the United States, but clearly apart from it, serves as a foil, defining through Edenic contrast what the “real” America is all about.”

Most similar to this thesis is Jon Goss’s (1993) examination of HVB advertisements. Goss employed discourse analysis to investigate how the HVB, a state-run organization, markets the islands as a vacation destination. He identified five key themes that persist throughout the advertisements and reflect an overarching theme of alterity: earthly paradise, marginality, liminality, femininity, and *aloha*. He specifically examined thirty-four HVB print advertisements published between 1972 and 1992, and concluded that Hawai’i is a place that has been “reduced to a signifier of alterity” (1993, 686). He continued, “Hawai’i is . . . constructed as a point where the temporal, spatial, and cultural oppositions that structure the mainland U.S. imagination intersect and where the contradiction between Self and Other, the locus of modern desire, is temporarily experienced under safe management.” Fifteen years

later, many of Goss's conclusions are still being supported in hotel brochures and websites, as will be shown in this thesis. Additionally, although Goss's project investigated the centralized, state-sponsored advertisements whose themes help private advertisers create their own ad campaigns, Linnekin (1997a, 218-219) has noted that, "the state-funded HVB promotes Hawai'i in general to the nation and the world, but specific initiatives and marketing decisions are largely in the hands of entrepreneurs and Japanese or mainland-based corporations." Therefore, a textual analysis of nonstate-owned businesses such as hotels is a valuable addition to current literature on representation in postcolonial Hawai'i.

### *Cultural Commodification and Consumption*

The geography of consumption of commodities has only recently gained wide popularity as a research topic (Johnston et al. 2000). At its core is the study of the sale (and digestion) of items that were not previously sold. Watson and Kopachevsky (1994, 645) have defined commodification as "the process by which objects and activities come to be evaluated *primarily* in terms of their *exchange value* in the context of trade" (emphasis in original). Two subsections of the study of commodification within geography are applicable to the research done within this thesis. First is the work done discussing tourism as a commodity. The tourism industry, as part of the overall service industry, becomes a commodity just as any other service does (Shaw and Williams 2002; Urry 1995; Watson and Kopachevsky

1994).<sup>5</sup> Second, and linked to first idea, is the commodification of culture. Culture is commodified for consumption when it is altered for sale. Tourism's linkage to cultural commodification is that it almost always acts as the agent of the practice.

Tourism and culture are “packaged for exchange by advertising, much of which appeals to people's deepest wants, desires and fantasies (often sexual), and is anchored in a dynamic of sign/image construction/manipulation” (Watson and Kopachevsky 1994, 649). This power of advertising is typically held by the middle-class who frequently romanticize the product they are advertising (Urry 1995; Watson and Kopachevsky 1994). These advertisements hold great power because, although the likelihood of their establishing an entirely “authentic” representation of their product is slim, they still disseminate a particular representation of a place and/or a people. Therefore, we see that the ways in which tourism and culture are represented through advertising and other mass media outlets are directly connected to commodification. Commodities are invested “with rich and geographically variable meanings—by producers (through the design of commodities), by advertisers, by retailers, and by consumers themselves” (Johnston et al. 2000, 109).

In Hawai'i, it is relatively easy to observe how cultural commodification of Native Hawaiians by white Americans is historically linked to an Orientalist discourse (discussed further below) of the “ethnic inferiority” of particular groups of people. Linnekin (1997, 217) has supported this, stating that “modern ethnic tourism derives its appeal from the Western fascination with the exotic and the primitive—a

---

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed analysis of tourism as a commodity, see Watson and Kopachevsky (1994).

preoccupation traceable at least to eighteenth-century Europe—and thus represents the continuing legacy of Orientalism.” Indeed, in Hawai’i, the commodification of culture through song and dance performances for tourists in the early 1900s was “seen as residual relics of a distinctive, authentic pre-civilized past,” (Desmond 1999, 100) a theme that persists, at least in part, today.

Because distinguishing Hawaiian culture as unique is a key part of its representation through tourism advertising, it is unsurprising that much of the work done on local tourism also examines the commodification of Hawaiian culture. Such cultural commodification is understandably loathed by many Native Hawaiians. “Resentment is nurtured . . . by the debasement of Polynesian culture—now we see the culture of the ‘plastic lei’” (Kent 1983, 183). In a similar vein, Canan and Hennessy (1989, 238) have also noted that, “the selling of culture results in a culture that is alienated from the local people and reduced to symbolic caricatures—plastic leis, commercialized luaus, and cellophane grass skirts—all part of making the ‘Aloha Spirit’ a product.”

In a literal sense, we see products related to Hawaiian culture available for purchase in stores throughout Hawai’i, and even the mainland, ranging from hula doll figurines for the car dashboard to picture frames complete with images of Hawai’i and the words “I wanna go back.” One can order party supplies to host his/her own Hawaiian luau, or buy books with images of women performing hula throughout time (Heimann 2003). One can even purchase a book on how to hula, complete with plastic leis, a cd of Hawaiian music, and “authentic” lava stones (Aumack and Majka

2005). These products give an explicit tangibility to Hawaiian cultural commodification. However, in a less literal sense, we can also understand Hawaiian cultural commodification as the loss of “authentic” practice because of the artificiality of Hawaiian cultural performances done specifically for tourists. In this light, Goss (1999, 175) has noted:

the ‘āina<sup>6</sup> of Hawai’i and the aloha of its people are thus souvenirs themselves, not only in the obvious sense that images of whales, dolphins, turtles, and mist-shrouded ‘ōhia’ā forests are popular in souvenir images and objects, but that they are being offered in sacrifice so that the tourist might vicariously live from their spirit.

Numerous authors have addressed both types of cultural commodification. Included is Farrell (1982, 266), who argued that Hawaiian culture “reached a low ebb” in the period between the 1930s and the 1950s, when Hawaiian music and dance was being incorporated heavily into movies that were distributed and viewed worldwide. Since then, he maintained, Hawaiian cultural exploitation has declined, and respect for, and education about, Hawaiian culture has increased. Although this may be true (at least in part), Farrell ignores the fact that cultural commodification continues, perhaps only in a different guise. The “first-rate Hawaiian groups singing in the Hawaiian language to appreciative and discriminating listeners” in “good hotels” are still performing for tourists and therefore selling them a cultural product (Farrell 1982, 266). Desmond’s (1999, 121) work on tourism as a staged production and the role of Hawaiian women within that production supports the idea that cultural commodification has not subsided. Although she does recognize that the

---

<sup>6</sup> ‘Āina in Hawaiian refers to the land, or the giver of sustenance (Herman 1999b).

commodification of Hawaiian culture became widespread and “assumed its central role in the tourist industry” beginning in the 1930s, she also has provided contemporary images of Hawaiian women that prove its continued existence.

Speaking from an extreme position that would work to eliminate tourism altogether in Hawai’i, Trask (1999, 144) has referred to cultural commodification as “cultural prostitution.” She explains:

. . . everything in Hawai’i can be yours, that is, you the tourists’, the non-Natives’, the visitors’. The place, the people, the culture, even our identity as a “Native” people is for sale. Thus the word “Aloha” is employed as an aid in the constant hawking of all things Hawaiian. In truth, this use of *aloha* is so far removed from any Hawaiian cultural context that it is, literally, meaningless.

A Native Hawaiian herself, Trask is an activist for Native Hawaiian causes and, unlike many of her counterparts, does not acknowledge any benefits of Hawaiian tourism. She asks those reading her book not to visit Hawai’i at all.

Trask’s attitude toward tourism and Hawaiian cultural commodification (or prostitution) reflects what Kent (1983) wrote of tourism executives who had noticed the erosion of the “Aloha Spirit” in Hawai’i in the early 1980s. This subject was again commented upon in a *USA Today* cover story published in March 2007 (Kasindorf 2007). The article spoke of an incident of violent road rage involving Native Hawaiians who attacked a non-Native couple. The incident again raised the question of the authenticity of the renowned “Aloha Spirit” among Native Hawaiians. Although such hostility is extreme, it exists because Native Hawaiians’ land, resources, and culture are threatened through the commodification that continues today. As Herman (1999a) has explained, “Hawaiian nationalism is opposed to

tourism as cultural prostitution, and indeed the facsimiles of Hawaiian culture presented within the tourism market, though improving, still trivialize identity.” I hope that through works like those mentioned, as well as this thesis, understanding of and attention to the commodification of Hawaiian culture will be heightened. Perhaps this awareness will breed a genuine interest in resolving the situation within the tourism industry. However, great strides are still needed in order to reduce this imposed degradation of Hawaiian culture.

#### 4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The theoretical framework for this project is derived from postcolonial studies. One portion of my framework connects with postcolonial critiques of Orientalism, and a second is built around postcolonial critiques of tourism generally. The critique of Orientalism is a core component of contemporary tourism geography, and the broader literature of postcolonial studies is also a vibrant element of that field. I address these two themes in separate subsections below, as well as a brief examination of the theoretical background of the method of discourse analysis.

##### *The Critique of Orientalism*

Particularly because of his books, *Orientalism* (1978) and *Culture and Imperialism* (1993), Edward Said has been credited with the development of postcolonial studies, along with Franz Fanon, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, and others (Ryan 2004). Interpreted broadly, "Orientalism" refers to the process by which colonized peoples (and not simply those of the Middle East), are represented as culturally and racially inferior, thereby justifying colonization and cultural imperialism. Orientalism involves a process of "othering," in which the "self" is held in direct contrast to the "other." In relation to the Orient (the Middle East in Said's book), "othering" occurs when the Orient and the West are positioned as distinctly opposite from one another, which creates distorted dichotomies such as "powerful and articulate" and "defeated and distant" (Said 1978, 57), respectively.

Orientalism actually moves beyond seemingly simple dichotomies to a more complex process:

. . . at the same time that this process of othering relied upon pejorative and offensive stereotyping, it also included more affirmative and positive aspects. Myths of primitiveness, backwardness and incivility thus produced countervailing expressions of desire for the natural and noble lifestyles pursued by the “savage”

(Hubbard et al. 2002, 82).

Other scholars have also noted this multifaceted representation. In reference to the sometimes oppositional historical opinions of Jamaicans by the British, Skelton (2000, 189) has stated that, “such a love-hate relationship is part of the complex process of “othering”: we are reviled by the “other” at the same time as being attracted to it.” Much of the work done investigating sexualized representations, particularly of indigenous women through tourism, has reflected this complexity. Said’s original argument came from a critical analysis of literary texts which portrayed the “Orient” as barbaric and primitive, while the “Occident” was shown as civilized, advanced, and rational. His book “exposed the ways in which Western cultural forms often accepted and legitimated the structures of colonialism” (Ryan 2004, 473).

One of the key concepts of Orientalism is the idea of “imaginative geography.” This is a mental conceptualization of space beyond the reaches of physical borders that “constructs boundaries around our very consciousness and attitudes, often by inattention to or the obscuring of local realities” (Hubbard et al. 2004, 239). Imaginative geographies help to create representations of places that are transmitted to wider audiences by those with the power to do so. These images or

representations then work to construct further imaginative geographies (Said 1978). As Said (1978, 71) has stated: “imaginative geography . . . legitimates a vocabulary, a universe of representative discourse peculiar to the discussion and understanding of Islam and the Orient” (or “Others” in the world). This concept is key to the development of tourism, as the desire to travel depends upon the development of imaginative geographies of distant places. The tourism industry uses this to create images, backed by imaginative geographies of the places they market, to lure tourists to particular places. In fact, Hall and Tucker (2004, 8) have pointed out that: “for the vast majority of people, otherness is what makes a destination worthy of consumption . . . such otherness is essential in tourism.”

Critiques of Orientalism frequently argue that the idea is oversimplified and ignores nuances that exist within representations (Jacobs 2003; Ryan 2004). Although it is noted that the study of representations needs to move beyond a simplistic, binary understanding of identities and representations such as “colonizer” and “colonized,” or “self” and “other,” tourism advertising in Hawai’i legitimates an investigation into these dualistic representations. The fact is that Waikīkī hotel brochures and websites, as analyzed in this study, perpetuate Orientalist discourse. Other critiques of Orientalism include the argument that Said’s understanding of culture as the practices of representation, description, and communication as separated from politics and the economy is impossible (Said 1993), because politics and economics are inextricably entangled in the creation and distribution of

representations (Jacobs 2003). Additionally, many critiqued Said for examining only “high culture” with its limited scope and upper-class bias (Jacobs 2003).

Orientalism, and postcolonial studies generally, opened the eyes of geographers to the discipline’s historical position as implicit in imperialism. “Historically, the geographical project of nineteenth-century imperialism did much to create the idea of Orientalism” (Hall and Tucker 2004, 8). Power (2003, 122) has continued this thought as follows: “...we must remember that the location and development of geography as a discipline is ‘inescapably marked’ by its beginnings as a western-colonial science.” As a result of this “tainted” association, some have claimed that geography is ill-equipped to depart from its colonial ties, and that a true move toward postcolonial geographies would require a complete restructuring of epistemological frameworks (Yeoh 2003). Others accept that geography was, in fact, implicit in the spread of imperialism, but argue that it is possible for the discipline to move beyond these origins toward a more progressive and complete interpretation of the world.

A “decolonizing” of the discipline, as some have called for, would include an opened understanding and interpretation of knowledge, including the understanding that academia is currently dominated by the “Eurocentric and totalizing tendencies of Western knowledge” (Ryan 2004, 474). Although some progress has been made in the past thirty years to incorporate scholarly voices from the former colonies, speaking, writing and teaching the languages of former colonial areas, and including indigenous participation in many research projects (Said 1993), the vast majority of

the world's "top" universities still sit within "the west" and continue to employ "western" scholars schooled in "western" epistemologies (Hall and Tucker 2004). Also important is the question of whether postcolonial topics are in the interest of postcolonial peoples, or whether they are merely the self-conscious ramblings of academics (Jacobs 2003). Opening the discipline to outside voices and agendas is one solution, but the difficulty of underrepresented groups obtaining access to academia remains a problem.

A second critique of postcolonial studies also began with Said and comes as a result of the nature of many postcolonial projects. Said critically analyzed western literature with a postcolonial agenda of identifying common representations of the Orient, and subsequently, a significant portion of postcolonial research has dealt with textual analysis and the identification of representations and identities. Both cultural geography and postcolonialism "have had to withstand criticism that they promote studies that focus on the immaterial, the textual, and the symbolic, at the expense of the substantive, material processes of history and geography" (Ryan 2004, 470). Whereas certain branches of cultural geography have long addressed more material research agendas, postcolonial cultural geographies are especially prone to this criticism. However, if one acknowledges that the supposedly "immaterial" concepts of representation and identity are intertwined with power and have real consequences in world politics and development, then they are both valuable and vital.

### *Discourse Analysis*

Like Said's *Orientalism*, the design of this project focuses on Foucault's concept of discourse, discussed below, and its importance. This is an appropriate choice because "Foucauldian power is omnipresent in tourism as in virtually all other human affairs" (Cheong and Miller 2000, 386). Whereas Foucault never specifically addressed many of the issues broached in this thesis, like many before me, I use Foucault's ideas as a loose basis for my work. Both Foucault and Said have applicability to a vast area of study.

Foucault's idea of discourse analysis is based on the argument that people interpret and understand the world around them through linguistic description. According to Waitt (2005, 164), "[Foucault] conceptualizes discourse within a theoretically informed framework that investigates the rules about the production of knowledge through language (meanings) and its influence over what we do (practice)." Foucault believed that discourse is powerful because it is productive (Rose 2001). Hall and Tucker (2004, 6) have also noted the importance of language and the analysis of texts within postcolonial studies. This is because "language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of "truth," "order," and "reality" become established." Don Mitchell (2000, 98) also has expressed the importance of power in landscape and landscape representation, asking "precisely *whose* and *what* history (whose 'ethic' and 'spirit') can and will be preserved in the landscape." Mitchell has argued that landscape instills particular meanings in the world in the way that it

represents them, and these representations are a production of those with power. A quick note on Foucault's understanding of power is in order. As Sharp et al. (2000) have explained, power to Foucault was not understood as a simplistic bifurcation, but rather through nodes or capillaries of power that are omnipresent in society. Additionally, according to Foucault, dissenting voices to the central understanding of "truths" must always be present because domination and resistance cannot exist without one another. Even with dissenting voices present, however, this thesis attempts to show that the dominant voice in tourism advertising in Hawai'i remains that of the powerful corporate interests.

In order to understand discursive structures, the underlying "rules" accepted as truths must be examined. This requires analysis of a wide variety of texts to support intertextuality, or the ways in which texts support each other to produce an authoritative account. Although qualitative researchers basing their work on Foucault's understanding of discourse analysis have found methodological structure scant within Foucault's work, others including Rose (2001) and Waitt (2005) have offered insight into the development of Foucauldian discourse analysis projects that will be addressed in the textual analysis chapter of this thesis.

### *Other Postcolonial Approaches to Tourism*

As defined by the *Dictionary of Human Geography*, postcolonialism is:

a critical politico-intellectual formation that is centrally concerned with the impact of colonialism and its contestation on the cultures of both colonizing and colonized peoples in the past, and the reproduction and transformation of

colonial relations, representations and practices in the present  
(Johnston et al. 2000, 612).

As such, it is not strictly concerned with what could be misunderstood to be “after colonialism,” and therefore detached from colonial connections (Blunt 2005; Hall and Tucker 2004; Ryan 2004; King 2003; Power 2003). Colonial states, in ever having been colonial, are inherently tied to their mother country. Even in places of resistance, where newly independent governments have tried to be completely separate from their former colonizers, whether it be politically, economically, or a combination, the act of resistance alone is indication of these ties. History and geography maintain that states remain bound, even in a “postcolonial” period, posing the question of whether it is possible to ever move *beyond* colonialism entirely, since the ties do exist (Ryan 2004, 472):

Indeed, the world today consists of “multiple colonialisms:” “quasi-colonialism,” “internal colonialism,” and “neocolonialism” as well as the imperialisms of “breakaway colonial settler societies” (represented most dramatically in the twentieth century by the USA) and new ideologies of imperialism.

Because of the widespread impacts of colonialism, postcolonial studies touch a large portion of the world. Formerly recognized dichotomies such as “colonizer” and “colonized,” and “self” and “other,” are no longer viable, as postcolonial studies have identified multifaceted hybridities of representations and identities (Jacobs 2003; Slater 2003). Yeoh (2003, 369) has supported this idea when she wrote: “postcolonial is not a totalizing or monolithic discourse representing one half of any simple west/non-west bifurcation of the world, but in fact a highly mobile, contestatory and still developing arena where opportunities for insight may be gained

at multiple sites.” The central theme of postcolonialism lies not in an attempt to deny former colony’s connections to their former colonizers, but rather in an effort to challenge the “realities” created and determined by the colonial past.

In addition to the image production associated with “imaginative geography” that is now deeply embedded in the tourism industry, colonialism is responsible for many of the connections and linkages between places that draw tourists from the former colonial powers back to the former colonies (d’Hautesserre 2005). As Hall and Tucker (2004, 185) have stated: “the practice of contemporary international tourism indicated that the economic structures, cultural representations and exploitative relationships that were previously based in colonialism are far from over.” A number of postcolonial scholars have remarked upon the continued relationships between the colonizers and the colonized in the tourism realm, some highlighting this lingering manipulative relationship. Jaakson (2004, 169-170) has summarized these as follows:

Postcolonial tourism has been given various descriptive and emotive labels: plantation-like agricultural system; servility and inferiority; postcolonial identity; developing countries as subsystems; perpetuation of a colonial space-economy; colonialism and tourism as relatives; enclave development; tourism as a sugar crop; cultural imperialism; playground culture, white intrusion and fantasy; and tourism as “new slavery.”

The economic dependency of formerly colonized places on their colonizers means that tourism-development initiatives are frequently possible only for investors from the former colonies (Hall and Tucker 2004; Kent 1983). In addition, a prevailing ideology of Western dominance results in most development theories, including those of modernization and tourism, being based on patterns of

development experienced by Western developed countries (Jaakson 2004; Jacobs 2003). This is because “. . . in the ethio-political realm, the West has been constructed as the cradle of human rights, progress, enlightened thought, reason and philosophical reflection” (Slater 2003, 421). Many countries find it virtually impossible to detach from their former colonial ties, be it in private or public sector development efforts. As Power (2003, 123) has written, “postcolonial critiques stress the need to destabilize the dominant discourses of development (with their ethnocentricity and origins in imperial Europe).”

Hawai’i’s past leaves it in a unique postcolonial position. Although it is a U.S. state, it is distinct from the other forty-nine in having been a sovereign indigenous nation colonized and occupied by the U.S. In 1993, President William Clinton signed an “Apology Resolution” for the American involvement in the 1893 revolution that overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy (Craig 1998), but this resolution took no steps toward restoring Hawaiian sovereignty. Postcolonial tourism echoes its colonial past, its linkages and injustices. As mentioned, in Hawai’i a prominent postcolonial critique is that of Hawaiian nationalists who view tourism as “cultural prostitution” (Herman 1999, 81, Trask 1999). The Green Party of Hawai’i (2006) explicitly reflects this on their webpage:

The egregious and brutal history of European<sup>7</sup> colonialism is still expressing itself in Hawai’i’s economic policies and political institutions. Many of the issues of the plantation era of Hawaiian history have not gone away. For all practical purposes many of Hawai’i’s laws are being dictated to us by an oligarchy of corporate, developer, and military special interests.

---

<sup>7</sup> For the Green Party of Hawai’i, “European” refers to the white Americans who maintain economic and political power in Hawai’i.

Especially in Hawai'i, tourism is answerable to this postcolonial critique. Hawai'i's quasi-postcolonial position is such that outsiders are still dominant in development decision making and, where Native Hawaiians are present, decisions still reflect the state's economic dependency on tourism by outsiders. An example of this is Kanahele's previously mentioned plan to incorporate greater "Hawaiianness" into the Master Plan of Waikīkī. In truth, this input only reinforced the development efforts of those holding power in the tourism industry (Marek 1997; Wood 1999). It should be noted that, as in situations involving the misrepresentations of indigenous peoples in other parts of the world, Native Hawaiians' attitudes and actions are not simply ones of passive acceptance. Instead, they are contested actively, as is seen in the works of Chan and Feeser (2006), Kaomea (2000), Marek (1997), Trask (1999), and Wood (1999). The unfortunate truth, however, is that the representations conveyed through tourism advertising reach a much wider audience than do those that confront the stereotypes.

## 5. TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The design of this project is modeled after a combination of the works of Goss (1993), Dann (1996), and Kaomea (2000). These three studies have similarities in the subject matter addressed as well as the ways in which they were conducted. As previously mentioned, Goss and Kaomea examined representations of Hawai'i through Hawai'i Visitors Bureau magazine ads and school textbooks, respectively, both employing qualitative textual analysis. These articles lacked a quantitative dimension, focusing instead on key themes and historical context. Dann's study of people within tourist brochures combined quantitative and qualitative techniques, using content analysis to produce concrete numbers that were then examined qualitatively. My study leans toward the qualitative side, although it also incorporates a tabulation of thematic appearances.

As a research topic, tourist brochures only began to be seriously considered in the 1980s (Dann 1996). Brochures offer an outlet for exploring the destination imaging produced by the tourism industry, by both state-run and private organizations. As Cornelissen (2005, 676) has noted, this destination imaging:

is the contrivance of a particular representation of a destination by agents/officials/ marketers; it draws on existing social and cultural elements within the destination to develop a place identity, but, importantly, much of it also depends on the fashioning of new image(s) and narratives and the use of desire-instilling myth(s) to draw people to a destination.

The latter part of this equation—the creation of “new images” and “myths”—is of greatest concern when the focal subject is cultural. This is essential because, as

Desmond (1999, 7) has noted, “Culture, embodied in the physical presence of natives, can be used to distinguish one surf-and-sand destination from another.” The misrepresentation of cultures by the tourism industry in the name of economic development is abhorred and denounced by some, like Trask (1999). In her book on colonialism and sovereignty in Hawai’i, for example, Trask has written that “the definition of [Hawaiian women] as alluring, highly eroticized Natives is anchored by a tourist economy that depends on the grossest commercialization of our culture” (106). This definition is repeated throughout the representations examined by Goss (1993), Kaomea (2000), and my own study here.

Tourism brochures and websites produced specifically by and for hotels were chosen because of their high visibility to potential tourists as well as for the sheer number of texts they offered. Hotel rooms account for 81.19% of all available visitor units in Waikīkī, and 86.28% of all hotel units on the island of O’ahu are located in Waikīkī (DBEDT 2006c). Considering that nearly sixty percent (59.82%) of all domestic visitors to the Hawaiian Islands in 2005 stayed in a hotel (DBEDT 2006d), the likelihood of tourists viewing Waikīkī hotel brochures and websites at some point during the trip-planning process is high.

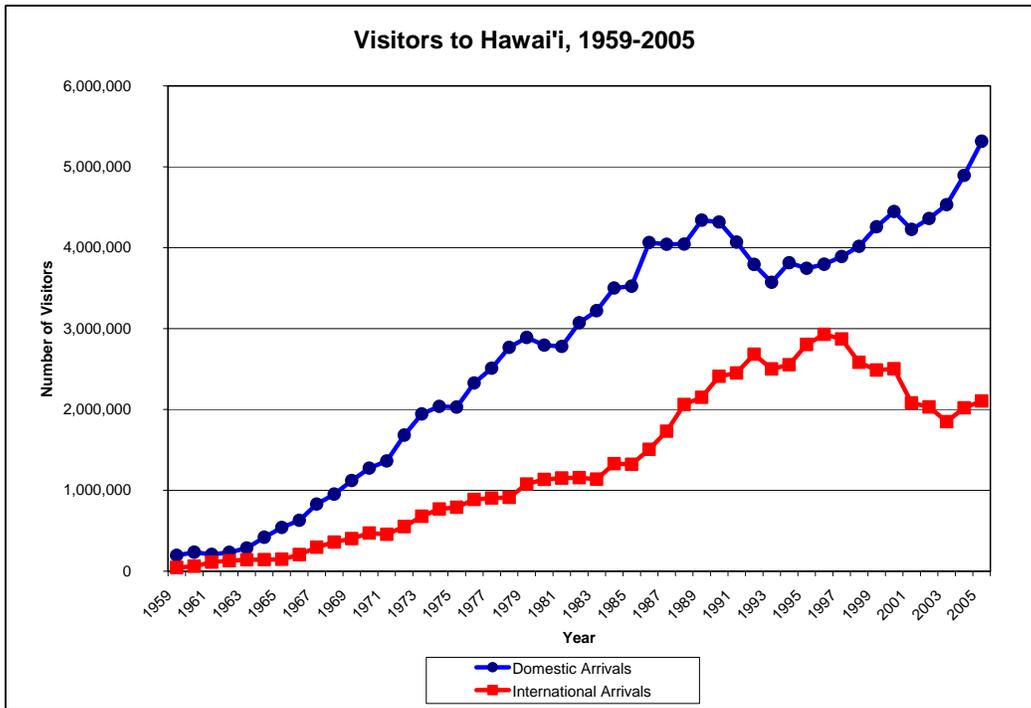
In the past, brochures were available for nearly all hotels, but the advancement of websites means that many establishments now refer potential customers to their websites. According to the DBEDT’s Visitor Satisfaction and Activity Report (2006e), 66.4% of U.S. visitors to the Hawaiian Islands used the internet as a source of information for trip planning in 2005. Within hotel websites, some offer links to

download their brochures in PDF format, while others offer the option to request brochures and more detailed information about the hotels from their websites. Due to the varied availability of websites and brochures among Waikīkī hotels, I will explore both as texts.

In order to reduce the magnitude of this project, I examined only brochures and websites from properties labeled by the DBEDT as “hotels.” According to the DBEDT (2006, 28), a “hotel” is:

. . . a multi-unit lodging facility which provides room accommodations on a daily basis and generally, but not always, restaurant operations and other “away from home” services such as daily maid service and front desk operations. Includes condominiums if a single owner owns all units and the property is operated as defined here.

Hotels, therefore, are specifically different than other categories such as “apartment/hotel,” “bed & breakfast,” “condominium hotel,” “hostel,” and “timeshare.” In addition to limiting the properties to “hotels” alone, I only examined texts produced for North American audiences, in English. Although international visitors have been a significant part of overall tourism to Hawai’i, domestic visitors have been and continue to be the dominant group (Chart 1). Additionally, this group of texts should theoretically highlight postcolonial themes more than international texts might, as Hawai’i is postcolonially linked to the United States. This linkage is so strong in fact, that: “To most Americans, . . . Hawai’i is *theirs*: to use, to take, and above all, to fantasize about long after the experience” (Trask 1999, 136).



**Chart 1:** Visitor arrivals (by air) to the Hawai’ian Islands staying overnight or longer, 1959-2005.  
(Source: DBEDT 2006a)

The 2005 Current Visitor Plant Inventory (DBEDT 2006c) identifies 54 properties within the Waikīkī/Honolulu area that are “hotels.” Hotels included in the analysis have been strictly limited to those located within the area defined earlier as “Waikīkī.” Because of changes in ownership, the loss of some hotels, and the addition of new hotels since the publication of the latest Current Visitor Plant Inventory (DBEDT 2006c), the number of hotels identified for this study number 52. All 52 have websites and I was able to obtain print brochures from thirty of them.

As a textual analysis, the end goal of this project was to establish common themes carried throughout the hotel brochures and websites in order to see how these

may or may not reflect postcolonial discourse. Following Waitt's (2005, 180) steps for conducting discourse analysis, I attempted to examine all of the texts with "fresh eyes and ears," separating myself from any previously established conceptions. It may be argued that this task is extremely difficult, if not impossible, given human biases, but I still tried to eliminate any preconceived notions. Then, following familiarization with the texts, I identified six themes that prevail throughout the texts. These themes are: excitement, familiarity, exoticism, "native" hospitality, perfection, and nostalgia. I then established the core components, key words, phrases, and images contained within each theme. A detailed description of each of these follows. Finally, using my established theme descriptions, I re-read and performed a content analysis for each website and brochure, examining verbal text, images, and music, also being careful to note any intertextual inconsistencies and outliers. In following the guidelines of Waitt (2005) and the example set by Goss (1993), I chose not to use available computer software for analysis due to the nature of discourse analysis and the lack of need for a project of this size.

The themes below are listed in order from highest to lowest number of occurrences of verbal text, images, and music overall. The corresponding tables (Tables 1, 2) are separated between occurrences within brochures and within websites. One difficulty in performing a content analysis of this nature is that many of the themes seem to connect so much to one another that they overlap. I have attempted to account for overlap by counting text and images that contain elements of one or more themes in multiple categories. Although definite value exists in

examining the quantitative results of the content analysis, the less well-represented themes are still powerful. Therefore, the themes of excitement, familiarity, and exoticism, while leading in number of occurrences within the texts, should not be taken as overwhelmingly more important than “native” hospitality, perfection, and nostalgia. The significance of these themes will be considered in more depth following the discussion of the content analysis.

### *Excitement*

One of the biggest enticements available to the travel industry in promoting Waikīkī as a tourism destination is its excitement and energy. Waikīkī stands apart from other parts of the Hawaiian Islands in that it is an urban center, and many hotels utilized this attribute in their advertising. This theme dominated the group, appearing 270 times throughout the brochures and websites, in phrases such as “rejuvenated and vibrant Waikīkī” (Waikīkī Parc Hotel), “the excitement and bustle of Waikīkī” (Hawai’i Prince Hotel Waikīkī and Golf Club) and “the wonders of Waikīkī” (Aqua Palms and Spa). Verbal text classified within the theme of excitement included the words “excitement,” “energy” and “vibrant,” as well as references to Waikīkī’s urban nature and to the wealth of activities available there such as surfing, shopping, and nightlife. Images depicting these activities, as well as the high-rise buildings of Waikīkī were also classified within the theme of excitement. Interestingly, a number of properties advertised their hotels as being ideal because of their oasis-like nature, indicating that Waikīkī is generally understood to be hectic, in opposition to this idea

of oasis. This tactic is frequently used to ensure the potential tourist that he/she will be getting the best of both worlds—the oasis of calm and relaxation plus urban Waikīkī. As the Aqua Ocean Tower Hotel website states, “Paradise found. Waikīkī is the ideal Hawaiian retreat for adventurous guests that want to be close to the action but oceans away from any restraints.” This dualistic representation echoes another that is frequently used to advertise Hawai’i—that it is an exotic “other” while at the same time a familiar part of the United States. If we examine Waikīkī as a place of excitement from a postcolonial perspective, we see that this “excitement” also has a negative side. The images of Waikīkī that dominate this theme are of a clean and dazzling city, ignoring the hidden back alleyways where the city shows a less pristine side (Figure 3).



**Figure 3:** “Clean” and “dazzling” Waikīkī, bounded by the Ala Wai Canal (on the left hand side of the photo) and the ocean (on the right), as represented by the Aqua Island Colony website.

(Source: Aqua Island Colony)

Trask (1999, 106) has reminded us that tourism results in the “transformation of

whole sections of our major islands into high-rise cities, contamination and depletion of water sources, intense crowding . . . increases in crimes against property and violent crime against tourists, and increasing dependency on corporate investments.” Kapp’s (1999, 24) investigation of HVB pictorial maps discovered similar practices with “the occlusion of the unpretty and unjust.” These negative views of Waikīkī are hidden from the potential tourist, who is instead reminded of the abundance of activities, the nightlife, and that “exciting Waikīkī is at your doorstep” (‘Ilima Hotel).

### *Familiarity*

*Familiarity* is a common theme within hotel brochures and websites because of the need for potential tourists to relate to their potential destination. This theme had two main parts: first, familiar images and references to familiar places and objects that tourists would likely associate with Waikīkī and Hawai’i, such as Diamond Head and Waikīkī Beach; and second, images and text relating to who the potential tourists are—almost entirely couples and families traveling for pleasure.

According to a recent DBEDT Visitor Satisfaction and Activity Report (2006e), of the 5,313,281 U.S. visitors to Hawai’i in 2005, over 80% traveled for pleasure. The average party size of the visitors was 1.99, with 81% traveling in a party of two or more. Although the DBEDT lacks racial statistics on U.S. visitors to Hawai’i, the vast majority of websites and brochures show Caucasian couples and families. This was uniquely contrasted through the placement of images of Hawaiians acting as “hosts” throughout the texts. These images were categorized

within the theme of “native” hospitality, but together these two categories highlight one of the key critical interpretations of representations of Waikīkī: that of Orientalism. Connected to this is the theme of exoticism. Considered as a couple, familiarity and exoticism support Orientalist discourse by establishing an exotic “other,” but one that still maintains traits of the colonial power, in this case the United States. Goss (1993, 678) has supported this idea as follows: “Hawai’i provides an exotic experience within the security of the familiar, spatial, cultural, and temporal culture.” This makes Waikīkī an ideal tourism destination. The “romantic” and “friendly” host culture supports the tourists’ desire to experience a uniquely different “other,” while retaining all of the comforts of “home.”



**Figure 4:** The “awe-inspiring” view of Diamond Head and Waikīkī Beach, as shown in the Waikīkī Beach Marriott Resort & Spa brochure.  
(Source: Marriott)

Familiarity was most commonly used in images, particularly photographs of

Waikīkī Beach and its well-known towering neighbor, Diamond Head (Figure 4). However, verbal texts associated with the theme were also present. The Waikīkī Gateway Hotel website supported the understanding of Hawai'i's representation: "When people think of Hawai'i, their thoughts usually contain an image of Waikīkī Beach." Other hotels, like Park Shore Waikīkī, also verbally referenced these landmarks in their websites: "Lose yourself in awe-inspiring views of Waikīkī Beach and Diamond Head, "the world's most famous volcanic crater." Combining the two parts of familiarity, a number of hotels showed photos of families enjoying themselves in the sands of Waikīkī Beach, with familiar Diamond Head lurking in the background. Moreover, occurrences of this theme were not strictly limited to photos and mentions of Waikīkī's landmarks. In reference to Hawaiian culture, the Waikīkī Parc Hotel website declared: "There's more to the best of Hawaiian culture than just Don Ho and "Tiny Bubbles." It is understandable why the theme of familiarity would be important to advertisement within the tourism industry. Beyond that, however, we can see that familiarity acts as the "self," and in combination with other ("other") themes to be discussed, helps to continue the production of Orientalist discourse within Waikīkī.

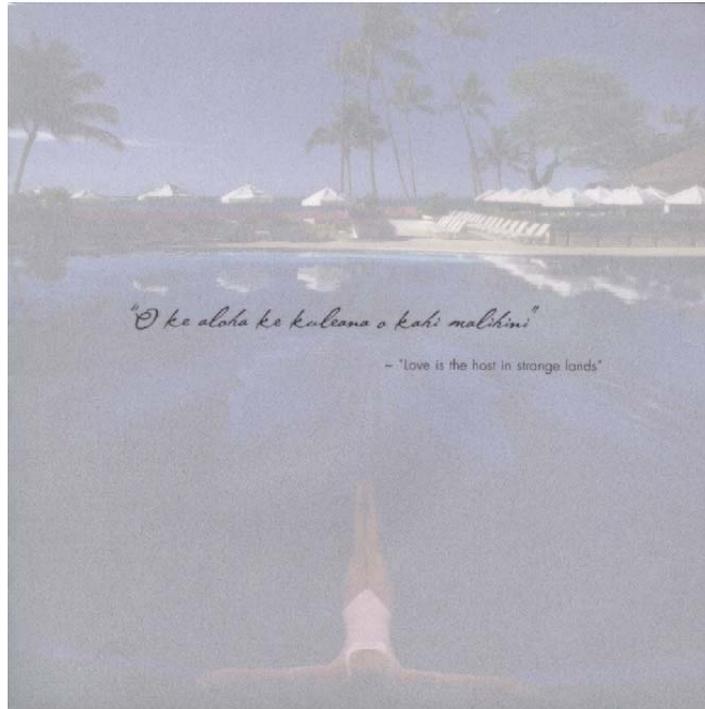
### *Exoticism*

The primary goal of using the theme of exoticism in tourism advertising of Hawai'i is to establish Hawai'i, and in this case particularly Waikīkī, as a unique place. This harkens back to the previously mentioned notion of destination imaging,

and can employ both physical and cultural traits. To emphasize the physical “difference,” hotels use images of tropical foliage, including palm trees, hibiscus and plumeria flowers, and birds of paradise. Associated verbal text references these plants, as well as mentioning Hawaiian wildlife. The use of Hawaiian language in hotel websites and brochures also was classified within the theme of exoticism, reflecting cultural “difference.” Although this could possibly also be considered a trait of familiarity (understood only by potentially returning visitors who may have a greater understanding of basic Hawaiian words), I believe that the main purpose of the use of Hawaiian words and phrases is to emphasize the place’s exotic nature. Hotels intersperse Hawaiian words and phrases liberally: “Ekomo mai—Welcome” (The Imperial of Waikīkī), “Omakalapua umu Mahiehie . . . Oh profuse bloom growing as a delight!” (Outrigger Waikīkī on the Beach), and “O ke aloha ke kuleana o kahi malihini—Love is the host in strange lands” (Halekulani) (Figure 5). Interestingly, in 1896 the Republic of Hawai’i recognized English as the only official language of Hawai’i, and it is only because of the work of Hawaiian activists that both Hawaiian and English are now recognized as official state languages (Chan and Feeser 2006).

Similar to the use of language, some websites included music in their opening pages, which in every instance I categorized as a part of *exoticism*, aiming to transport the potential visitor to Waikīkī. Supporting this argument, Connell and Gibson (2003, 219) have stated: “In domestic spaces, sounds are used . . . as ‘armchair journeys’ into exotic places, via essentialized representations of place, culture and

ethnicity in ‘lounge’ and ambient music.” The music I analyzed ranged from traditional-sounding instrumental pieces with ukuleles to nontraditional Americanized Hawaiian music created on synthesizers, and then on to intense drum beats with accompanying voices chanting in the Hawaiian language. Although the use of different types of music could potentially establish vastly different images of Waikīkī to potential tourists, all “Hawaiian” music fits, at least to some degree, within the theme of exoticism.



**Figure 5:** An image from the Halekulani brochure, combining elements of cultural and physical exoticism.  
(Source: Hotels and Resorts of Halekulani)

### *“Native” Hospitality*

Say the word “hula,” and we are immediately transported to the Islands of

Hawai'i. We think of palm trees, moonlit beaches, and soft guitars. Even if we have never been to Hawai'i before, we can easily imagine the hula girl. Usually dressed in a sarong or grass skirt, a flower in her hair and a lei around her neck, she stands poised with swaying hips and graceful hands that tell a story. No other dance is so closely associated with one place. No other dance conjures up the same images and certainly no other dance can take us on a virtual Hawaiian vacation like hula can

(Aumack and Majka 2005, 8).

The above quote, although not taken from a hotel brochure or website, does much to highlight the commodification of Hawaiian culture through representations of Native Hawaiian women and hula. Advertisements, including those from the hotels, have been so effective so as to create a common understanding of both Hawaiians and Hawai'i even for people who have never been to the islands or met a Hawaiian. This commodification in tourism advertising is most clearly seen through the use of *aloha* (the Hawaiian form of greeting and farewell), or "The Aloha Spirit." Visitors, who by visiting instill meaning upon commodities, speak glowingly of this intangible Hawaiian quality, cultural in root, that is used to make tourists feel welcome.

Many texts refer to the "The Aloha Spirit" as a quality of hospitality that is inherent in all Hawaiians. This representation sees each Hawaiian as a classic "friendly native," not only willing, but desiring to share himself/herself with outsiders, in this case tourists. In her article investigating the linkages in representation between grade school textbooks, tour books, and historic colonial writings on Hawai'i, Kaomea (2000, 332) illustrated how Captain Cook helped to establish the notion of Hawaiians as "happy natives rushing out to greet visiting foreigners." The forceful captain used violence against the locals from the onset to

establish himself as superior, and natives' fear of this brutality resulted in their submission. Cook, however, labeled this meek behavior as hospitality, and thus began the theme that persists today. The roots of both Hawaiian and South Pacific tourism are connected to this representation and subsequent cultural commodification of "the natives." Desmond (1999, 7) has elaborated as follows:

Construction of this ideal native stereotype grew out of a specific nexus of U.S. colonial expansion, racial discourses of the time, and conceptions of U.S. nationhood. Hawaiians emerged in these discourses as brown (not black, not Asian), and as primitive (but delightfully so), not modern . . . . During the first three decades of the twentieth century, tourist advertisements, postcards, and popular journalism articulated these pressures in particularly striking ways . . . .



**Figure 6:** An image of "native" hospitality, expressed through hula, from the Waikiki Beach Marriott Resort & Spa brochure.  
(Source: Marriott)

That the early commodification has continued is apparent in many of the photos and verbal text used within hotel brochures and websites. Images categorized within the theme of "native" hospitality included any of those depicting Hawaiians as "hosts," through performances such as hula or other music/dance and working within the hotels themselves (Figure 6). Other images included those of Hawaiians in

“traditional” dress, which exhibit Hawaiians as an attraction of sorts, as well as a few interesting images of elderly Hawaiians with Caucasian children (Figures 7,8). Specific words/phrases that were identified for this theme included “hula girl,” “aloha,” and “the spirit of aloha,” as well as references to the Hawaiian “nature” of hospitality and to a guest/host relationship in connection with Hawaiians. In the Waikīkī Beach Marriott Resort and Spa brochure, we find that “Marriott tradition blends with the spirit of aloha, creating an atmosphere of “traditional Hawaiian hospitality”,” while in the Hilton Hawaiian Village brochure we are told that, “Three epic bronze Kahiko dancers will welcome your arrival. They represent the Spirit of Hawai’i uplifted towards a future of great aspirations, echoing Hilton’s own dedication to perfecting paradise for every honored guest.”

Because aloha is commonly understood to be distinctly Hawaiian, it is not surprising that mentions of it in hotel brochures and websites are so numerous. Its tie to images of Hawaiians in roles as both traditional host performers and as hospitable hotel employees supports the idea that aloha is taken to be inborn in Hawaiians. It also furthers consumption of Hawaiian culture in tourism advertising.

One of the most apparent uses of Hawaiian culture and history in the construction of Waikīkī as a tourist destination today is in the videos available on the Sheraton hotel websites (The Royal Hawaiian Hotel, Sheraton Moana Surfrider, Sheraton Princess Kaiulani, and Sheraton Waikīkī Hotel). These “short, introductory videos” are typically under two minutes in length and give potential tourists a glimpse at selective Waikīkī history, accompanied by Hawaiian music (generally dominated

by a ukulele melody) and dialogue about the area. In the Sheraton Moana Surfrider's video, we see black-and-white film of Hawaiian women performing hula while men play music in the background. This fades into footage of a very similar scene, only this time in color. By representing a continuation through film, the hotel is representing a continuation of a tradition of service, as well as building nostalgia. A more negative interpretation, of course, is that the film shows that many of the exoticized images of Hawaiians present in earlier parts of the century have stayed much the same. Hawaiians continue to be treated as an exotic "other."



**Figure 7:** An image reflecting the theme of “native” hospitality from the Outrigger Reef on the Beach hotel brochure.

(Source: Outrigger Hotels and Resorts 2006d)



**Figure 8:** An image of “native” hospitality from the Ocean Resort Hotel Waikīkī brochure.  
(Source: Ocean Resort Hotel Waikīkī)

### *Perfection*

Still another frequent theme utilized by the travel industry is that of perfection. Undoubtedly, many tourism destinations employ this theme in an effort to attract visitors. Because images are heavily involved in the production of particular place representations, these images must be used to convey the essence of the location. They are careful to highlight the most spectacular scenery, and accompanying text generally reflects this focus on perfection. In Waikīkī, the key word in this regard is “paradise.” This theme is so prevalent that “Waikīkī” or “Hawai’i” and “paradise” are frequently used interchangeably. Consider the following examples: “Welcome to Paradise” (The Cabana at Waikīkī), “. . . being in Paradise doesn’t just refer to the

spectacular surroundings” (Hale Koa Hotel), and “Waikīkī: Paradise awaits you!” (Hilton Hospitality, Inc. 2005).

The theme of perfection has a strong relationship with other themes, particularly exoticism and “native” hospitality. Looking from a historical context, John Connell (2003, 559) has written that, while Pacific Islanders were originally seen as “noble savages,” over time Europeans began to view them as people who needed “to be colonized and missionized by the West . . . [and therefore] The places remained idyllic but the people were not.” The continuation of the portrayal of the physical landscape of the Pacific as idyllic is evident in the language and images used in the vast majority of hotel brochures and websites. Romantic adjectives and personification of the landscape are employed to transport the potential visitor to the islands and leave them longing for more. “Sun-kissed beaches, caressed by rolling waves from the vast Pacific. Palm trees dancing with the ocean breeze. Majestic mountains covered with a carpet of green...” (Sheraton Hotels and Resorts Hawai’i). Emphasis is put on Waikīkī standing away from (and above) all other destinations. “Spectacular views of the ocean and mountain views you won’t find anywhere else in the world” (Ambassador Hotel of Waikīkī). Although the appeal of Waikīkī’s urban nature is not neglected in hotel brochures and websites, care is taken to ensure that tourists will also be entering a scenic paradise.

### *Nostalgia*

Discover our culture. Vibrant and timeless. Feel the pull of the tireless paddlers who skimmed ocean swells in our 100-year old koa canoe. Hear the

tales of Waikīkī Beach Boys who created the idyllic lifestyle sought by generations of travelers to our shores  
(Outrigger Hotels and Resorts 2006e).

Although the theme of nostalgia ranked last of my six themes in terms of the number of times it is mentioned in verbal text and images, its impact on Waikīkī's representation should not be underestimated. Eight of the hotels examined have something relating to Hawaiian royalty in their names (Queen Kapiolani Hotel, Sheraton Princess Kaiulani, Waikīkī Prince, etc.), and many more hotels use images and text of general nostalgia to advertise their properties (Figures 9, 10). Linking together the previously mentioned "royal treatment" that Cook received upon his arrival in Hawai'i and present-day Hawaiian tourism, Kaomea (2000, 335) has asserted that "with our Hawaiian royalty now gone, Caucasian tourists have come to take their place." Supporting this claim are examples from hotels such as The Imperial of Waikīkī:

The land of Waikīkī was once treasured by the ali'i, the chiefs of the islands. King Kamehameha the Great, the first king of all the Islands, built a grass hut for his queen on the edge of Waikīkī Beach. You may also be treated as Hawaiian Royalty, with the aloha spirit at the Imperial of Waikīkī.

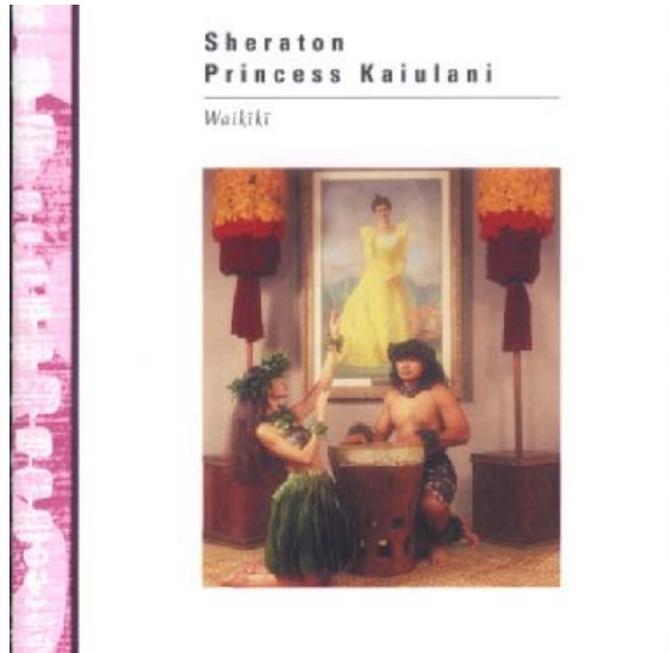
Other phrases used to indicate the theme of nostalgia include "old Hawai'i," and "Hawai'i's past," as well as assorted general references to Hawaiian history. Although a number of images associated with nostalgia are related to Hawaiian royalty, non-royal nostalgic photos and videos are also present. The Royal Hawaiian Hotel's website opens with a sepia-toned photo of the hotel that fades into color. The use of this tone indicates a goal of establishing connections between the "splendor of old Hawai'i" (Queen Kapiolani Hotel) and the present. In a similar vein, the Sheraton

Moana Surfrider’s introductory video contains clips of the hotel’s appearance in the past and today. This video combines soothing music with a female voice delivering a script that seems to long for a by-gone era. Quotes used include, “a place where the romance with Waikīkī began,” “an era infused with the allure and spirit of aloha,” and “the tranquil banyan court breathes of Hawai’i’s golden past.”

Similar to the display of only a limited view of Waikīkī in the theme of excitement, as discussed above, only certain aspects of Waikīkī’s past are highlighted. Violence toward and oppression against Hawaiians is entirely absent, of course. So is cruelty and unfair treatment toward Hawaiians in the past. The tourism literature also fails to mention that Hawaiians “have the highest percentages of homelessness and unemployment . . . [as well as] the highest proportion of health risks and the lowest life expectancy” (Herman 1999a, 71). We are reminded only of a “glorious” past. This absence speaks volumes about Hawai’i’s colonial past and postcolonial position.



**Figure 9:** The Sheraton Moana Surfrider website representing a longing for a by-gone era.  
(Source: Sheraton Moana Surfrider)



**Figure 10:** Nostalgia, exoticism, and “native” hospitality, as represented by the Sheraton Princess Kaiulani brochure.  
(Source: Sheraton Hotels and Resorts Hawai’i)

Hotel	EXCITEMENT		EXOTICISM		FAMILIARITY		"NATIVE" HOSPITALITY		NOSTALGIA		PERFECTION	
	I	T	I	T	I	T	I	T	I	T	I	T
Ambassador Hotel of Waikiki	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aston Honolulu Prince	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cabana at Waikiki, The	2	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
DoubleTree Aloha Waikiki Hotel	1	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	1
Halekulani	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	3
Hilton Hawaiian Village Beach Resort and Spa	3	2	3	2	4	0	4	1	1	2	2	2
Ilima Hotel	0	3	2	2	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Imperial of Waikiki, The	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
Marine Surf Waikiki Hotel	0	1	0	1	3	0	1	3	0	0	1	0
Ocean Resort Hotel Waikiki	0	0	0	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
OHANA East	3	1	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
OHANA Islander Waikiki	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
OHANA Maile Sky Court	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
OHANA Waikiki Malia	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
OHANA Waikiki West	2	0	1	0	1	1	3	1	0	0	0	0
Outrigger Reef on the Beach	2	1	1	2	2	0	3	2	0	0	0	1
Outrigger Waikiki on the Beach	1	2	1	1	3	0	3	2	0	4	0	2
Queen Kapiolani Hotel	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	3	0	0
ResortQuest Waikiki Beach Hotel	1	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
ResortQuest Waikiki Beachside Hotel	1	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
ResortQuest Waikiki Circle Hotel	1	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
ResortQuest Waikiki Joy Hotel	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Royal Garden at Waikiki	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	2
Royal Grove Hotel	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
Royal Hawaiian Hotel	0	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Sheraton Moana Surfside	1	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	0	1
Sheraton Princess Kaiulani Hotel	1	1	1	3	3	0	1	2	2	2	0	1
Sheraton Waikiki Hotel	1	3	0	1	4	1	1	1	0	0	1	2
Waikiki Beach Marriott Resort and Spa	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	2
Waikiki Beachcomber Hotel (OHANA)	2	1	1	0	2	2	2	1	0	0	1	1
Waikiki Parc Hotel	0	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>COMBINED TOTAL</b>	<b>70</b>		<b>55</b>		<b>61</b>		<b>53</b>		<b>27</b>		<b>39</b>	

**Table 1**—Thematic Analysis of Brochures (note on abbreviations: “I” stands for images, “T” for text).

Hotel	EXCITEMENT			EXOTICISM			FAMILIARITY			"NATIVE" HOSPITALITY			NOSTALGIA			PERFECTION			
	I	T	M	I	T	M	I	T	M	I	T	M	I	T	M	I	T	M	
Aloha Punawai Apartment Hotel	0	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Ambassador Hotel of Waikiki	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Aqua Aloha Surf	0	3	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	2	0	
Aqua Bamboo & Spa	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	
Aqua Coconut Plaza	0	2	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	
Aqua Continental	0	4	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	
Aqua Island Colony	2	2	0	1	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	
Aqua Marina	1	2	0	2	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	
Aqua Palms & Spa	1	3	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	2	3	0	
Aqua Waikiki Wave Hotel	0	3	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	
Aston Honolulu Prince	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Cabana at Waikiki, The	2	2	0	2	1	0	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	
Double Tree Alana Waikiki Hotel	1	2	0	1	0	0	2	2	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
Embassy Suites Hotel--Waikiki Beach Walk	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	
The Equus (An Aqua Botique Hotel)	0	4	0	0	5	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	2	2	0	
Hale Koa Hotel	0	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	2	2	0	0	1	1	2	2	0	
Halekulani	0	1	0	5	5	1	10	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	9	1	0	
Hawaii Prince Hotel Waikiki and Golf Club	3	4	0	1	0	0	3	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2	0	
Hilton Hawaiian Village Beach Resort and Spa	2	5	0	5	3	1	3	2	0	5	4	0	1	1	0	3	5	0	
Holiday Inn Waikiki	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Holiday Surf Hotel	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5	4	0	
The Ilikai Hotel	1	2	0	1	5	0	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	5	3	0	
Ilima Hotel	0	1	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	
Marine Surf Waikiki Hotel	1	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Ocean Resort Hotel Waikiki	2	1	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
Ocean Tower Hotel (Aqua)	1	3	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	
OHANA East	0	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
OHANA Islander Waikiki	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
OHANA Maile Sky Court	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	
OHANA Waikiki Malia	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
OHANA Waikiki West	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Outrigger Reef on the Beach	1	1	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	
Outrigger Waikiki on the Beach	1	2	0	2	3	0	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	5	0	1	1	0	
Pacific Beach Hotel	2	2	0	2	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	

	EXCITEMENT			EXOTICISM			FAMILIARITY			“NATIVE” HOSPITALITY			NOSTALGIA			PERFECTION		
	I	T	M	I	T	M	I	T	M	I	T	M	I	T	M	I	T	M
(Continued)																		
Park Shore Waikiki	3	5	0	0	2	0	3	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	0
Queen Kapiolani Hotel	1	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	3	0	0
ResortQuest Waikiki Beach Hotel	2	1	0	3	5	0	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	2	0
ResortQuest Waikiki Beachside Hotel	4	0	0	1	1	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0
ResortQuest Waikiki Circle Hotel	2	0	0	3	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
ResortQuest Waikiki Joy Hotel	2	2	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
Royal Garden at Waikiki	1	2	0	1	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Royal Grove Hotel	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Royal Hawaiian Hotel	5	0	0	7	3	0	10	2	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	4	4	0
Sheraton Moana Surfrider	2	1	0	3	2	1	7	0	0	8	4	0	5	8	0	0	1	0
Sheraton Princess Kaiulani Hotel	6	3	0	6	6	1	4	2	0	5	1	0	2	3	0	2	2	0
Sheraton Waikiki Hotel	7	4	0	1	1	1	14	3	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Waikiki Beach Marriott Resort and Spa	12	7	0	10	8	1	9	11	0	7	6	0	7	7	0	5	8	0
Waikiki Beachcomber Hotel (OHANA)	1	2	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0
Waikiki Gateway Hotel	4	2	0	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
Waikiki Parc Hotel	4	10	0	6	6	1	5	4	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	5	4	0
Waikiki Prince	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Wyland Waikiki	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>TOTAL IN IMAGES</b>	<b>86</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>0</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>			<b>200</b>				<b>183</b>			<b>204</b>			<b>91</b>		<b>67</b>			<b>183</b>

**Table 2**—Thematic Analysis of Websites (note on abbreviations: “I” stand for images, “T” stands for text, and “M” stands for music).

## 6. CONCLUSIONS

Through textual analysis and the establishment of key themes found within Waikīkī hotel brochures and websites, this thesis has attempted to show how Orientalist discourse is being perpetuated in quasi-postcolonial Hawai'i. Waikīkī, which was once a productive agricultural area for Native Hawaiians, was artificially molded into a tourism mecca in the 1920s, with the draining of Waikīkī's wetlands and the creation of the Ala Wai canal. Representations from this early period, as well as from the early colonial period, romanticized both Native Hawaiians and Hawai'i. The widespread distribution of these images throughout the world has resulted in the production of Hawai'i, and Waikīkī specifically, as a renowned place of mystique. This has helped to keep the number of tourists traveling to the islands high year after year, resulting in a tourism industry that completely dominates the Hawaiian economy. Kent (1983) has likened this phenomenon to dependency theory, with Hawai'i being utterly dependent upon the arrivals of outsiders to the islands. The importance of the tourism industry has also led to a continuation of commodification of the Hawaiian culture. Because, as Desmond (1999) has noted, culture is seen to be the factor distinguishing tropical locations from one another, the use of Native Hawaiian culture in Waikīkī hotel brochures and websites continues to be widespread. A vast number of these contain pictures or photos of Native Hawaiians, generally women, in traditional dress, and frequently performing the hula. The fact that this practice has not been curbed attests to the exclusion of Native Hawaiian

voices from the design of advertisements, especially given Trask, Desmond, and others' outspoken opinions on these uses.

Beyond tourism advertising, a disturbing trend continues. In stores throughout the mainland U.S. (and I have personally witnessed examples in San Francisco, New Orleans, Seattle, New York, and Kansas City), it is common to find merchandise for sale plastered with images of hula dancers, the word "aloha," and other elements of Hawaiian culture (Figure 11). I believe these products exist because of superior advertising done by officials in Hawai'i. I use the word "superior" not to indicate that these officials did an accurate job of portraying Hawai'i and Native Hawaiians, but rather to reference the skill with which they have portrayed the place and its people in a particular manner. Hawai'i is no longer just a place, it is an idea that conjures up romantic images in the minds of many. When asked what the word "Hawai'i" brings to mind, respondents routinely reply: "exotic paradise where the sun shines and the people are beautiful and happy," "palm trees, piña coladas, hula girls, and paradise," and "those movie scenes from the forties and fifties!" (Butel, Downey, and Mrkonic, pers. comms.). Clearly, the work of early Hawaiian advertising was effective if it is still, sixty years later, on the tips of most American tongues.



**Figure 11:** All things Hawaiian? A collection of the Hawaiian-themed items available for purchase in the mainland U.S.  
(Source: Author)

My own interest in Hawai'i also stemmed from these common perceptions of the place. Having grown up in the Midwest, Hawai'i, as a distant, tropical, and romanticized place, was somewhere I longed to see for myself. I can recall gaining a first "understanding" from films such as *Lilo and Stitch*, *Blue Crush*, and *50 First Dates*, as well as the stories of people who had visited Hawai'i. Even in Kansas, Hawaiian-themed "luaus" are common, with kids and adults alike dressing in grass skirts and drinking out of plastic coconut containers that can be purchased at the local party store. I would argue that, although hotel brochures and websites do perpetuate Orientalist discourse, they could possibly represent Hawai'i in any manner in which

they desire because many potential travelers already have established ideas about Hawai'i in their minds before looking to travel there.

But what exactly do these stereotypical representations mean to Native Hawaiians and others living in Hawai'i? The most significant consequence is likely that tourism development continues throughout the islands, and especially in Waikīkī, with little to no consideration for the interests of Native Hawaiians and other local people. Although we do see projects such as the “Renaissance of Waikīkī” and the creation of the Waikīkī Historic Trail, which claim to be building a “Hawaiian sense-of-place,” these efforts have been accused by some to be, in reality, acts that actually increase the draw of tourists to Waikīkī, and therefore do not benefit Native Hawaiians. The tourism industry, while generating revenue, has also historically provided only low-paying, menial jobs to Native Hawaiians which results in continued economic disparity (Trask 1999). Another aspect to consider is the effect of mass tourism on the environment, a topic too vast to broach in any detail within this thesis. Beyond the waste generated, and energy and general resource consumption, environmental damage to special ecosystems like that of Hanauma Bay should be considered (Mak 1995).

Opportunities to change Hawaiian representations seem limited, but I believe there is room for optimism. The introduction of new forms of mass media, especially the Internet, has opened up a new realm for voices that historically have been silenced. Wood (1999, 159), for example, has stated that, “it seems possible . . . that the new electronic media may provide a way for Native Hawaiians to represent

themselves without introducing many of the distortions that print, film or video have required.” The Internet allows a wide variety of websites that can potentially include dissenting opinions to the representations seen throughout tourism advertising today. Wood has cited open-endedness, the ability to support a Hawaiian polyrhetorical worldview, and the increased possibility for visibility of previously invisible subjects as three possibilities enabled by the new technology. We see this clearly displayed in the case of Chan and Feeser’s website, which, like their book, seeks to artistically interpret the history of Waikīkī from a Native Hawaiian point of view, highlighting the amazing disconnection between the actual place and its representations.

Even if alternative understandings of “truth” exist and are created for consumption by wide audiences, we must remember that no guarantee exists that audiences will actually view this work and reconsider their previous assumptions. Additionally, as has been demonstrated through the textual analysis of hotel websites here, electronic media also allow for the perpetuation of the same historic stereotypes that are common within print media; many of the images and phrases used within hotel brochures are duplicated on hotel websites. The Internet also benefits the tourism industry’s advertising in that it allows for the inclusion of both music and videos to support the stereotypical representations. Music, which is incorporated into the background of the videos and plays on the front page of many websites, serves to connect the potential visitor emotionally to the potential destination. The point is that representations may remain stereotypical and inaccurate regardless of the medium, if those with the power to produce them make it so.

Foucault believed that power was present throughout society, and that those with dominant voices would always be countered by dissenters. Unlike the opportunities available for Jamaicans to resist their stereotypical television representations through television and other media outlets (Skelton 2000), the nature of corporate tourism advertising in Hawai'i and elsewhere actively resists the inclusion of differing representations. Although people wishing to represent Waikīkī, Hawai'i, and Native Hawaiians may use other outlets to express their opinions, hotel brochures and websites will likely continue to represent places and people in the ways they see necessary in order to attract more and more tourists (and money) to the area.

In terms of actions that individuals can take to improve the situation, I look to the statements of Chan and Feeser (2006, 129) for advice:

Individuals cannot make Waikīkī's painful realities disappear merely by choosing environment-friendly hotels; real change requires linking individual goals to group initiatives that tackle colonialism and capitalism in their ideological and institutional manifestations. As citizens of the state of Hawai'i and/or of the United States, as well as consumers of commercial products, many of us support the colonial and capitalist order.

Chan and Feeser offer a list of specific resources (such as alternative organizations

and tour groups that offer more sustainable practices) for potential travelers and

Hawaiians in order to "help us retool our relationship to [this order]<sup>8</sup>." For more

extreme action, we might also consider the advice of Trask (1999, 146), who stated:

"If you are thinking of visiting my homeland, please do not. We do not want or need any more tourists, and we certainly do not like them. If you want to help our cause,

---

<sup>8</sup> For a complete listing of the resources, see Chan and Feeser (2006, 131). I also recommend Chan and Feeser's website for further information on Waikīkī and alternative interpretations of the area.

pass this message on to your friends.” Not being of Native Hawaiian descent myself, it is difficult to comment on Trask’s words, but her argument perhaps goes too far. Although her recommendation may cause some to reconsider their travel plans, I see little hope for its conquering the human curiosity to see this place that has been so revered by so many for so long.

Hawai’i has long been a place of exoticism and mystique in the eyes of potential travelers. Advertisements reflect the themes of perfection, exoticism, “native” hospitality, nostalgia, familiarity, and excitement precisely because they know that this is what potential tourists expect from a hotel on their Hawaiian vacation. The origins of these themes are not in the offices of advertising executives today, or even fifty years ago. They go all the way back to the very first European contact, that of Captain Cook. Altering the representation of a place and a people that have been presented in nearly the same way for almost 230 years is not something that happens overnight. Although I remain hopeful, in reality I see little potential change in the postcolonial representations of Waikīkī.

## 7. REFERENCES

- Albers, P. and James, W. (1988) "Travel Photography: A Methodological Approach." *Annals of Tourism Research* 15: 134-158.
- Aloha Punawai Apartment Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.alternative-hawaii.com/alohapunawai/>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Ambassador Hotel of Waikīkī. Ambassador Hotel of Waikīkī. Brochure. Honolulu: Ambassador Hotel of Waikīkī.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Website. Available at: <http://www.ambassadorwaikiki.com/>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aqua Aloha Surf. Website. Available at: <http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-aloha-surf/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aqua Bamboo and Spa. Website. Available at: <http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-bamboo/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aqua Coconut Plaza. Website. Available at: <http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-coconut-plaza/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aqua Continental. Website. Available at: <http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-continental/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aqua Island Colony. Website. Available at: <http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-island-colony/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aqua Marina. Website. Available at: <http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-marina/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aqua Palms and Spa. Website. Available at: <http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-palms/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aqua Waikīkī Wave. Website. Available at: <http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-waikiki-wave/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Aston Honolulu Prince. Website. Available at: <http://www.HonoluluPrince.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

- Atkinson, D. (2005) "Heritage," in Atkinson, D., Jackson, P., Sibley, D., and Washbourne, N. (eds.) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, pp. 141-150.
- Aumack, S. and Majka, C. (2005) *The Art of Hula Dancing*, Philadelphia and London: Running Press.
- Bærenholdt, J., Haldrup, M., Larsen, J., and Urry, J. (2004) *Performing Tourist Places*. Aldershot, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Beamer, K. (2007) "Palena and Kalaiaina; Mapping the Traditional Oiwi State." Paper Presentation, Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, San Francisco, CA.
- Blunt, A. (2005) "Colonialism/Postcolonialism," in Atkinson, D., Jackson, P., Sibley, D., and Washbourne, N. (eds.) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 175-181.
- Bramwell, B. and Rawding, L. (1996) "Tourism Marketing Images of Industrial Cities." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23: 201-221.
- Britton, S. (1991) "Tourism, Capital, and Place: Towards a Critical Geography of Tourism." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9: 451-478.
- Butel, J., personal communication, 17 May, 2007.
- Cabana at Waikīkī, The. The Cabana at Waikīkī. Brochure. Honolulu: The Cabana at Waikīkī.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Website. Available at: <http://www.cabana-waikiki.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Canan, P. and Hennessy, M. (1989) "The Growth Machine, Tourism, and the Selling of Culture." *Sociological Perspectives* 32: 227-243.
- Chan, G. and A. Feeser (2006) *Waikīkī: A History of Forgetting and Remembering*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawai'i.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Website. Available at: <http://downwindproductions.com>. (Accessed 27 April, 2007).
- Cheong, S. and Miller, M. (2000) "Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation." *Annals of Tourism Research* 27: 371-390.

- Cohen, E. (1993) "The Study of Touristic Images of Native People: Mitigating the Stereotype of a Stereotype," in Pearce, D. and Butler, R. (eds.) *Tourism Research: Critiques and Challenges*. London and New York: Routledge, in Association with the International Academy for the Study of Tourism, pp. 36-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1995) "Contemporary Tourism—Trends and Challenges," in Butler, R. and Pearce, D. (eds.) *Change in Tourism: People, Places, Processes*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 12-29.
- Connell, J. (2003) "Island Dreaming: The Contemplation of Polynesian Paradise." *Journal of Historical Geography* 29: 554-581.
- Connell, J. and Gibson, C. (2003) *Soundtracks: Popular Music, Identity and Place*, London and New York: Routledge.
- Cope, M. (2005) "Coding Qualitative Data," in Hay, I. (ed.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 223-233.
- Cornelissen, S. (2005) "Producing and Imaging 'Place' and 'People': The Political Economy of South African International Tourist Representation," *Review of International Political Economy* 12: 674-699.
- Craig, R. (1998) *Historical dictionary of Honolulu and Hawai'i*. Lanham, MD and London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Crang, P. (1996) "Displacement, Consumption, and Identity." *Environment and Planning A* 28: 47-67.
- Crick, M. (1989) "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility." *Annual Review of Anthropology* 18: 307-344.
- d'Hautesserre, A. (2005) "Maintaining the Myth: Tahiti and its Islands," in Cartier, C. and Lew, A. (eds.) *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes*. London and New York: Routledge, pp.193-208.
- Dann, G. (1995) "A Socio-Linguistic Approach Towards Changing Tourist Imagery," in Butler, R. and Pearce, D. (eds.) *Change in Tourism: People, Places, Processes*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 113-146.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1996) "The People of Tourist Brochures," in Selwyn, T. (ed.) *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism*. Chichester, UK, New York, Brisbane, Toronto, and Singapore: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 61-81.
- Del Casino Jr., V. and Hanna, S. (2000) "Representations and Identities in Tourism Map Spaces." *Progress in Human Geography* 24: 23-46.
- Denoon, D. (1997) "New Economic Orders: Land Labour and Dependency," in Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M. and Nero, K. (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*. Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp. 218-252.
- Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism, State of Hawai'i (DBEDT). (2003) "The Economic Contribution of Waikiki," Honolulu: DBEDT. Available at: [http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt/info/economic/data\\_reports/e-reports/econ\\_waikiki.pdf](http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt/info/economic/data_reports/e-reports/econ_waikiki.pdf). (Accessed 20 January, 2007).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006a) 2005 State of Hawai'i Data Book. Honolulu: DBEDT. Available at: <http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt/info/economic/databook/db2005/>. (Accessed 20 January, 2007).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006b) *Planning for Sustainable Tourism: Project Summary Report*, Honolulu: DBEDT.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006c) Research and Economic Analysis Division. *Visitor Plant Inventory*, Honolulu: DBEDT.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006d) *Annual Visitor Research Report, 2005*, Honolulu: DBEDT.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006e) Research and Economic Analysis Division. Tourism Research Branch. *2005 Visitor Satisfaction and Activity Report*, Honolulu: DBEDT.
- Desmond, J. (1999) *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Dorsey, E., Steeves, H., and Porras, L. (2004) "Advertising Ecotourism on the Internet: Commodifying Environment and Culture." *New Media & Society* 6: 753-779.
- DoubleTree Hotel. DoubleTree Alana Waikiki Hotel. Brochure. Honolulu: DoubleTree Hotel.

- DoubleTree Alana Waikīkī Hotel. Website. Available at:  
<http://www.DoubletreeAlana.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Downey, S., personal communication, 17 May, 2007.
- Edwards, E. (2003) "Negotiating Spaces: Some Photographic Incidents in the Western Pacific, 1883-84," in Schwartz, J. and Ryan, J. (eds.) *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*. London and New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 261-279.
- Ellis, J. (1992) *Visible Fictions: Cinema, Television, Video*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Embassy Suites Hotel, Waikīkī Beach Walk. Website. Available at:  
<http://embassysuites.hilton.com/en/es/hotels/index.jhtml?ctyhocn=HNLESES>.  
 (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Equus, The (An Aqua Botique Hotel). Website. Available at:  
<http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-equus/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Farrell, B. (1982) *Hawaii, the Legend that Sells*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawai'i.
- Firth, S. (1997) "Colonial Administration and the Invention of the Native," in Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M. and Nero, K. (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*. Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp. 253-288.
- Gibson, C. and J. Connell. (2003) "Bongo Fury": Tourism, Music and Cultural Economy at Byron Bay, Australia." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 94: 164-187.
- Goodall, B. (1990) "The Dynamics of Tourism Place Marketing," in Ashworth, G. and Goodall, B. (eds.) *Marketing Tourism Places*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 259-279.
- Goss, J. (1993) "Placing the Market and Marketing the Place: Tourist Advertising of the Hawaiian Islands, 1972-1992." *Environment and Planning D, Society and Space* 11: 663-688.

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1999) "From Here to Eternity: Voyages of Re(dis)covery in Tourist Landscapes of Hawai'i," in Woodcock, D.W. (ed.) *Hawai'i: New Geographies*. Manoa: Department of Geography, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, pp. 153-177.
- Green Party of Hawaii, The. Website. Available at: <http://www.greenhawaii.org/>. (Accessed 11 December 2006).
- Hale Koa Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.halekoa.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Halekulani. Website. Available at: <http://www.halekulani.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Halekulani Corporation. "Renaissance of Waikīkī." Website. Available at: [http://www.halekulanicorporation.com/media\\_center/renaissance\\_of\\_waikiki/](http://www.halekulanicorporation.com/media_center/renaissance_of_waikiki/). (Accessed 24 April, 2007).
- Hall, C. (1998) "Making the Pacific: Globalization, Modernity and Myth," in Ringer, G. (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*. London: Routledge, pp. 140-153.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2005) "Seducing Global Capital: Reimagining Space and Interaction in Melbourne and Sydney," in Cartier, C. and Lew, A. (eds.) *Seductions of Place*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 121-134.
- Hall, C. and Tucker, H. (eds.). (2004) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hawai'i Prince Hotel Waikīkī and Golf Club. Website. Available at: <http://www.princerestortshawaii.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Hawai'i Tourism Authority. Website. Available at: <http://www.hawaiitourismauthority.org>. (Accessed 17 May 2006).
- Heimann, J. (ed.) (2003) *Hula: Vintage Hawaiian Graphics*. Köln, Germany, London, Los Angeles, Madrid, Paris, and Toyko: Taschen.
- Herman, R. (1999a) "Hawai'i at the Crossroads," in Woodcock, D. (ed.) *Hawai'i: New Geographies*. Manoa: Department of Geography, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, pp. 71-84.

\_\_\_\_\_ (1999b) "The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-Conquest of Hawai'i." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 89: 76-102.

Hilton Hawaiian Village Beach Resort and Spa. Website. Available at: <http://www.hiltonhawaiianvillage.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

Hilton Hospitality, Inc. (2005) Hilton Hawaiian Village Beach Resort and Spa. Brochure. USA: HSM/Swofford & Company.

Holiday Inn Waikīkī. Website. Available at: <http://www.waikiki.holiday-inn.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

Holiday Surf Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.verizonsupersite.com/holidaysurfhotelcom/door/>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

Hotels and Resorts of Halekulani. Halekulani. Brochure. Honolulu: Hotels and Resorts of Halekulani.

\_\_\_\_\_ Waikīkī Parc. Brochure. Honolulu: Hotels and Resorts of Halekulani.

Hubbard, P., Kitchin, R., and Valentine, G. (eds.). (2004) *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Hubbard, P., Kitchen, R., Bartley, B., and Fuller, D. (eds.). (2002) *Thinking Geographically: Space, Theory and Contemporary Human Geography*. London and New York: Continuum.

Hughes, G. (1998) "The Semiological Realization of Space," in Ringer, G. (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*. London: Routledge, pp. 17-32.

Ilikai Hotel, The. Website. Available at: <http://ilikaihotel.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

‘Ilima Hotel. ‘Ilima Hotel. Brochure. Honolulu: ‘Ilima Hotel.

\_\_\_\_\_ Website. Available at: <http://www.ilima.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

Imperial of Waikīkī, The. The Imperial: Hawaii Resort at Waikīkī. Brochure. Honolulu: The Imperial of Waikīkī.

\_\_\_\_\_ Website. Available at: <http://www.imperialofwaikiki.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

- Jaakson, R. (2004) "Globalisation and Neocolonialist Tourism," in Hall, C. and Tucker, H. (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities, and Representations*. London: Routledge, pp. 169-183.
- Jacobs, J. (2003) "Introduction: After Empire?," in Anderson, K., Domash, M., Pile, S., and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Handbook of Cultural Geography*. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 345-352.
- Johnston, R., Gregory, D., Pratt, G., and Watts, M. (eds.) (2000) *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Malden, MA, Oxford, and Carlton, VIC: Blackwell Publishing.
- Kanahele, G. (1979) *Hawaiian Music and Musicians*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1995) *Waikīkī: 100 B.C. to 1900 A.D. An Untold Story*. Honolulu: Queen Emma Foundation.
- Kaomea, J. (2000) "A Curriculum of Aloha?" *Curriculum Inquiry* 30: 319-344.
- Kapp, D. (1999) "The Cartoonography of Paradise: Pictorial Maps of Hawai'i," in Woodcock, D. (ed.) *Hawai'i: New Geographies*. Manoa: Department of Geography, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, pp. 21-27.
- Kasindorf, M. (2007, March 7) "Racial Tensions Are Simmering In Hawai'i's Melting Pot," *USA Today*.
- Kent, N. (1983) *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence*. New York and London: Monthly Review Press.
- King, A. (2003) "Cultures and Spaces of Postcolonial Knowledges," in Anderson, K., Domash, M., Pile, S., and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Handbook of Cultural Geography*. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 381-397.
- Linnekin, J. (1997a) "Consuming Cultures: Tourism and the Commoditization of Cultural Identity in the Island Pacific," in Picard, M. and Wood, R. (eds.) *Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, pp. 215-250.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1997b) "The Ideological World Remade," in Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M. and Nero, K. (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*. Cambridge, UK, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp. 397-438.

- Louis, R. (1999) "Waikīkī Place Names: Ka Ho'okahua Hou (Reestablishing the Foundation)," in Woodcock, D. (ed.) *Hawai'i: New Geographies*. Manoa: Department of Geography, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, pp. 45-54.
- MacCannell, D. (1976) *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New York: Schocken Books.
- Mak, J. (1995) "Sustainable Tourism Development: Managing Hawai'i's "Unique" Touristic Resource—Hanauma Bay." *Journal of Travel Research* 33: 51-57.
- Marek, S. (1997) "Waikiki Virtual Reality: Space, Place, and Representation in the Waikiki Master Plan." Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i, quoted in Wood, H. (1999) *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i*. Lanham, MD, Boulder, CO, New York, and Oxford, UK, pp. 92-100.
- Marine Surf Waikīkī Hotel. Marine Surf Waikīkī Hotel. Brochure. Honolulu: Marine Surf Waikīkī Hotel.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Website. Available at: <http://www.marinesurf.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Marriott. Waikīkī Beach Marriott Resort & Spa. Brochure. Honolulu: Marriott.
- Marschall, S. (2004) "Commodifying Heritage: Post-Apartheid Monuments and Cultural Tourism in South Africa," in Hall, C., and Tucker, H. (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 95-112.
- McDonald, M. (1999) "Who Owns Waikīkī?," in Woodcock, D. (ed.) *Hawai'i: New Geographies*. Manoa: Department of Geography, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, pp. 179-219.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (2005) "Tourist Weddings in Hawai'i'," in Cartier, C. and Lew, A.A. (eds.) *Seductions of Place*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 171-192
- McGranaghan, M. (1999) "Honolulu's Neighborhoods," in Woodcock, D.W. (ed.) *Hawai'i: New Geographies*. Manoa: Department of Geography, University of Hawai'i-Manoa, pp.115-132.
- Mellinger, W. (1994) "Toward a Critical Analysis of Tourism Representations." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21: 756-779.

- Minca, C. and Oakes, T. (eds.) (2006) *Travels in Paradox: Remapping Tourism*. Lanham, Boulder, New York, Toronto, and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Mitchell, D. (2000) *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*. Malden, MA, Oxford, Melbourne and Berlin: Blackwell Publishing.
- Mitchell, L. and Murphy, P. (1991) "Geography and Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 18: 57-70.
- Mitchell, W. (1994) *Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2003) "Wunderkammer to World Wide Web: Picturing Place in the Post-Photographic Era," in Schwartz, J., and Ryan, J. (eds.) *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris, pp. 283-304.
- Moore, K. (2002) "The Discursive Tourist," in Dann, G. (ed.) *The Tourist as a Metaphor of the Social World*. Oxon, UK and New York: CABI Publishing, pp. 41-59.
- Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (1998) *Tourism and Sustainability: Development and New Tourism in the Third World*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Mrkonic, C., personal communication, 17 May, 2007.
- Nero, K. (1997) "The End of Insularity," in Denoon, D., Firth, S., Linnekin, J., Meleisea, M. and Nero, K. (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*. Cambridge, New York, and Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, pp. 439-467.
- Nichiei, USA, Inc. Royal Garden at Waikīkī. Brochure. Honolulu: Nichiei, USA, Inc.
- Oakes, T. (2005) "Tourism and the Modern Subject: Placing the Encounter Between Tourist and Other," in Cartier, C. and Lew, A.A. (eds.) *Seductions of Place*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 36-55.
- Ocean Resort Hotel Waikīkī. Ocean Resort Hotel Waikīkī. Brochure. Honolulu: Ocean Resort Hotel Waikīkī.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Website. Available at: <http://www.oceanresort.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

- Ocean Tower Hotel (Aqua). Website. Available at:  
<http://www.aquaresorts.com/aqua-ocean-tower/index.htm>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- OHANA East. Website. Available at: <http://www.ohanaeast.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- OHANA Islander Waikīkī. Website. Available at:  
<http://www.ohanaislanderwaikiki.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- OHANA Maile Sky Court. Website. Available at:  
<http://www.ohanamaileskycourt.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- OHANA Waikīkī Beachcomber Hotel. Website. Available at:  
<http://www.waikikibeachcomber.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- OHANA Waikīkī Malia. Website. Available at:  
<http://www.ohanawaikikimalia.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- OHANA Waikīkī West. Website. Available at: <http://www.ohanawaikikiwest.com>.  
(Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Outrigger Hotels and Resorts (2006a) OHANA East. Brochure. Honolulu:  
Outrigger Hotels and Resorts.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006b) OHANA Waikīkī Beachcomber. Brochure. Honolulu: Outrigger  
Hotels and Resorts.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006c) OHANA Waikīkī West. Brochure. Honolulu: Outrigger Hotels and  
Resorts.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006d) Outrigger Reef on the Beach. Brochure. Honolulu: Outrigger  
Hotels and Resorts.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2006e) Outrigger Waikīkī on the Beach. Brochure. Honolulu: Outrigger  
Hotels and Resorts.
- Outrigger Reef on the Beach. Website. Available at: <http://www.outriggerreef.com>.  
(Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Outrigger Waikīkī on the Beach. Website. Available at:  
<http://www.outriggerwaikiki.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Pacific Beach Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.pacificbeachhotel.com>.  
(Accessed 23 March, 2007).

- Park Shore Waikīkī. Website. Available at: <http://www.parshorewaikiki.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Peet, R. (1996) "A Sign Taken for History: Daniel Shays' Memorial in Petersham, Massachusetts." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 86: 21-43.
- Pink, S. (2001) *Visual Ethnography: Images, Media and Representation in Research*. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Power, M. (2003) *Rethinking Development Geographies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Preza, Donovan. (2007) "Hawai'i's Great Mahele—Between a Rock and a Hard Place." Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers, San Francisco, CA.
- Queen Kapiolani Hotel. Queen Kapiolani Hotel. Brochure. Honolulu: Queen Kapiolani Hotel.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Website. Available at: <http://www.queenkapiolani.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- ResortQuest Hawai'i. Aston Honolulu Prince. Brochure. Honolulu: ResortQuest Hawai'i.
- \_\_\_\_\_ ResortQuest Waikīkī Beach Hotel. Brochure. Honolulu: ResortQuest Hawai'i.
- \_\_\_\_\_ ResortQuest Waikīkī Beachside Hotel. Brochure. Honolulu: ResortQuest Hawai'i.
- \_\_\_\_\_ ResortQuest Waikīkī Circle Hotel. Brochure. Honolulu: ResortQuest Hawai'i.
- \_\_\_\_\_ ResortQuest Waikīkī Joy Hotel. Brochure. Honolulu: ResortQuest Hawai'i.
- ResortQuest Waikīkī Beach Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.RQWaikikiBeachHotel.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- ResortQuest Waikīkī Beachside Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.RQWaikikiBeachsideHotel.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).

- ResortQuest Waikīkī Circle Hotel. Website. Available at:  
<http://www.RQWaikikiCircle.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- ResortQuest Waikīkī Joy Hotel. Website. Available at:  
<http://www.RQWaikikiJoy.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Rojek, C. (1998) "Cybertourism and the Phantasmagoria of Place," in Ringer, G. (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 33-48.
- Rose, G. (2001) *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials*. London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Royal Garden at Waikīkī. Website. Available at: <http://www.royalgardens.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Royal Grove Hotel. Royal Grove Hotel & Apartments. Brochure. Honolulu: Royal Grove Hotel.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Website. Available at: <http://www.royalgrovehotel.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Royal Hawaiian Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.royal-hawaiian.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Ryan, J. (1997) *Picturing Empire: Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (2004) "Postcolonial Geographies," in Duncan, J., Johnson, N., and Schein, R. (eds.) *A Companion to Cultural Geography*. Malden, MA, Oxford, UK, and Victoria, AUS: Blackwell, pp. 469-484.
- Saarinen, J. (1998) "The Social Construction of Tourist Destinations: The Process of Transformation of the Saariselkä Tourism Region in Finnish Lapland," in Ringer, G. (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 154-173.
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Schwartz, J. and Ryan, J. (eds.) (1997) *Picturing Place: Photography and the Geographical Imagination*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

- Sharp, J., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. (eds.) (2000) *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Shaw, G. and Williams, A. (2002) *Critical Issues in Tourism: A Geographical Perspective*. Oxford and Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Sheller, M. (2004) "Demobilizing and Remobilizing Caribbean Paradise," in Sheller, M. and Urry, J. (eds.) *Tourism Mobilities: Places to Play, Places in Play*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 13-21.
- Sheraton Hotels and Resorts Hawai'i. The Royal Hawaiian. Brochure. Honolulu: Sheraton Hotels and Resorts Hawai'i.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Sheraton Moana Surfrider. Brochure. Honolulu: Sheraton Hotels and Resorts Hawai'i.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Sheraton Princess Kaiulani. Brochure. Honolulu: Sheraton Hotels and Resorts Hawai'i.
- \_\_\_\_\_ Sheraton Waikīkī. Brochure. Honolulu: Sheraton Hotels and Resorts Hawai'i.
- Sheraton Moana Surfrider. Website. Available at: <http://www.moana-surfrider.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Sheraton Princess Kaiulani Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.princess-kaiulani.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Sheraton Waikīkī Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.sheratonwaikiki.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Simmons, B. (2004) "Saying the Same Old Things: A Contemporary Travel Discourse and the Popular Magazine Text," in Hall, C., and Tucker, H. (eds.) *Tourism and Postcolonialism: Contested Discourses, Identities and Representations*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 43-56.
- Skelton, T. (2000) "Jamaican Yardies on British Television: Dominant Representations, Spaces for Resistance?," in Sharp, J., Routledge, P., Philo, C. and Paddison, R. (eds.) *Entanglements of Power: Geographies of Domination/Resistance*. London and New York, Routledge, pp. 182-203.

- Slater, D. (2003) "Beyond Euro-Americanism—Democracy and Post-Colonialism," in Anderson, K., Domash, M., Pile, S., and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Handbook of Cultural Geography*. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 420-432.
- Squire, S. (1998) "Rewriting Languages of Geography and Tourism: Cultural Discourses of Destinations, Gender and Tourism History in the Canadian Rockies," in Ringer, G. (ed.) *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism*. London and New York: Routledge, pp. 80-100.
- Trask, H. (1999) *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i.
- Urry, J. (1995) *Consuming Places*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Waikīkī Beach Marriott Resort and Spa. Website. Available at: <http://www.marriottwaikiki.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Waikīkī Gateway Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.waikiki-gateway-hotel.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Waikīkī Improvement Association. Website. Available at: <http://www.waikikiimprovement.com/index.html>. (Accessed 22 January, 2007).
- Waikīkī Parc Hotel. Website. Available at: <http://www.waikikiparc.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Waikīkī Prince. Website. Available at: <http://www.waikikiprince.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Waitt, G. (2005) "Doing discourse analysis," in Hay, I. (ed.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography*. Melbourne: Oxford University Press, pp. 163-191.
- Warf, B. (ed.) (2006) *Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Thousand Oaks, London and New Delhi: SAGE Publications.
- Watson, G. and Kopachevsky, J. (1994) "Interpretations of Tourism as Commodity." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21: 643-660.
- Whitehead, J. (1997) "Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai'i," in Wrobel, D. and Steiner, M. (eds.) *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, pp. 315-341.

- Wood, H. (1999) *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i*. Lanham, MD, Boulder, CO, New York, and Oxford, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Wood, R. (1997) "Tourism and the State: Ethnic Options and the Constructions of Otherness," in Picard, M. and Wood, R. (eds.) *Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies*. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, pp. 1-34.
- Wyland Waikīkī. Website. Available at: <http://www.wylandwaikiki.com>. (Accessed 23 March, 2007).
- Yeoh, B. (2003) "Postcolonial Geographies of Place and Migration," in Anderson, K., Domash, M., Pile, S., and Thrift, N. (eds.) *Handbook of Cultural Geography*. London, Thousand Oaks, and New Delhi: Sage Publications, pp. 369-380.