

AMERICAN ALOHA: HAWAI'I AT THE SMITHSONIAN FOLKLIFE
FESTIVAL AND THE POLITICS OF TRADITION

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ABSTRACT

In 1989, one hundred and thirty-six members of nine ethnic groups from the State of Hawai'i performed at the annual Smithsonian Folklife Festival in Washington, D.C. for over a million visitors. The Hawai'i program on the National Mall lasted for only ten days; however, its roots and ramification extended much further. In planning, production, and performance, the Hawai'i program became a site of cultural reproduction in which multiple historical, regional, and cultural narratives were negotiated. These multiple perspectives were directly connected to the program's historical and contemporary contexts. This study first examines the inception of the Hawai'i program within the larger frames of tourism, ethnographic collection, cultural revivals, and institutional sponsorship. The subsequent chapters cover the complex process out of which the program was born: planning, fieldwork, and performance. The concluding chapter discusses the Festival's legacy and implications at the local and national levels. I argue that the Festival was as much process as product, that its most important aspects were unseen by visitors, and that although the program was designed to empower participants through performance, meaning-making occurred as much backstage as onstage. As a site of cultural production and reproduction that defined as well as represented Hawai'i culture, the Hawai'i's program had long-range impact, despite its apparent ephemerality.

Program organizers created an ethnographically informed program that disrupted tourist industry imaging of Hawai'i by inserting its pluralism into the national imaginary. However, the process of re-imaging Hawai'i to fit within the Festival's conceptual frame resulted in a utopian view that compensated for, rather than reflected, Hawai'i realities.

At the local level, although it established new parameters for cultural tourism and validated individual participants and cultural traditions, it also reiterated many of the tropes of colonialism by flattening socio-economic differences, sanitizing histories, and neutralizing local resistances through aestheticization of culture. At the national level, the Hawai'i program became a metaphor for successful multiculturalism, but the program's lack of resonance in Hawai'i suggests, from the vantage point of Hawai'i cultural politics and history, that the ideology of multiculturalism is not universally applicable.

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INTRODUCTION

For ten days in the summer of 1989, Washington D.C. got a taste of multicultural Hawai'i, when over a hundred and fifty traditional arts practitioners from Hawai'i performed their traditions in the Smithsonian Folklife Festival on the National Mall. The view of Hawai'i was unlike any presented before or since. In the Smithsonian's version of Hawai'i, musicians, dancers, storytellers, cooks, and craftspeople from nine different ethnic groups demonstrated their skills and discussed their heritages. Tropical plants surrounded stages where *hula* was performed, and a low lava rock wall surrounded an enclosure filled with water and young taro plants. Ethnic Hawai'i was staged through structures like an open canoe shed, a plantation store, and a Japanese *bon* dance tower. Visitors could watch a variety of crafts such as canoe building, net throwing, calligraphy, doll-making, mat weaving, quilting, rawhide braiding, and *lei*-making. They could hear an enticing array of sounds such as Hawaiian slack-key guitar, a Chinese lion dance, Okinawan court music, a Filipino string ensemble, or Puerto Rican *katchi katchi* music. At certain times of day they could participate in a Japanese *bon* dance or watch demonstrations of various kinds of island cooking. The number of stories still told by Festival staff and participants attests to the Hawai'i program of 1989 having been an experience whose impact far outlast its ten days on the Mall.

When I first heard about the Hawai'i program at the 1989 Smithsonian Folklife Festival, I knew nothing about the Festival and was just beginning to learn about Hawai'i. I had recently moved to Hawai'i to go to graduate school and was working as an intern in the Folk Arts division of the Hawai'i State Foundation for Culture and the Arts. Michael Schuster, Hawai'i State Folklorist at the time, was telling me that a folklife festival

sounded like an incredible amount of work for something that would only last a short time. We agreed that a festival was a showy, but transitory way to support traditional arts and artists and that behind-the-scenes sponsorship like the Master and Apprentice program had more long-range impact. But the festival idea stuck. Looking at the program book for the 1989 Festival, I was intrigued to find that many of the same arts practitioners who had been in the Folk Arts Master and Apprentice program had been at the Festival. The more I learned about Hawai'i history (and unlearned American versions of it), the more the idea of celebrating Hawai'i's 30th anniversary of statehood with Hawaiian culture on the National Mall seemed at least a bit ironic. I decided to do a research paper on the 1989 Festival for a cultural studies class, and in the process learned that several people that I knew had not only been there, but had been intimately involved in the pre-festival process. Better yet, they had a treasure trove of intriguing anecdotes—memories that were remarkably vivid even after fourteen years. I suppose that it was then that I began to suspect that there was more to the Festival than what met the eyes of festival-goers. Three Festival research papers later, I still had no idea there was enough material in the Hawai'i program for a dissertation—something that any exhausted culture worker who has ever put together a Festival program could have told me.

I began with an interest in the Festival as a performance of “staged authenticity” within a national frame.¹ As I learned more about Hawai'i, I began to see the Festival as a performance within multiple frames. As I learned more about the Hawai'i program, I began to see it as a process rather than as a product. The research into that process and the resultant performance and spin-offs have been an introduction to Hawai'i at a level that I might never have encountered otherwise. That experience is as close as I can get to

¹ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist* (New York: Schocken, 1976).

the way festival goers felt when they encountered “the other side of the island,” as one 1989 festival visitor put it, or to the “high” that one organizer said the festival participants from Hawai‘i were on for ten days that summer.

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival

Understanding the issues of the Hawai‘i program in 1989 first requires a view of the Festival into which it was inserted. The Smithsonian Folklife Festival (formerly the American Folklife Festival) is staged annually in America's most public physical site—the Washington D.C. Mall. The Festival is always presented for ten days during a two-week period that extends over the July 4th holiday. It is free to the public and claims to host approximately a million domestic and international visitors each year.² According to Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage (CFCH) director Richard Kurin, the Festival was founded as an addition and alternative to the national museum, as “a way of telling the story of the diverse peoples who populated the nation but whose cultural achievements were not represented in the museums or their collections. As a result, the Festival pioneered the research-based use of living performance and demonstrations.”³

The Festival uses both visual and narrative techniques to achieve its educational agendas. It is staged through re-contextualizing—by setting up oil rigs for an oil workers exhibit, building a miniature temple to represent India and a covered bridge for New England, bringing in cows and horses for a cowboy exhibit. Based on the extensive research undertaken for every program, the Festival packs an impressive amount of

² "Visitors" is the Festival term for the viewing public, as opposed to "tourists." The Bi-Centennial and the 2002 Silk Road presentations attracted closer to a million and a half visitors.

³ Richard Kurin, *Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture of, by, and for the People* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1998).

interpretive material into its presentations through signage, programs, and presenters who MC the performance stages. Because it combines so many mediums, the Festival is difficult to pigeonhole as any particular genre of public culture. It contains aspects of the museum, theme park, carnival, concert, and theatrical production. Ironically, it might be argued that what it least resembles is an actual festival, as defined by folklorists and anthropologists. In fact, in our first conversation, Lynn Martin, former State Folklorist for Hawai'i, told me that the Festival "is not really a festival."⁴

As its rhetoric reveals, the Festival is at heart a scholarly endeavor created by professional folklorists with a social agenda. Its stated goals are to celebrate cultural diversity and to advocate cultural conservation.⁵ It does this work, in concert with other folklife programs, through fieldwork-based research and the identification and sponsorship of culture bearers.⁶ The diversity it showcases is based on folklore studies precepts and not solely on the ethnic categories cited in most American multicultural venues; rather, in the Festival, diversity is delineated according to communities marked by shared values, beliefs, experiences, practices, etc. These communities--occupational, regional, ethnic--are represented primarily through aspects of their traditional culture, specifically music, dance, foodways, and material culture.⁷ For reasons of funding

⁴ Lynn Martin, Telephone interview September 16, 2002.

⁵ "Cultural conservation" is a term used by folklorists to include a range of actions whose goal is stewardship of "traditional culture" as comprising dynamic processes responsive to changing social conditions rather than as static, re-enactments of an archaic past. For a detailed discussion of cultural conservation from a folklore studies perspective see Bert Feintuch, ed., *The Conservation of Culture: Folklorists and the Public Sector* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1988). For an alternative discussion of "tradition" as a context and time-bound enterprise subject to manipulation by the state, see E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1st paperback ed. (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁶ The term "culture bearer" has come into public sector currency with the National heritage Awards and the state apprenticeship programs funded through the NEA.

⁷ "Material culture" in its anthropological usage refers to a range of cultural expressions that entail physical materials: e.g., herbal healing, clothing, handicrafts, household goods, workaday tools and products. It is also an officially recognized category of folklore studies.

expediency, occupational and ethnic groups are generally represented according to state and/or region. Thematic programs are also presented: for example, programs on cultural conservation were presented for several years. In recent years the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, which was referred to as the Festival of American Folklife until 1999, has expanded its occupational representations to include local groups such as Washington D.C. trial lawyers and White House and Smithsonian workers. It has extended its domestic focus to include transnational and global emphases: for example, Old and New World connections, the Maroon (1992) and Silk Road (2002) programs. Most years the Festival juxtaposes three or four simultaneous programs.

The Festival comprises many of the contradictions inherent in American cultural ideals and politics. Organizers claim a lineage based in American populism and New Deal projects and objectives.⁸ They view its concept and production as an intervention in cultural homogenization and as a subversive enactment of American democratic ideals designed to "scare away [the] evil" of cultural intolerance.⁹ At the same time, it is subject to corporate funding, local governments, special interest groups, and the whims of changing administrations as they impact arts and museum funding. In this study, I consider the omissions and commissions of Festival presentation in order to raise the question of how it revealed or masked the social realities of its Hawai'i participants while keeping in mind the limitations imposed on Festival ideals by its dependence on public and private funding and its location in national space. This tension permeates the Festival. On the one hand, many cultural groups and practices that are otherwise

⁸ See Robert Cantwell, "Feasts of Unnaming: Folk Festival and the Representation of Folklife," in *Public Folklore*, ed. Robert Baron and Nicholas R. Spitzer (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), Kurin, *Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture of, by, and for the People*.

⁹ Kurin, *Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture of, by, and for the People*.

undervalued are valorized at the Festival. On the other hand, if visitors do not get below the celebratory Festival surface, American pluralism can be absorbed as a benign, cohesive, and de-politicized fact that belies the actual histories and socio-economic circumstances of many of the represented groups. I argue that the latter is a persistent danger and that the construction of Hawai'i illustrated how the Festival teeters on this dilemma.

The Hawai'i Program

Despite the Festival's flexibility and adaptability, the presentation of Hawai'i posed unique questions and logistical problems. Hawai'i is both within and outside mainland America--geographically and culturally.¹⁰ It is strategically situated midway between the continental US and Asia. It has an independent past as a sovereign nation and an incorporated presence as the 50th state. Its multiculturalism is distinct from that of the mainland due to a continuous occupation by its indigenous population, its location as a mid-Pacific crossroads, its colonial legacy and the distinctive histories of immigration and commerce in the islands.¹¹ Many immigrant groups from Asia and elsewhere in the Pacific retain strong transnational identifications and affiliations, and, as a result, hold definitions of tradition that conflict with the academic and continental rhetoric of the CFCH.

In addition to its cloudy political history vis-à-vis the continental US, Hawai'i holds a unique position in terms of the American imagination. Hawai'i has functioned as

¹⁰ For an in-depth discussion of Hawai'i as a contemporary cultural and geographical contact zone see the Preface and chap. 2 of Rob Wilson and Wimal Dissanayake, *Global/Local : Cultural Production and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996).

¹¹ A Marxist overview of Hawai'i's exploitation can be found in Noel J. Kent, *Hawai'i: Islands under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).

a gendered, eroticized, and primitivized playground for continental America.¹² Hawaiian cultural products—music, dance, dress, food, and language—have been exported to other destinations where they have been enjoyed, desired, appropriated, misinterpreted, and consumed. Both Hawai‘i the tourist destination and Hawaiiana are the stuff of imagination and desire. Ironically, presenting Hawai‘i in the Folklife Festival’s traditionality terms required unpacking the imagined Hawai‘i to assert and reinvent a more "authentic" version of the "real Hawai‘i." In other words, rather than conceptually packaging Hawai‘i to import tourists, state and national culture workers needed to divest Hawai‘i of its slick, manufactured image, reinvent it according to its self-definitions, and pack this new/old version for export to the mainland. Additionally, these efforts had to accord with state and national parameters while negotiating the potentially volatile 1980’s politics of cultural identity in Hawai‘i.

Methodology

In reconstructing the Hawai‘i program from primary sources, I was led in many directions. Trying to understand the intertwined histories of tourism and state sponsorship for traditional arts in Hawai‘i, I perused the Bishop Museum Archives where I found old photographs of Mossman’s Leilani Village and World’s Fair pamphlets. At the State Archives I discovered correspondence on the Folklore Commission established by the territorial government in 1926 and the subsequent hiring of Helen Roberts to document vanishing Hawaiian songs and chants. Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai‘i turned up all the 1989 Festival logs and stage recordings and kindly transferred

¹² A strong case could also be made, beyond Desmond’s argument, that Hawai‘i serves a similar function for Japan.

the recordings from aging and forgotten audiocassettes to one hundred and fifty CD-Roms. When I selfishly volunteered to help Keoni Fujitani, current State Folklorist for Hawai'i, do some archiving, I found the stage recordings for the 1990 restaging. At this point, I thought I had the whole picture and could embellish it with interviews. I was wrong.

I first attended the Festival in 2002 and being there both sharpened and dulled my critical proclivities. The Festival is an impressive production, and its proximity to national monuments of government, social science, and art make it appear as the ultimate radical juxtaposition. I knew then that there was much more to know, so I went to Washington, D.C. in December of 2002 and met briefly with Richard Kennedy, Deputy Director of the Festival and Diana Parker, Festival Director. I also spent some time in the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage (CFCH) archives looking at photographs of the Hawai'i program and trying to get a sense of it from visual records. Then in 2003, I returned to the CFCH on a predoctoral fellowship. This time I hit pay dirt when Richard Kennedy, who had curated the Hawai'i program, granted me access to his personal files. Kennedy's files and the CFCH archives contained all of the records on the creation of the Hawai'i program, from correspondence to purchase orders, from Hawai'i to Washington. It is from these materials that I have pieced together the administrative end of the Hawai'i program.

The many anecdotes I was hearing about the Festival told me that there was much about the Festival, especially in performance, that was not in the files. Consequently, interviews, conversations, and even chance encounters became an important component of the research. I talked to organizers at the Hawai'i and Smithsonian ends of the

process. Lynn Martin who had masterminded much of the Hawai'i end of the Festival (and is now working for the State of New Hampshire) talked to me on the phone, by e-mail, and while I helped her during a whirlwind archiving spree in Honolulu. In Honolulu, I tracked down Hawai'i program fieldworkers and advisors. Then I began interviewing former participants in the program. This was not as easy as it sounds. In local terms, I am a mainland *haole*, even if I do live in Hawai'i. This, on top of my being a graduate student, means that I did not have easy access to some communities where there are good reasons to be suspicious about the motives of outsiders who want information. I was most successful when Linda Moriarty facilitated connections for me. This process also told me how brilliant Richard Kennedy, curator of the Hawai'i program, had been to hire Moriarty as his local coordinator. A local face opens doors that even the Smithsonian can't open. However, I did "talk-story" with a variety of people about their Festival memories, and they brought the Festival experience alive in ways that no amount of archival work could have. The stories they told allowed me to see that even performance was layered and verified that there were Festival sites, resistances, and epiphanies beyond the official records. They also hinted at how the Festival and memories of the experience were part of a meaning-making process for participants. Although there is no way that I can do them justice here, I have tried to represent their stories accurately. Any mistakes in the recounting are mine alone.

Sources

Looking for secondary sources, I discovered that while a wealth of material has been produced for and from the Folklife Festival, there is a limited amount of critical

material analyzing the Festival in light of museum and exhibition studies.¹³ In fact, the best reference on the Folklife Festival is the Festival, which produces an annual *Book of the Festival*. Although there has been considerable discussion about the need for serious critical material to be undertaken (on Publore, an online chatline for public sector folklorists), to date what has been written has mostly been produced by current or former employees people of the CFCH. Richard Kurin's *Reflections of a Culture Broker* is an inside view that gives valuable insight into the institutional dealings, but its promotion of the Festival also requires consideration.¹⁴ Robert Cantwell has written a cultural theory approach to the Festival.¹⁵ Richard Bauman compiled results of a survey of participant experiences.¹⁶ Others who have been involved with the Festival have written about individual programs. Anthropologists Sally and Richard Price created an unflattering monograph called *On the Mall* from journals they kept while working on the Maroon program in 1992.¹⁷ Unhappy that they were not entirely in charge of the productions, they utilized their daily journals to chronicle day to day dealings at the Festival. Openly contradicting the positive reactions of the Festival participants with whom they worked, Price and Price compared the Festival to social Darwinist ethnographic displays at the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition, implying that the Festival format demeaned the Maroons. Laurie Jay Sommers took a more measured approach by editing a collection of ten essays on the Michigan Festival for a special issue of *Folklore in Use* called

¹³ Clifford and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett are two exceptions, but both neither goes into any depth.

¹⁴ Richard Kurin, *Reflections of a Culture Broker* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).

¹⁵ Robert Cantwell, *Ethnomimesis: Folklife and the Representation of Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), Cantwell, "Feasts of Unnaming: Folk Festival and the Representation of Folklife."

¹⁶ Richard Bauman, et al, ed., *Reflections on the Folklife Festival: An Ethnography of Participant Experience, Special Publications of the Folklore Institute* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1992).

¹⁷ Richard Price and Sally Price, *On the Mall : Presenting Maroon Tradition-Bearers at the 1992 Festival of American Folklife, Special Publications No. 4.* (Bloomington, IN: Folklore Institute, Indiana University Press, 1994).

“Anatomy of a Festival.”¹⁸ It is clear in all of these writings other than *On the Mall*, that the desire of the authors to maintain relationships with the CFCH tempered their critiques. This is understandable, given that the Folklife Festival is one of the primary training grounds and employers for public sector folklorists, and cultivating a liaison with the Smithsonian is advantageous for anyone who wants a career in the field.

There are many other directions that a study of this program could have taken. Because I am not a culture worker, it would have been presumptuous of me to attempt to address Hawai‘i folklife. As a direct result of the Hawai‘i program, Martin produced the only guides in print on Hawai‘i folklife and Hawai‘i musics.¹⁹ I have used her excellent materials as a guide, but my purpose has been to look more to the frames, layers, and edges of the festival-making process. In someone else’s hands, a different narrative of the Festival would have emerged. In fact, it is my hope that this reconstruction and analysis will intimate, contrary to the Hawai‘i program’s cohesive message, that Hawai‘i on the Mall was actually a “crucible of culture”²⁰ from which we can extract multiple stories.

I feel it is important to stress that I, like everyone I talked to, love the Folklife Festival and all that it stands for in terms of being an instrument of peaceful dialogue and intercultural understanding. I am in awe, after attending the 2002 Festival and working on the 2003 one of the OFP staff’s professionalism and their devotion to what they all see as a social cause that is often launched from an embattled position. I applaud the

¹⁸ Laurie Kay Sommers, ed., *Anatomy of a Festival, A Special Issue of Folklore in Use: Applications in the Real World 2* (Chippenham: Hirlik Press, 1994).

¹⁹ Lynne Martin, ed., *Folklife Hawai‘i: A Restaging of the Hawai‘i Program of the Smithsonian Institution’s 23rd Annual Festival of American Folklife (1989)* (Honolulu: State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, 1990), Lynn Martin, ed., *Musics of Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, 1994).

²⁰ Nick Stanley, *Being Ourselves for You: The Global Display of Cultures* (London: Middlesex University Press, 1998), 12.

willingness of culture brokers like Kurin and Kennedy to not only listen to criticism, but to ask for it by encouraging research on past and current programs. Public sector folklorists do not agree on what a festival should do or be, but they are not unaware of the political implications of what they do. Culture brokers who operate at the national level know that they put their thumbprints on what they present, and they are willing to debate effects and direction. My intent in interpreting the Hawai‘i program has been to contribute to this debate by illustrating how a folklife festival was enacted in a “hot spot,” as Kurin referred to Hawai‘i in the program’s outset.²¹ My interpretation has necessarily been fragmentary—a construction of the events after the fact. It does not preclude other readings, nor would I presume to consider it comprehensive.

Chapter Synopsis

This study first examines the inception of the Hawai‘i program within the larger frames of tourism, ethnographic collection, cultural revivals, and institutional sponsorship. Because the Festival was the outcome of a complex process of selection and production, subsequent chapters cover the Hawai‘i program process as I have broken it down chronologically: planning, fieldwork, performance, and legacy. I argue that the Festival was as much process as product, that its most important aspects were unseen by visitors, and that meaning-making occurred as much backstage as onstage. As a site of cultural production and reproduction that defined as well as represented Hawai‘i culture, the Hawai‘i’s program had long-range impact, despite its apparent ephemerality.

Chapter 1, “A Tradition of Intervention,” is an inquiry into the history of institutional intervention in traditional arts in Hawai‘i. The Smithsonian project in 1988-

²¹ Richard Kurin, Interview with author July 25, 2003.

1989 fits into ongoing negotiations over ethnographic authority. At the end of the monarchy, traditional arts were politicized as resistance and collected as a way of establishing a history in relation to European powers. Native arts were subsequently suppressed under the territorial government only to be encouraged as tourist fare. Since the 1920's, national and local government have played a critical role in shaping ethnic identity by sponsoring ethnographic studies and cultural revivals. Since the 1960's, collaborations between the NEA and the SFCA have established programs for cultural conservation based on assessments of traditional culture as both valuable and endangered. While the central purpose of officially sponsored cultural intervention is social activism through cultural revitalization, a central problem is that the attendant codification of traditional culture can also reiterate stereotypes and reshape community self-images and relations in unintended ways. These conflicts surfaced in the planning meetings between the Smithsonian's CFCH directors, the SFCA, and community scholars in January of 1988. Debates over variant histories and cultural authority were resolved in the interests of presenting a unified and festive view. Local politics such as the Hawaiian sovereignty movement were deliberately sidestepped, and cultural hybridity and creolization themes were selected to be spotlighted as a way to downplay ethnic tensions.²²

Chapter 2, "Festival Fieldwork: Defining Tradition," presents the phase of the 1989 Festival in which local fieldwork was done in preparation for the Washington D.C. presentation and extends the first chapter's focus on ethnographic authority within Hawai'i into the underlying construction of multicultural representation. Between October and December of 1988, twenty-seven fieldworkers were selected, briefed, and

²² For an argument about hybridity from this perspective see John Hutyk, "Hybridity Saves?," *Amerasia Journal* 25, no. 3 (1999-2000).

dispatched to survey and report on Hawai'i folklife. The fieldwork process reveals a great deal about how festival frames were constructed and points to some of the disjunctions between state and CFCH cultural ideals and parameters. The question of "who can speak" for a community by way of a cultural practice was thus inflected by predetermined notions of authenticity, traditionality, as well as on notions of officially sanctioned authority.²³ Furthermore, the SFCA followed its own categories to divide ethnic groups into Polynesian, Asian, and Other categories.²⁴ In the final selection, nine ethnic groups were selected based on "cultural value" and contributions to island culture.

Chapter 3, "Festival Production: Constructing Authenticity," covers the production phase of the Festival to examine how the festival was constructed rhetorically and spatially. Through analysis of the festival site, signage, and program book—production and products—I consider how the non-performative aspects of the Festival form a potent subtext that scripts both viewers and viewed, directing both gaze and interpretation. I argue that the space and the rhetoric of the Festival present a double message; they contain and domesticate while symbolically elevating and celebrating otherwise marginalized groups.

Chapter 4, "Festival Performance: The Other Side of the Island," looks at the performance phase of the Festival and considers how the staged spectacle can be read as a multi-dimensional text. The Festival is actually experienced by audience and participants in fragments, never holistically as it is designed. MacCannell's "zones of authenticity" and "staged back region" paradigms in tourism are particularly useful here

²³ This issue is addressed in publications such as J. Roof and R. Wegman, *Who Can Speak?: Authority and Critical Identity* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

²⁴ The term "ethnic group," used throughout the program production, slips between racial, cultural, and national categories. The problems of its application in Hawai'i will be discussed in chap. 2.

since the Festival is designed to incur various degrees of intimacy in public space.²⁵

Based on interviews, I argue that the careful orchestrations of the festival provided convincing illusions of authenticity for audiences while its spatial, logistical, and ideological edges prompted participants to transgress its boundaries and to subvert festival limitations.

Chapter 5, "Festival Legacy: Restaging and After," presents the legacy of the Festival in its restaging, national and local off-shoots, and memory. In 1990, the Hawai'i program was restaged as a local production in Honolulu. Subsequently, this has become the norm for other states. There was also a failed proposal to continue the collaboration with the Smithsonian in the form of an Asia/Pacific research center. I discuss the changed meaning of representing Hawai'i in and for Hawai'i and the multiple meanings of the Hawai'i program as it has been codified into local and Smithsonian memory. Finally, I contrast the Smithsonian cultural model in relation to a grassroots use of traditional culture for political spectacle. I argue that in both cases traditional culture was used to support nationalism (American and Hawaiian), and that the separation of culture from politics co-opts culture as resistance.

Language

In accord with contemporary standardization of Hawaiian language, I have used diacritical marks except where they did not appear in the original. I have chosen to italicize all foreign words except proper names and in titles, including some words like *hula* that are the result of cultural crossings. In this case, I have made a determination based on a word's adoption as Hawaiian. Since there are no plurals or possessives in the

²⁵ MacCannell, *The Tourist*.

Hawaiian language, I have not italicized these forms, which I have used where I deemed it necessary.

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival is a work in progress, which explains why the names have changed. At the time of the Hawai'i program the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage (CFCH) was called the Office of Folklife Programs (OFP). That name became the Center for Folklife and Cultural Studies and then the current name. In 1989, the Festival was known as the Festival of American Folklife (FAF). I refer to the OFP as the administrative agency at the time of the Hawai'i program. For convenience, I use acronyms for agency names after the first reference.

CHAPTER 1

A TRADITION OF INTERVENTION

The state shall have the power to preserve and develop the cultural, creative, and traditional arts of its various ethnic groups.

Hawai'i State Constitution, Article IX,
Section 9, Cultural Resources.

To exhibit the vitality of today's living folk traditions, the Smithsonian Folklife Festival was established in 1967 by Secretary Ripley as a living museum program. The event attempts to present folk cultural material with reference to the context in which the traditions have flourished, existed, or simply survived.

Richard Kurin, *Smithsonian Folklife Festival*

The 1989 Festival of American Folklife (FAF) in Washington D.C. began, as had its predecessors, with an opening ceremony attended by dignitaries, officials, and participants. Governor John Waihee, Hawai'i's first and only Native Hawaiian governor, set the tone for the Hawai'i Program by giving an opening speech. Program staff and participants remember it bringing tears of pride to the eyes of everyone involved. Waihee was a charismatic speaker, and the following portion of Waihee's speech was excerpted and preserved in a later FAF promotional film:

Because we are more than wonderful weather or beautiful beaches or powerful volcanoes. We are a people. We are people from many different backgrounds in the middle of God's Pacific—based on our Native Hawaiian culture which bonds us together in a spirit of love and pride, building upon those that came later for a better life, reaching out so that their children's future would be secure. Our E Pluribus Unum. All of this is there for you to enjoy. To reinforce our nation's motto: E Pluribus Unum. Out of the many, one. You see, to you, from the community of communities to the nation of nations, we bring you our spirit of *aloha*.¹

¹ Interestingly, the "E Pluribus Unum" references were edited out when this was reproduced in the promotional film. My text comes from the Festival stage recordings. Smithsonian, *1989 Festival Sound*

In his invitation to those gathered on the National Mall to experience Hawai‘i through a Festival sampling of its cultural plurality, Waihee set several Hawai‘i stereotypes to spinning. Although acknowledging Hawai‘i’s fetishization as a resort location, he challenged the nature/culture confluences of tourist imaging in which indigenous people are iconicized to represent the islands, and he pluralized Hawai‘i’s ethnoscape by including the immigrant populations usually erased. He also challenged continental-centrism by locating Hawai‘i in the center of the Pacific rather than at the American periphery. His invitation and “spirit of *aloha*” were proffered from Hawai‘i’s people, temporarily inverting the appropriations of the corporate-controlled tourist industry. Waihee’s message to the gathering reiterated the Festival’s message to the nation that Hawai‘i’s culture and communities were worthy of recognition and of importance to national culture. Less obviously, Waihee’s message and the presence of Hawai‘i at the Festival underscored the complexity of Hawai‘i’s relationship with the rest of the United States (what people in Hawai‘i generally refer to as “the mainland”). In particular, he spoke in the language of Hawai‘i’s appropriation by and dependence on tourism.

Tourism is a Hawai‘i conundrum. It is the industry on which the state’s economic fortunes have turned since the demise of the sugar industry. Supporters claim that by marketing an informed image of an unspoiled Hawai‘i, tourism has helped perpetuate traditional culture in the face of modernity. Both Elizabeth Buck and Jane Desmond, however, point out that the Hawai‘i Visitors Bureau’s (HVB) “Keep It Hawai‘i” campaign in the 1990’s is evidence that “Hawaiianness” has been eroded within and by

tourism.² Critics see Hawai‘i tourism as a form of neo-colonialism. In her book *From a Native Daughter*, published in 1999, Native Hawaiian activist and scholar Haunani-Kay Trask took a critical view of tourism’s effect on Native Hawaiians that counters Waihee’s benign message, saying:

Of course, all this hype is necessary to hide the awful truth about tourism, the awful exploitative truth that the industry is the major cause of environmental degradation, low wages, land dispossession, and the highest cost of living in the United StatesThe point, of course is that everything in Hawai‘i can be yours, that is, you the tourist, the non-native, the visitor. The place, the people, the culture, even our identity as a “Native” people is for sale.³

For Trask and others who speak out against Hawai‘i’s dependence on tourist dollars, the marriage of tourism and culture is a deal with the devil that perpetuates exploitation of native people and the environment. By extension, this view might be taken to suggest that the representation of Hawai‘i culture in a national tourist event and the linked promotion of Hawai‘i tourism through a national cultural festival are deeply problematic even if they changed the terms of how Hawai‘i culture is presented.

The imaging of Hawai‘i has been critical in Hawai‘i’s marketing, for tourism relies on visual imagery. According to Urry, “the gaze is constructed through signs and tourism involves the collection of signs.”⁴ The signification of Hawai‘i through signs such as grass skirts, flower *lei*, ‘*ukulele*, and *hula* is the result of a historical process enmeshed with the history of Hawai‘i’s colonization and Americanization. Hawai‘i’s construction as an American playground developed over time and was as much a process

² See Elizabeth Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai‘i* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993). and Jane C. Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

³ Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i, 1999).

⁴ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies* (London: Sage Publications, 1990).

of re-imagining it, through what Desmond refers to as the “white imaginary,” as it was a political transformation.⁵ Inversely, changing images of Hawai‘i culture reveal another discourse in which cultural collaborations and resistances have contested cultural appropriation and commodification.

In the FAF, the Smithsonian takes a pragmatic view toward tourism, engineering a tourist event as an opportunity for educating the nation, empowering communities, and promoting its programs. Thinking back about why the Office of Folklife Programs chose to represent Hawai‘i in the 1989 FAF, Director Richard Kurin said, “There’s no question in Hawai‘i at that time that we felt this was a case where Hawai‘i was one of those hot spots. Cultural hotspots—where by doing this we could be doing important work.”⁶ The State of Hawai‘i was also pragmatic, utilizing the Festival as an opportunity to present a more nuanced and accurate self-image and to promote the local economy, for which tourism is the number one industry. The Hawai‘i program in 1989 that inserted Hawai‘i into a national tourist event was partially underwritten by the state-funded Hawai‘i Visitor’s Bureau. While advocating cultural conservation, this collaboration between arts agencies and commercial interests, between national and local arts agencies, and between officials and unofficial culture, also crystallized an ongoing battle over culture.

In this chapter, I paint a socio-historical backdrop for the Hawai‘i program at the FAF to argue that since at least the 1880’s, local and federal institutions—governmental, religious, and academic—have intervened in Hawai‘i’s “traditional” culture through regulation, promotion, collection, exhibition, and redefinition. I assert that from the monarchy period, through the territorial period, and into statehood, “tradition” has been a

⁵ Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*.

⁶ Richard Kurin, Interview with author July 25, 2003.

medium for negotiations over cultural authority, ownership, and identity and that these negotiations have, since the advent of American political control, evolved in the ideological gap between cultural conservation efforts and the cultural appropriations of tourism. Finally, I raise the question (to be explored in subsequent chapters) of whether the Hawai'i program, which projected a new image of Hawai'i before the tourist gaze, operated as a continuation or disruption of this trajectory.

Politicized Culture in the Kingdom of Hawai'i

Colonization in Hawai'i was greatly abetted by cultural domination. Explorers, merchants, and missionaries brought foreign cultural values into an environment in which culture—music, dance, craft—had been integrated into daily life. Prior to contact, cultural practices in Hawaiian society were divided according to sacred and secular, male and female, *ali'i* (chiefly) and *maka'āinana* (commoner) aspects. *Hula* (dance) and *oli* (chant) had strong and intertwined sexual and sacred connotations.⁷ In order for Hawaiian cultural expressions to become politicized, they first had to be marginalized through not only an awareness of their difference from Euro-American cultural practices, but also a sense of their inferiority. Margaret Jolly points out, "From early contact, the presence of Europeans created a more intense self-consciousness about what was distinctly indigenous. This sometimes entailed a positive defense of tradition but often a rejection of it."⁸ Calvinist missionaries and other foreigners stigmatized Hawaiian practices such as *hula*, as well as sexual mores and styles of dress, as "primitive" and

⁷ Adria Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire," *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004).

⁸ Margaret Jolly, "Specters of Inauthenticity," in *Voyaging through the Contemporary Pacific*, ed. David Hanlon and Geoffrey M. White (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000).

“backwards,” setting the stage for oppositional definitions of tradition that altered how native people viewed practices that had previously been naturalized.

Between Cook’s voyages in 1776 and 1779 to what he named the Sandwich Islands and 1820 when American missionaries arrived, dramatic socio-political changes were triggered in Hawai‘i by Western contact: the number of foreigners interested in utilizing island resources for trade increased, the native population rapidly declined due to foreign introduced epidemics, Kamehameha I centralized control of the islands with the aid of Western weapons, and Kamehameha II and Ka‘ahumanu broke the ancient *kapu* system.⁹ This combined set of circumstances greatly impacted and politically charged cultural ideas and practices.

Hawaiian *ali‘i* (rulers) responded culturally to infiltration by Euroamerican cultures and ideas by adopting, appropriating, and/or resisting them.¹⁰ The first such major shift transpired under Kamehameha II and Ka‘ahumanu, the Queen Consort, who together precipitated a number of changes in Hawaiian society and government by breaking the gendered *kapu* system upon the death of Kamehameha I in 1819. The resulting social upheaval, added to population devastations caused by disease and social disruptions caused by increased commerce (sexual, military, etc.) with foreigners, facilitated missionization of the islands in the 1820’s.¹¹ In 1824 Ka‘ahumanu became a convert to Calvinist Protestantism and soon (1830) incorporated Christian values into a

⁹ See Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai‘i*, Kathy E. and Phyllis Turnbull Ferguson, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawaii* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999). For a discussion of the devastating effects of disease post-contact, see David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror* (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawai‘i, 1989).

¹⁰ Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000). Merry argues, in relation to the colonization of Hawai‘i through law in the Territorial Period that “those targeted for reform and rule responded with varying degrees of complicity, resistance, and accommodation.”

¹¹ Stannard, *Before the Horror*.

codified set of laws for Hawai‘i that regulated alcohol and *awa* (a mildly stimulating beverage) drinking, polygamy, adultery, as well as worshipping the old gods and *hula*, which had been deemed lascivious and lewd by missionaries. Although Kamehameha III brought *hula* back for a short period, he too, embraced the Christian aversion. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association issued a restriction on *hula* in 1859, effectively banishing it from public spaces by incurring a prohibitive system of fines for transgressors. Consequently, *hula* was devalued and relegated to rural areas for several decades.¹² A period of cultural suppression and rapid acculturation ensued for the next four decades.

Under King David Kalākaua in the 1860’s, Hawaiian cultural practices were revived and foregrounded as a symbol of Hawaiian nationalism. As the native population declined due to introduced disease, the power and influence of Americans in Hawai‘i expanded, putting increasing pressure on the monarchy to acculturate and pass power into the hands of elite *haole*, foreigners and their descendents who had insinuated themselves into the court’s inner circle. By the 1860’s, dramatic shifts had already occurred in the systems of labor and land distribution. Daring missionary disapproval, Kalākaua revived the tradition of court patronage for *hula hālau* (schools) and staged large public *hula* performances for his coronation ceremony in 1863 and his birthday Jubilee in 1866. Kalākaua had learned *oli*, traditional chant, from his grandmother and from court chanters. According to Kanahēle, “His active pursuit of the ancient chants was perhaps the most important factor in the revival and perpetuation of the *oli* and *hula*, for he did

¹² Noenoe Silva, “He Kanawai E Ho’Opau Na Hula Kuolo Hawai‘i: The Political Economy of Banning the Hula,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000). According to Silva, its suppression actually had economic motivations. She argues that the creation of a labor force for the burgeoning agricultural industries played a part in the suppression of *hula* as a “leisure” activity.

this in the face of opposition and denigration by *haole* missionary-oriented groups of the day.” He also compiled a volume of myths and legends. Kalākaua used Hawaiian oral and performative culture to revalue Hawaiianness, create political solidarity, and to enact national resistance to foreign domination.

After years of suppression and accelerated social change, the *hula* presented at the court was altered from its earlier form and function. Adrienne Kaeppler asserts that the changes in public acceptability and religious sensibility during the initial decades of missionary influence had changed the character of the *hula*, which had been influenced by European dance and music. According to Kaeppler, the function of *hula* had shifted from sacred to secular, and by the time of the Royal Jubilee, *ali‘i* had been substituted for deities in certain *mele* (songs):

For the official coronation of Kalākaua and Kapi‘olani in 1883, many *hula* performances were presented, in spite of the disapproval of Christian Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians. These performances featured chants and dances that honored Kalākaua. At least two chants that became *hula pahu*—Kailua and Au‘a ia—were among them. Since that time, Kaililua has been used to honor Kalākaua, symbolically legitimizing his rise to power in the Hawaiian way by invoking tradition and by implying that he was a descendent of the gods.¹³

It is possible that these changes may have been a result of seeing the *ali‘i nui*, those deemed to have the most pure bloodlines according to Hawaiian systems of lineage, as imbued with such potent amounts of *mana*, or spiritual energy, that they were akin to, and therefore substitutable for, deities. It is just as likely that the chants were deliberately altered and employed as political resistance by using them to praise Kalākaua.

¹³. Adrienne L. Kaeppler, *Hula Pahu: Hawaiian Drum Dances*, 2 vols., vol. Volume I, *Ha‘a and Hula Pahu: Sacred Movements* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1933).

Kalākaua was a Renaissance man who did not restrict his interest to traditional arts, and the degree to which he was exposed to Western arts indicates the extent to which Western arts were used as a tool of colonialism. From the Royal School created by missionaries for their own and the children of *ali'i*, Kalākaua learned to play several Western instruments and to write Western-style music. He was also an enthusiast of orchestral music. However, as Merry points out, responses to colonialism can also take the form of adaptation and seeming compliance.¹⁴ Kalākaua was adept at appropriating and incorporating what he learned into hybrid performance arts. He played and promoted the Portuguese derived *'ukulele* as a Hawaiian instrument, and he featured it alongside the *ipu* and the *pahu* in his Jubilee.¹⁵ The same argument can be made for Lili'uokalani, who would become Hawai'i's last monarch upon the death of her brother and was also schooled in Western music. Kalākaua's "Hawai'i Pono'i," adopted as the state song, and Lili'uokalani's "Aloha 'Oe," which is sung at many official occasions are important tributes to their skill at combining Hawaiian and Western sensibilities. For now we can only speculate about the resistance potential of their bi-cultural music.¹⁶ The fact that the Royal Hawaiian Band was renamed the Provisional Government Band after the American backed overthrow of the monarchy and then the Territorial Band after annexation testifies to the politically dominant group's evaluation of performing arts as useful for self-imagining as well as potentially, if not actually, subversive.¹⁷

¹⁴ Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law*.

¹⁵ George S. Kanahale, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979).

¹⁶ Some scholars and Hawaiian speakers argue that the ability to decode multiple metaphorical meanings in Hawaiian poetry was disrupted by the suppression of the language. Amy Stillman and Noenoe Silva are both working on fascinating inquiries into the extent to which political messages were encoded in Hawaiian songs around the time of the overthrow. I look forward to reading their work.

¹⁷ For an overview of the royal Hawaiian band's history, see Kanahale, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History*.

International Exhibitions and National Designs

From the 1880's to 1915, international exhibition was another arena where the image of Hawai'i was altered according to whom was in power. Over the previous decades, the power of Hawai'i's monarchy had been severely limited due to Euroamerican infiltration and influence. Privatization of land, economic dependence on a corrupt plantation system that benefited the *haole*-dominated elite, an influx of immigrants for contract labor, the presence of American military, and corrupt Euroamerican advisors in the court were all contributing factors. In 1893, Hawai'i's monarchy was illegally overthrown in a bloodless coup executed by a group of American-backed businessmen. The Provisional Government was instituted with Sanford Dole as President. Annexation took place in 1898, the establishment of the Territory of Hawai'i ensued in 1899, and in 1900 the Organic Act extended American law to the new territory. Throughout these changes, state and commercial manipulations of culture, as well as their elite and popular motivations, intermingled in complex ways—a tangle of interests that has continued into the present and will be discussed further in this chapter.

These changes can be traced through international exhibitions. In 1885 and 1889, fine native Hawaiian handicrafts and antiquities were exhibited abroad at international exhibitions, and the manner of their display illustrates the power of captioning and contextualizing to characterize a people. A brochure from the Hawaiian exhibit of the 1885 world's fair in New Orleans lists the items on display, along with photographs, botanicals, sugar, and pineapples, as including traditional craft items like featherwork,

kapa (bark cloth), seed *lei* (garlands), and braided hats. In the Hawai‘i exhibit, overseen by commissioners Parker and Mott-Smith, these items are presented as exotic curiosities, rendering Hawaiians as primitive to the American public and suggesting that the commissioners were in sympathy with American interests working toward control of the islands. Despite the fact that the items on display include royal *kahili* (feather-topped standards) and feather capes, both symbols of royalty and believed by Hawaiians to contain royal *mana* or spiritual energy, the brochure devalues all of the items by referring to them as “Specimens of the handicraft of Hawaiian women” and “articles of fancy work . . . specimens of feminine taste . . . rather than articles of commercial value.”¹⁸ By contrast, a brochure for the Hawai‘i exhibit in the 1889 Paris Exhibition presents similar items as evidence of Hawaiian civilization. The brochure states that it was “prepared for the Hawaiian Government” and presents a listing of “Native Manufactures and Implements,” including *kapa* and *kappa*-making implements, stone implements, Ni‘ihau shell *lei*, woven mats, braided hats, drums, baskets, *poi* beaters, nets, canoes, fish hooks, and “ancient” *lei* and *kapa*. Unlike the New Orleans exhibition strategy that had collapsed Hawaiians into the single category of natives, for the Paris exhibition, the names of “exhibitors” appear alongside individual items. Many of the personal items are listed as belonging to HRH Princess Lili‘uokalani, and a number of the ancient and historical items are listed as belonging to the Hawaiian Government’s collection, repositioning cultural authority with the monarchy and emphasizing that it was invested in creating a credible image through international representation. Another notable difference in the Parisian presentation is that the “manufactures and implements” of

¹⁸ Exhibit brochure produced in Hawaii for the World’s Industrial Exhibition at New Orleans, 1884-5 “The Hawaiian Exhibit at the World’s Exposition,” (Honolulu: Hyman Smith, 1885).

Native Hawaiian artisans were represented as living traditions—a marked contrast to the New Orleans representation of Hawaiian objects as artifacts of a vanishing and primitive past. Old and new were presented side by side, metonymically evoking an adaptive Hawai‘i possessed of history, not just a prehistorical preface to the civilizing forces of foreign colonizers, and in which the Hawaiian elite had acculturated.¹⁹ By presenting Hawaiian cultural objects as historically embedded, vital, and meaningful, the monarchy maneuvered exhibition to make a bid for international recognition and support at a time when its powers were becoming more and more limited by American influence and economic constraints.²⁰

By comparison to the monarchy’s self-representation in 1885, Hawai‘i’s 1893 appearance at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago reveals inverted power relations in which Hawaiians have been racialized and symbolically demoted on the scale of social evolution. Rather than inanimate objects appearing as the emissaries of the Hawaiian Islands, in 1893—the year of the overthrow, actual Hawaiians were part of a world exhibition for the first time. However, the placement of the *hula* dancers who had once danced for Kalākaua’s affairs of state on the carnivalesque and entertainment-centered

¹⁹ Exhibit brochure produced in Hawaii for the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889 John A. Hassinger, "Catalog of the Hawaiian Exhibits at the Exposition Universelle, Paris, 1889," (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1889).

²⁰ Adrienne Kaeppler has observed that this split between anthropological and historical representations of Hawai‘i is one that continues in twentieth century museum displays with international exhibits tending toward anthropological contexts. See Adrienne Kaeppler, "*Ali'i and Maka'ainana: The Representation of Hawaiians in Museums at Home and Abroad*," in *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Traditional Culture*, ed. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Levine (Washington, D.D.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992). My own observation is that the Bishop Museum in Honolulu uses a combined approach that shifts to historical at the advent of Western contact while the inclusion of Hawaiian artifacts in the Smithsonian’s Natural History Museum speaks for itself as a static “prehistorical” or ahistorical anthropological depiction.

Midway Plaisance devalued and objectified them as erotic exotica.²¹ It is unclear under whose sponsorship they appeared at the Columbian Exhibition since those in the Provisional Government had been vocal in their disapproval of *hula*; however, Adria Imada argues that these dancers were not without agency and may very well represent a level of covert resistance. The Exposition provided them with opportunity for travel and economic gain, and many of them went on to become dancers on the vaudeville circuits.²² Like members of the Royal Hawaiian Band who were expelled for non-compliance with an enforced loyalty oath to the new government,²³ these dancers may also have used travel to the United States as an opportunity for protest during a tumultuous period when the United States was investigating allegations of illegality against the political usurpers and the deposed queen was actively entreating Congress and the President to reinstate Hawai'i's rightful government.²⁴

The overthrow and annexation shifted the locus of institutional power that defined and presented Hawaiian culture both in Hawai'i and to the outside world. Ideological changes in government led to attempts to reactivate restrictive policies toward Hawaiian culture. Practices such as *hula* that Kalākaua had reinstated as central to Hawaiian cultural and political identity were seen by the *haole* Provisional Government as antithetical to Americanization and suppressed. Their power to embody political subversion was therefore quelled. Eluding American xenophobia on the continent required that in representing Hawai'i to the U.S., Hawai'i's large Asian population of

²¹ See Rydell on evolutionary theory and the Midway Plaisance. Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at the American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

²² Adria Imada, 2002.

²³ Kanahēle, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History*.

²⁴ Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*, fifth ed. (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1999; reprint, 1990).

plantation workers and shopkeepers needed to be hidden or explained away as servants and sojourners while acceptance of the Hawaiian population required them to be lightened and assimilated. Hawaiian language was evaluated as a political threat, since there were many Hawaiian language newspapers, and an obstacle to Americanization. In 1896 the Territorial Government mandated compulsory education in English and in 1900 it shut down Hawaiian public schools,²⁵ effectively interrupting and devaluing the Hawaiian language, the principle means for conveying oral traditions through intergenerational communications. New generations of young Hawaiians were subsequently schooled in English rather than Hawaiian, accelerating their assimilation away from Native Hawaiian traditions and enforcing a sense of cultural inferiority on Hawaiian language speakers. This process was probably further exacerbated by the importation of more virulent forms of American racism, which applied primitivist racial stereotypes honed on blacks to Native Hawaiians—a by-product of the campaign to discredit the monarchy²⁶ and increased American military presence in Hawai'i. As a result, young Native Hawaiians were given little incentive to follow the cultural practices of the past.

The *ali'i* had utilized exhibition to present Hawai'i and Hawaiians as politically and culturally dominant in the islands. By participating in exhibitions, they had also demonstrated their assimilation into Western culture as an assertion that the Kingdom of Hawai'i was an equal player in an international context. American exhibitions in 1893

²⁵ Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i, 1996), 11.

²⁶ After being held under house arrest in Iolani Palace, her former residence, Liliu'okalani spent time in Washington, DC trying unsuccessfully to gather support for reinstatement of the monarchy. Political cartoons of this time show the dignified queen depicted as a pickaninny. Similar cartoon strategies were a popular way of infantilizing and devaluing leaders and residents other territories acquired by the U.S. in 1898.

and immediately after touted Expansionism, Social Darwinism, and Progress as their themes. In 1901, *hula* dancers performed at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo New York in the exposition's Hawaiian Village. The village was part of a collective, adjacent to a display of wild animals, designed to show off the new Pacific and Caribbean prizes America had acquired in the Spanish-American War.²⁷ Performers may have felt in control of their individual destinies, but inasmuch as it could affect public opinion through visual spectacle, control of Hawai'i's cultural representation was in the hands of the American empire.

The new government in Hawai'i took a different approach to international exhibition in 1909 and 1915, producing a whitewashed version of Hawai'i for international consumption. In 1909, the Hawai'i Pineapple Growers Association capitalized on the beauty of *hapa haole* (part white, part Hawaiian) girls to represent the industry by serving juice at the Seattle exposition. In 1915, a commission sponsored by the government-backed Hawai'i Promotion Committee (HPC) spent \$100,000 to construct an impressive Hawai'i Building at the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco.²⁸ In San Francisco as in Seattle, a major HPC goal was promotion of the pineapple industry, and in the horticultural portion of the 1915 Expo, a large pineapple exhibit was presented. Another motive was the solicitation of the "right" kind of immigrants in order to shift the population balance. The brochure stipulates:

While there is a general clamor for a larger American population, no American is advised to come here in search of employment unless he has some definite work in prospect, the means enough to maintain himself for some months and to launch into some enterprise. Clerical positions are well-filled; common labor is largely performed by Japanese and native Hawaiians, and the ranks of skilled labor are also well supplied.

²⁷ Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*.

²⁸ *Ibid.*; Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire." 117.

Throughout the brochure, seemingly empty landscapes traversed by open roadways beckon the reader, the reader with money and initiative enough to qualify as a desirable Hawai'i resident, to call Hawai'i home. To attract wealthy American immigrants, Hawai'i's non-*haole* population is neutralized to calm American xenophobia and American racism. The Chinese population is carefully not mentioned, and Japanese and Hawaiians are presented as an available force of unskilled labor.²⁹ A few pages earlier, Hawaiians are redeemed as a "stalwart, healthy race." They are said to be "generous, pleasure-loving, natural musicians and orators, usually well-educated" people who "were never cannibals" and who speedily embraced early visitors, Christianity, and Americanization. To differentiate them from blacks and Indians, the publication claims that they were "barbarians but not savages at the time of the arrival of the white men." Hawaiians and part Hawaiians are then characterized as ideal citizens who are "among the leaders of society" and whose "hospitality is famous."³⁰

At the Expo, a domesticated version of Hawaiian culture—quaintly exotic and contained—was used to embellish a vision of Hawai'i as predominantly American. The Commission constructed an elaborate and successful Hawaii Building based on Western aesthetics. The elaborate Hawai'i building, ideologically in tune but stylistically at variance with the Spanish Colonial theme of the overall Exposition, was Neo-Classical Greek in design. Its interior walls held aquariums full of tropical fish and latticed kiosks displayed landscape photographs. Inscribed around the interior walls near the roofline was the simplified text of a Hawaiian legend. The names of the eight major islands

²⁹ *Hawaii a Primer: Panama-Pacific International Exposition, (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1914).*

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

appeared across the upper portion of the exterior façade. That official attitudes in Hawai‘i had changed about the value of Hawaiian culture is evident, for at scheduled intervals each day, Native Hawaiian musicians and dancers entertained wildly enthusiastic crowds with *hula* and Hawaiian music accompanied by *‘ukulele*.³¹ While it is certainly true, as Imada has argued, that expositions offered performers employment and travel opportunities and rewarded them with extremely appreciative audiences, in the larger scope, the question is one of relative benefits. In the midst of an exposition dedicated to American territorial and trade expansion by way of the Panama Canal, the Hawai‘i building underscored the Hawaiian Islands as another United States project and possession. The representation of the islands in a Classical-style building embellished with a translated Hawaiian legend relegated Hawaiian cultural productions to a superficial, decorative role. Western-influenced Hawaiian music and dance were symbolically and actually contained, much like the tropical fish in the aquariums, as colorful specimens of island life.

The de-politicized representation of Hawaiian performance at the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition aestheticized Hawaiian music and dance, as well as Hawaiian bodies. Participation in the exhibitions had been intended to market Hawai‘i as a business prospect, but the government’s efforts to manage the image of Hawaiians and Hawaiian culture through scripted exhibition had unintended results in another direction. Once American the American public took interest in Hawaiian performing arts, American

³¹ Todd Frank Morton, *Story of the Exposition : Being the Official History of the International Celebration Held at San Francisco in 1915 to Commemorate the Discovery of the Pacific Ocean and the Construction of the Panama Canal* (New York : Pub. for the Panama-Pacific International Exposition Company by G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1921).; Hawaii. Commission to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition., *Report to Hon. Lucius E. Pinkham, Governor of Hawaii, of the Commissioners for Hawaii to the Panama-Pacific International Exposition.* (Honolulu: New Freedom Press, 1916).; *Desmond, Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World.*

commercial enterprises seized on the marketing opportunities. The Panama-Pacific Exposition kicked off a Hawaiiana craze that swept the United States and set off an era of mass appropriation and consumption of Hawaiian culture. There were earlier productions that had paved the way: for example, when the musical *Bird of Paradise* had opened in 1912, it quickly became the biggest Broadway hit of its time. The production featured Hawaiian musicians, but cast a *haole* woman in the “Hawaiian” lead role. The play went on tour, and popularized Hawaiian music in elite circles throughout the United States, Europe, and Canada. After the Expo, Hawai‘i culture was a popular culture phenomenon, and everyone wanted to “go native” and play *‘ukulele*, sing *hapa haole* songs (predominantly English lyrics with some Hawaiian words), and dance *hula*.³² The budding recording industry played a major part in disseminating Hawaiian music, and soon Hawaiian music was outselling all other kinds of music on the mainland. While the American fascination with Hawaiian music and dance created a lucrative market for Hawaiian performers, this popularity ultimately benefited larger Hawaiian interests only peripherally. Furthermore, it led to misrepresentation of Hawaiian cultural practices and exploitation of many performers as Hawaiian music and dance were extracted from their contexts and reinterpreted as Tin Pan Alley knock-offs.³³ Soon the film industry followed suit. Starting in 1932 with the film version of *Bird of Paradise*, starring Dolores Del Rio—another non-Hawaiian in a Hawaiian female role, Hawaiian-themed films took off and soon matched the popularity of Hawaiian musical recordings. Although over twenty early films featured Hawaiian musicians, in most of the Hawaiiana

³² Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*.

³³ Kanahēle, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History*; Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai‘i*.

films, non-Hawaiians played mutated versions of native people that perpetuated primitivist stereotypes.³⁴

Tradition and Tourism

From the turn of the century, American's fascination with newly-circulating images of Hawaiian culture—represented in postcards, stereopticon views, travel literature, exhibitions, recordings, and films—helped stoke the tourist industry in Hawai'i. Through the combined forces of mobile Hawaiian entertainers, American mass marketing, and Hawai'i's government-backed tourist industry, Hawai'i became America's new frontier of the imagination, to be possessed for as little as the price of a cellophane skirt and a *hula* lesson or as much as a Matson steamer ticket and a stay in a luxury hotel in glamorous Waikiki.

Tourist desire for the exotic had eroded official attitudes toward public performance of *hula*. The result was a change from presenting native culture as ethnographic relics of the past in spaces like the Bishop Museum,³⁵ to staging public performances for visitors. Seeing the commercial benefits of promoting island tourism, the state funded the Hawai'i Promotion Committee in 1903. In its 1906 Midwinter Festival historical re-enactment of Kamehameha's landing, the "natives" wore long underwear under their historical attire for the sake of modesty, but by 1910, *hula* was part of the early tourist industry's entertainment. In 1919 the Promotion Committee became the Hawai'i Tourist Bureau, later renamed the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau, and by 1925 it

³⁴ See Desmond and Kanahale for a full list of films and a detailed discussion of their effects of the imaging of Hawaiians.

³⁵ The Bishop Museum was established by Charles Bishop to house the extensive collection of Hawaiian artifacts belonging to his deceased wife, Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Her will also established the Kamehameha Schools.

was spending \$125,000 a year on promoting Hawai'i as the "Paradise of the Pacific" and actively calling for Hawaiian performers to go on tour to promote Hawai'i as a tourist destination.³⁶

As the resort area in Honolulu known as Waikiki was developed in the early 1900's, the tourism industry emerged as an extension of the plantation system. This is not surprising given that much of the money to develop tourism came from a conglomerate of companies known as the Big Five (Castle and Cooke, C. Brewer, American Factors, Theo H. Davies, and Alexander and Baldwin). The principle source for the accumulated wealth of this *kama'āina haole* (Hawai'i -born *haole*) elite had been the sugar and pineapple industries. Through a complex web of intermarriage and cross-representation on governmental and commercial advisory boards, the Big Five held economic and political control in the islands. Landowners in the plantation system profited enormously from the underpaid labor of contract laborers from China, Japan, the Philippines, and other locations. With the construction of hotels, a similarly hierarchical system emerged in which low-paid labor was provided by non-*haole* and profits went to the elite. The industry depended on Hawaiians for its image and Hawaiians entered into this stratified system as entertainers, marketing their performance skills.

The Hawai'i government's entrenchment with the tourist industry and the adoption of Hawaiian culture to signify Hawai'i to the world had several far-reaching effects on Hawaiian culture. First, the endorsement of Hawaiian bodies and traditional culture to signify Hawai'i effectively disappeared other populations, making Hawai'i appear merely monocultural. The adoption of the *hapa-haole hula* girl image which

³⁶ See Imada for an interesting discussion of native entrepreneurs and Mossman's Leilani Village. Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire." 118.

served to disappear Hawaiian men, immigrant populations, and the *haole* infrastructure that controlled the representation of Hawai‘i for its own economic benefit.³⁷

Secondly, government suppression of Hawaiian language and disapproval of some types of performance combined with its later approval and sponsorship of modified performance resulted in the promotion of depoliticized, aestheticized, and hybridized versions of traditional culture that catered to tourist expectations. For example, the popularity of the *‘ukulele* and *hula* in the US after the Panama-Pacific Exposition gave them increased capital as tourist attractions in Hawai‘i, and by the 1920’s, Waikiki tourism had become an important venue for acculturated versions of *hula*, or *hula auana* (modern, Western influenced *hula*). As part of its promotional campaign, in 1928 the Hawai‘i Tourist Bureau funded the syndicated radio show “Hawai‘i Calls” which would continue for 40 years and become the popular worldwide as a venue for *hapa haole* music. HVB’s projects inspired a host of private and corporate enterprises that capitalized on the images of *hapa haole hula* girls. One of these was Mossman’s Lalani Village in 1930’s Waikiki. Mossman’s was a family-run native theme park replete with authentic grass shacks. It was unique in that it was the setting for films that perpetuated an image of primitive Hawaii that existed only in such tourist productions while also encouraging cultural preservation by employing skilled traditional artists.³⁸ Later, the famous Kodak *Hula* Show was created, a corporate-run mainstay in Waikiki from 1937 until 2002. Together, the projects of tourism—state, private, and corporate—engraved an image of Hawai‘i as an American playground graced and decorated with Hawaiian *aloha*.

³⁷ See Desmond for a detailed discussion of the development and impact of the *hapa-haole* image. Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World*.

³⁸ Imada, "Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire." 119-123.

It is an image that has proved indelible—persisting through the military tourism of the wars, the advent of mass tourism with the advent of jet planes in the 1950's.

As Hawaiian culture was capitalized on as a marketable “natural resource,” promotional imagery was transformed from turn of the century depictions of Hawai‘i as virgin territory with vanishing natives to fetishization of Hawaiian culture in images of native women draped in flower *lei* and holding ‘ukulele. The popularity of Hawaiian music and *hula* created a demand for performers. However, despite the seeming advance from government depictions of Hawaiian culture through ethnographic relics to its incorporation of live performance, there was still little change in the overall message. In museums, film and stage representations, and tourist productions, Hawaiian traditions were still romanticized, eroticized, primitivized, and consumed as “safe savagery.”

Ethnography and Cultural Preservation

At the same time that hybridized Hawaiian culture was being exploited for commercial gain, some citizens of Hawai‘i were raising concerns that traditional cultural forms were rapidly vanishing. There were many causes, such as loss of elderly cultural practitioners through death, disruption of language, rapid modernization and acculturation, government suppression, economic rewards for modified cultural forms, media saturation, urbanization, and inter-cultural marriages. Private, religious, and government groups responded to this sense of imminent loss in different ways and with different motivations.

Ever concerned with managing the image of Hawai‘i, the same *kama‘āina* elite that had previously disapproved of *hula*, changed its perspective in 1920's and became its

self-appointed protectors. Alarmed by trends toward what they perceived as crass commercialization by Hawaiian performers, the media, and the tourist industry, they used publications like the magazine *Paradise of the Pacific* to decry the taint of tourism and mass marketing and urge a return to authenticity. This yearning for an earlier purity and authenticity, as Imada points out, smacked of “imperialist nostalgia,” the phenomenon wherein colonizers long for the culture they have destroyed.³⁹

Private enterprises, in much the same vein as some Hawaiian performers, were often complicit in discourses of tourism while attempting to redefine their terms. Mossman’s Leilani Village was a private commercial enterprise in Waikiki that helped perpetuate traditional Hawaiian arts. Mossman hired a Hawaiian craftsman to build his grass houses according to the old style, and tourists could observe traditional cooking practices like *poi*-pounding and *imu* building. Traditional *hula* and *oli* were performed there in addition to *hapa-haole* productions. Several respected Hawaiian *kumu* (teachers) stayed on the premises and passed on their store of knowledge to Hawaiian students. Although Mossman, a part-Hawaiian married to a Hawaiian, was an entrepreneur who capitalized on tourist desire for the primitive, Leilani Village both engaged and resisted the tourism discourse in Waikiki. It also contributed to the preservation of Hawaiian culture by providing a backdrop for its transmission.⁴⁰

The publication of Hawaiian storytelling in numerous collections of myths and legends contributed to both the preservation of aspects of oral culture and misrepresentation of Hawaiians. Cristina Bacchilega argues that the collection and publication of Hawaiian narrative traditions marks a boundary between appropriation and

³⁹ Ibid. 119. Her reference is to Rosaldo. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), 69.

⁴⁰ Imada, “Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire.” 119.

resistance. Prior to the overthrow and annexation, several collections of Hawaiian myths and legends had been compiled and the Hawaiian language papers often published traditional tales. After annexation, and in response to American interest in things Hawaiian, the Promotion Committee translated and included some of these tales in promotional materials. It also sponsored the publication and circulation of illustrated collections that served to historicize Hawai'i while relegating Hawaiians to the past. This reframing of Hawaiian culture had the effect of creating what Bacchilega refers to as a "legendary Hawai'i" for American consumption.⁴¹

Anthropologists and folklorists played a pivotal role in cultural preservation efforts by selecting, collecting, and interpreting cultural materials. In some cases these collections would form a knowledge base, albeit a flawed one, for future cultural revivals. Martha Beckwith (1871-1951) is a case in point. Born and raised in Hawai'i, Beckwith occupied the first academic chair in folklore and thus was instrumental in establishing the folklore as an academic discipline in the U.S. As a student of Franz Boas, Beckwith became a staunch defender of cultural relativism and the necessity of understanding folklore in cultural contexts. Beckwith was instrumental in instigating serious academic study of Hawaiian culture as an integrated system of meanings and practices, but her study and life also points to anthropology's complicity with colonialism. Beckwith spoke fluent Hawaiian and spent many years collecting Hawaiian mythology and other forms of oral narrative. In 1905 she went to Columbia University where she wrote a dissertation on a Hawaiian oral narrative—the Romance of Laieikawai. She returned to Hawai'i to collect Hawai'i mythology and folklore from 1913 and 1915, and in 1916, she published

⁴¹ Cristina Bacchilega, "Out of Place Stories: Emma Nakuina and the Legendary Imaging of Hawai'i" (Unpublished paper presented at University of Hawai'i, 2003).

an article on *hula* in JAF. Later she would publish, amongst other things, an extensive study on Hawaiian riddling (1922), a comprehensive volume on Hawaiian mythology (1940), and a translation and study of the Hawaiian creation legend called the “Kumulipo” (1951). Beckwith, who was given an honorary researcher position at the Bishop Museum in 1928, represents many of the contradictions inherent in who or what has been accepted as the ultimate authority on native Hawaiian culture. She was a *kama‘āina haole* who lived through the transition of Hawai‘i from monarchial to territorial rule, and despite her insistence on the embeddedness of traditional cultural expressions in daily life, she separated Hawaiian culture from Hawai‘i politics. She came from an elite family and her position as distinguished chair at Vassar College was financed through the estate of friend whose family was involved in the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. Beckwith did much that is commendable and visionary by valuing Hawaiian lore, translating it, and attempting to represent it in terms of the unique culture from which it had emerged. Her work and teaching inspired a generation of women ethnographers, some of them native Hawaiian, who would become instrumental in recording the rapidly changing traditions in Hawai‘i. On the other hand, she was a product of her times, missionary schooling, and colonialist upbringing. Despite her appreciation for the cultural materials she collected, she continued to refer to Hawaiians in terms of Victorian assumptions—as backward and primitive.⁴²

When the government decided to sponsor cultural preservation, one of Beckwith’s students was hired for the project, an outgrowth of the Hawaiian Rehabilitation Act passed by the legislature in 1920 and amended in 1921. The tourist industry imaged

⁴² Simon J. Bronner, ed., *Following Tradition: Folklore in the Discourse of American Culture* (Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1998).

Hawaiians as happy and carefree, but in reality there was an enormous gap between the image and the reality. The first decades of the twentieth century saw many Hawaiians landless and living in poverty and degradation. Introduced by Jonah Kuhio, Hawai'i's first delegate to Congress and a Native Hawaiian descended from the monarchy, this bill was passed in 1920 to establish the basis for Hawaiian Homelands and numerous services for Hawaiians, who were deemed in dire need of not only social services and government protection, but also cultural protection. To address the cultural concerns expressed in Act 126 of the bill, the territorial governor appointed a Hawaiian Legends and Folklore Commission whose members were John R. Galt, Edna J. Hill, and Emma Havana Taylor—a Hawaiian who was a chanter and composer. The committee was charged with collecting, printing, and publishing the ancient stories, songs, and music for posterity before they vanished. After deliberation, the committee contracted two outsiders to Hawaii to accomplish this task. For the collection of legends, they hired Patrick Cohm, an Irish poet who had produced a well-known volume of children's literature. To relegate Hawaiian narrative to the level of children's literature says a great deal about the relative level of importance at which these cultural artifacts were being perceived despite one member of the commission being a prominent native educator and *kumu hula*. It can safely be assumed from the speed of assembly and replication of the stories used in other sources that Cohm collected only from written sources that had been translated into English. For the *mele* and *oli* project, they hired Helen Roberts, an anthropologist from Chicago who had studied with Boas and worked in Jamaica with Beckwith. Their choices at first might seem very strange. Neither spoke Hawaiian. Although Roberts was at first hesitant, Herbert Gregory from the Bishop Museum argued persuasively on the

basis of her transcription skills and familiarity with Edison's new recording device that there was no one else to do the job. Roberts had a Hawaiian helper who transcribed Hawaiian lyrics from songbooks loaned to Roberts. Roberts herself was technologically proficient in the new recording equipment and became a student of Hawaiian language. She was given research space at the Bishop and traveled through the islands of O'ahu, Kaua'i, Maui, and Hawai'i to record elderly Hawaiians.⁴³

The Roberts collection of *mele* has since been translated and interpreted by Mary Kawena Pukui and has become another valuable cultural resource that must be understood as filtered through the lens of ethnography. Most of her recordings and fieldnotes were eventually housed at the Bishop and became the basis of much later research, especially during the *hula* revival of the 1970's. Although her findings can and are disputed on the basis of her lack of cultural and language background, her questionable grasp of the heavily metaphorical language of *mele* as a beginner in the language, and the limited scope of her travels in the islands, her recordings form at least a partial catalog of *mele* and *oli* that had survived into the 1920's.⁴⁴

What entrepreneurs like Mossman and ethnographers like Beckwith and Roberts shared is the position of being early culture brokers, a role that would become increasingly more authoritative. The *kama'aina haole* elite and Mossman defined Hawaiian traditional culture within the frames of the tourist industry, and Beckwith defined oral narrative tradition within academe and to the elite Bishop museum in Honolulu, which had been primarily concerned with Hawaiian antiquities. Roberts defined Hawaiian musical tradition by collaborating with both the territorial government

⁴³ Some of this material comes from the papers of Emma Ahuena Taylor. For a discussion of Roberts, see Kanahale, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History.*, 334-5.

⁴⁴ Nathan Napoka, Personal interview. May 7, 2003.

and the Bishop. Mossman's enterprise contributed to cultural transmission by traditional oral means. The Beckwith and Roberts collections recorded cultural productions for the future through the non-traditional means of publication and technology. Of course, Hawaiian language newspapers and collectors had already published many stories and mele, so Beckwith and Roberts, and the ethnographers who followed them, built on extant materials in many cases. These collaborations between ethnographers and government illustrate the complex positions culture brokers occupied in relation to "salvage ethnography," the salvaging of fragments of cultural practices perceived to be vanishing.⁴⁵ By preserving selected traditional Hawaiian cultural materials, they played a critical role in future cultural revival and contributed debates over the ownership and interpretation of culture while setting a precedent for mainland experts as the ultimate authorities on Hawai'i culture.

Institutional Intervention and Cultural Revival

Although intervention from Protestant missionaries had negatively impacted *hula*, another religious influences had a hand in perpetuating it. The Church of Latter Day Saints (LDS), the Mormon Church, was instrumental in a *hula* revival in the 1930's. A presence in the Pacific since 1850, the policies of LDS toward the traditional practices of Polynesians were very different from those of the Calvinist missionaries who immigrated to Hawai'i. Rather than suppressing the practices of its indigenous converts, LDS tolerated traditional practice as long as they did not conflict with Mormon beliefs and

⁴⁵See Bruce Jackson, *Fieldwork* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1987), p. 38-9, and James Clifford, George E. Marcus, and School of American Research (Santa Fe N.M.), *Writing Culture : The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography : A School of American Research Advanced Seminar* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 113.

values. As a result, some forms of *hula* and *oli* were perpetuated in slightly modified forms. The revival in the 1930's involved a few *kumu hula* who passed on their store of knowledge of *hula pahu* to their students. Most of these *kumu* had been asked to conduct classes at the Mutual Improvement Association of the Mormon Church.⁴⁶ The effect of these *hālau* was somewhat limited at the time; they mostly performed in elite settings like the Academy of Arts. However, some of the most respected current *kumu* today trace their *hula* lineages to this critical time period and these *kumu*. Although it is unclear whether fundraising was one of the motivations for encouraging *hula* transmission in the 1930's, tourism did become an important fundraising and recruitment activity for the LDS. When the LDS temple built in 1919 burned in 1940 and could not be immediately rebuilt due to WWII restrictions, LDS instituted a monthly *hukilau* (literally fishing lines) and *lū'au* (feast) gathering on the beach.⁴⁷ The famous Hukilau song by Jack Russell was inspired by the first Laie *hukilau*. Visitors from Honolulu and elsewhere were welcomed and crafts items were sold at this event that successfully continued for twenty years. LDS also organized a Polynesian dance troupe, which traveled to Honolulu starting in 1959. In 1955, LDS opened a Church College at Laie for Pacific Island students, and in 1963, it combined education and fundraising with tourism when it opened the Polynesian Cultural Center, the most successful and longest standing ethnographic theme park of its kind. More entertainment than ethnography, the student performances of Polynesian music and dance at the PCC accomplish a religious and educational mission for LDS by showcasing

⁴⁶ Kaeppler, *Hula Pahu: Hawaiian Drum Dances*.

⁴⁷ See the official PCC website: <http://www.polynesia.com/dining/aliiluuau.html> *Polynesian Cultural Center* [Official Website] (2004 [cited August 7 2004]); available from <http://www.polynesia.com/dining/aliiluuau.html>.

LDS missionary activity and participating in tourism as a source of funding.⁴⁸ Like Waikiki tourism, its portrayal of Hawai'i culture is entirely focused on indigenous culture.

In the 1930's, the City of Honolulu Department of Parks and Recreation became a site in which grassroots interests and government support collaborated in cultural preservation through classes, programs, and special events. According to *lei*-maker and former employee Marie McDonald, the institution of Department of Parks and Recreation arts projects came about because so many of its employees were Native Hawaiian. Some of these employees, like McDonald who has been recognized as a National Heritage Fellow, were talented tradition bearers themselves. For example, Alice Namakelua, slack-key guitarist and composer of over one hundred and eighty songs, worked for the department for twenty-three years. As playground director, Namakelua taught children's classes in *hula* and singing. The Parks Department classes included a range of Hawaiian activities, such as *hula*, instrument making, and *lei*-making.⁴⁹ At times when it flagged, interest in these programs needed to be sparked through publicity and special events. McDonald remembers at one point being charged with reviving the annual *lei* contest and having to involve all of her family members to ensure that it would be a success and not be discontinued.⁵⁰ For musicians, the Department provided an alternative venue when in 1933, it sponsored a weekly local musical show that stayed on the air until 1968 and

⁴⁸ Nick Stanley, *Being Ourselves for You: The Global Display of Cultures* (London: Middlesex University Press, 1998).

⁴⁹ Marie McDonald, May 9, 2003.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

showcased local talent.⁵¹ It also provided opportunities for new talent by creating an annual singing contest in 1950.⁵²

The Parks Department classes went beyond just Hawaiian traditional arts. Previously, the arts of immigrants had been fostered through neglect. A plantation system that divided peoples by ethnic group to create enmity that would suppress the possibility of labor strikes inadvertently fostered cultural preservation. The exploitation of labor eventually produced the solidarity it had tried to prevent, along with creolized cultural phenomena like pidgin (creole English) and shared musical traditions.⁵³ While state economic interest continued in native culture as tourist capital, the Parks Department catered to working class communities. Workshops were given in immigrant crafts and performance since these too were endangered as people made the transition from plantation to urban life and in the face of increasing cultural homogenization.

Parks Department dance and craft classes continue to the present as a public venue for the perpetuation of traditional crafts and performing arts. They are geared toward children and amateurs and do not necessarily produce students who aspire to emulate the skill level of their teachers, yet they have played an important historical role in cultural preservation. These classes provided public education about traditional arts and public access to arts education, pluralizing cultural definitions. For local people, they also provided an alternative view of Hawai'i from that shaped by the distorting lenses of tourism. Finally, they set the stage for further local government shifts in arts policy.

⁵¹ Kanahela, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History*.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ricardo D. Trimillos, "'Whose Kine' Music?: The Many Meanings of Music," (Honolulu: Hawaii's Plantation Village, 2001).

Populism and The State Foundation for Culture and the Arts

Missionization, capitalism, and political upheaval had effected a sea change in traditional arts and the imaging of Hawai'i at the first half of the twentieth century; a wave of populism in both Hawai'i and the mainland triggered another one in the second. Economic and social changes ushered in changes in the political sphere, and these changes affected arts policies. On the level of economics, this change began with the disruption of the plantation system. From 1910 on, Hawai'i was under the tightly woven control of the Big Five Companies, whose major economic interests were tied to the plantation system. Plantation owners had imported large numbers of contract workers, and they controlled them through a surveillance system that regulated everything from their labor to their votes. Although plantation policies had implemented a racist "divide and conquer" policy of separating immigrant groups according to country of origin and paying them unequal wages, workers eventually were organized under the International Longshoreman and Warehouseman's Union (ILWU) in 1946. Unionization and shifts in the sugar trade weakened the profitability index for the industry in the early 1950's. There were socio-political changes afoot as well, as immigrant groups came of age. With American eyes turned to the Japanese during WWII, twenty-five hundred Japanese *nisei* (second generation of Japanese immigrants, born in Hawai'i) had enlisted in the American military to prove their loyalty. They returned from the 442nd Regimental Combat Team with honor, GI Bill benefits that had allowed them to acquire college educations and property, a strong sense of identity as Americans, and a stronger desire to oust the *haole* elite from local government. Out of this ferment, two *nisei* Senators would

emerge: Daniel Inouye and Sparky Matsunaga. Following the lead of other political leaders since the 1940's who had discovered that with the advent of labor consciousness that political power could only be had with the resounding support of non-*haole*, Democrat John Burns, a former Hawai'i Delegate to Congress, cultivated the support of local Japanese. In 1962, they and the ILWU were major factors in electing him as Governor of the State of Hawai'i, who ran on a populist platform. Although Noel Kent argues that Burns was basically a conservative, his election marked a major shift in Hawai'i politics from a one party system dominated by the *haole* elite to a two party competition in which non-*haole* working class voters had a say.

Working between groups that had often harbored deep suspicion and resentment of each other—the *haole* elite, *nisei* professionals, Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians, and other ethnic groups—Burns signed into law major changes in some areas of the arts while enhancing the status quo in others. What distinguished these new policies as unique was that they institutionalized public education as the underlying principle for government sponsorship of the arts and made inroads toward democratizing both their access and their definition. This educational initiative was a far cry from the economic initiatives involved in government sponsorship for the tourist industry with its cultural appropriations and commodifications. Which is not to say, however, that there were no connections between these seemingly disparate agendas.⁵⁴

Hawai'i became a state in 1959, and within the next decade, a sweep of political and social change that would further affect Hawai'i arts programs took place at the federal level. On September 29, 1965, President Johnson signed Public Law #89-209 and established the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) with its two branches: the

⁵⁴ See Noel J. Kent, *Hawai'i: Islands under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).

NEA and the NEH (National Endowment for the Humanities). The NEA quickly funded a States initiative that made grant money available to each of the states to establish public arts programs. To qualify for federal funding from the NEA under this initiative, Governor Burns established the State Foundation for Culture and the Arts (SFCA) on July 12, 1965. The official mission of the SFCA was (and is) “To promote, perpetuate, preserve and encourage culture and the arts, history and the humanities as central to the quality of life of the people of Hawai‘i.” Burns appointed architect and State Planning Coordinator Alfred Preis, to the position of Director and local Japanese businessman Masaru “Pundy” Yokouchi as Chair of the Board of Commissioners.⁵⁵ In June, Priess attended the 1st national meeting with the Arts Councils of American, the American Symphony League, and members of the NEA. Together, Yokouchi and Priess attended the First national Meeting of State Arts Agencies, held January 27-29 in Chicago.

Burns was a strategist whose choice of Preis, a European elite, and Yokouchi, a local Japanese, illustrates how he straddled political factions. Preis could cultivate the support of wealthy *haole* who preferred Western fine arts, and Yokouchi would represent the local Japanese and other groups. Yokouchi may also be correct in saying that he was chosen because he was a friend of Burns and an amateur art collector with strong views about equal access to the arts. Having grown up in his parents’ bakery business, he felt he knew nothing about the arts except his own taste. To emphasize his sense of alienation in the national arena, he tells a story about how at the meeting in Chicago he had been intimidated by the educated people from the other states and had decided to align himself with someone else who was from a marginal area—South Dakota. To his

⁵⁵ 3rd Legislature, General Session 1965, State of Hawai‘i, H. B. No. 10. See *Hawai‘i State Foundation for Culture and the Arts* [Website] ([cited 2004 August 7]); available from <http://www.state.hi.us/sfca/>.

chagrin, he soon found out that the representative from South Dakota knew all the dignitaries and was a big city transplant.⁵⁶ From these meetings on the mainland, Priess and Yokouchi brought back new ideas about government's relationship to the arts.

The odd partnering of Priess and Yokouchi represents a tension in state and national arts sponsorship that continues to this day. Classically trained and educated Priess was primarily interested in the collection and elevation of fine arts. He was also wise enough to realize that because he was a foreign born *haole*, he would do well to allow Yokouchi to be the public face of the SFCA. Influenced by his own experience, Yokouchi was a strong advocate for arts access in underserved, working class communities, and through his exposure to NEA ideals and programs for underserved communities he developed an appreciation for traditional or folk arts. Although he was raised to look down on Hawaiians, he realized early on that SFCA money was best spent on fostering the preservation of Hawaiian arts forms perceived to be endangered. He says that the other groups could go to their home countries to learn their traditions, but for Hawaiian, there was nowhere else to go to find their roots.⁵⁷

Reiterating the pattern begun in the 1920's with the hiring of Roberts to survey Hawaiian music, mainland consultants were brought in to assess the arts in Hawai'i. These consultants presented reports on their findings and made recommendations for programs that would use NEA resources to their best advantage. Mainly interested in what was being taught in schools, they said that they were very impressed with the state of ethnic dance, but pronounced Hawai'i a "musical disaster area" after reviewing school music programs. The consultants emphasized the need for preservation, encouragement,

⁵⁶ Masaru Yokouchi, May 24, 2003.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

and development of cultural dances, especially indigenous dance. This they felt should be done by “first reviving what is authentic.” They recommended creation of a statewide dance association to offer leadership and serve as a liaison with counties and the SFCA. No doubt reflecting the attitudes of mainland folklorists, they repeatedly expressed concern for preservation of ethnic cultures in Hawai‘i. In terms of music, they recommended more music activities for enjoyment and group singing. They also recommended that the *‘ukulele*, guitar, and ensemble music be included. In visual arts they recommended a de-emphasis on competition and grading and more correlation with other arts.⁵⁸

NEA-backed initiatives in Hawai‘i were kicked off in style with a statewide conference in June of 1966. At the conference, which included workshops and panels, NEA directors and affiliates laid out goals of NEA funding, and Robert P. Griffing, curatorial Assistant at the Honolulu Academy of Art spoke about Hawai‘i as a hub of Eastern and Western cultures. The conference staged the first Hawai‘i Arts Festival, an unprecedented event that featured a combination of traditional and non-traditional arts that weighed in heavily on the side of elite preferences for Western fine arts. The festival featured a hybrid east/west, elite/folk theater production entitled “Dragon of the Moon” at Kennedy Theater. The 17th Annual Artists of Hawai‘i Exhibition was the visual arts facet of the festival and included the 1st Annual Arts and Crafts Design Exhibition, which exhibited the drawings of children along with its display of arts and crafts. That it proudly featured the refined art of *ikebana* (Japanese floral arrangement) suggests that the exhibition had previously not considered immigrant crafts since its only concession was to an elite foreign artform and the work of schoolchildren. The musical highlight was an

⁵⁸ SFCA, "Annual Report," (Honolulu: 1965-6), 25-27.

inter-island chorus that performed a commissioned piece with the Honolulu Symphony. This piece, "The Waters of Kane" by George Barati, was based on a Hawaiian *mele*. It was followed by a concert of religious music whose selections were based on multi-ethnic religious expressions: Buddhist, Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant. Dance was represented by traditional Hawaiian and choreographed Asian performances. Because Hawai'i did not have a ballet company, the Harkness Ballet from New York performed. According to the SFCA Annual Report, the most highly acclaimed segment of the festival was the "Dances of Asia," danced by the Halla Huhm dance company, which received a subsequent invitation for a nationwide tour. Huhm's group of four performers "was rated by mainland experts as superlative" and proclaimed, "exquisitely performed and staged." The arts chosen for presentation appear to have been an uncomfortable fit between organizers' trying to match NEA interest in seeing and sponsoring traditional art forms with their own prejudice in favor of elite art. The result was the creation of hybrids, traditional arts selected out, enhanced, and "improved" through an infusion of Western fine art aesthetics. By contrast to the mostly fine arts presented to showcase Hawai'i culture to the NEA officials, "Authentic Hawaiian dances" were performed by Hoakalei Kamanu and Kuuipo Enos to an overflow local audience at Washington Place where they were temporarily upstaged by the arrival of actress Loretta Young.⁵⁹

This split between support for folk and fine arts was present in the NEA from its outset and entered into the some of the early codification of educational goals and objectives of the SFCA set out in 1969:

- to preserve the culture of the Hawaiian people and to develop authentic knowledge of their arts and crafts.

⁵⁹ SFCA, "Annual Report," (Honolulu: 1967-8), 27.

- to preserve the arts, crafts, and traditions of the people who immigrated to Hawai‘i , in order to deepen their pride in the culture of their forbears, and to expose them to the best traditional and contemporary performances, exhibitions, and demonstrations, including those from the countries of their origin.”
- to devise programs and to establish the means whereby culture and the arts can be brought to those who otherwise not have the opportunity to participate.⁶⁰

These three goals teeter between elite surveillance and progressive cultural ideals.

Hawaiians are selected out as most in need of cultural preservation efforts, although it is not clear from the first goal who is to develop the “authentic knowledge” or how authenticity is to be determined. Meanwhile, the question of extent inauthenticity is raised. The traditions of immigrants are included in preservation efforts, but it is implied that they, too, are veering toward inauthenticity and either losing interest in their ancestral cultures or practicing them in an inferior fashion. Home country templates are offered as a corrective that will lead them back to what is “traditional,” further suggesting that immigrant traditions need uplifting and that tradition is static in the country of origin. Overall, this view shows little understanding of the uniqueness of cultural development in Hawai‘i or of traditional culture as dynamic. The third goal seeks to democratize access to the arts, yet presumes that culture and the arts must be imported into communities.

The immediate results of NEA arts funding and the creation of the SFCA in Hawai‘i were dramatic. In 1964, Honolulu was selected by the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development as one of seventy cities to participate in the Model Cities program for economically depressed areas and Nanakuli-Wainae and Kalihi-Palama were selected as targeted areas for funding. Although the program was designed to involve communities in designing housing, Preis added a cultural component to how

⁶⁰ SFCA, "Annual Report," (Honolulu: 1969-70), 8.

the program would be interpreted in Hawai‘i . The NEA goal was “to prepare the organizational basis for the widest participation of the peoples of Hawai‘i in an expanding and improving cultural and artistic life.”⁶¹ In 1965, the county governments of the islands of Hawai‘i , Kaua‘i, and Maui each set aside \$10,000 in anticipation of matching federal funds. Between June and November 1966, community arts councils were established on Moloka‘i, Maui, Lana‘i, Kaua‘i, and Hawai‘i (in the cities of Kona and Hilo) with NEA funding distributed through the SFCA on O‘ahu. New alliances were also formed; for example, a State Conference on Hawaiian Dance was collaboratively planned by the Bishop Museum, the Hawai‘i State Dance Council, and the SFCA.

In the course of these changes, new models for tourism—plural, authentic, and community-centered—were envisioned, and a Hawai‘i Festival of Pacific Nations was planned for the Waikiki Shell as a beginning. These operated under the rationale of “improving” ethnic groups through the arts. For instance, in reference to the State Conference of Hawaiian Dance, the SFCA stated that:

Residents interested in Hawaiian dance—there are very many—will be encouraged to join pre-conference dance workshops so they will be fully accomplished when the conference will commence and will be able to participate as proud equals with the best dancers of Hawai‘i in seminar discussions and dance workshops.

Although later in the same report the SFCA claims that there are far too many dance companies in Hawai‘i that only produce amateurs, organizers were ignoring all research on traditional Hawaiian *hula* transmission to simplistically assume that a pre-conference workshop would produce experts. The Pacific Nations Festival, on the other hand, would

⁶¹ SFCA, "Annual Report."

bring in performers from the Asia Pacific region so that they could contribute to the educational uplift of Hawai'i's immigrants:

Not only will our own Filipino, Japanese, Chinese dancers and musicians be exposed to classical and traditional arts, as they are currently interpreted, but they will have the opportunity to refine and perfect their own arts in workshops, seminars, and master classes given by the guest artists.

Hawaiian Dance was to be the foundation for all other cultural development programs. The long-term plan was for the Hawaiian Civic Club to assume leadership and establish programs in all other facets of Hawaiian arts and crafts, and other community groups, such as the Filipino Community Council and the Samoan associations, to be stimulated to emulate the Hawaiian program. To this end, statewide dance performances were sponsored in which Asian and Hawaiian traditional dance was performed by the companies of Iolani Luahine, Halla Huhm, Koshiro Nishikawa, Alfred Durano, and other "ethnic dancers." Modern and ballet troupes also performed. The final dance performance of the Asian-Pacific Dance Workshop was performed at the Waikiki Shell in two parts that illustrate the same ambivalence about tradition that was evident at the first festival. Part one showcased "ancient *hulas*" from pageantry to statehood. Part two was billed as the "Hawai'i of the Future" and presented "festival *hula*" as part of a commissioned Hawai'i opera that was choreographed by the University Dance Theater and co-sponsored by the Houston Symphony.⁶² These programs enforced mainland, academically determined aesthetics and standards of excellence on Hawai'i ethnic communities. In some cases this intervention altered the direction of traditional arts, but in others it may have ensured their survival. It also provided important avenues for

⁶² SFCA, "Annual Report." 40-57.

empowerment, identity, and increased visibility in economically depressed communities, expanding the official view of traditional culture to include the culture of immigrants. Where it was met by community interest, it provided financial impetus for grassroots cultural revivals.

In the ensuing years, the SFCA continued to expand its Cultural Development Program through inter-island workshops that included a full range of Hawaiian traditional cultural practices: ancient dance, quilting, Hawaiian language, featherwork, weaving, instrument making, and music. These efforts often dovetailed with community efforts. For instance, *Kumu hula* Iolani Luahini and Lokalia Montgomery taught *hula*, civic clubs organized classes under master teachers selected from the community, and state dance conferences continued after being set in motion by the SFCA. As the SFCA had hoped, the Hawaiian program set a precedent and a Philippine Culture Development Program was initiated in 1970. This program started with two festivals in the Model Cities areas and classes in *rondalla* instrument making and Filipino dance. Despite this change, the State Council on Hawaiian Heritage, which comprised 32 organizations under one umbrella, continued to receive the largest portion of SFCA funding for cultural development.⁶³

The new state recognition of traditional arts was also extended to individuals, based on an Asian model and reflecting Burns' vision of Hawai'i in relation to the Asia/pacific region. After the Japanese government's custom of recognizing exemplary traditional artists as National Treasures of Intangible Heritage, Governor Burns presented Iolani Luahine with the first Hawaiian Order of Distinction for Cultural Leadership at the Second State Conference on Dance. This award was the first of its kind in Hawai'i and

⁶³ SFCA, "Annual Report." 29, 40.

preceded the National Heritage Awards later developed by the NEA. Four years later, the award was given to *kumu hula* and cultural researcher/writer, Mary Kawena Pukui.⁶⁴

That the efforts of the state were as much geared toward social rehabilitation through culture as they were at the aesthetics of cultural preservation is illustrated by the following loaded quote from the 1973-4 SFCA annual report:

The SFCA aims not only to recover, restore, practice and perfect the authentic traditional arts, crafts, skills, customs and lore of the various ethnic groups in Hawai'i; but through the immersion in cultural pursuits, the people themselves will learn to look at their ancestors with pride.⁶⁵

This kind of cultural uplift was attempted in different ways in different ethnic communities, with authenticity and excellence as the standards imposed by NEA requirements, but also reflecting the aesthetics of individual communities since receiving grants beyond the original Model Cities initiatives required that proposals be generated by the communities themselves. In the Hawaiian community, master teachers were employed to conduct classes and awards were given to recognize cultural expertise combined with meritorious service to the community and the state. In immigrant communities, a foreign "roots" model was generally introduced as the standard, inferring not only the cultural inferiority of hybrid and evolved arts in relation to those of ancestral countries, but also emphasizing the foreignness of immigrant communities. National Treasures and performance troupes were brought in from Japan, Okinawa, and Korea to perform and conduct workshops. Communities emulated this practice. In May of 1973, the Philippines Barrio Festival in Wailuku was modeled on village festivals in the

⁶⁴ Ibid. 22

⁶⁵ SFCA, "Annual Report," (Honolulu: 1972-3), 18.

Philippines. It was: “constructed to create the traditional village atmosphere.”⁶⁶ This attempt to recreate “old country” aesthetics collapsed both Hawai‘i and Philippines Filipino communities into a rural pan-ethnicity.

While it seems contradictory to the emphasis on authenticity, another uplift strategy was to improve traditional arts by association with high art forms. To this end, a Filipino *rondalla*/vocal ensemble was funded with the idea that it would be “of such high quality it will encourage pride.” A Tanghalan Repertory Theater was funded to present plays on Filipino immigrants. Because these projects were co-authored by communities, the Asian SFCA/NEA programs illustrate that these groups were seeking cultural validation transnationally rather than internally, and often through elite art of the home country. Many of the Hawaiian performance arts had been associated with ritual and royalty and the dances and music cultivated by Hawai‘i’s Asian communities were often court traditions. Likewise, the Samoan Chiefs and Orators Society, which became a regular SFCA recipient during starting in 1976, focused on high culture, chiefly arts. Consequently, what NEA construed as “minority constituencies” were often differently constructed in Hawai‘i.

In a decade, what had begun as the Ethnic Development Program and became the Cultural Heritage Program underwent many changes. It evolved from an intervention effort that supported the focus on the preservation of authentic Hawaiian dance in economically depressed areas of O‘ahu into inter-island sponsorship of a full range of Hawaiian cultural practices. It fostered the creation of civic organizations and cultural development programs in other ethnic groups, some of which were also economically depressed, but others that were simply feeling the cultural losses of rapid assimilation. In

⁶⁶ Ibid.11.

1976, the Model Cities areas were “liberated” to continue under their own direction. They could continue to receive federal funding, but without direct SFCA control. The goal of culture brokering—sponsorship that leads to independent community action—had been accomplished.

As new communities came into range, ethical issues in culture brokering were raised. In the late 1970's, the SFCA received applications from Laotian, Vietnamese, and other Indo-Chinese groups. Interaction with these groups seems to have spurred a certain amount of self-reflection about cultural intervention projects having “certain impacts on people whose consciousness of heritage is expected to benefit.” This brings up a key question with regards to intervention: should methods and goals be adapted to community needs and values in efforts to solidify community solidarity/identity? For example, the 1978-9 report states that Tongan and Samoan immigrants find the transition to “taboo-free, authoritarian-free society” strange and difficult, with the result that young and old tend to break with the past in order to adapt to the new environment. It appears that the SFCA was discovering that the arts are not neutral or apolitical within groups. They have different social functions at different times, particularly in times of transition.

Introducing programs emphasizing traditional arts can also reassert traditional values that may not be desired by all members of a community in a particular time and place. The assessment was that, “The programs thereby established are divisive within a society and temporarily lead to a sort of cultural chaos. SFCA must adapt to these conditions.”⁶⁷ The implication here is that community elite and the SFCA may at some points have been complicitous in introducing programs toward which a community might feel ambivalent or even hostile. Under the NEA directive to reach out to new constituencies, an extensive

⁶⁷ SFCA, “Annual Report,” (Honolulu: 1978-9), 12.

program was also started for cultural development among the Portuguese in Hawai‘i , the only former plantation labor immigrants who had not been funded thus far. The annual report notes that “for a long time there has been little incentive for the Portuguese to distinguish themselves from other Caucasian people” and emphasizes that the Portuguese in Hawai‘i all originated in the Azores and were of rural, island roots. Although the Portuguese are being categorized as Caucasian here, they are ambiguously being distinguished as non-*haole* because of their plantation labor history.⁶⁸ The value of this category is, of course, relevant to tangible and intangible rewards—in this case funding. An occasional small grant was given for other European folk arts, for example, a Ukrainian dance groups received \$500 in 1979, and in the early 1980’s, and a Scandinavian Centennial was funded.

The authority of the SFCA to define ethnic arts and ethnicity in Hawai‘i grew exponentially with its federal funding. As the number of applications expanded, funding was shaped into three categories: Polynesian, Asian, and Other. This categorization has persisted with only minor changes. In 1980, the “other” category was a blurry catchall that included the Polynesian voyaging society, the Bishop Museum, Puerto Ricans, Scandinavians, Portuguese, etc. Clearly it was being used to lump together proposals from mixed groups and groups that did not fit the first two categories.

By 1980-81, the SFCA was administering a budget of nearly three million dollars, with \$447, 819 going to the Cultural Heritage Development program. The largest share of the SFCA money going to programs focused on fine arts, and much of the Cultural Heritage budget was going to established organizations like the University of Hawai‘i Oral History Program (\$90,000), the Bishop Museum (\$150,000) and the Polynesian

⁶⁸ Ibid. 78-9.

Voyaging Society (\$12,000), the two Filipino programs (\$323,000), Korean Studies at the University of Hawai'i (\$6,000). Many of the grantees had been previously funded. *Hula* was now being funded through the *hula* master teachers program, which gave 4 grants to individual teachers like Kau'i Zuttermeister (\$5,000 each). Among Asian groups, Halla Huhm's dance company received the largest grant (\$6,000). In 1979, Fred Priess finally retired as director and Sarah Richards was hired, and because public arts funding was and is tied to politics, in 1980 the NEA-funded bottom fell out.

Due to a general economic recession, Congress requested that funding from the Federal Department of Management and Budget to NEA be cut by fifty percent. Anticipation of these cuts caused a great deal of consternation at the SFCA. While Democratic Senators Inouye, Akaka, and Matsunaga gave strong support for funding communities, the new director at the SFCA stressed the importance of funding major institutions, such as the symphony, in the case of downsizing. Ethnic arts could not be deleted, however, since NEA gave its monies to the state with certain designations. When the money crunch did come, it created a change in the way that the SFCA would address ethnic arts from then on. "Ethnic Heritage" became a category that administered funding to local organizations that represented ethnic groups. Despite the organization's reduced funding, the Folk Arts program was created through a new NEA initiative as an entity that dealt directly with individual artists through special projects and apprenticeship grants. Repeating the actions that had set the SFCA in motion in the 1960's, starting in 1980-81 NEA provided money for a folk arts coordinator and field services.⁶⁹ Lynn Martin, a graduate of University of Hawai'i (UH) in Pacific Studies, was hired and an advisory committee was formed. The members of the committee, some

⁶⁹ SFCA, "Annual Report," (Honolulu: 1980-1), 3.

of whom were academically trained culture experts, were all representatives of influential institutions on which the SFCA needed to depend for support. They were Ricardo Trimillos (UH, Department of Music, Ethnomusicology), Roger Rose (Bishop Museum), Deborah Waite (UH, Art), Richard Via (East West Center), and Linda Moriarty (EWC).⁷⁰ Martin established the SFCA Master and Apprentice Program in 1987, a program that provided small grants as an incentive to individual tradition bearers to work with skilled students and transmit their store of knowledge.

NEA served as a resource and legitimizing force for traditional arts in Hawai'i, often an unsung one. In the 1980's, NEA also made grants directly available to non-profit cultural organizations working with traditional artists. These grants required that the organizations abide by NEA standards, and funded organizations were evaluated by a representative of the NEA. Early site visits were made by Robert Garfius of the University of Washington and later ones by local cultural authorities from the University of Hawai'i or the SFCA. Ricardo Trimillos and Lynn Martin both served as evaluators. The goal of public arts support is to empower communities, so it logically follows that communities, however dependent they are on public financial support for their survival, must not be made to feel or look dependent on the granting agency. To do this successfully, granting agencies must cultivate invisibility. In many cases, they grant seed money as an initiative to get community agencies started and then phase out their support as the agency becomes independent. Whereas the imperial exhibitions of the past

⁷⁰ To date, the SFCA has hired three persons to the position of State Folklorist, none of them academically trained in folklore studies. Instead, the SFCA has shown an ongoing preference for hiring folk arts practitioners who are also graduates of the University of Hawai'i. Lynn Martin Graton (1985-1997) earned her MA in Pacific Studies and is skilled in various Pacific fiber arts. She currently holds the position of State Folklorist in New Hampshire. Michael Schuster (1998-2002) earned his PhD in theater and is trained in South Indian puppetry. John (Keoni) Fujitani, (2002-present) holds an MBA and is a former dancer with Hālau 'O Kekuhi on the island of Hawai'i and a Hawaiian music producer.

highlighted the national frame to emphasize the dependency of colonized subjects, effective contemporary arts agencies deliberately hide the frame in order to forefront the activity of community artists and arts. Idealistically speaking, for the role of the NEA and SFCA to be overlooked in cultural revivals might be the ultimate sign of their success in empowering communities. At the same time, their invisibility erases the extent to which they define and survey the traditional arts of communities and, by doing so, define authenticity, tradition, and even ethnicity. In looking at the disappeared frames for cultural rehabilitation and representation, it is worth noting that many of the same cultural authorities have appeared on virtually every arts advisory board to do with “ethnic arts” in Hawai‘i since the advent of the SFCA cultural programs. This core group of advisors and culture brokers was invested, by the SFCA, with the responsibility of being the guardians of cultural integrity in Hawai‘i, and would be enlisted in shaping its representation at the Smithsonian.

On the other hand, SFCA and NEA funding could not have had the impact they did if they had not been met by community efforts emerging at a time of political ferment and growing unrest amongst the groups they served. The majority of the early funding went to Hawaiian communities to support the Model Cities Programs, the Hawaiian Civic Clubs, the State Council on Hawaiian Heritage, and the State Conference on Dance. These projects either developed community leadership or were generated in the communities they represented. Other organizations, such as the Polynesian Voyaging Society and the Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, applied and received funding for specific projects. Timing was critical, and it is safe to say that federal and state funding contributed indirectly to some aspects of the socio-political changes that emerged

amongst Hawaiians in 1970's Hawai'i. A generation that had learned organizing and leadership skills in the Model Cities programs was coming of age.⁷¹

Repoliticized Culture in the Hawaiian Renaissance

Hawai'i is a Pacific crossroads and national and international issues affected the direction of social upheaval in Hawai'i in the 1970's. Through travelers and transplants, returning residents, and the media, Hawai'i was influenced by the American civil rights movement and American Indian movements, the Vietnam war, decolonization in the Pacific, and, in particular, the success of the Maori political and cultural revival. That this climate of change affected Native Hawaiians the most deeply of Hawai'i residents bears witness to the uniqueness of Hawai'i's colonial history and neo-colonial conditions.

The 1960's had ushered in an era of growing Native Hawaiian resentment over the established economic control of *haole* (*kama 'āina* and newcomers) the political advancement of local Japanese, rampant development for tourism, and the non-distribution of Hawaiian Homelands to Native Hawaiians. These issues first came to a head in 1970 in Kalama Valley when farmers were evicted so that the trust lands, administered by the Bishop Estate that had been set up to benefit Hawaiians, could be developed. The resistance that this provoked was the first such action in the twentieth century, and because of its identification with Hawaiian lands came to be identified as a Hawaiian resistance against the state although it involved many other groups. Kalama set a precedent for similar disputes about land interests, identified land as central to Hawaiian political issues, and cemented the groundwork for an ideological connection of

⁷¹ Melanie Chait and University of Oxford. Faculty of Modern History., "Healing Hawaii : The Recovery of an Island Identity : A Socio-Historical Study of Hawaiian Cultural Resistance from the 1840s to the 1990s" (Thesis (D. Phil.), University of Oxford, 1999).

land and culture. Additional protests ensued over evictions in Wailuku, non-distribution of Hawaiian homelands, development issues on Moloka'i, and the appointment of a local to the Bishop Estate Board. These protests brought many Hawaiians together and infused them with a sense of purpose that spurred them to create organizations like The Hawaiians, COHO (Council of Hawaiian Organizations), *Hui Ala Loa*, and *Aloha* as a way of combating what they perceived as the state's flagrant disregard for the rights and well-being of Hawaiians. It also divided them between those who identified as American-Hawaiian and those who preferred to see themselves as Hawaiian only, those who wanted Hawaiian only organizing and those who chose to include other ethnicities if they were in sympathy with Hawaiian views. It led to disputes over identity as well when demands for reparations were made by *Aloha* in 1973 with the result of creating the now official label of Native Hawaiians. The allocation of federal money paid to Hawaiians in 1974, through the efforts of a group called *Alu Like* and Senator Inouye, further complicated Hawaiian identity issues since it required applicants to be able to trace their genealogy to before 1778. Chait asserts that: "It was only from 1976 with the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana movement that culture, land, and political power were to be united in one struggle, which resulted in a stronger sense of pride, entitlement and nation." Hawaiians rallied around the campaign to stop the use of the island for military testing and reclaim it as Hawaiian sacred site, and Kaho'olawe, like Kalama, became an important symbol of the movement.

In response to the momentum of a grassroots organization called *Haole Kanawei*, the state established the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) in 1978 and designated it as the body, which is to hold title to all real or personal property set aside or conveyed to it

as a trust for Native Hawaiians. To some activists, the creation of OHA was a government cooptation of the movement and a betrayal.⁷² Meanwhile, the issues that had crystallized around Kaho‘olawe led to beginnings of a vital Sovereignty Movement with groups like Ka Lahui Hawaii. When John Waihee, first elected governor of Hawaiian ancestry, took office as Hawai‘i’s Fourth Governor in 1986, the future appeared more promising for many Hawaiians. The renaissance seemed to have come of age when 1987 was declared “The Year of the Hawaiian.”

Chait argues that the renaissance had multiple impetuses and manifestations, including its growth out of the earlier programs and collaborations I have discussed, but that it was primarily political and politicized culture as a part of its unfolding. There are multiple narratives in circulation about the events and ideas that sparked the renaissance—some exclusively political and others exclusively cultural. I think that they are important to consider here since together they represent a discourse on Hawaiian identity that entered into the narrative constructed by the Smithsonian in 1989.

Historian Lawrence H. Fuchs dates the renaissance to 1959. He relates that at a meeting of Kamehameha School for Boys faculty “it was agreed that ‘a psychological rebirth of the Hawaiian people’” was in process despite the fact that the majority of their students were of diluted Hawaiian ancestry. Fuchs claims that the renaissance was led and is best symbolized by Abraham Akaka, reverend of Kawaiahao Church and President of the Council of Hawaiian Congregational Churches. In 1959 and under Akaka’s leadership, the Council inspired the Hawaiian Civic Clubs to agree “that festival, *lū‘au*, and fashion shows were not enough” and that political and educational goals should be

⁷² Ibid.

forefronted.⁷³ While this narrative nods to community agency and the important role of certain institutions, Fuch's simplistic choice of Akaka as a symbol of the renaissance posits catalyst power with a symbol of colonial power—the church founded by Missionary Hiram Bingham—effectively containing political dissidence by coopting and neutralizing it. It adopts Akaka's beliefs in the positive contributions of intermarriage and his stress on *aloha* as the unique mission and message of Hawai'i to the rest of the world. Although he cites much evidence to the contrary, Fuch's underlying message resonates with that of Akaka: that cross-cultural marriage and exchange in Hawai'i, despite the inter-ethnic and class tensions, constitute an ideal of *aloha* that the mainland would do well to learn from. This ideological stance asserts benign multiculturalism and effectively negates Hawaiian claims to separate identity and the political nature of the movement, but it is a popular version due to its inclusivity and avoidance of conflict.

In the same year that Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana was organized, the Hawaiian movement adopted the Hōkūle'a as another symbol, spawning the basis of one of several exclusively cultural origin narratives for the renaissance. The Polynesian Voyaging Society, conceived by Ben Finney in 1966, had made its first voyage in 1970. The Society's goal was to collect data on early voyaging, using the mostly forgotten arts of celestial navigation, and to prove the validity of the early migration accounts preserved in indigenous oral histories. By its third and much publicized voyage in 1976, the Hōkūle'a had become another icon for Hawaiian identity:

Navigated without instruments by Micronesian navigator, Mau Piailug, the canoe arrived 33 days later in Papeete, Tahiti, to a crowd of more than 17,000—over half of the island had turned out to greet the canoe. What had begun as a scientific experiment to prove a theory about the settlement of

⁷³ Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: "Hawaii the Excellent," a Social and Political History* (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1961).

Polynesia, had touched a deep root of cultural pride in Polynesian people.⁷⁴

The voyages did not, however, happen alone, nor was the Hōkūle‘a as grassroots as it is often claimed to be. It was generously funded both by private donors and the SFCA. This funding allowed its highlights to be filmed and distributed for maximum media coverage. The Hōkūle‘a itself was made almost entirely of fiberglass, the crew was a cross-section of ethnicities, and the original navigator was from Micronesia because there was no one in Hawai‘i who knew how to navigate in the ancient way. One Native Hawaiian source who traveled to New Zealand related that amongst themselves, the Maoris derogatorily referred to the project as the “Plastic Fantastic” because of all its hype and glitz.⁷⁵ The Hōkūle‘a origin narrative, however, is attractive as a colorful beginning for the Hawaiian renaissance because it is replete with heroic pageantry and public acclaim. It is also a predominantly masculinist tale that holds up an image of warrior virility against the eroticized and feminized native tropes of tourism. That Kalama and Kaho‘olawe are often eliminated from this narrative bespeaks an aversion to politicization. Like *hula*, which also emerged as a powerful symbol of identity, the Hōkūle‘a is easily co-opted when severed from political resistance.

Three other cultural narratives bear mentioning. One focuses on *hula* as the ultimate symbol of the renaissance and the Merrie Monarch Festival as the instigator. In 1969, Dottie Thompson took over the failing Merrie Monarch Festival in Hilo. In the ensuing years it became the most important *hula* festival of its kind and a much-disputed arbiter of *hula* standards. The Merrie Monarch invigorated *hula* competition and altered

⁷⁴ *Polynesian Voyaging Society*. June 24, 1999. Available:
<http://leahi.kcc.hawaii.edu/org/pvs/aboutpvs.html>. August 8 2004.

⁷⁵ Napoka, interview.

its public face by staging public competitions in *hula kahiko* (ancient *hula*) and *hula auana*. The problem with this narrative is that the Festival, although deigned a venue for *hula* for Hawaiians rather than tourism, was always a tourist event.⁷⁶ It set new terms for *hula* performance, but tourism and institutionalization have taken their toll. In his book on Hawaiian music, George Kanahale also omits the political side of the renaissance when he posits its beginnings exclusively with musicians and traces it to the release of Sunday Mānoa's third album, "Guava Jam" in 1971.⁷⁷ Although there certainly was a resurgence of interest in Hawaiian music at this time, this cultural narrative is also problematic as a local genesis story in that it locates the origins of even that with wealthy investors and a recording industry that happened to be in the right place at the right time. The talent, it appears, had been there all along and was merely waiting for the funding. The political actions over land and identity are missing in this explanation, along with the body of protest songs that were written to embody the renaissance and the important role of music in Hawaiian resistance at the end of the monarchy and in the 1970's and 1980's. A third narrative, the reinstitution of the Hawaiian language, blurs the boundaries with politics. At the 1978 Constitutional Convention, provisions were passed granting Hawaiian language the same official status as English and mandating that the study of Hawaiian language be given special promotion by the State. A group of Hawaiian language teachers on Kaua'i organized in 1983 to form an organization called Aha Punana Leo, Inc. to promote Hawaiian language education. In 1987, the first elementary school level indigenous language immersion classes in the U.S. opened: one at Keaukaha Elementary School in Hilo and the other at Waiiau Elementary School in Pearl City,

⁷⁶ Scott Whitney, "The Not-So Merrie Monarch," *Honolulu*, November 2001.

⁷⁷ Kanahale, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History*, 332-333.

O'ahu. One year later, the state Board of Education proclaimed the public schools' language immersion program a success and granted the program permission to continue. The suppression of Hawaiian language in 1896 had been a political move with drastic consequences for Hawaiian politics, culture, and identity, and the establishment of immersion schools was equally as political. Like *hula* and voyaging, it became a symbol of resistance, but without Kalama and Kaho'olawe, these cultural expressions were only part of the story.

On another level, culture practitioners and culture workers who participated in the projects of the Department of Parks and Recreation and early State Foundation workshops find grassroots revival narratives flawed because they omit earlier projects out of which they feel the renaissance emerged. This omission is understandable, however, since recognition of institutional support as key agents in the revival and perpetuation of Hawaiian traditional arts downplays and even compromises community agency in the political changes that transpired. To see it as entirely the end result of internal combustion gives it a subversive spin. But to suggest that its momentum was in any way due to institutional initiatives is to point toward, instead, a scenario in which survival of Hawaiian culture was dependent on agencies of the state apparatuses that had threatened them with extinction and bred the circumstances that prompted their appropriation and commodification.

The history of the Hawaiian renaissance, like all pasts, is contested ground, and the selection of a limited narrative of its genesis can serve to select out certain aspects of its trajectories while disappearing others. Melanie Chait argues that what the array of narratives about the assertion of Hawaiian identity from the 1970's on and the resurgence

of interest in Hawaiian culture does attest to is the fluidity of Hawaiian identity and the importance of historical narrative in the construction of identity.⁷⁸ Who narrates the past and determines how it is articulated controls representation and identity in the present.

Hawai'i Reimagined for the Festival of American Folklife

As Kurin remembers, it was 1987 and Waihee was in Washington for a Governor's Meeting when they first met face-to-face to seriously discuss the possibility of the Hawai'i being represented at the Festival of American Folklife on the National Mall. A few months earlier, Mark Talisman, a longtime supporter of the Festival had traveled to Hawai'i on other business and had introduced to the idea of a Hawai'i program to the Governor. He had called Kurin to say that Waihee was very interested and Kurin had sent him some preliminary specs. Kurin says he "really didn't know what was going on in Hawai'i at the time," but it was clear that the idea "resonated with something he had on his agenda." Waihee visited the Office of Folklife Programs, talked with the Kurin and the staff, and made his decision. As Kurin recalls their meeting:

Basically we talked about the Festival. We showed him our video fundraiser. . . . We talked about what it would take to have Hawai'i on the Mall and why it might be good, and I think his big thing was that it might be good for Hawai'i to do some promotion on the East Coast—that it was a nice way of doing that in a kind of dignified and respectful way. And he was very much taken by the fact that it could be multiethnic, that it could be really Hawaiian. And this was a neat thing to try to do. So I remember he went out, I was walking him out into the hallway, to the elevator—he had a quick conversation with his assistant, and he basically said, and I overheard him, "Give the man his money!"⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Chait and University of Oxford. Faculty of Modern History., "Healing Hawaii : The Recovery of an Island Identity : A Socio-Historical Study of Hawaiian Cultural Resistance from the 1840s to the 1990s", 221.

⁷⁹ Kurin.

Lynn Martin, Hawai'i State Folklorist from 1985-1995, says that a Hawai'i program had twice been suggested to Governor Arioshi, but it was not until Governor Waihee took office that the idea met with a receptive audience.⁸⁰ Kurin remembers that before talking with Waihee, he had talked with Sara Richards at the SFCA to scope out the infrastructure that would be available, and she had made it clear that she was not interested. Although the timing for the occasion of the 30th anniversary of statehood appears to have great symbolic value, it was, according to Kurin, "an afterthought, but not a central thing."⁸¹ Festival organizers point out that the scheduling of their festival programs is not always a predictable factor and that a program emerges when they have what staff refer to as the "three-legged stool": a convergence of "our kind of people," adequate funding, and local institutional support.⁸² Seen in a larger timeframe, however, the program's form and content were very much inflected by the convergence of Smithsonian and Hawai'i histories, ideologies, and agendas that coalesced when the festival planning process began. Kurin felt that both he and Waihee saw the Hawai'i program with a sense of its possible social impact, rather than as a national gesture:

This was an opportunity where people threw out 'we have interesting cultural things happening in Hawai'i . We saw that, and this was a very useful thing to do at the time. I think in part it was because it was able to take something that was happening in Hawai'i and cast it on a bigger screen that was also off island and allow a lot of things to play out.⁸³

At the top level, the program was a practical and conceptual partnership between the National Museum and the SFCA; within that frame, it was a collaboration between the

⁸⁰ Her current name is Lynn Martin Graton

⁸¹ Kurin.

⁸² Richard Kennedy, June 17, 2003.

⁸³ Kurin.

divisions of each of those agencies that dealt with unofficial, non-elite culture. With the decision to do Hawai'i, they had taken on a major logistical challenge, as well as a conceptual one. In Hawai'i, that meant treading carefully between the officials, scholars, culture workers, and community experts who would be brought together to craft a Hawai'i narrative that could be inserted into a ten-day tourist event representing national culture. It was a challenging task and a process that crystallized much of Hawai'i history of cultural appropriation, collaboration, and resistance as well its uneasy relationship to authorities at the national level.

Upon returning to Hawai'i, and based on Kurin's spiel on the critical role of folklorists in a successful festival, Governor Waihee connected Kurin and Parker to his fundraisers, Pat Brandt and Norma Wong. Despite Richards' reluctance to do the program, Waihee appointed the SFCA to be fiscal agent for the project and provide the services of Martin. On March 1, Kurin called Martin to give her the go-ahead--letting her know that he had committed to the festival and would clear \$100,000 immediately so that research could begin. He asked Martin to begin thinking about staff and advisers.⁸⁴ At the Smithsonian, a model contract was drawn up that outlined the rights and responsibilities of the OFP and the SFCA. The attachments included "Guidelines for the Research and Development of a Hawaii State Program for the 1989 Festival of American Folklife" (see appendix A) and a detailed budget setting the program cost at \$795,000. The contract was signed by Joseph Shealy, contracting Officer for the Smithsonian and Sarah Richards, Executive director of the SFCA on May 27, 1988.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Richard Kennedy, Notes 1988.

⁸⁵ Contract between the State of Hawai'i and the Smithsonian Institution .

Martin's first task was to work with the SFCA and the Governor's office to amass a community think tank in order to solicit input from community leaders and scholars. This kind of brainstorming was crucial to the success of the program for a couple of reasons. OFP methods required that the conception of a program and the selection of its participants be achieved in as egalitarian a fashion as possible. In Hawai'i, hashing out differences of opinions between various groups up front ensured a stronger and less contested production. At a practical level, the logistics and costs of exhibiting Hawai'i also mandated soliciting community financial support. Two lists were drawn up: one of community scholars with expertise in Hawai'i folklife and representatives of local cultural institutions and agencies, and one of "VIP's" who were possible financial backers.⁸⁶ Because the goals were different with regard to these two groups, separate letters of invitation were sent from Parker's office to the individuals on the "community scholars" and VIP lists.

Planning meetings are a critical first step in creating a festival. Kurin finds them useful for getting a sense of social relation, even if there is conflict involved:

I find those meetings very good because they give you a quick thumbnail sketch of the lay of the land—who's into what, who you're gong to be stepping on, who we'll be perceived as stepping on, where are the possible partnerships.

Clearly, the OFP is concerned that they create good relationships with and understand the communities with which they work. The planning meetings also provide a venue for the directors to set the tone by showing Festival promotional material and explaining the Festival mission and style based on previous programs. Kurin and Diana Parker, Festival Director at the OFP, flew to Honolulu on July 25, 1988 to participate in the Hawai'i

⁸⁶ Memo from SFCA director to Governor's office Sarah Richards, July 8, 1988..

planning meetings. To elicit their ideal of partnership and consensus, it was also important that they learn what they could before the meetings. They stayed at a quaint older hotel called the Waikikian (one the Smithsonian would later propose to buy—see chap. 5) and spent their first evening over dinner with Martin so they could be briefed on what to expect from the groups they would meet. The next morning they met with Richards and Martin, then with the Native Hawaiian Culture and Arts Program Board of Directors at the Bishop Museum. Armed with books from the Bishop Museum gift shop, articles on Hawaiian issues, and a Hawaiian dictionary, they retired to the Waikikian to educate themselves for two long days of meetings.⁸⁷

Two “working” or “planning” meetings, also referred to as “community scholar meetings” were held from 1:00 am to 4:00 pm in the Senate Conference Room of the State Capitol on July 27 and 28, 1988.⁸⁸ Whether the lengthy lists of suggested meeting participants were whittled down from the original suggestions made by SFCA Director Sarah Richards to the Governor’s office or the attendees represented only those who were interested in the project is unclear. Fourteen invited people and two guests, in addition to the SFCA and OFP staff, attended the first meeting. Fifteen attended the second. Each group comprised a who’s who of local organizations that had advised or otherwise been involved in arts programs since the onset of federal funding in Hawai‘i: scholars from the University of Hawai‘i and local museums and organizers from community centers and projects. Only a couple of the attendees were also traditional arts practitioners. According to the minutes, each of these meetings followed the same “open” format: a welcome and thanks by the Smithsonian staff, introductions around the table, agenda and

⁸⁷ Lynn Martin, 1988.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

ground rules, history of the OFP and videotapes of the Festival of American Folklife, a general discussion covering the various genres and formats of festival presentation, a timetable for festival production, and concluding remarks.⁸⁹

The VIP meetings took an altogether different tone since the VIP's were being wooed while community scholars worked on program planning. This meeting, referred to in internal notes as the "resource meeting" and the "political meeting" in SFCA notes took place in more elegant surroundings and with decidedly better trappings. It was held from 5-7 pm at the Honolulu Academy of Art on July 28 and followed by a catered reception in the Academy's elegant Sculpture Garden. The first two meetings had been conducted to elicit information for the festival concept and identify potential research areas and resources. The purpose of the VIP meeting was "to brief community leaders on the plans for Hawai'i's presentation as a featured state at the Smithsonian's annual Festival of American Folklife,"⁹⁰ and its underlying intent was to present the project to individuals and businesses that might potentially serve as financial sponsors. The next morning, Martin, Richards, and Norma Wong joined Kurin and Parker in a courtesy visit to Governor Waihee, and then Richards, Martin, Kurin, and Parker gathered at the SFCA for a final debriefing over all three meetings before the OFP directors departed for Hilo early that afternoon. The Smithsonian directors would spend another 4 days sightseeing on the Big Island, and then Parker would go to Kaua'i for an additional two days of vacationing.

Considering the historical basis for suspicion amongst some community representatives about the ability and motives of a *haole*-run national agency proposing to

⁸⁹ "Working Meeting Minutes," (Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage Archives, Smithsonian Institution: 1988).

⁹⁰ Martin.

represent Hawai‘i, some initial conflict was inevitable. Kurin, however, was undaunted by the occasional hostility that surfaced in the meetings, and in fact, found it instructive: “Some people really put it to us—You’re the dumb Smithsonian and what do you guys know about this?—we have this going on.”⁹¹ Local authority was questioned as well. One of the planning meetings included scholars from the Bishop Museum, but at the other meeting, a point of consensus was that the Smithsonian should not go to the Bishop for its information on Hawaiian culture. Mediation was at least partially established through scholars who straddled the line, mostly university professors who had worked with Hawai‘i communities and established a degree of trust.

The opportunity to present Hawai‘i to the nation and to present a Hawai‘i that was different from that constructed by the tourist industry was eventually understood by all, but there was a conundrum implicit in the task: creating this counter-narrative would require crafting a unifying strategy that would allow many cultural groups and their overlapping histories to be presented cohesively. In a region where a manufactured version of culture has been packaged and repackaged for tourism, it should be no surprise that someone asked if they would be representing the “myth” or the “reality” of Hawai‘i culture. Some Native Hawaiians saw the festival as an opportunity to correct a white-washed history. This raised questions about whether they were going to represent the past or the present and the degree to which history could be introduced in a production that was centered on living traditions in the present. Parker and Kurin explained that despite the focus on the present and the avoidance of historical re-creation, history could be used to inform the present, to show how the present had evolved. And what of the

⁹¹ Richard Kurin, Personal interview. July 22, 2003.

other histories and the limitations imposed by an exclusively cultural representation that was to focus on traditional culture?

The many questions followed the lines of identity issues in 1980's Hawai'i and to illustrate tensions between groups. The debate over how Hawai'i would be represented in general turned to the central issue of who would be represented—everyone in Hawai'i according to demographics, only those unique to Hawai'i, those who had emigrated prior to certain date, or those who had made unique contributions to the social fabric of Hawai'i? Would the program focus be on indigenous culture or would it include introduced elements? A particularly critical issue given the recent political visibility of Hawaiians was how would the balance between indigenous and immigrant groups be determined. Barbara Smith, Professor Emeritus in Ethnomusicology, University of Hawai'i, noted that various groups of immigrants arrived in the islands in waves, so they could not assume they had the same history. Linda Moriarty, a cultural consultant from Kaua'i (who would later be hired as the program coordinator—see chap. 2), spoke up to say that she would like to see at least half of the representation be Native Hawaiian. Ricardo Trimillos, from the University of Hawai'i added the important point that, "The host culture requires a different rationale." This recognition of Hawaiians as the host culture and symbolic separation of Hawai'i peoples into two camps reflected a strong post-colonial, post-Hawaiian renaissance perspective.

The issue of ethnicity generated heated discussion. The Festival promotional video had made it clear that Festival programs tended to fall into one of three categories: theme, region, or ethnicity. Waihee had proposed a multi-ethnic festival, and multi-ethnicity was one way to present a counter-narrative to the mono-cultural flattening of

Hawai'i in touristic imaging. Ethnicity, however, was often experienced and defined differently in Hawai'i than it was on the mainland. As we have seen with the categorizations of the SFCA, it had shifted even in official categorizations. In both meetings, the problem of categorizing Hawai'i culture by ethnicity was raised and examples were given of people who identified with multiple ethnic categories through intermingling of blood, proximity, and/or cultural practice. Dolly Strazar, historian for the SFCA, encapsulated the general rhetorical trend for *haole* at the meetings when she said that everyone who comes to Hawai'i is affected by Hawaiian culture and eventually becomes "local." Although the "local" was a topic at both meetings, this hopeful view of the category as inclusive was only expressed by those whom it usually excludes.

Given only a day to come up with solutions, each group did its best to arrive at a workable solution. When they floundered, Parker and Martin nudged them toward inclusive rather than exclusive themes. They offered themes that would cut across difference, such as *'ohana* (family), celebration, the calabash. A Hawaiian artist suggested flowers as a possibility, pointing out that the *lei* has been universally adopted and that flowers are used in *hula*. A Hawaiian scholar protested that outsiders would be drawn to introduced varieties and superficial symbolism. Although Martin and Parker assured the group that the festival audience was highly sensitive and should not be underestimated, the discussion moved on. *'Ohana* was also toyed with as a possible theme, but fell apart when it was juxtaposed with ethnicity. Celebration got equally as messy when people began to note the many crossovers between ethnic communities. The bottom line that the groups agreed on was "a sense of place," a theme that indirectly brought the discussion back to a unified representation of the State of Hawai'i and

accorded with the intent of all three of the sponsoring agencies—the Smithsonian, the SFCA, and State government. Ironically, it also centered the festival theme on the very issue that has been most contentious in Hawai‘i’s history and especially the Hawaiian renaissance. Whose place?

In the meetings, as if on cue, questions were then turned to concrete issues of how to represent an island in the Pacific in an enclosed space that bears little resemblance to the tropics. Kurin asked how Hawai‘i could be recreated in Washington and prompted them to think about architecture. A *yagura* (Japanese Bon dance tower), gardens, taro patches, *paniolo* stone corrals, mom & pop stores, plantation houses, and a canoe shed were among the suggestions. A last stab at the cross-cultural was made when someone suggested Hawai‘i comedians and ethnic humor as a cross-cultural link, but it was quickly voted down as a practice that everyone agreed would be misinterpreted by outsiders. Kurin returned the questions to visual depictions by asking: “how do you represent the ocean?” This was a challenge to which the groups responded with an uncertain question, “photos?”

The Smithsonian delegation was viewed by some with suspicion, as just another case of know-it-all, mainland *haole* showing up with their ideas about what was good for Hawai‘i. Yet at the end of two days, the colonial, resistance, and revival histories were leveled into a unified and congenial image of Hawai‘i multiculturalism. With so much extant conflict and an acknowledged distrust of outsiders, what transpired to contain the meetings? That both groups came to the same conclusions speaks to the subtle guidance and prompting they received. The theme “A Sense of Place,” established a safe unifying frame for the program. Martin then gave the groups a limited choice between two

“realities” when she asked if they wanted to represent the “best of Hawai‘i ” or “everyday reality.” Self-censorship also played a part in the discussions. It had been made clear in the meetings that indigenous and plantation histories were not the same, and topics and agendas sifted out along ethnic lines. Hawaiians expressed concern with showing that the neighbor islands are different and with not hiding historical “skeletons.” The cost of *poi* (staple food made from pounded taro root) production and the exploitations of tourism were another side of Hawaiian concerns, but there was also a desire to move away from negative depictions of Hawaiians in the present. Others, on the other hand, wanted to move away from negative representations of the past. Those whose ancestors had come as contract laborers preferred to stress how the plantation system had preserved culture rather than how it had exploited laborers. The grid of the festival concept and form was gently but effectively imposed through hierarchy, prompts, and limitations. Festival emphasis on visuality and performance formed a template that simply did not make room for the messiness of Hawai‘i’s past or present and ultimately refocused and sanitized Hawai‘i’s colonial legacy and cultural hybridity to “put its best foot forward” instead.

Culture workers explain that there is a custom of reticence in the islands that takes precedence with outsiders, dictating that local people act as welcoming hosts without divulging personal information, and perhaps it is this custom of reticence that made the meetings mostly polite. However, there were other dynamics at work as well. The scholars who were invited to the planning meetings were the guests in this case and were not in the position of acting as hosts. It was officials from the state—in this case the SFCA—who played host in this enterprise, parties with personal and agency gains at stake in sponsoring the proposed event. Clearly, these persons had good reasons for

being cordial and “putting our best foot forward,” a phrase that Martin repeatedly urged they adopt as the festival model. In trying to understand the dynamics of the meetings, the frame of the SFCA, as represented by three Hawai‘i *haole* women, might be considered as well as the composition of the group of invitees.

Although the community scholar meetings were conducted according to Smithsonian ideals of democratic collaboration, they were also carefully orchestrated and monitored. Before each discussion, the Smithsonian directors set the stage by showing videos of previous festivals and lauded the value of the festival. They then deferred to local experts with whom they had previously met. An ethnomusicologist from the University of Hawai‘i music department had been invited to each of the meetings, and in each meeting was asked to give the preliminary comments. This protocol served at least couple of purposes. Their selection by the Smithsonian established their cultural authority as generalists and it established the primacy of music for the cultural representation at the festival. Whenever the conversation veered “off course,” as it frequently did, it was steered back to more concrete issues of festival planning by one of the Smithsonian festival directors with focused questions such as: “What is it that you want to say about Hawai‘i?” and “How would you show that on the Mall?”⁹² The community scholars who were invited to the planning meetings hailed from University of Hawai‘i ethnomusicology, dance, and language programs, various ethnic civic groups, and local ethnographic museums. Intentionally not invited were political activists. Some of the university and community people had worked with the Smithsonian already. Most of the other groups had received federal and state funding.

⁹² "Working Meeting Minutes."

In the planning meetings, Hawai'i's histories emerged in issues of who and what would represent Hawai'i to the nation. The potential for these questions to stir controversy was contained by the festival concept. After all, a festival is presumed to be festive; i.e., a conflict-free and joyous occasion. Secondly, it is a folklife festival, and folklife is generally represented by elders and as cultural continuity. Although the history of cultural revival in Hawai'i indicates quite the opposite, folklife tends to be understood by the public in conservative terms—as traditionality posed against radical change and modernity. And while Smithsonian folklorists are well aware that folklife is inherently political, that is a secret they hold close to their chests when staging it in the midst of the National Mall.

The difficulties of eluding the tropes of tourism are apparent in the rhetoric of the meetings. In attempting to find ways to represent cultural fusion, multi-ethnicity, and creolization, people were at a loss. In trying to symbolize the local, they offered only trite symbols employed by the media, tourism, and popular culture such as the mixed plate, plate lunch, and rainbow multiculturalism. As in the narratives of a Hawaiian cultural renaissance, essential parts of the narrative are eclipsed when the political is avoided.

Conclusion

The Festival model presented both opportunity and dilemma. In a half century, ethnographic methods had changed from a concentration on salvage ethnography to a focus on cultural conservation and community collaboration, but ethnographic authority was still being construed from center (east coast academia and its offshoots) to periphery

(Hawai'i) and determinations of what was traditional, authentic, and worthy of revitalization were being determined by academically trained outsiders. However, the intervention of mainland experts and federal cultural monies in Hawai'i has had, for the most part, an opposite effect. Rather than imposing outside definitions, intervention by agencies like the NEA has had the effect of counteracting the local elite's colonialist preferences for elite art forms and devaluation of folklife. The various cultural revitalizations of the 1970's and 80's in Hawai'i emerged out of local and national politics, and their accompanying reclamation of traditional arts for ethnic identification was often, at least in part, a collaboration with granting agencies.

In looking back, Kurin remembers that they assessed Hawai'i as a "hot spot, a cultural hot spot"⁹³ in the 1980's. By bridging the gap between cultural conservation and tourist productions, the Smithsonian promised an opportunity to tap into that heat in order to represent a differently calibrated vision of Hawai'i, one that repudiated the primitivizing of native culture and erasure of immigrants. Its timing was critical as drew on identity issues of the moment while building on federally and state funded cultural programs of the past. As in Kalākaua's Jubilee and the Panama-Pacific Exhibition, it would demonstrate the unity and strength of the government through the arts of its subjects. Its educational value was valorized by mainland authorities working for national agencies, just as educational cultural projects had been in the 1920's, 1970's, and 1980's. As a successful spectacle, the festival offered the state a venue in which it could be promoted as "more than beautiful beaches." The Festival's populist roots and democratic ideals assured ethnic groups of the opportunity to self-represent.

⁹³ Kurin.

The Hawaiian renaissance had established the *āina* (land) as the central symbol of Hawaiian identity. The planning committee appropriated that symbol and made it both abstract and inclusive in selecting “a sense of place” as its multicultural theme. The following chapters examine how this and other tensions unfolded within the various phases of the Hawai‘i program.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIELDWORK PHASE: DEFINING TRADITION

Cultures are not like clocks and motors that can be taken apart into neat and separate pieces. Thus in any listing of cultural categories there will be some overlapping areas, and many cultural objects and practices will not fit exactly into one category or another. This fluidity is what makes cultures and communities the dynamic force that they are and presents people who hope to study and document them with exciting challenges

Guide for Surveying Pacific Arts

Caucasians are strange people/ Caucasians are strange, strange people/ Caucasians are not like you and me /They put sugar on their poi and butter on their rice/ They're always giving you advice.../We don't want no Caucasians 'round here!

Frank Delima: *The Best of Delima too!*

The 1989 Hawai'i program in Washington D.C. lasted for only ten days, but it was over a year and a half in the making. At the heart of the festival-making process was the six-month long "fieldwork phase"—the research-based process determining which tradition bearers and what traditions would be selected to represent Hawai'i in the national arena of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Constructed as an exotic American playground, Hawai'i was an ideal candidate for a Smithsonian makeover, a guaranteed draw. Furthermore, the state's complex pluralism—the only state purported to be without a majority population—made it an ideal choice for the Festival mission of celebrating American cultural diversity. A successful program would require careful re-imagining to strip away the tourism myths and reveal an alternative view of island culture(s). Local scholars and culture workers at the planning meetings had made it clear that the

representation of Hawai'i should circumvent primitivist images of island culture as *hula* girls and surfers and present instead the traditional culture of the state's many ethnic groups as it is practiced unselfconsciously and in private. The Smithsonian staff assured them that tradition bearers would have a hand and a voice through performance, dialogue with audiences, craft and food demonstrations, and on narrative stages.

Fieldwork was key to this vision. The fieldwork phase had three goals: to create an archive of traditional arts practitioners for the state of Hawai'i from which it could draw for future in-state projects, to contribute to the national store of information on cultural heritage in the United States and form a resource for future Smithsonian projects and for researcher, and to form a base for the Hawai'i program. Ideally, documenting communities, tradition bearers, and traditions would provide the pool of people and materials for festival selection, and the selections would, in turn, influence the conceptualization of the program, from narrativization to site design. Given the complex and calendrically-driven process of festival-making, that fieldwork is seen as a necessary step is already surprising. Good fieldwork takes time and patience. Folklore fieldwork is generally a delicate and fluid process in which relationships of trust are established and time and collected materials are not under the control of the fieldworker. In fact, in his classic nut and bolts guide to fieldwork methodology, folklorist Bruce Jackson warns against predetermining goals for fieldwork:

I would probably say that if you finished the fieldwork project and got exactly what you'd expected and did with it exactly what you'd planned, that you'd planned a simple minded project to start with and your fieldwork was superficial and so was your thinking about what you'd seen.¹

¹ Bruce Jackson, *Fieldwork* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois, 1987).

In festival planning, time schedules, budgets, personalities, and politics greatly restrict the fluidity of the fieldwork process and make the depth of findings questionable.

Alongside the process of gathering fieldwork data on which to construct the Hawai'i program, was the process of sorting this data into a system of classification that would, in turn, form a coherent conceptual narrative. Advisors at the planning meetings had arrived at "sense of place" as a theme for the program and made preliminary suggestions about how that might be accomplished but fieldwork materials would determine who would go, what they would perform or demonstrate, and how they would be framed. In other words, in order to make sense of the fieldwork, culture workers needed to subject it to museum methodologies. The Folklife Festival bills itself as a disruption of the sobriety of the National Museum, as the museum taken outdoors and brought to life. What the fieldwork phase reveals that is not readily apparent in the Festival itself is that it is constructed on museum classification and narrativization strategies. According to Hooper-Greenhill, the role of museum narratives is to impose order through various strategies:

The master narratives that museums construct depend on a number of techniques of inclusion and exclusion. These include hierarchies of value (which relate to the intentions of the museum), authenticity (the object is both there to be observed and is presented as the 'real thing'), and verifiable knowledge (the provenance of an object demonstrated through documentation). These combinations produce apparently reliable and trustworthy material evidence.²

All of these methods were employed in this phase of the Hawai'i program. This chapter looks at the role of the fieldwork process in shaping the version of Hawai'i that was constructed and performed on the National Mall in 1989 and its implications for the

² Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture, Museum Meanings*. (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 24-5.

representation of Hawai'i as a multicultural paradigm for the rest of the nation. I argue that a close look at the fieldwork phase reveals gaps between local and national definitions and uses of multiculturalism, and that while the final selections were intended as an oppositional narrative to the productions of the Hawai'i tourist industry, they unwittingly reinforced some of the very paradigms they sought to undercut.

Insiders and Outsiders in the Islands

Given the complexity of identity politics in Hawai'i in the 1980's, it might seem a recipe for disaster for mainland *haole* to take on responsibility for creating the 1989 Hawai'i program. Once the initial planning phase was completed, the key players in the creation of the program were Richard Kennedy of the Smithsonian and Lynn Martin of SFCA. Kennedy was hired by Kurin and Parker, and on August 20, 1988, he agreed to take a year off from his job at the National Council for the Traditional Arts (NCTA) and curate the Hawai'i Program. He arrived in Hawai'i on October 6 to begin the fieldwork phase of the program. According to Kennedy, his first official encounter with the politics of representing traditional culture in Hawai'i occurred at the Hawai'i Museum Association conference held in Hilo from October 7-8, 1988. Here is his account of what happened as he reported it to Diana Parker two months later:

During the three days of conference talks I had a chance to meet many of the program officers of the more than 60 some small museums across Hawai'i and to be introduced to some of the issues facing preservationists in the state. I also had the opportunity, first day "on the job," to justify and defend the Smithsonian's presence in Hawai'i as well as its plans for a 1989 festival. Trial by fire!

The keynote speaker and discussant of the sessions was [the], Director of the Museum of British Columbia. On this first day [he] decided not to comment on a very controversial talk about the role of hotels in the

preservation of Hawaiian culture and stated, after my introduction to the group, that if someone from Ottawa [sic] came to British Columbia to do a festival about the Province he would tell him to go home. The room went silent; the audience clearly was not accustomed to controversy. In response, I feel I presented our case well and answered the many questions that arose. Eventually someone commented that he was tired of the issue and suggested that we move on.³

For Kennedy, this incident sounded a cautionary note about his position as a cultural authority in Hawai'i. It seemed to hint at a much larger issue, one that has become particularly virulent in the "post-colonial" Pacific: a debate over who owns and who defines culture—cultural practitioners, local government, scholars, or agents of the nation.⁴ That the discussion was actually about the role of tourism in museum work with indigenous communities, and that the warning about regional sensitivity was given by one non-indigenous cultural authority to another are issues left hanging.

Retelling of this story, Kennedy takes seriously the concerns raised by his heckler. He may also have been accurate in interpreting the silence in the room as discomfort with conflict. In his mid-term report to Parker, Kennedy acknowledges the state's "highly politicized culture" and says that he is aware that "many people in Hawai'i are extremely self-conscious and proud of their traditions and are critical of the role played over the past 150 years by Caucasians from the mainland, especially the federal government." He also astutely notes that "in many cases it is only the 'Aloha Spirit' that softens some of

³ Richard Kennedy, "In House Mid-Term Progress Report on the Hawai'i Program for the 1989 Festival of American Folklife," (November 30, 1988). This story is retold on an AAA panel entitled "Cultural Representation Through Negotiation" Richard Kennedy, "Curator, Community, and the State in the Representation of Hawai'i," (Paper presented at American Anthropological Association Conference, 1990).

⁴ In her recent book *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwa Smith outlines five models of culturally appropriate research for non-indigenous people researching indigenous people, the first four from Graham Smith: a mentoring model led by indigenous people, an adoption model in which long-term relationships are established, a power-sharing model, an empowering outcomes model in which indigenous people's concerns shape the research, and a bi-cultural or partnership research Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London and New York: University of Otago, 1999), 177-8.

the criticisms.” Yet, he says that he has not received “even an inkling” of resentment from anyone he has met.⁵ This masking of conflict may be attributable to a customary reticence of “local culture.” Kirkpatrick argues that the defensive identities shaped by the colonial and plantations experiences have shaped an acute sensitivity to conflict.

Okamura further argues that confrontational behavior has been associated with *haole* and is often referred to as such, avoided to elude being stigmatized. It makes sense then, that *haole* who work with cultural non-*haole* cultural groups are careful to avoid confrontational behavior in their desire to adapt to local culture and not be alienated.⁶

Kennedy’s naturally quiet demeanor and cultural sensitivity certainly played a role in his acceptance. Kurin admits that he could never have succeeded in Hawai‘i, that he was “too New York” for the more subtle social codes of the islands.⁷

As the planning phase had revealed, the cultural environment in which the fieldwork process was expected to operate was complicated by multiple histories and agendas, intermarriage, and the degree of cultural sharing that permeates many groups. Communities living in close proximity to each other had dropped, borrowed, adapted and reinvented traditions, combining their own practices with elements adopted from other groups as well as what they have assimilated from the dominant culture. The catchall term applied to the resulting sensibilities and practices—from language to foods—is “local.” In the 1980’s, terms like “mixed plate” and “chop suey” were also common. These terms had all been appropriated by tourist industry and advertising to portray an

⁵ Kennedy, “In House Mid-Term Progress Report on the Hawai‘i Program for the 1989 Festival of American Folklife.”

⁶ John Kirkpatrick, “Ethnic Antagonism and Innovation in Hawai‘i,” in *Ethnic Conflict: International Perspectives*, ed. J. Boucher and D. Landis (Beverly Hills: Sage Productions, 1987).; Jonathan Y. Okamura, “Aloha Kanaka Me Ke Aloha ‘Aina: Local Culture and Society in Hawai‘i,” *Amerasia Journal* 7, no. 2 (2000).

⁷ Richard Kurin, Personal interview. July 22, 2003.

inherent geniality and inclusiveness in Hawai'i. On the street, the term "local" was more ambiguous. In the territorial period it was used by *kama'āina haole* to enforce a racialized class differential, particularly after the infamous Massey case of the 1930's.⁸ With the Hawaiian movement in the 1970's, it acquired currency as an oppositional term that valued being non-*haole*.⁹ In addition to simply designating someone born in Hawai'i, the connotations of local might be used to racialize or to de-racialize, to exclude *haole*, to collapse non-*haole* groups into a conglomerate, or to claim a sense of belonging (by *haole*).¹⁰ In 1989, this politicization of ethnic labels coincided with everyday banter and comedic performance that openly utilized ethnic labels for people from various backgrounds. Uncomfortable outsiders have been known to remark that people in Hawai'i are obsessed by race and ethnicity, whereas the popularity of ethnic humor indicates that most residents see this labeling as good-natured and benign. As Jonathan Okamura points out, this good-natured playing with difference does not necessarily obviate underlying social tensions. In fact, he argues that it may actually serve to conceal them.¹¹ By choosing "a sense of place" as a unifying them and to "put our best foot forward" as a rubric, the program planners had already begun to pick their way through the ethnic conflicts in Hawai'i and construct a narrative that would shape the fieldwork process and order the resultant information.

⁸ See John P. Rosa, "Local Story: The Massie Case Narrative and the Production of Local Identity in Hawai'i," *Amerasia Journal* 26, no. 2 (2002).

⁹ For discussions on the changing and politicized uses of the *haole* label, see Keiko Ohnuma, "Local Haole - a Contradiction in Terms? The Dilemma of Being White, Born and Raised in Hawai'i," *Cultural Values* 6, no. 3 (2002)., Terry Young, "Haole: The Politicization of a Hawaiian Word and Its History," *Forward Motion* 11, no. 3 (1992).

¹⁰ As some local Japanese and Hawaiian activists have pointed out recently, as a collapsing category, it serves to mask power differentials and disappear the resistance of Hawaiians. See special issue of *Amerasia Journal*, vol. 26, no. 2 2000.

¹¹ Jonathan Y. Okamura, "The Illusion of Paradise: Privileging Multiculturalism in Hawai'i," in *Making Majorities*, ed. Dru Gladney (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

Cultural Authorities

A festival program is framed by the particular vision of the people who craft it, and the Hawai'i program is no exception. Personalities, educational backgrounds, and institutional affiliations were key factors in the direction of the two-day planning meetings and wielded even more influence in the six month-long fieldwork process. Each of the coordinators of the fieldwork process in 1988 represented a major institution, and they enhanced each other's expertise. Neither Kennedy nor Martin was academically trained as folklorists, but they both had training related to traditional culture. Kennedy received his from University of California at Berkeley in South and Southeast Asian Studies and was working for the National Council on Traditional Arts where he had helped produce six National Folk Festivals, folk art/music tours, performances for the Library of Congress and the NEA. Although he had never traveled to Hawai'i, he had worked with National Heritage Award winners from Hawai'i and helped organize a *hula* tour to Italy.¹² Martin, the SFCA Folk Arts Coordinator, had lived in Hawai'i and the Pacific for many years. Martin refers to herself as a "de facto folklorist," one who has been trained on the job. Part of that training had come from the national level when Bess Lomax Hawes helped her to set up an Apprenticeship program under the SFCA.¹³ Martin had lived in Japan and gone to school in Guam and Hawai'i, where she received an MA in Pacific Studies. She was also a weaver. The Hawai'i program was her third project for SFCA and the largest. Martin discovered early on in the process that she was pregnant and would not be able to play as active a role in the festival as she had originally planned, so a co-curator was needed on the Hawai'i end. However, as will be seen in this

¹² Smithsonian, 1988.

¹³ Lynn Martin, Telephone interview September 16, 2002.

and subsequent chapters, Martin continued to play a central role in the festival-making process.

Choosing a coordinator who was part Hawaiian was a definite asset that put a local face on the project. Kennedy's trip in 1988 was his first visit to Hawai'i, so after arriving, he watched numerous documentary videos to familiarize himself with the people, culture, and politics. In one of the videos he watched, he saw Linda Moriarty, a part-Hawaiian from Kaua'i who worked for the East-West Center and was on the SFCA Folk Arts Advisory Board. Kennedy says that he was so impressed with her that he decided then and there that she was the co-curator he wanted. He found out that she had traveled extensively in Asia and the Pacific, had a Pacific import company, and had published a book on shell *lei*. She was convinced to sign on to the project, and they have been close friends ever since. Another non-*haole* who played an important behind the scenes advisory role was Dr. Ricardo Trimillos, ethnomusicologist at the University of Hawai'i. Trimillos, a Filipino originally from California, had served as an advisor to the SFCA since its inception. He had been on the Folk Arts Advisory Board since its beginnings in 1985, and his previous consulting work had included work with another office of the Smithsonian. The most valuable aspect of Kennedy's new team was their combined access to local communities. Martin had SFCA files from earlier state projects as well as her own. Moriarty was part Hawaiian and had lived on three islands where she had met many craftspeople through her business and research ventures. Trimillos was a musician and an expert on world music with access to several communities, especially the Filipino, local Japanese and Okinawan communities. Most importantly, Martin, the only other *haole*, had the weight of a funding agency to complement her familiarity with

Pacific culture and Hawaiian language. She also had her weaving and *lei* making skills as a point of access. The results of the fieldwork process would particularly reflect the styles, dedication, and combined expertise of these four culture workers.

Gospel of Hawai‘i Folklife According to Martin

When Kennedy agreed to take on the curatorship of the Hawai‘i program, Martin wrote an ecstatic letter to Festival Director Diana Parker congratulating them on their choice. Kennedy was a novice to Hawai‘i, a *malahini*, but he arrived armed with a twenty-two page document entitled “Overview of Folklife in Hawai‘i and Possible Field Research Topics/Themes” and that he still says was his “bible.”¹⁴ Martin had begun preparing this document immediately after the initial planning meetings in Honolulu, at the request of Parker and Kurin and it would become Kennedy’s lens for viewing Hawai‘i culture, making it feasible to pull together the elements needed for the program in the time allotted.¹⁵ It summarizes the suggestions made at the planning meetings, provides SFCA information on the main ethnic groups and suggestions for areas of further research, suggests themes and workshop topics, and details “special concerns.” This document demonstrates the degree to which Martin and her advisors had already shaped the program concept in the interim. Their project had been to distill the debates from the planning meeting discussions into the Smithsonian’s concept of folklife. The American Folklife Center definition of folklife that had been presented to Congress in the Folklife Preservation Act of 1976 defined it as:

¹⁴ Richard Kennedy, June 17, 2003.

¹⁵ The information that follows comes from two drafts of this report. Lynn Martin, "Overview of Folklife in Hawaii and Possible Research Topics/Themes," (Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage Archives, Washington D.C., 1988).

the traditional, expressive, shared culture of various groups in the United States: familial, ethnic, occupational, religious, and regional. Expressive culture includes a wide range of creative and symbolic forms, such as custom, belief, technical skill, language, drama, ritual, architecture, music, play, dance, drama, ritual, pageantry, and handicraft. Generally these expressions are learned orally, by imitation, or in performance, and are maintained or perpetuated without formal instruction or institutional direction.

This definition—focused on orally-transmitted, unofficial, expressive culture—provided the operating principle for fieldwork selections, and the document that Martin sent Kennedy represented its application to Hawai'i ethnic communities although the official definition of folklife does not mention ethnicity. Instead, it presents a number of ways in which cultural groups might be formed, such as family or occupation, and a range of folklife genres. This catalog of genres, while broad enough to include cultural expressions not usually valued as folklore, is also limiting in ways that would come to light in the fieldwork process. Applying this definition within ethnic categories at times and outside of them at others, based on OFP multicultural objectives, Martin's document generally follows the planning meeting idea that a different logic needed to be applied to the "host culture" and others and employs different organizational strategies for Hawaiians and "others."

From the opening, the document vacillates between thematic and ethnic approaches. Setting an overall tone, the notion of Hawaiians as the host culture is expanded to present Hawaiian culture as pervasive and the base for immigrant culture. Under the heading "Hawaiian Folklife and Arts," a paragraph on kinship and *'ohana*, the Hawaiian word for family, explains that *'ohana* is an inclusive extended family concept

utilized by many ethnic groups in Hawai'i and that terms like calabash cousin, auntie, and uncle are commonly used outside of the family. Martin notes that the idea of *'ohana* as a festival theme was brought up at the planning meetings; however, she does not mention that the suggestion was prompted as a way to move the divided group toward inclusivity or that "sense of place" had been the consensual choice. Nor does she note, as she later does with *aloha*, that *'ohana* is also a term much appropriated and abused by tourism.¹⁶

Although the SFCA had for years organized its projects into the broad ethnic categories of Polynesian, Asian and Other, the report changes tactics to express the focus on folklife. It is divided into four major parts: Hawaiian Folklife, Local Traditions, Culture and Ethnic Groups Represented through Themes of Celebration, and Special Considerations. The first two categories served to separate out Native Hawaiians from immigrants, and the third category acted to subdivide the immigrant category within the constraints of an inclusive theme, like *'ohana*, that had been introduced at the planning meetings by Martin. These categories, the SFCA response to the Festival parameters, would regulate every aspect of the fieldwork process, determining who and what would be selected.

In line with Moriarty's planning meeting assertion that the festival programming should be fifty percent Hawaiian, over half of the document is devoted to genres of Hawaiian Folklife. The disproportionate focus on Hawaiians was due to several factors, one of them being SFCA familiarity and extant data. Since its inception under NEA directives, the SFCA had targeted Hawaiians for "cultural development." Native Hawaiians had been given top priority because the SFCA, which administered the NEA

¹⁶ In Waikiki, there is a line of hotels called Ohana Hotels. They are the budget arm of Marriott. By now the use of *'ohana* as a theme in Disney's *Lilo and Stitch* is probably the best known media appropriation.

funds, saw their culture as endangered and because they were the group considered to be on the lowest economic and educational rung in the islands. Over the years prior to the creation of the Folk Arts Division, SFCA had amassed a large body of material on Hawaiian performance arts. Through its collaborations with Hawaiian organizations, it also had an extensive database on Hawaiian arts practitioners, many of whom had been funded by the SFCA and the NEA (see chap. 1). Martin had been a Pacific Studies major and was familiar with many of the crafts. Her initial SFCA project had been to assist with Hawai'i's participation in the Festival of Pacific Arts, a project that had familiarized her with a number of the *hālau hula* (*hula* schools), *hula* protocol, and Pacific identity issues. Finally, the Native Hawaiian cultural revival had intensified since the 1970's, so Hawaiian arts had high visibility along with political volatility. It was extremely prudent for SFCA to devote the majority of its attention to Hawaiians; however, the categorizations required for this were complex.

According to the Smithsonian philosophy of the time, the festival was interested in folklife that had continuity, and arts which had fallen into extinction and been reinvented were to be excluded. Martin's report divided Hawaiians folklife into three main folklife categories and several smaller ones that demonstrate the difficulties of trying to impose the Smithsonian template of folklife based on continuity onto actual cultural practices that had been altered by a variety of historical and political factors. The three main genres in Martin's breakdown are Hawaiian Folklife and Arts (*hula*, chant, music, and costuming), Hawaiian Crafts, and Hawaiian Architecture. The category of Hawaiian Crafts is further subdivided according to assessments of traditionality: Crafts of Continuance (feather work and stonework), Crafts of Revival

(voyaging and crafts, such as *kapa*-making (bark cloth), which had allegedly died out but had been recently revived), and Crafts of Acculturation (quilting and various forms of weaving which incorporate elements introduced from elsewhere). Discrepancies abound. For example, *hula* and *oli*, Hawaiian music, and instrument-making could easily fit into all three of the subcategories of continuity, revival, and acculturation. Certain "crafts of continuance," such as feather work, had continued, but only by a very few people and through acculturation. Some crafts of revival, such as voyaging and canoe building, were well on their way to being iconic of Hawaiian tradition despite their reinvention while at least one of the crafts of acculturation, *lauhala* weaving (pandanus leaves), owed its rescue from extinction to sponsorship by the Folk Arts Apprenticeship program rather than traditional modes of transmission. The remaining categories for Hawaiian folklife are uneven. Hawaiian architecture had virtually disappeared, except for ruins and canoe sheds, from everywhere except reconstructed historical sites. While there were still a few elderly *kapuna* (elders) who were knowledgeable in *La'au Lapa'au* (traditional healing arts), the SFCA had no information on children's games or sports (other than surfing). On the other hand, the Hawaiian language was undergoing a comeback due to the University of Hawai'i language classes and experimental immersion schools for native Hawaiian children so language information could easily be acquired if all the prescribed folklife genres were to be explored. What this list emphasizes is the richness of the cultural side of the Hawaiian renaissance, the history of collaboration and adaptation, and the interplay of loss and revival. It invokes the complex relationship between colonial structures and indigenous culture. Ultimately, it necessitated rethinking the definition of folklife in a Pacific indigenous context.

Local traditions required yet another kind of thinking—one that defied ethnic categories. Some people at the planning meetings, particularly the *haole* organizers, had insisted that shared, or “local” traditions predominated over those of individual communities. In conjunction with the direction of the planning meetings, Martin lists “Local Traditions” before she lists other ethnic groups in Hawai‘i, giving greater weight to shared culture than she does to differences that ethnic groups might use to distinguish themselves from each other. This segue section between Hawaiian and immigrant traditions is broken into standard folklife genres interpreted as mostly indigenous-derived practices which spread to other groups and some practices introduced by foreigners: Occupational, Local Language, Local Vernacular Architecture, and Local Foodways. Because she is only looking for occupations that fit into folklife categories, this is a very limited list. Under taro farming, she notes that although taro has spiritual significance for Hawaiians, its actual cultivation is much reduced from earlier times and is mostly done by a few Japanese. She lists plantation agricultural crops such as coffee, pineapple, sugar, and horticulture, then lumps the traditional Japanese arts of ikebana and bonsai in with ethnobotany. Fishing and boat-building are acknowledged as practices with multiple influences, mostly Hawaiian and Japanese. *Paniolo* (Hawai‘i cowboys), a group on which Martin had done extensive work for a traveling exhibit in 1987, are offered as an ethnic crossover occupation.

The local overview also details ways in which shared traditions are found in multiple sites where cultural groups have coincided, such as local pidgin, mom and pop stores, painted churches, the “plate lunch,” and “shave ice.” Again, she emphasizes a line

of cultural descent from Hawaiians to immigrants and superimposes “local” over the particularities of ethnic traditions while merging tradition and identity:

Food is a very important element of local culture and life in Hawai‘i. The sharing of food is an important bonding experience in Hawaiian culture and this feeling is shared by most of the immigrant groups in Hawai‘i. There is a tremendous sense of ‘local identity’ that surrounds the food of all groups.¹⁷

Illustrating the tension between an inclusive “local” and distinct ethnic traditions, the plate lunch—a popular combination meal which features foods from several ethnicities—is first used as an inclusive symbol of “localness” and then sorted into ethnic categories food by food, according to the Festival logic of differentiated ethnic presentations. The effect is the same as that given by the symbolic gesture of listing local traditions before individual ethnicities—the parts are subjugated to the whole.

With Hawaiians selected out through logic of both history and place, Martin subjects the remaining ethnic groups to a theme mentioned in the meetings: “Cultural and Ethnic Groups Presented through Celebration.” In doing so, she subordinates non-Hawaiian groups to an inclusive frame that will bind them into a harmonious unit in the interests of performability. The goal that had emerged in the planning meeting was to select a theme that would show Hawai‘i’s diversity with its “best foot forward,” that would simultaneously highlight shared culture and demonstrate difference.

Theoretically, a theme of celebration would accomplish two things, to 1) show everyone at his or her holiday best, and 2) demonstrate the dynamics of sharing and of difference, not just highlight difference. The implication was that through such a theme, the Hawai‘i

¹⁷ Lynn Martin, “Overview of Folklife in Hawaii and Possible Field Research Topics/Themes,” (Honolulu: State Foundation for Culture and the Arts, 1988), 13.

program could, ideally, portray pluralism transported into the ideal, and possibly idealized, dimension of interactive multiculturalism.

Incorporating immigrant traditions under the umbrella of Hawaiian-ness to evoke a hosts/guests dyad, Martin begins this section with the Hawaiian terms for celebration, *Ho'olaule'a*, and for a public presentation, *Ho'ike*, then a lengthy section on multicultural celebrations featuring parades with *pa'u* (lit. a divided skirt) riders and flowers and baby first-year *lū'au*. Although she correctly presents these as multicultural celebrations, both practices are derived from Native Hawaiian practices and have been commercialized as multicultural. As a frame for the information on ethnic traditions that follows, Martin then offers a qualifying statement that stresses the amount of slippage between practices and particular groups:

In Hawai'i there is a certain amount of blurring of ethnic barriers and yet some very distinctive characteristics in some of the cultural practices. Many people are made up of people from different ethnic groups. It is not unusual to meet some one who is Hawaiian/Portuguese/Chinese/Filipino, or Chinese/Japanese/Hawaiian/ Puerto Rican, or Scottish/Portuguese/English. There is a local expression for something or someone that has a mixed cultural/ethnic make-up – “chop suey.”

It is clear from her previous emphasis on multicultural traditions and this statement about mixed ethnic identities that she was quite uncomfortable with rigid ethnic categories as a grid for Hawai'i folklife but struggled with them as a way to fit Hawai'i to her conception of Mall expectations.

After the section on shared local celebrations, twelve ethnic groups are listed, each with a (very) brief evaluation of its relevant folklife and what the SFCA has in its files about cultural practices and practitioners. The brevity of information on each of some of these ethnic groups (nine lines for the Chinese, eleven for the Koreans, three

each for the Samoans, Greeks, Scottish, Black Gospel, Southeast Asian, and two for Tongans) may be due to several factors, such as the limitations imposed by the theme, a group's degree of assimilation, and lack of available information at the time the document was compiled. The latter is the least likely explanation since some of these groups (and others, such as a Swedish group) had been funded by the SFCA in the years prior to the program planning, albeit not always for traditional arts endeavor (see chap. 1).

At the planning meeting, Barbara Smith had pointed out that immigrants came in waves, making it presumptuous to assume that groups were homogenous in terms of culture. Following this logic, Martin divided immigrant groups into earlier and later groups. The earlier groups she linked through an abstracted idea of plantation experience since even those histories did not necessarily overlap. More problematically, some ethnic groups had arrived in more than one time period and may now include members who do not share ancestral or actual connections to plantation experience. For example, Koreans in Hawai'i have immigrated in two distinct waves—the first from 1903-1910 and the second from 1969 on.¹⁸ These two groups have very different experiences and cultural proclivities. This temporal division bears keeping in mind, as it was a line that would be both employed and crossed in the selection and conceptualization processes.

The groups listed as the major ethnic groups in Hawai'i are the Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Portuguese, and Puerto Ricans. Staying with the Festival focus on performability, Martin notes that there are many good music groups playing in Chinatown but that the Chinese “community is difficult to penetrate” and will require a “Chinese person to do primary field research.” Guided by the theme of celebration, the

¹⁸ Eleanor C. Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1989), 84-91.

early groups are summarized according to their folklife alone—leaving them looking threadbare. She says that the Japanese are known for *bon* dances and once developed a kind of work song called *hole hole bushi*. She claims that the first wave of Korean immigrants brought little traditional culture with them, but that the second wave is identified with a particular school of dance. Filipinos, she says are very well integrated but have some *rondalla* groups that have been supported by the SFCA. Portuguese, once the *lunas* (overseers) on the plantations, she claims are the butt of local jokes but are known for their contribution of the *branguiha*, adopted as the Hawaiian *'ukulele*. She thinks the Puerto Ricans have some *Barinque* and *salsa* bands. Later groups are listed as Samoans, Tongans, Greeks, Scottish, Black Gospel, and Southeast Asian and each is relegated to a mere two or three lines in the overview. Of course there are many ethnic groups in Hawai'i that are missing from this Top Twelve list. When this list was stripped down to the fieldwork model, only nine groups would remain to be woven into a shared history selectively constructed out of their individual and shared experiences.

Following these sections on who and what to represent are suggestions for workshop subjects and issues, based partly on planning meeting discussions. Narrative stages are a standard feature of the festival, and the directors had explained at the planning meetings that they were a space where other issues could be fore-grounded and in which intangible aspects of culture could be presented. This is where Martin placed political issues such as language revival, tourism, and land access.

A separate page is devoted to the special considerations of dealing with Hawai'i cultural groups—attesting to Martin's sensitivity to the highly politicized nature of Hawaiian issues at the time. An attachment to her revised version of the overview, these

“concerns” make a full circle back to her *‘ohana* opening. They fall into two categories that reiterate the same point—a successful festival program will require that the person in charge be an expert in mediating and avoiding conflict between the various groups of participants and the group must be molded according to a unifying template:

Though there are many disagreements within the native Hawaiian population and some strained relations among ethnic groups, there are some ideals which most people in Hawai‘i strive for: *aloha* – which though overused in the commercial sense still is a powerful concept meaning love, affection, mercy, sympathy, kindness, sweetheart, and a greeting!; and *ho‘olokahi* – which means harmony or unity. Therefore it is critical [sic] that when selecting the participants for the festival, we should look for not only the best representative of each tradition, but the best “mix” of representatives and how their individual spirits, skills, and personalities will harmonize with one another. We have numerous examples here of delegations to international and mainland events that were successful and unsuccessful in this regard and the repercussions thereof.¹⁹

The first batch of “concerns” focuses on logistical strategies for creating a sense of *‘ohana* by notifying people of selection decisions early, by providing people with ample opportunity to “bond” both before and at the festival, and by choosing people whose personalities will blend harmoniously. She notes that she is aware of other cultural delegations where these strategies were not undertaken and the results were unsuccessful.

Other concerns apply specifically to Native Hawaiians and outline some of the political issues being raised by Hawaiian activists prior to and in 1988, such as the bomb testing on Kaho‘olawe and self-determination. However, she immediately undercuts this information with concerns about festival unity, saying that most of the activists are university-based intellectuals who are not cultural practitioners and that many of the cultural practitioners feel uncomfortable about such radical views. This separation of politics from culture implies a generational difference about politics, but it was also

¹⁹ Martin, "Overview of Folklife in Hawai‘i and Possible Field Research Topics/Themes," 22.

possible that the elders did not air their differences publicly or in the same way. As Merry points out, resistance can take subtle forms, and adaptation may be yet another strategy for resistance for those who choose to work within institutional frameworks.²⁰ The amount of emphasis laid on the necessity to create a sense of *'ohana* and instill a feeling of *aloha* in the participants, along with the vague nod to unsuccessful endeavors in the past, strongly points to the existence of ethnic conflict that needs to be managed in order to pull off a vision of the state's "rainbow multiculturalism" in a form that will manifest the harmonious ideal. This process of containing potential conflict resonates with Okamura's argument that the image of *aloha* is utilized by government agencies and the tourist industry to tamp down protest and impose harmony on cacophony.²¹

Fieldworker Selection

Martin's report may have been Kennedy's Hawai'i folklife and identity politics "bible," but he did not rely on it entirely. After the museum studies conference in Hilo, he arrived in Honolulu and moved into the East-West Center's official guesthouse, Lincoln Hall, which is conveniently located on the edge of the University of Hawai'i Mānoa campus—a short walk to Hamilton Library's Hawai'i-Pacific Collection and Sinclair Library's Wong Audiovisual Center. Trimillos had helped to secure an office for Kennedy at the East-West Center, just a few buildings away. Kennedy lived in Lincoln Hall for the next six months, long enough to oversee the fieldwork phase of the festival pre-preparation. During his stay, Kennedy traveled to the neighbor islands, familiarized himself with Hawai'i history and culture through books and videos, and consulted with

²⁰ Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 15.

²¹ See Okamura, "The Illusion of Paradise: Privileging Multiculturalism in Hawai'i."

community culture workers from various ethnic groups who took him for visits with cultural practitioners in the communities they represented.²²

Selecting the right tradition bearers depended on selecting the right cultural authorities to find them, and Kennedy's first major task was to find and train the next tier of cultural authorities—local fieldworkers. Martin, calling on her SFCA, UH, and EWC connections, had already put out feelers in many directions. She had also sent out a form letter to a list of prospective fieldworkers and to community organizations that she hoped could produce other prospects.²³ Anthropologists and folklorists generally agree that good fieldwork is not done in a hurry. Relationships need to be built and trust acquired—activities that cannot be rushed. However, the Festival works on a tight time schedule, and the fieldwork reports had to be in by the end of December if the program was going to be ready in June of the following year, necessitating that what was being called fieldwork was really more of a preliminary survey with supporting documentation. This meant that the fieldworkers needed to have more than the standard characteristics of research and listening skills; they needed to have community familiarity and immediate access. They needed fieldworkers who could show up with a list of contacts or potential participants already in hand. Some communities required minimal work and others required much more. For example, the overview noted that the Chinese community was fairly insular and would require a Chinese speaker. Conversely, because the SFCA had been actively involved in sponsoring Native Hawaiian groups since the 1960's and because of the public nature of the Hawaiian cultural revival, the overview stated that only secondary research was needed to compile a survey of *hula* and *oli* practitioners.

²² Kennedy.

²³ Lynn Martin, Fieldworker recruitment letter. October 6, 1988.

Martin had recently researched *paniolo* arts as well, so there was a story of already prepared research and a solid list of contacts. Groups that had received little or no institutional attention would require investigation via community contacts. Based on the SFCA directory, Martin sent a form letter to academic departments, civic organizations and leaders, museum scholars, and community arts organizations. Attached to the letter was a 4-page list of “Possible Fieldwork Topics,” and interested applicants were to specify their areas of interest or suggest additional ones.

The letter presented the fieldwork timeframe as being from October through early January when, in fact, resumes were due in by October 24, with fieldworker selection still to follow.²⁴ Selected fieldworkers received information packets dated November 24, and a letter urging them to get film to Kennedy by December 22 with a final deadline for reports on January 10, 1989—leaving only a little over one month in which to accomplish the actual survey.²⁵ Kennedy did meet with individuals and give go-aheads in the interim, so the information packet may have been more follow-up than directive. Still, it was a severely truncated period in which to do the actual fieldwork on which the participant selection would be based.

Choosing to use all Hawai‘i-based fieldworkers partially shifted the locus of cultural authority for the program in ways that would not necessarily be visible in the final production. It was an inspired move for a Smithsonian program since the usual procedure had been to bring in academically trained culture workers from outside to do preliminary surveys. In addition to the problems of dealing with a limited timeframe, Kennedy had realized early on that outsiders would not have the kind of access or

²⁴ Lynn Martin, October 6, 1988.

²⁵ Richard Kennedy, Letter to fieldworkers. November 23, 1988.

cultural sensitivity required for the Hawai‘i program. He personally interviewed the applicants, aware that in politically sensitive communities, the wrong choice might have blocked the process. Teri Skillman who was chosen to research *hālau hula*, feels she was chosen partly because she was an outsider. She was a *hula* practitioner, but she had been out of the country for some time prior to the fieldwork project and the *hālau* with which she had been affiliated was defunct, so she would not be seen as a threat amongst the fiercely competitive *hālau* that had emerged since the renaissance.²⁶ The final team comprised local scholars, community leaders, artists, museum personnel and consultants, each of whom had some specialized knowledge in one or more aspects of traditional life in Hawai‘i (see Appendix for list).²⁷

Prepping fieldworkers/Defining folklife

The job of the fieldworkers was threefold: to survey the folklife of designated ethnic communities (communities designated as ethnic), to identify tradition bearers whom the communities held in high regard as exemplars of their traditions, and to recommend which tradition bearers should be considered for festival participants. Even at this preliminary stage in the festival-making process, festival parameters altered the fluidity and open-endedness deemed desirable in a less product-oriented fieldwork environment. Looking at the politics of festivals, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett assesses the problem as one inherent in tensions between community and academic definitions of authenticity: “the curatorial problem in folk festival is the delicate one of determining not only what meets certain standards of excellence but, first and foremost, what qualifies as

²⁶ Teri Skillman, Personal interview. May 3, 2002.

²⁷ Richard Kennedy, Notes 1988.

authentic folk performance. As a result, performances at folk festivals are often artifacts of the discipline of folklore, whatever else they may be.”²⁸

This issue was both surmounted and complicated by the hiring of untrained local fieldworkers to do research for the Hawai‘i program. Local culture workers had access to communities that outsiders would not be able to acquire, at least in the limited amount of time. They also had previous knowledge and experience. However, they needed to be trained in how and where to look for folklife. Fieldworkers received a statement about the purpose of the festival in their initial solicitation letter, but most of them had to be familiarized with folklore research concepts and terminology.²⁹ To be sure that they were all operating from the same mindset, the packets that they received included several pages about festival philosophy, program development procedures, and two articles by Richard Kurin—“Why We do the Festival,” and “The Festival of American Folklife: Building on Tradition”—in addition to forms, sample reports, and guidelines on how to submit their collected materials.³⁰

Contrary to popular ideas about folklore, the guidelines stressed that traditionality incorporates change: “The Smithsonian does not regard traditions as unchanging nor gauge authenticity solely by conformity with some past (possibly the oldest) practice.” Acknowledging that traditions are “culture conserving,” this view stresses that traditional cultural practices are also continually negotiated, that they can be forced underground in the face of intrusive policies, change, or socio-economic change as well as re-emerge after periods of dormancy, and that they can be synthesized and creolized when

²⁸ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 76.

²⁹ Kennedy, “In House Mid-Term Progress Report on the Hawai‘i Program for the 1989 Festival of American Folklife.”

³⁰ Smithsonian, 1988.

juxtaposed with other cultural practices. Repeatedly stressed to fieldworkers was that traditionality was to be determined by a cultural practice being community-based, and tradition-bearers were defined as “those individuals engaged in an exemplary practice of particular traditions, as indicated by their status and recognition within a community.”

The definition they were given was based on parameters established by the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress:

Community-based cultural traditions can be generally defined as forms of knowledge, skill, and expression learned through informal relationships and exhibiting intergenerational continuity. Typical genres include oral tradition (i.e., narrative, epic, poetry, proverbs, riddles, speech), social custom (i.e., festivals, celebrations, games, rituals, vernacular religion, customary behavioral codes and their practice), material culture and its supportive knowledge (i.e., crafts architecture, costuming, foodways, agriculture, fishing, medicine), and the arts (i.e., music, dance, drama, puppetry). Forms of culture are traditional to the extent that maintain standards or values which have continuity with, and are informed by, past practice. They are living traditions to the extent that they are practiced, are socially integrated within community life, and can speak to its cognitive, normative, affective and aesthetic concerns.

The combined effect of the documents in the fieldwork packet was to reinforce the Festival ideology by establishing a set of common definitions designed to break down assumptions that folklife was static or peripheral to everyday life and that the value of cultural expressions should be determined by outside experts.

For Festival selection, however, the guidelines added that it was not enough to be exemplary. One also had to have potential for performance since the festival required that the chosen participants be able to “convey rich information about themselves and their traditions in an interactive situation,” preferably through demonstration and narration.³¹ The Festival is a public stage that requires a certain amount of stage

³¹ Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage Smithsonian, "Untitled Document," (1988).

presence, implying that unselfconscious culture would have to be transmitted through practitioners with a enough meta-consciousness to perform, articulate, demonstrate and otherwise mediate between folklife practice and an audience.

Fieldwork Interviews and Reports

According to Kennedy, among state programs produced by the Smithsonian, the Hawai‘i program stands out for having done an exceptional amount of fieldwork. Sixty-two interviews and twenty-eight fieldwork reports were produced in the fall of 1988. As might be expected, they vary in quality and depth, but they still form the only comprehensive body of material on Hawai‘i folklife that is publicly available.³² The reports comprise both primary and secondary materials—interview, newspaper and journal articles, overviews, and commentary. Some fieldworkers were meticulous about following the fieldworker guidelines while others skipped critical steps such as making recommendations. Scholars who had done previous research in particular genres of Hawai‘i traditions tended to cite or include their own published work. Fieldworkers were instructed to be careful not to let participants think that being interviewed was an invitation to be in the festival, but news travels fast in a small state with wide-sweeping community networks, through what is sometimes referred to as the “coconut wireless.” A few fieldwork reports openly state that certain individuals are eager to participate in the festival. Although the planning meetings had stressed unselfconscious and continuous traditions, groups that had undergone cultural revivals, often with the help of SFCA and NEA funding, were the most eager to participate in the fieldwork project because they

³² The fieldnotes and field recordings are available in the A/V section of Sinclair Library, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. As a result of this research, recordings have recently been transferred from aging audiotapes to CD-Rom.

saw it as an opportunity to express their recovered or reinvented identities. In fact, it is clear from the fieldnotes that many of the informants were already aware of the festival potential. Whether the coconut wireless or fieldworker indiscretion was responsible for this slip is unclear.

Community conflicts of several kinds are revealed in these reports. For instance, the fieldworker who surveyed woodcarvers used his report to note his discomfort with the way that traditionality was being defined. He wrote that artists like Rocky Jensen were using traditional methods and materials in innovative ways, but were often criticized within the Hawaiian community for blurring the boundaries between traditional and “fine” arts. The same fieldworker, a Hawaiian, indirectly plugged himself as the best choice over the several woodcarvers that he had interviewed, albeit in the third person and stating that he was aware that, if known, his recommendation would provoke resentment in the politically charged environment. Some of the conflicts were intercultural and illustrated the effect of stereotypes. For example, a Hawaiian weaver wanted to know if the fieldworker interviewing her was Japanese and then told him that she would like to have a student, but not a Japanese one since her father had always told her that they would steal her ideas and make money off of them.

Due to time constraints and the use of people who had done previous fieldwork, some of the material submitted was “canned,” in that it had already been analyzed within another context and was being submitted of a piece. Many of the reports reflect enthusiasm for the program but frustration with the lack of time for the project and function more as suggestions for future fieldwork than as the in-depth archival contributions they were supposedly to be upon completion. For instance, Teri Skillman,

who was experienced in the fieldwork process, recommended that interviews should be undertaken with all of the *kumu hula* and states that all that she had time to do was one in-depth interview, the assembling of materials from *hula* competitions, and a survey of archival materials. Martin's extensive work for the Paniolo exhibit she had produced in 1987 came complete with a celebrity, in the form of Kindy Sproat, and catalog material that could be re-circulated into signage. Martin had successfully nominated Kindy as a National Heritage Fellow, so he was already known in Washington. That this material had been pre-packaged made it certain that it would appear in the festival program and that her research would be the definitive version. Likewise, Judy Van Zile of the University of Hawai'i Dance Department had written several articles on Japanese *bon* dance in Hawai'i, which were submitted as her report along with three interviews with previous informants. The use of previously compiled work expedited the compilation process, but it also blurred the boundaries between Festival ideals and Festival logistics.

Perhaps the most poignant reminder of the effect of imposing festival parameters on fieldwork is the sixty-two taped interviews. Copies of fieldwork and festival recordings are routinely sent back to the state by the Smithsonian Folklife Center. In my research, I discovered that the Hawai'i recordings were sent to the State Archives, where they were rejected and passed on to the University of Hawai'i. Twelve years later, they had never been accessed. Languishing in this collection of recordings was an invaluable body of lifestories, memories, and folklife—much of which fell outside of the festival grid. Not all folklife is showy and not all tradition bearers are showmen and women, nor is the excellent and exemplary always what is most meaningful outside of the limelight.

Fieldwork Review Meeting

The Fieldworker Review Meeting, held at the East-West Center from January 25-27, 1989, was, according to several accounts, grueling. From the Smithsonian Office of Folklife Programs, Program Coordinator Barbara Lau and Technical Coordinator Fred Nahwooksy flew in to be part of the process since it would be their task to translate the decisions into reality on the Mall. In this meeting, as at the planning meetings in January, Festival philosophy and logistics met the conflicting narratives and realities of Hawai'i culture and identity politics.³³ Hawai'i culture simply did not fit into academically defined, presentation friendly categories. At the planning meetings, discussion about how to represent Hawai'i was hypothetical and dissent had been transcended with conceptual questions like "how can you represent the ocean?" that focused discussion back on the concrete issues of actual representation. At the fieldwork meeting, however, organizers, advisors, and fieldworkers had much more at stake since they knew they were influencing final decisions. A few of those present at the planning meetings had gone on to be part of the fieldwork process—Martin, Trimillos, Bennington, Napoka, Strazar—but much of the cast was changed, so many of the same unresolved issues were again raised. The first day of discussion covered the critical topic of demographics. It formed the center of a debate that would persist throughout the three days. The second day was devoted to crafts, and the third allotted to conceptual and spatial design (covered in chapter 3). In each of these lengthy discussions, it was clear that even after fieldwork into ethnic traditions, the use of ethnic categories to delineate Hawai'i populations in the present made a number of the people at the meeting very

³³ The following information comes from meeting notes. Hawaii Fieldwork Review Meeting, January 25-27, 1989.

uncomfortable. While Kennedy retained the ethnic categories as an organizing principle for the program, disputes by the Hawai'i culture workers led to some novel solutions that blurred ethnic boundaries and refocused much of the Festival concept on cultural creolization.

One challenge was to pare down the long list of communities, traditions, and culture bearers produced by the fieldwork reports to what was actually feasible and budgetable. At the planning meetings, when Moriarty had expressed a desire to see at least half of the program represent Native Hawaiians, there was no dissenting opinion. This choice, however, invoked extant issues of who was really Hawaiian and to what extent authentic Hawaiian-ness was reflected in the traditional arts. In 1988, pure Native Hawaiians made up only one percent of the population and thirty-three percent of the population claimed to be part-Hawaiian. On the other hand, many participants in Hawaiian traditions, especially *hula*, were not Hawaiian since Hawaiian-ness was not a pre-requisite for membership in a *hālau*. Crafts were less of a problem since most of the practitioners in Hawaiian crafts tended to identify as Hawaiian.

Clearly, trying to use demographics promised to be a sticking point as people debated the pros and cons of using compensatory or actual demographics as the basis of selection for a multicultural production. Trying to explain Hawai'i inter-group dynamics, someone at the meeting cited a well-known saying that points to local perceptions of asymmetries in economics and power: "In Hawai'i, the Chinese own it, the Japanese run it, the Hawaiians remember it, and the *haole* enjoy it." According to meeting notes, the group was working with the following demographic figures:

25% *haole*
25% Japanese

5%	Chinese
14%	Filipino
5%	Puerto Rican
5%	Portuguese
1%	Hawaiian
33%	Part-Hawaiian

These numbers leave a 7 % catchall for other populations in Hawai'i. Although no source is cited, it was also noted that 50-60 % of marriages in Hawai'i are mixed. A look at stats in Eleanor Nordyke's *The Peopling of Hawai'i* shows the figures used at the meetings to be in the right range of the 1980 census with some notable exceptions that illustrate how U.S. official racial categories were being broken down into ethnic categories in Hawai'i. The U.S. Census had no separate categories for Portuguese and Puerto Ricans; both tend to identify by ethnicity in Hawai'i and be assigned to non-*haole* status. In the U.S. census they are subsumed into a generic "white" racial classification. National figures also did not distinguish between Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian. Like the category "black," a person was all or nothing. The Hawai'i Health Surveillance Program, on the other hand, broke out categories of Pacific Islanders and thus offered stats based on more specific regions of origin: Samoan, Guanamanians, and others.³⁴ Neither system distinguished Okinawans as separate from Japanese although in Hawai'i they tend to identify first as Okinawans. What these statistics demonstrate is that in Hawai'i, even official ethnic designations accord with ancestral country of origin rather than racial designations.

To narrow the final selection to a manageable number of groups and people, Kennedy established some parameters. Based on the "sense of place" theme, he determined that they would only accept tradition-bearers born in Hawai'i. This rule

³⁴ Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawai'i*.

streamlined the selection process by eliminating some tradition-bearers and including others. For example, it included Okinawan master *sanshin* (three-stringed plucked lute) player and folk song singer Harry Seisho Nakasone, had been born in Hawai'i but raised in Okinawa. It excluded recent immigrants. The second condition was that they needed to be linked by a shared narrative, and for this the plantation history was chosen.

Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, and Okinawans could all be tied to plantation culture. It was a useful device in that it provided a way to select out only the groups who had arrived as contract laborers and would provide a locus for presenting cultural creolization and sharing. The problems associated with this—that immigrants had arrived in waves rather than all at once—revisited points raised in the planning meeting. The drawbacks to the plantation as a frame were that transcending the issue of non-parallel histories required the plantation history to be essentialized into the plantation “experience.” Fitting immigrant groups to this narrative also falsely implied that all members of the selected ethnic groups or their ancestors had shared this experience.

For the immigrant groups who could not be fitted to a plantation history and were not born in Hawai'i, other thematic links had to be forged to merit selection—numbers were not enough. Nordyke shows blacks numbering more than Samoans, and they were mentioned in Martin's preliminary report as having “gospel culture,” but they were discounted as mostly military and therefore transient. Samoans were the only group of later immigrants chosen to go to the festival. The majority of Samoans had immigrated in the 1950's, meaning they were not born in Hawai'i, but they could be thematically linked to Hawaiians/Polynesian culture. They fit the compensatory logic of the selection

process because they had been ranked by the SFCA as on the “lowest socio-economic rung,” and they had a history of involvement with the SFCA through cultural development grants awarded to the Samoan Chiefs and Orators Society. The fact that Samoa had a strong political and diasporic presence in Washington was duly noted.

The third condition used to narrow the groups selected was more ambiguous: that these groups should have made a major contribution to the cultural life of Hawai‘i through their folklife.³⁵ This determination, although never directly stated, allowed *haole* to be eliminated from representation at the Festival. While European and American influence permeates almost every aspect of cultural life in Hawai‘i, using a folklife model that poses traditionality against dominant and official culture makes it seem natural to omit this conglomerate group from a reconstructed Hawai‘i valorizing the under-represented and amplified unheard voices. The problem of what to do about *kama‘āina haole* was sidestepped through the focus on traditional culture—it was presumed, based on perceptions of high economic status, that they had either acculturated into some form of local culture or were invested solely in elite, fine-arts culture. Although Scandinavian groups had been funded by the FFCA, and Scottish and Greek groups were listed among the later immigrant groups on the overview Martin sent to Kennedy, they had been edited out of the fieldworker recruitment letters. She mentioned in the meeting that no SFCA fieldwork had been done on *haole* or blacks. The decision to erase *haole* may have been the result of an organizational blind spot of *haole* allying themselves with other groups. It recognized “local” resentment toward *haole* as socio-economically dominant and politically exploitative, and it could be justified through the use of the plantation frame.

³⁵ Richard Kennedy, 1993.

Remembering the meetings, participants insist that the central debate was over Hawai'i versus mainland ideas of multiculturalism and in the slippage between racial and ethnic usages of the same terms in Hawai'i. Fieldworkers insisted that in Hawai'i these terms rely on fluidity and *double entendre* in everyday use. What went unremarked was the irony of disappearing *haole* from representation in contrast to the powerful administrative role they were playing in the festival-making process. The Festival was to represent culture marginalized within the mainstream, and in the service of that vision, the Hawai'i program was inverting power bases to portray an ethnoscape otherwise invisible, and doing this by erasing the obvious. For outside appearances, however, an apparent inclusion of *haole* was accomplished through the selection of Portuguese music, foods, and crafts. They shared the plantation experience, but had been put in positions of power over other groups. Portuguese were not, however, considered *haole* within local cultural discourse (see chap. 1). Their inclusion was even downplayed in the overview by a note mentioning that they were the butt of local jokes.

Erasure of *haole* was not just accomplished by narrowing the number of ethnic groups. They were also purged from within categories. Of the three-rock wall builders recommended, a native Hawaiian was chosen over two non-Hawaiians despite the fieldwork report attesting to the skill of the others. One of the most heated moments in the demographics discussions occurred over the selection of Korean dancers. A debate erupted over whether to allow founder Halla Huhm's leading pupil and teacher, Mary Jo Freshley, to perform. Freshley was Huhm's foremost assistant, but she was *haole*. Kennedy had established a rule that all festival participants be Hawai'i born. She was not, and this was the stated basis on which she was eliminated; however, it is clear from

all accounts that he, at the time, felt her appearance onstage would be inappropriate because she was not Korean. After a proposal that she wear a black wig and despite her professional endorsement by Huhm and Professor Van Zile of the University of Hawai'i Dance Department, Freshley was relegated to the role of stage presenter/manager for her own students.³⁶

The other group perceived to have disproportionate demographic, economic, and political power were the Japanese, but their power in contemporary Hawai'i would be downplayed through a folklife representation. A five-person *bon* dance group from Kaua'i, a paper-doll maker, and a bulrush sandal maker were chosen as the Japanese contingent. This representation, numerically small and mostly rural, stands in marked demographic contrast to population figures for Japanese in Hawai'i and to commonly held perceptions of Japanese as saturating local government, state agencies, and schools in Honolulu.³⁷ When asked about the number of Japanese chosen, Kennedy mentioned the Okinawan group as part of the Japanese representation.³⁸ In Hawai'i, Okinawans generally do not identify themselves first as Japanese despite the Japanese annexation of Okinawa.³⁹ Interestingly, representing Japan through the marginalized Okinawans accords with the festival's compensatory philosophy.

A different type of power perception was at issue in the selection of Hawaiian tradition bearers. Because of the volatility of Hawaiian issues and the politicization of *hula* and *oli*, decisions about *hālau hulas* had to be carefully handled. In fact, meeting

³⁶ Kennedy is very frank about this incident, saying that it was a learning experience and indicative of the times. He is emphatic in saying that they would do this differently now.

³⁷ Jonathan Y. Okamura, "Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity," *Social Process in Hawai'i* 35 (1994).

³⁸ Kennedy.

³⁹ According to Kyle Ikeda at the University of Hawai'i, Okinawans in Hawai'i practice situational ethnicity, identifying as Okinawans in relation to local Japanese in Hawai'i but as Japanese in relation to mainland Japan, especially if they perceive that they are being seen as second-class citizens.

notes flag the *hula* decisions as “sensitive.” Skillman feels that one reason that the fieldwork on *hula* was limited to secondary research was to avoid community politics.⁴⁰ The problem was resolved by choosing according to her recommendations that island variations, generations, and lineage be the selection guidelines. Accordingly, Kau‘i Zuttermeister and her daughter and granddaughter, participants in an earlier FAF, were chosen to represent inter-generational transmission and the island of Oahu. *Hālau hula* from the Big Island and Lanai were balanced with Hawaiian musicians from Mau‘i, Kaua‘i, and Ni‘ihau. A wood carver from Molokai was selected to round out the geographical distribution in an egalitarian fashion. Native Hawaiian craftspeople were also selected from throughout the islands. It was assumed by organizers that the three National Heritage Fellows from Hawai‘i (Ray Kane, Meali‘i Kalama, Clyde “Kindy” Sproat, and Kau‘i Zuttermeister) would be selected along with other artists who had participated in Smithsonian-sponsored activities. These tradition-bearers had already been recognized as exemplary tradition-bearers. However, their selection meant that it was a forgone conclusion that Hawaiians would be at least partially represented through institutionally created celebrities rather than through the community validation that was purported to be the goal of the fieldwork discovery process. Fortunately, there was no debate voiced over the merits of these tradition bearers.

Ultimately, history and ethnicity drove the final selections. Based in the Festival concept of a “past informed by the present,” ethnic groups were selected on the basis of a shared history, at least partially imagined. The concept of a shared history made for a clean and eminently presentable version of a dirty plantation history repackaged as

⁴⁰ Skillman.

“embraceable imagery.”⁴¹ It allowed for a unified strategy of representation for groups who had actually arrived at different times and who had in many cases been pitted against each other through unequal wages and separated work camps. That Hawaiians had also worked on the plantations, although in smaller numbers, went un-remarked since that would have blurred the imposed division between indigenous and immigrant populations. *Haole* was a category that, by virtue of not being ethnicized, became invisible. In some cases, such as the Chinese and the Filipinos, ethnicity was conceived in broad categories that could collapse their disparate parts into a manageable category. The emerging ethnoscape of the Festival program was a utopian place where the colonizers were invisible, the immigrants were equal, and the natives were both untainted by and enriched by the cultural contributions of others.

Defining Tradition

The objective of a folklife festival is to present living culture, not relics or the works of individuals alone. Smithsonian literature made it clear that traditional culture was to be understood unofficially transmitted, meaningful within communities, and have continuity. To apply these conditions was challenging in Hawai‘i. Authenticity was an issue precisely because of the suppressions of colonialism and appropriations of the mainland and local tourist industries. Participants in the Hawaiian renaissance had found that essentializing and reviving ancient Hawaiian practices was a powerful tool for identity. This meant that while the program directors were making every effort to unpack the “soft savagery” of tourist productions, they needed to make room for revived forms of

⁴¹ This term comes from Helèn Page’s discussion of black men in the media. Helèn E. Page, “Black Male’ Imagery and Media Containment of African American Men,” *American Anthropologist* 99, no. 1 (1997).

performance. Hawai'i culture workers made it clear that they wanted to present a version of Hawai'i that was untainted by tourism, but many performance arts had been influenced by or grown out of touristic performance, such as *hapa haole* music and *hula auana*. At the planning meeting, Trimillos had said that what they really should be looking for is "backyard" culture, what people did at home rather than for money, but many performers participated in tourism as a way to make a living. Furthermore, because island culture had absorbed large numbers of immigrants, determining authenticity and traditionality within particular communities was complicated by the intermingling of traditions, so trying to separate traditions by ethnicity was not always simple. At least one local tradition was eliminated because it would not translate well to Washington D.C.: Hawai'i ethnic humor. Moriarty, who lived on Kaua'i, successfully persuaded the committee to select a *bon odori* group from Kaua'i because her perception was that the Honolulu groups were all very stiff and unfriendly, while the Kaua'i group—a group considered "out there" and "maverick" by the more dignified Honolulu groups, was interactive rather than performative and thus fit better with the festival's ethos. Although Moriarty also suggested that humor be included, it was quickly dispensed with as too political, especially the ethnic humor of the islands. Kennedy thought the humor was a wonderful illustration of inclusivity and negotiation of multiculturalism, insiders were afraid that what was considered funny and acceptable in Hawai'i would be misunderstood and differently politicized in Washington. Based on the difficulties encountered in translating Hawai'i ethnicity into the frame of mainland multiculturalism, no doubt they were right.

Where fieldworkers were outsiders, sometimes definitions of traditionality were too rigidly applied. For example, the fieldworker for Chinese traditions recommended

June Tong, a noteworthy Chinese cook and author of a cookbook called *Popo's Kitchen*, but in the report, the fieldworker expressed concern that Mrs. Tong did not know how to make noodles. The fieldworker interviewed a man who owned a local noodle factory as another possibility. He was too busy to consider the festival (obviously the fieldworker was leaking the purpose of the interviews) but he expressed willingness to teach Mrs. Tong how to make Lok Fun noodles. When I related this story to a Chinese friend who is an avid cook, he scoffed at the fieldworker ignorance, saying that everyone knows that all Chinese cooks buy noodles readymade. Apparently the fieldworker knew enough about Chinese food to know that noodles were a staple, but not enough to know Chinese cooking habits. In the process, he imposed his own ideas of what was traditional.

Although Kurin notes that traditions can go underground and re-emerge,⁴² fieldworkers were told to look for practices that had been continuous. *Hula*, which by 1988 had rebounded and was being performed in public venues like the Merrie Monarch Festival, is an example of this process of suppressed tradition revived after a period of near-dormancy and neglect. It had not, however, completely disappeared at any point, so while it had been resuscitated through institutional support, it could still be transmitted through tradition bearers and unofficial transmission—taught orally, albeit in changed surroundings. Other native traditions had not fared as well and were dealt with selectively. *Kapa*-making has now been revived, but in 1988 it was not selected for two reasons. The most obvious reason was that it had died out completely and was being reinvented. The other was that the organizers feared invoking images of primitivity and

⁴² Richard Kurin, *Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture of, by, and for the People* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1998).

felt that *kapa* might present an image of native Hawaiians stuck in the past.⁴³ A similar argument was used to exclude certain kinds of wood carving, such as carved gods, often called *tikis* in English, and fishhooks, while including others, such as bowls. This avoidance of primitivizing was further complicated by the resurgence of Native Hawaiian iconicization of ancient practices. For example, the well-publicized voyages of the *Hōkūle‘a* beginning in 1976 were a case of scientific experiment employing aspects of tradition being adopted as tradition. The committee chose a compromise maritime tradition in canoe building that would infer the ocean and voyaging without directly using the *Hōkūle‘a*.

The continuity requirement was construed differently in communities the festival organizers were anxious to represent but which had more discontinuous folklife. Kenichi Tasaka, a *Nisei*, or first generation Japanese immigrant, living in Kaua‘i, had begun experimenting with making bulrush sandals, a craft he re-invented based on a remembered traditional product rather than on a process he had been taught traditionally. It produced a product that may have had nostalgic community value, but it did not have wide appeal since the majority of Japanese in Hawai‘i are urban. In his case, even the intergenerational aspect came after the fact as it was his children who helped him to obtain the materials he needed to make his sandals. In the Samoan community, a similar circumstance was discovered. Faced with a dearth of crafts, the fieldworker had finally asked a group of Samoan elders if they could remember crafts they had practiced in the past. Some of them replied that they could do fine mat weaving but that they couldn’t obtain the necessary materials in Hawai‘i. The fieldworker made it a project to help the elders locate funding and materials to enable them to revive their weaving, and Kennedy

⁴³ Kennedy.

noted that perhaps they would be ready for the next festival. These examples show that having adequate multicultural representation was the committee's foremost objective.

In selection discussions about synthesized traditions, ethnicity and traditionality questions converged. Some cultural items and practices were so widely diffused that they resisted ethnic classifications—thus the need for “local” as a category for traditions like “shave ice,” the Hawai‘i version of the snow cone and a popular treat. Others had been absorbed by particular groups and then further appropriated by others. For instance, *paniolo* practices literally hailed from elsewhere. Mexican *vaqueros* had been brought in to solve the problem of wild cattle running rampant on the island of Hawai‘i. The *vaqueros* adapted cattle ranching techniques to the new terrain and trained a generation of local *paniolo* in skills such as riding, skinning, and leatherwork. The Hawai‘i-born *paniolo*, in turn, infused ranching with their own cultural sensibilities, which included storytelling, music-making, and *lei*-making. In the 1980's some of the best *paniolo* music was being sung by a former mule-skinner who had never been a *paniolo*. According to the fieldworker for Puerto Rican music, *paniolo* music was also a popular part of the repertoire for at least one Puerto Rican group in Hawai‘i. This kind of exchange worked in other directions as well. In an interview, Moriarty pointed out that Puerto Rican *katchi katchi* music was regularly played at Hawaiian *lū‘au* when she was growing up, thus it was a type of music with which everyone was familiar.⁴⁴ Likewise, the Hawaiian *lū‘au* had been widely adopted. The effect of Festival categorization was to re-position these traditions within ethnic communities of origin and grant them ownership based on origin rather than practice.

⁴⁴ Linda Moriarty, October 29, 2002.

The curators found themselves trying to distinguish between what had been traditional prior to contact between groups and the tradition of cultural borrowing that had emerged after and through contact. Slippery linkages between ethnicity and traditionality are evident in the genres of Hawaiian music selected for representation at the festival. As I have already emphasized, in the intimacy of the islands, traditions easily jump cultural fences and become dislodged from their original tradition bearers; for example, *Hīmeni*, a distinct form of Hawaiian hymn-singing, is an example of a tradition in which colonization and Hawaiianization converged to form a unique style of unaccompanied hymn singing.⁴⁵ *Hīmeni* is an example of an institutionally instigated, syncretized tradition that can be seen as either a religious musical tradition crafted with and for Hawaiians or as a hegemonic tool adopted as community tradition. Likewise, what is generally referred to as “Hawaiian music” incorporates other European musical elements, such as introduced instruments, like the *‘ukulele* and guitar, and vocal styles, like falsetto and harmony.⁴⁶ The origins of falsetto singing are attributed to various sources such as male/female dialogues in *mele*, church choir training, and the introduction of falsetto and yodeling by *paniolo*.⁴⁷ Whatever the origins, it is sung to

⁴⁵ *Hīmeni* originated in missionary projects, especially the singing schools set up by Reverend Hiram Bingham, who labored to convert Hawaiians and taught them European musical structure in order to teach them to sing hymns. It was further developed with the later translations and adaptations of Reverend Lorenzo Lyons, who sought to bring the music into greater accord with Hawaiian sensibilities. According to George Kanahēle’s *Hawai‘i Music and Musicians*, the direction of *hīmeni* since 1820 is mostly attributable to Lyon’s “enormous efforts at synthesizing the musical and cultural elements of the Hawaiian encounter with Christian tradition.” George S. Kanahēle, *Hawaiian Music and Musicians: An Illustrated History* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai‘i, 1979).

⁴⁶ According to Kanahēle, the *‘ukulele* originated with the Portuguese *braguinha*, and may have received its name from mispronunciation of a Hawaiian traditional instrument called the *‘ukeke*. Spanish guitars may have come to Hawaii via the *paniolo* or traders from California and Mexico. Like the *‘ukulele*, it caught on with Hawaiians and others and was quickly adopted to Hawaiian tastes in music. What emerged was slack key music, which incorporates musical elements of Hawaiian chant.⁴⁶ Yet another variation on European stringed instruments came about with the invention of the steel guitar that was popularized in the 1890’s, usually attributed to Kamehameha Schools grad Joseph Kekuku. Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

Euroamerican constructions of melody. Clearly, there is no getting around creative fusion as a foundation of Hawaiian music. In the process of choosing to represent these traditions, the organizers also had to choose how to narrativize them since they were subject to multiple interpretation and one of the responsibilities of the programming would be to provide historical context through signage. Rather than representing Hawaiian cultural expressions as the results of colonization by European culture, they decided to present these practices in terms of cultural agency and creative appropriation, as having been claimed and synthesized by Native Hawaiians—Hawaiianized. This choice of narrative fit with both the agency of the renaissance and the “putting our best foot forward” idea that would undergird the program.

A mismatch between the search for ethnic authenticity and acculturated realities arose in certain contexts. Martin stated in her overview that the Koreans brought little traditional culture with them when they immigrated to Hawai‘i just after the turn of the century. This view made it difficult to find a way to represent the community. What was overlooked, however, was that at least a third of this community probably identified itself as Christian.⁴⁸ In this community, as in the Hawaiian Christian community, hymn singing is central. Whereas Hawaiian hymn singing was qualified as “vernacular religion” due to its unique style, Korean hymn singing was apparently seen as derivative and overly acculturated. Instead, what was chosen to represent Koreans in Hawai‘i was the Halla Huhm dance company. Halla Huhm was recommended by Judy Van Zile, professor of dance at UH Mānoa. As the proprietor of the sole Korean (and also Okinawan) dance company, she had been repeatedly funded by the SFCA and had been commended for her dedication to Korean traditional dance on more than one occasion.

⁴⁸ Mary Adamski, *Immigration Roots* Newspaper article, cited November 8 2003.

However, Van Zile admitted in her field report that there was little involvement from the Korean community. A Korean Professor of Ethnomusicology has called Huhm's Korean dance "fake." According to him, Huhm grew up in Japan where she learned Japanese court dance, which she passed off as Korean traditional dance in Hawai'i. Whether or not this is true, the lack of community identification with her cultural practices indicates that they were no longer meaningful for the community and that this selection was a case of academic and individual definitions of tradition being foisted on a community that had chosen to define itself in other terms.

A related but different situation arose with the so-called Chinese community, an ethnic group referred to as "hostile," "ethnocentric," "closed," and "uncooperative" in various planning and meeting notes. Unlike groups who had undergone cultural revivals, like the Hawaiians, the Filipinos, and the Portuguese, the Chinese had been less than eager to participate in SFCA projects prior to the festival. There are several possible reasons for the lack of relationship between the SFCA and the Chinese. Economically disadvantaged groups—Native Hawaiians, Samoans, and Filipinos—had been sought out to be the initial recipients of NEA/SFCA funding. The Portuguese had undergone a reassertion of Portuguese-ness after an era of identity submersion when they were informed they were eligible to become grant recipients (see chap. 1). What these groups had in common was institutional intervention and feared loss of identity in the face of rapid acculturation. This did not seem to be a factor for the Chinese, who had either been absorbed, in the case of early immigrants, or remained insular, in the case of later ones. There is a wealth of Chinese tradition practiced in Hawai'i—music, herbal medicine, and cooking—much of it is practiced by later immigrants who have maintained more distinct

Chinese identities, so little of it is practiced at the level of cultural revival. Early laborers came mostly from Guangdong province. Later immigrants have come from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and, more recently, mainland China. As a result, Hawai'i actually has several Chinese communities, some very assimilated and others less so, with at least four first languages spoken in addition to English.⁴⁹ Descendants of early Chinese in Hawai'i often identify with their other ethnic groups and very few young descendants of the early immigrants speak any Chinese language. What the combined forces of the NEA and SFCA had done best was to forestall cultural bankruptcy, and the Chinese in Hawai'i were deemed, as a whole, neither economically nor culturally needy enough to be targeted for conservation efforts. There is little need for cultural conservation efforts to preserve traditions still actively part of daily life, and this may have accounted for the perceived lack of enthusiasm on the part of the community to SFCA investigations. The Chinese traditional practices ultimately selected for festival presentation were herbal medicine, lion dance, a Taoist priest, and calligraphy. Ironically, all of these represent practices that can be or are institutionally transmitted rather than folk practices that are orally and informally learned. Temple based Chinese schools teach martial arts, lion dance, and calligraphy. The Taoist priest had attended a seminary, and there are colleges of herbal medicine—one in Honolulu. Again the desire to represent the seven major groups who had come as contract laborers had trumped the actual social complexity of the group's makeup as well as cornering the committee into blurring its own rules for determining what was and was not community folklife.

As I have already mentioned, curators for the Hawai'i program had chosen to sort the fieldwork process by ethnic categories, so most shared traditions were resorted back

⁴⁹ English, Mandarin, Cantonese, and Taiwanese.

into the ethnic groups from which they had originated, rather than evaluated according to their current social practice. *Imu*-building, *lei*-making, rock wall-building, and *lauhala* (pandanus leaf) hat weaving, for example, were assigned as Hawaiian traditions by the selection of Hawaiian practitioners although they had also been mastered by craftspeople from other ethnic groups.⁵⁰ Hybrid practices, such as quilting, were also presented as Hawaiian. Presenting an egalitarian view of the various ethnic groups required that each selected ethnic group have adequate representation through its arts, but to do this required bending a number of the festival's own precepts about what was and was not acceptable as traditional culture. Some groups no longer practiced the traditions of their ancestors. Charlene Smurnap, fieldworker for Filipino culture wrote in her report that "the young show no interest in learning to carry on the culture." She added that all the musicians were elderly, there was limited transmission of crafts, and food was the only cultural practice still intact. To emphasize this lack on continuity, Smurnap quoted from a book on Filipinos in Hawai'i by Robert Anderson, "Just as older immigrants cherish a life and culture that no longer exists in the Philippines, Filipinos born in Hawai'i will look back to life and culture plantation towns that are no longer there." Working with an ethnic group that had such a high level of acculturation and loss of tradition made it difficult to come up with enough material to make this group level with the others. She did turn up a six-person string band, or *rondalla*, and a weaver who had been in the master apprentice program. Ironically, focus on difference imposed homogeneity on certain communities. The Chinese and Filipino communities in Hawai'i, for example, each comprised several groups. Most of the Filipino population in Hawai'i is Ilocano, but the only musical group

⁵⁰ The SFCA Master and Apprentice program has long debated this issue, but has chosen in many cases to set up master artists with earnest apprentices from different ethnic groups. This kind of crossing-over was raised in the fieldwork selection meetings as a reason to not stick to ethnic categories.

that the fieldworker could locate was Visayan. Fortunately, this was not an issue since the Camarillo family repertoire included Ilocano songs and there was no other *rondalla* group.

Community evaluations of what traditions were most valued were not necessarily the basis of final choices in other cases as well, sometimes due to logistics. In the Portuguese community interviewed on Maui, Catholicism was foremost in terms of community identification, and the Holy Ghost Festival the most important annual event. To illustrate the importance of the festival, one informant told a story about how his particular community had used a hand-crafted gold crown in its festival procession. The rest of the year, the crown was kept in a prominent side-chapel of the local church. When the parish priest, under directives from the pope to break down barriers between parishioners and the clergy, began to make changes in the church structure, the crown was removed to an area behind the sacristy. Parishioners protested, and some even went so far as to leave the church. Meanwhile, the crown disappeared and the informant expressed his belief that it was “borrowed” by a parishioner until the church could be restored to its former form and concept. Despite Martin’s original recommendation to present non-Hawaiian ethnic communities through celebration and the community’s assessment of its traditions, the Holy Ghost Festival was not selected as representative of the Portuguese community. Instead, the *forno* (beehive oven) was chosen—a tradition that the fieldworker had identified as extinct, but which a cultural association had recently recreated as a historic exhibit in a park. While they were able to come up with a family that still used a *forno*, it was obviously not a practice that was integrated into community life except as memory for some elders who had lived on the plantation. A

private family tradition was reconstrued, through history, as a community symbol. It was a symbol readily accepted since Portuguese baked goods are very popular in the islands.

Presenting private traditions has its own inherent problems. The Festival seeks to present private traditions in an extroverted environment that makes the private public. The goal of presenting unselfconscious culture was offset by the need to select tradition bearers who also had the potential to be good performers. They needed to be hearty enough to travel, extroverted, knowledgeable, and articulate enough to also be performers on a national stage.⁵¹ If they were able to perform multiple functions, such as cooking and singing, this was a decided bonus—one that could ultimately save the festival money. Despite the directive to locate unofficial and unselfconscious culture, most of the musicians, dancers, and storytellers were veteran performers, but the craftspeople and cooks were not. It is one thing to prepare a meal, stitch handsome quilts, or cultivate taro in private and quite another to explain what you do to a curious crowd of onlookers. This is not to say that the people selected to travel to Washington did not have all of these qualities or the potential for them. In fact, many of them did, and that was exactly why they were chosen over other tradition bearers. Performers who had already been honored in D.C. were natural choices both for their “star” status and for their familiarity with the Smithsonian cultural scene. Some tradition bearers had developed the ability to narrate their cultural practices through participation in former SFCA programs that required public presentation as an educational element. And a few of them would develop that ability in D.C..

⁵¹ Smithsonian.

Conclusion

A focus on cultural conservation created blind spots in the festival selection process. The focus on tradition resulted in the domestication of powerful groups like the Japanese and the Chinese, erasing class and economic markers to create the illusion of egalitarianism, and elsewhere erasing the frames of socio-economic power by eliminating people altogether. The need to represent the selected groups equally, despite their level of traditional culture also led to selecting nostalgic practices resurrected by revival groups alongside folklife that is currently practiced.

The festival mission is to recognize how traditional culture changes and adapts to new circumstances. In practice this goal is often truncated by the need to select “embraceable imagery” and to categorize it in ways that are easily digestible by a moving target with a short attention span—festival visitors. The limitations of the venue are translated into the fieldwork process where fieldworkers are primed to look for cultural practices and artifacts that will fit within the festival program requirements. What falls outside of the program parameters may or may not be collected in the process of surveying and will not be used on the Mall. Festival format and cultural conservation paradigms shaped selection in the fieldwork phase. Martin, Kennedy, and various local advisors consulted about the Festival selection process were primarily concerned with articulating difference within a harmonious frame—diversity domesticated by unity.

The Festival fieldwork process illustrates that the Festival operates as a museum behind the scenes, and museums rely on maters narratives, which are, according to Hooper-Greenhill:

created by presenting a large-scale picture, by eliminating complicating and contradictory detail, by disguising difference, by hiding elements that

don't quite fit, and by emphasizing those that do. Unity rather than difference is emphasized; gaps that emerge when the story doesn't quite work are filled somehow, and those things that would have shown a different interpretation of events are excluded. The whole is naturalized through links to other supporting discourses. A homogenous mapping is produced, the constructed character of which is not often readily apparent, partly because of the confidence with which it is usually projected, and partly because of the network of other supporting material. These master narratives are therefore naturalized as universal, true, and inevitable.⁵²

The danger in designing the grid on which the Hawai'i program would operate was that in using institutional paradigms to create a narrative counter to the erasures and distortions of the tourist industry, a new master narrative would be created. The challenge was to walk the treacherous path between regulating the program and regulating the image of the very people for whom it was trying to do, in Kurin's words, "good work."

⁵² Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Interpretation of Visual Culture*, 24.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRODUCTION PHASE: CONSTRUCTING AUTHENTICITY

Like sex, tourism is based on experience, juxtaposition, and contrast. Beauty rather than truth is the key word, and the eye of the beholder is the unpredictable key. Truth would instill too many doubts.

Lucy Lippard, *On the Beaten Track*

Pay no attention to that man behind the curtain!
Wizard of Oz

The Hawai'i program was more than a transitory celebration that came and went. That event, like any museum exhibit, left little of its interpretation to chance. It was skillfully crafted over a rhetorical and spatial armature. Once the fieldwork phase of the festival-making process was completed in Hawai'i, the torch was passed to the skilled festival crew, and the production phase was set in motion in Washington D.C. where an experienced design team began the complex process of transforming concept into a multi-sensory educational event.

The obvious challenge for festival planners was to tangibly evoke Hawai'i within a landlocked site and to do so in a way that translated the concept developed in the planning and fieldwork phases into a rhetorically and visually coherent whole. Program curators Richard Kennedy and Linda Moriarty, with the advice of Hawai'i state folklorist Lynn Martin and several community scholars, aimed to problematize common misrepresentations of Hawai'i while presenting a unified narrative that would put Hawai'i's "best foot forward." In the Hawai'i fieldwork meeting collaborations between Hawai'i culture experts and Smithsonian staff, the beginnings of a vision of Hawai'i—

visual, textual, and ultimately performative—had been imagined, but in the abstract and still independent of the actual site of the festival, the National Mall. What had emerged from the meeting was a carefully crafted multicultural narrative envisioned as a counter-narrative to Hawaii's misrepresentation by the tourist industry and colonially dominated version of history. The next stage was to fit this image of Hawai'i within the frames of the Festival site in Washington D.C. and the production machinery of the Festival itself.

The principle task of the preceding fieldwork process had been to determine who and what would represent Hawai'i, and the task of the production phase was to determine just how tradition bearers and traditions would be represented. After two days of debates on demographics and traditions, the fieldwork meeting had turned to discussion of program concept. Unlike many of the more nebulous ideas that had been generated in the planning phase meetings, the proposals that emerged in the fieldwork meeting were solidly based on research and would become the foundation for actual program design. The next step beyond this was to transport those ideas from the Hawai'i program team to the Center for Folklife staff who would help hone them down and translate them into reality. For the OFP design people, this meant sorting through recommendations and working with the curators to make final and practical decisions about exactly what physical forms would be erected to frame the program content and overseeing all stages from design to final construction. Alongside the creation of the spatial structures for the program was the development of the program theme into a coherent narrative in textual form for signage, the program book, and publicity. Underlying and critically important to the process of midwifing program ideas into an actual program on the Mall was the

process of securing supplies, raising funds, and currying other kinds of support from people with power and influence.

Although the Festival presents reconstituted, recontextualized culture, concern with “authenticity” permeated the linked processes of site design, textualizing, and acquiring sponsorship. Skillful rhetoric about the reciprocal value of authenticity and the ability of the Smithsonian to produce it garnered the donations of money and goods necessary to produce “the real Hawai‘i” in the nation’s capital while strategic mapping of authenticity ideology onto the space of the Mall manifested that “reality” as the stage on which “the real Hawai‘i” would be enacted. Seeking to produce authenticity is particularly problematic in a festival-making process that attempts to negotiate between community self-definitions and institutional definitions and applications. Regina Bendix’s study of the how the history of folklore studies has developed in relation to changing ideas about authenticity claims that the issue is rooted in dichotomous thinking, “The notion of authenticity implies the existence of its opposite, the fake, and this dichotomous construct is at the heart of what makes authenticity problematic.”¹ This avoidance of the “fake” was a central concern to the Hawai‘i program staff as they worked to manifest an alternative to glitzy, market-produced images of Hawai‘i. What became clear in the early meetings in Hawai‘i was that the Hawai‘i and Smithsonian people had different interpretations of authenticity and that these were critical to envisioning the site and its accompanying textual support. For both groups, the “fake” was associated with tourist productions and the authentic with an ideal of noncommodified cultural tradition. Although the objective was to present the real

¹ Regina Bendix, *In Search of Authenticity: The Formation of Folklore Studies* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), 9.

Hawai'i, Hawai'i reality did not sort out along these lines. Many living Hawaiian traditions had evolved in the spaces between communities and the cultural marketplace, so avoiding the fake meant that traditions appropriated by tourism could only be used if they were symbolically returned to their sources. The issue of cultural sources as the measure of authenticity posed a different problem in relations to immigrant groups. Hawai'i fieldworkers insisted that hybridity was authentic Hawai'i, and what was "traditional" was cultural sharing. Employing the multicultural model typically used by the Smithsonian, where traditions were clearly attributed to particular ethnic groups, made it difficult to place the many hybrid forms of culture that had evolved in overlapping communities. How these debates were translated in the production process would solidify and transmit the narrative to be perceived by visitors. This chapter tracks the production phase of the Hawai'i program, phase as the festival-making process was translated from Hawai'i to Washington D.C. starting with the end of the fieldwork meeting in Hawai'i. It examines how the program concept was crafted through the festival's spatial and rhetorical constructs.

Spatial design

As Fairbanks says in discussing the work of Lefebvre, space is never neutral, never simply a stage on which human affairs are enacted, "[S]pace shapes social life" and is "always constructed culturally through social interactions." Analyzing space as a factor in culture can shed light on "the way in which power operates through

spatial structures."² The Hawai'i program spatial design is a case of space being deliberately manipulated with the ideal of subverting hegemony and symbolically redistributing power by physically inserting a view countering American cultural homogeneity and correcting misperceptions of Hawai'i culture. The following section examines the shaping of the program's spatial design from concept to pre-performance stage. It analyzes the steps through which the program designers concretized the concept into a particular vision of authentic Hawai'i as envisioned through the discourses of public sector folklore and American multiculturalism.³

The Mall is the symbolic epicenter of American public space. A rectangular swath of green between the Capitol and the Washington Monument bounded by the imposing galleries of the National Museum, it has been the site of major protests and celebrations (see figure 1). For the Smithsonian to display a community, region, country, or even occupation there is to grant it a symbolic national center stage and, depending on who and what is being showcased in a given year, to temporarily invert power relationships between margin and periphery. Strategic mapping of space is central to this inversion. A festival is primarily visual and a critical problem for the program coordinators of the Hawai'i festival was designing the program's space so that its conceptual messages would be communicated visually and experientially as well as textually. In other words, the goal was a sort of choreographed spontaneity through effective staging and the right structures.

² Fairbanks, "A Theoretical Primer on Space," *Critical Social Work* 3, no. 1 (2003).

³ Public sector folklore is, within the discipline, distinguished from and sometimes opposed to academic folklore. Zumwalt has written an interesting history of the division in which she cites their early associations with literature or anthropology as the main cause. Actually, there are many folklorists who cross the line and demonstrate that it is an artificial divide. On the other hand, I have heard public sector folklorists make unfounded claims that university-based folklorists do not develop relationships with people. Given the short-term nature of festival making, this seems a bit ironic. Rosemary Levy Zumwalt, *American Folklore Scholarship: A Dialogue of Dissent* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

The one thing on which the Hawai'i planning and fieldwork committees agreed was that the central objective of the program was to present the "real" Hawai'i. The execution of the Hawai'i program, however, was hampered by a double bind. One challenge was to present a version of authenticity that would satisfy presenting communities, some of which were steeped in cultural revivals embracing anachronism and nostalgia. Another challenge was to debunk touristic versions of Hawai'i while sponsored by the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau whose bread and butter is earned through commercializing and simulating traditional culture *in situ*. While the tourist industry creates illusion on location, the Festival would present dislocated authentic culture framed by a spatial illusion. In Folklife Center Director Richard Kurin's words:

the design of the Hawai'i program site must convey to the 1.5 million Festival visitors a sense of the physical and cultural landscape of the state. The site should also provide a comfortable setting for the 100 participants coming from Hawai'i to present their skills and knowledge to the Nation. Creating a Hawaiian site on the national Mall presents quite a challenge.⁴

Discussion of the festival as a construction in space had been initiated at the planning meetings in early 1988. Richard Kurin and Diana Parker had posed questions about how the poetry of place could be invoked in space. Kurin repeatedly nudged local scholars and culture workers toward visualization with queries about how the ocean could be invoked and how intangible ideas could be made tangible.⁵ Later in the year, questions of what could be displayed and how it should be presented drove much of the fieldwork process. Researchers, given limited time in which to survey ethnic communities, had been steered toward investigating and collecting information on

⁴ Richard to Herbert Kennon Kurin, Letter March 20, 1989.

⁵ "Working Meeting Minutes," (Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage Archives, Smithsonian Institution, 1988).

traditions that would fit neatly into pre-existing festival genres: material culture, occupational culture, foodways, and performance. Shyer traditions, such as narrative traditions, were also surveyed, but always with stage presentation in mind. In the fieldwork review meeting held in July, questions about presentability had influenced the selection of tradition bearers and traditions.⁶ Fieldworkers and organizers wondered: How would a person or group or activity appear to an audience outside Hawai'i? How well could they articulate a tradition? Could they handle a large, inquisitive audience? How would they/it be perceived visually and aurally? Finally, the third and last day of meetings was devoted to program concept—translating concept into structural needs and spatial possibilities for the environment in which tradition bearers and traditions would be exhibited.

Concept phase

The reconstituted real is at the core of Festival presentation style, in what Robert Cantwell refers to as “ethnomimesis.”⁷ While Festival staff does not aspire to mimic an actual cultural context, they do use spatial designs to signify actual cultural contexts. On the Mall, authenticity is incurred through carefully chosen objects and environments that point to the real. For the Hawai'i program, this meant trying to signify Hawai'i without using the images of tourism.

In the planning meetings, “a sense of place” had emerged as thematic glue for the program's cultural pastiche. Reproducing this sense of place out of place was the

⁶ Barbara Lau, "Fieldwork Review Meeting Notes," (Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage Archives, Washington D.C.: Jan. 25, 1989).

⁷ Robert Cantwell, *Ethnomimesis: Folklife and the Representation of Culture* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1993).

challenge. To evoke the ocean in a landlocked location was not easily resolved. Featuring surfing and fishing were two ideas, and it was decided that it would be important to supplement performances with ample photographs of sand and sea. Greenery was less of a problem. It was quickly agreed that flowers and trees would need to be abundant in order to visually underscore a link between culture and nature and to instill a tropical ambiance. A discussion ensued about whether to restrict the staging to native plants or to include plants that had been introduced from elsewhere—an attempt to reify the pure botanical past rather than reinstate the hybrid botanical present with its showy colors and shapes made familiar by the tourist industry. This point was considered and meeting notes underline the need for the designers to obtain books on Hawai'i plants so that Smithsonian planners could accurately reproduce the flora and fauna. It was proposed that a learning center could portray the vegetation through photo text panels. Demonstrations were also suggested; *lei*-making would add sensory integrity through the scents and colors of flowers. Including natural structures was another solution to the problem of creating an atmosphere reminiscent enough of Hawai'i to feel authentic. Lava rock walls were suggested as a landscape feature, a reference to rural areas of the islands where they can still be seen. A taro field and family gardens could be practical, multifunctional sites serving to incorporate nature with the occupational lore of *poi* making and of herbal healing while illustrating shared ethnic traditions. This brainstorming at the planning meeting was very productive in solving the problem of how Hawai'i tradition-bearers out of place could be re-placed by nature, equally out of place, being used to simulate familiar spaces through familiar objects and environments. In the process, however, they called on many of the same signification strategies used by the

tourist industry. Clearly, it was not going to be easy to represent Hawai'i out of place without employing overused tropes.

In the concept end of the fieldwork meeting in January, the fieldworkers and Smithsonian design staff had to tie conceptual suggestions to selected cultural groups and practices and then make decisions about what ideas would actually be workable on the Mall. Everyone knew that creating a sense of place out of place was particularly critical in the representation of Hawaiians since they had agreed that a different logic needed to be applied to representations of immigrant and indigenous culture. They wanted to distinguish Native Hawaiians from the other groups through structures that could be designated exclusively Hawaiian. One problem was that Hawaiian architecture had been supplanted by foreign elements, and the Festival rule was to avoid historical reconstruction. Grass shacks were out, and a hula mound was suggested as an indigenous "structure" that could convey the connection between culture and landscape, albeit altered landscape, but festival site design relies on architectural elements rather than natural ones. The third problem was crossovers with other groups. The next tier of suggested indigenous structures were a *lo'i* (taro field) and an *imu* (cooking pit)—both earthworks that would point to connection with the land. The problem was that both structures had also been suggested to represent acculturation with other groups. The only extant type of indigenous structure that the fieldworker who researched vernacular architecture had identified was canoe sheds although the modern canoe shed is better known as a structure used to house outrigger canoes for elite canoe clubs that charge high fees for membership. Other physical features that were suggested were Native Hawaiian by association with the past if not the present. Low, mortarless walls made of black lava

still dot various parts of the landscape in the islands, in pastures, and gardens and in areas where *heiau* (ancient temples) still stand. Simulations have been popular for tourist industry construction. At the time of the festival, the few rock wall builders skilled in mortarless wall construction were, however, from various ethnic groups. Hawai'i ethnic traditions were far too layered and intermingled for any easy division by ethnicity, and translating indigenous Hawaiian traditions into physical space outside of Hawai'i was problematic. Finally, they decided that the only structure that could be designated a Hawaiian space would be a generic one that would be Hawaiianized through performance: a *hula* stage. Meeting notes specify that it should be large and have an unsanded surface. The idea was to surround the stage with native plants to emphasize the relationship between *hula* and island ecology, redrawing the culture to nature connection in a performance space. This use of a performance stage as the central space designated as Hawaiian, while a decision made out of necessity, seems particularly ironic in light of the edict to create the authentic by avoiding references to tourist performance.

The different logic applied to immigrants had already been a topic of heated discussion in the fieldwork meetings by the time they arrived at questions of physical structures. The Smithsonian staff was used to working within a paradigm of multiculturalism that had evolved over the twenty years of the Festival's existence, but ideas they assumed they shared were disputed at the fieldwork review meetings. The fieldwork meeting notes repeatedly emphasize how uncomfortable the fieldworkers from Hawai'i were with drawing firm divisions between ethnic groups—how they chafed at

classifications they considered artificial boundaries that belied local realities.⁸ Rather than attributing cultural practices in the present exclusively to individual groups, they preferred to stress shared traditions such as *lei*, food, and *hula auana*. This insistence on blended culture as authentic shifted the interpretation of authenticity to being construed as synonymous with hybridity. The focus on hybridity was carried over into preliminary ideas for Festival architecture that could represent the mixing of cultures in Hawai'i.

Suggestions were based on fieldwork research done on vernacular architecture.

Throughout the Hawaiian Islands are tiny painted churches, and one suggestion was to use a church front for the Hawaiian narrative stage in recognition of missionary history, the prevalence of Christianity amongst Hawaiians, and of the hybrid traditions that had resulted from missionary contact, such as Hawaiian quilting. Another idea was a "Mom and Pop" store modeled after the small stores that had sprung up as former workers left the plantations and went into business. The store, they said, could stock rubber slippers and crack seed and sell shave ice as symbols of the "local." The architecture fieldworker had contributed a stack of photographs of these ubiquitous one-room stores. Both the church and the store ideas were candidates for narrative stages at the Festival. Musicians and storytellers could assemble on the storefront porch. Quilters could work near the church door. The idea was that these spaces, through carefully researched detailing, could lend an air of authenticity to performance by their association with actual gathering places; it was an idea based partly in symbolic space since the church steps are an unlikely place to actually find quilters. Certain occupations made it easier to represent

⁸ The following information is taken from notes on the conceptual phase of the fieldwork process. These notes illustrate some confusion. The overview labeled as a three-part presentation is followed by four categories: traditions with continuation, crafts of acculturation, local, and immigrant traditions that have been continued and revived. Lau, "Fieldwork Review Meeting Notes."

hybridity because they were tied to particular kinds of sites in which various peoples have congregated and learned from each other, combining skills and interests. One such hybrid occupation is *paniolo* culture. Martin had recently researched and exhibited the material culture of *paniolo* from the Big Island and Maui, so she was familiar with the sort of landscape in which it had flourished and was still practiced on a smaller scale. Her request for the festival was to consider erecting a tack shed /work area for saddle-making and rawhide braiding. Horses and cattle were added to her *paniolo* wish list.⁹ Maritime culture was another cultural hub brought up at the fieldwork review meeting since Hawai‘i has a long, multicultural maritime history that includes voyaging, merchant shipping, whaling, fishing, and canoe racing. The suggestion was to create a boatbuilding shed that would allow the maritime history to be visualized and narrativized. The objective in all of these ideas was to create structures that would physically manifest hybridity as a balance to the Smithsonian emphasis on ethnic diversity.

A compromise solution to the standoff between the Hawai‘i staff’s desire to stress symbols of hybridity and the Smithsonian’s desire to represent what they saw as the integrity of ethnic groups was to create a presentation strategy to represent ethnic groups in physical proximity to each other. In figuring the demographics of the festival program, as opposed to the actual demographics of the islands, a decision had been made to accord native Hawaiians half of the festival representation as the “host culture” and to divide the remaining representation equally amongst the eight other ethnic groups selected to participate. Of those eight groups, only Samoans would be loosely linked to Hawaiians through shared geography and Polynesian cultural roots. The remaining seven would be linked to each other through a theme of shared plantation history, despite that history not

⁹ This is not so far-fetched since the Festival has included livestock on several occasions.

necessarily having been contemporaneous. The insistence on connections rather than divisions between immigrant groups led to the proposal of a circular layout for demonstration booths that would allow them to be exhibited separately while symbolically linking them together. Containing different cultures within a spoked-wheel layout, the organizers and fieldworkers decided, could conceptually reinforce the notion of shared culture and interdependency. Low stone walls or *ti* plants could provide minimal separation between the groups without obstructing the view. Improving on that notion, the committee envisioned a radial pattern traversed by adjoining paths rather than barriers. On a similar note, they said family gardens would be a way of identifying different ethnic groups through their food and medicinal plants while presenting a shared activity. In these solutions, juxtaposition became a strategy to represent hybridity while maintaining groups distinctions.

Interactivity was a roundabout way to emphasize cultural sharing, and it was one that fit well with the mission of the Festival. Because the Smithsonian Festival is a museum extension, its success is measured by how well it communicates, and its methodology is geared toward interactive education. Structures needed to provide a multi-sensory experience for festival-goers that was an intimate antidote to the hushed reverence and “don’t touch” imperative of the surrounding museums and facilitate audience/participant interaction. Interactive spaces are standard components of the annual festival format, such as a children’s activity area, demonstration kitchens, and narrative stages. These features had to be incorporated into the site design but could be adapted for the Hawai‘i program’s conceptual theme and visual image. The Hawai‘i fieldwork review meeting notes are peppered with recipes and list a selection of

recommended cooks for the kitchens, and it also planned a learning center with photos and text on topics like tropical vegetation and *hula auana*, a children's area for games, and an open space for throw netting. For the Hawai'i program, some proposed structures lent themselves to interactivity by their very nature, and these were favored by both the Hawai'i and the Smithsonian people. Presenting Japanese *bon* dance required *yagura*—an open, one-story tall tower surmounted by a small platform and strung tent-like with lantern festooned ropes. In Hawai'i, *bon* dances are usually open to the public and encourage mass outsiders to join in, so Hawai'i people lend an air of authenticity to have the public join in.¹⁰ For the purposes of the Festival, the *yagura* was envisioned as a unifying strategy as well as an ethnic structure because it would be the center of interactive activities in which the public could participate, and they would need to because there were far too few Japanese participants selected for the program to form more than just the nucleus of a proper *bon* dance. The *yagura*, with its strings of lanterns, would form the same radial design as the proposed immigrant exhibit, furthering a symbolic portrayal of cultural interconnectedness through the use of circles.

Production phase

Near the completion of the fieldwork phase, the program design passed to Washington where the skilled staff at the OFP took on the actual production of the program concept. Barbara Lau, Linda Moriarty's program coordinator counterpart in D.C., and Fred Nahwoosky, Festival Technical Coordinator had flown to Honolulu to attend the program review meeting at the East-West Center and then set off on a fact and atmosphere gathering trip to the neighbor islands. Following arrangements made for

¹⁰ Judy Van Zile, "Bon Dancing in Hawai'i: A Changing Tradition," *Honolulu*, November, 1981.

them by Martin, on January 28 they flew to Waimea, Hawai‘i where they visited with National Heritage fellow Clyde “Kindy” Sproat and his wife Sherrie. They then spent another 2 days on the Big Island before Lau flew to Kauai‘i for a couple of vacation days before returning to Washington.¹¹ During their exploration of the rural areas of the Big Island, they videotaped and took extensive photographs of the lush vegetation that would inform the site design. Through the Hawai‘i State Society, Lau found and hired Gordon Velasquez, a landscape architect who had lived in Hawai‘i and who had moved to the D.C. area. The final design would be a negotiation between the combined skills of Lau, Nahwoosky, Velasquez, and Kennedy. Once the design process was begun, an internal memo at the OFP declared that “[t]he space created for *lei*-makers, weavers, and boat-builders will be evocative of a Hawai‘i that exists in reality and not in the imagination.”¹²

The design team had the task of physically manifesting the emerging counter narrative of Hawai‘i onsite where new factors would come into play such as the geography and dimensions of the actual site, the three other programs against which Hawai‘i would be juxtaposed (Caribbean, French Traditions in America, and Plains Indians), and the regulations of the National Parks Service. More recent programs have all been moved to the treeless center of the Mall due to Park Department concerns over the health of the trees. Fortunately, the Hawai‘i program area was to be located under the trees that line the Mall, and a certain amount of greenery was guaranteed.

The site design for the Hawai‘i program underwent several changes before the final version was actually decided. Each of them poses solutions to the debates over hybridity and ethnicity and has implications for the issue of how to narrate authenticity in

¹¹ Itinerary for Barbara Lau. January 24-February 4, 1989, 1989.

¹²Memorandum, 1989..

space. The Mall itself is actually divided into a number of rectangular areas separated by one-lane dirt walkways/service roads. At one end is the nation's Capitol. At the other is the Washington Monument. Along the sides are the various museums of the Smithsonian Institute. In the middle of the Mall, near the Freeman Gallery, are the escalators to a Metro station (see figure 1). The location finally designated for the Hawai'i program occupied two adjoining rectangular plots on the side of the Mall closest to Jefferson Drive and directly across from the Museum of American History. These two plots are bisected by a walkway and surrounded by fences.

An early idea put together by Kennedy that was later rejected shows, instead, two plots that are side by side rather than end to end (see figure 2). The two plots accorded with the fieldwork review strategy of dividing Hawai'i peoples into "First Immigrants" and "Later Immigrants." They also bring up a linked strategy mentioned in the fieldwork phase when some members of the committee suggested that they divide Hawai'i population into two groups according to their relationship to land and history; indigenous and immigrant groups were envisioned as representing, respectively, a split between "a sense of place" and "a sense of displace." This plan gives "displace" a place. This early sketch also seems to divide the program space according to gender, with male-dominated activities across the green from those generally done by women. What is especially unique in this design is that it broke Hawai'i culture into two groups roughly based on migrations, presenting Hawaiians as the first immigrants. It also relegated hybrid crafts and occupations to Native Hawaiians despite the insistence of many of the Hawai'i fieldworkers and advisors that these were shared traditions. The spatial plan for the first immigrants (Hawaiians) area located it adjacent to the Metro stop and designated spaces

by related materials and/or related activities. Two corners are occupied by nature-related activities. Rock wall building occupies one corner. In the opposite corner, he placed foodways and plant-based medicinal lore: an *imu* pit, *la'au lapa'au* (herbal healing) a *lo'i*, an herbal garden. Next to a *hula* /music stage he placed a booth for *lei*-makers and one for quilters and weavers. Across from the *hula* stage he placed a learning center, and next to that a booth for woodworkers—musical instruments, carving, and furniture. The last booth in this area is a maritime booth that would feature fishing, canoeing, and surfing. The second area in Kennedy's early layout, labeled "Later Immigrants," is differently organized. A dance and music stage occupies one corner, and the opposite corner on the same side is occupied by food concessions and foodways. There are only two other spaces—one is a semi-circular area for Okinawan, Japanese and Filipino crafts. The other is another half-round with a "Mom and Pop" store in the center, a garden and Portuguese *forno* (beehive oven) on the side. A few "concessions" are sprinkled across the area across from the foodways structure. This part of the plan was obviously drawing on the circular concept mentioned earlier.

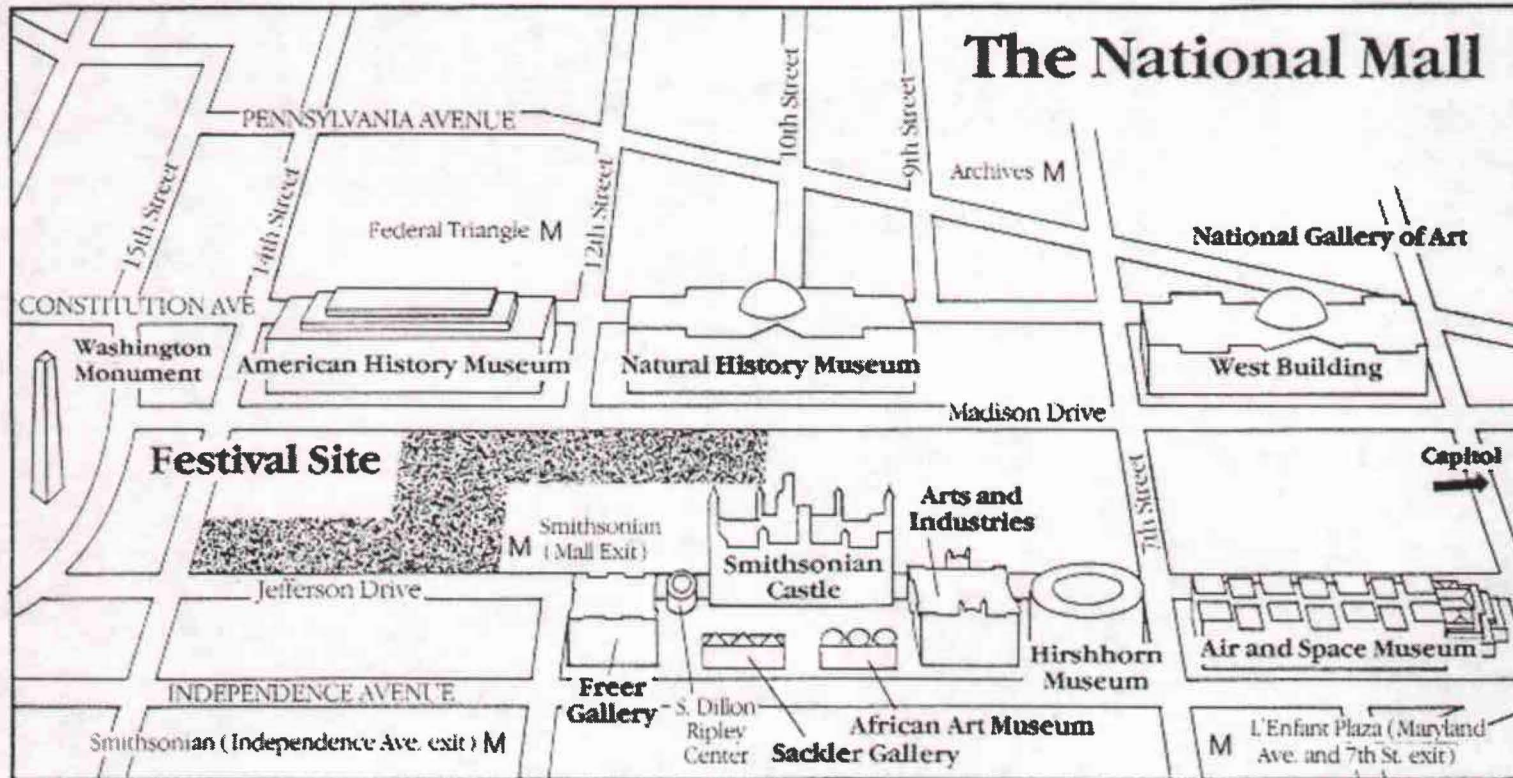
That interpretations of what was authentically Hawai'i differed is evidenced in the difference between Kennedy's design and an interim design created by Nahwoosky for the program. The interim layout retains the distinction between indigenous and immigrant groups and the desire to grant half of the festival representation to Native Hawaiians, but drastically reinterprets other features, especially Kennedy's inclusive treatment of cultural hybridity (see figure 3). In one long rectangle, indigenous culture is placed at one end and a *paniolo* rodeo demonstration area is put at the other. Halfway between the two is a maritime area reached through a gate called the "shell entry." On

the Hawaiian end of the layout are a taro patch, a *heiau*, a *hula* mound (for *hula*, chant, storytelling, narrative, and nose flute), and a *hale* (house) for “*kappa*, medicine, basket and coconut weaving” and two *lei*-making booths with another entrance between them. There are ten structures indicated on the “other” end of the layout. One is a “plantation façade” stage for music and dance, and the remaining nine are each designated by ethnicity: Okinawan, Hawaiian, Filipino, Puerto Rican, Chinese, Japanese, and Portuguese. Added to the ethnicities selected in the fieldwork review meeting are Southeast Asians and Haoles (spelled Howli). The Chinese and Japanese structures are each attached to a sugar cane patch and an entrance is placed between them. The Portuguese and Haole structures are connected and a *forno* has been placed next to the Portuguese area. The Hawaiian structure is specified as being for quilting, woodwork and hat-making. The layout notes specify that the Okinawan structure should have a red tin roof.

There are several discrepancies between this design and earlier decisions. It makes inclusions that had been deliberately excluded by Kennedy, Martin, and Moriarty in their effort to avoid primitivizing. For example, they had decided that *kapa*-making was entirely a revivalist craft and one that would create an anachronistic perception amongst visitors.¹³ Although Smithsonian staff had explained that the focus should be on the present as informed by history, and that the purpose of the festival was not historical re-enactment, several of the structures belie that emphasis. In the Hawaiian end of the plan is a *heiau* replete with a hut, a tiki, and a tower, and while some of these structures are being restored in Hawai‘i, they are essentially ruins from an earlier era and including

¹³ Lynn Martin, "Outline of Presentation at University of Hawaii," (Smithsonian Institute, Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage: October 22, 1991). It has since become a very vital practice.

Figure 1. Festival site on the National Mall

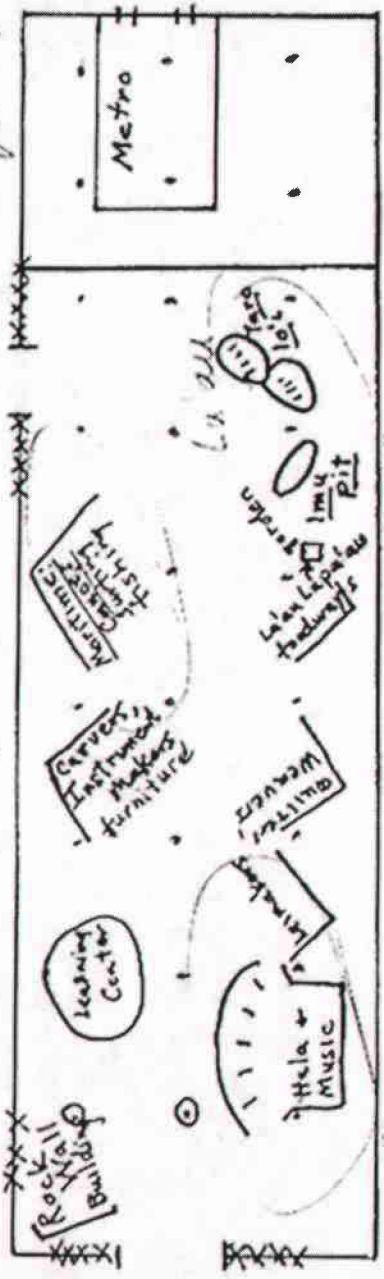


Rough Sketch - Hawaii's Program
 1989 Festival of American Folklife

$\frac{3}{16}'' = 10'$

early idea
later 1st sketch

First Immigrants: A Sense of Place



Later Immigrants: A Sense of "Displace"

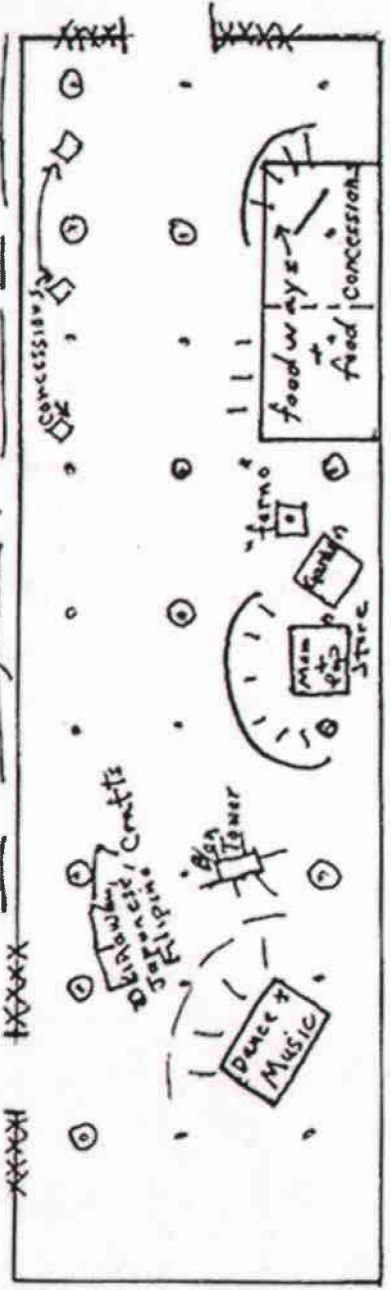


Figure 2. Site Design 1 (rejected).

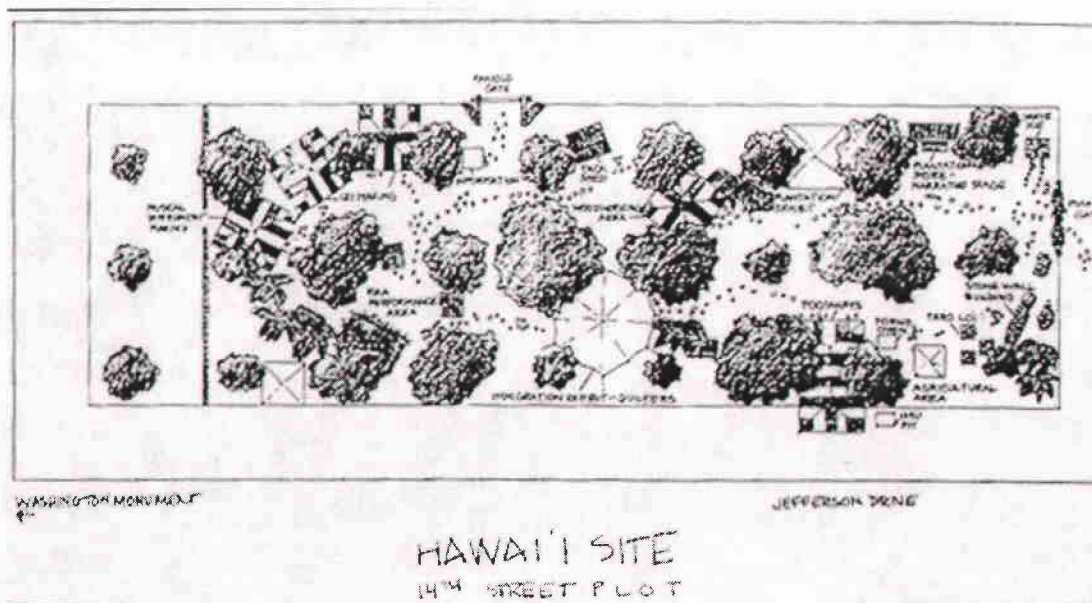
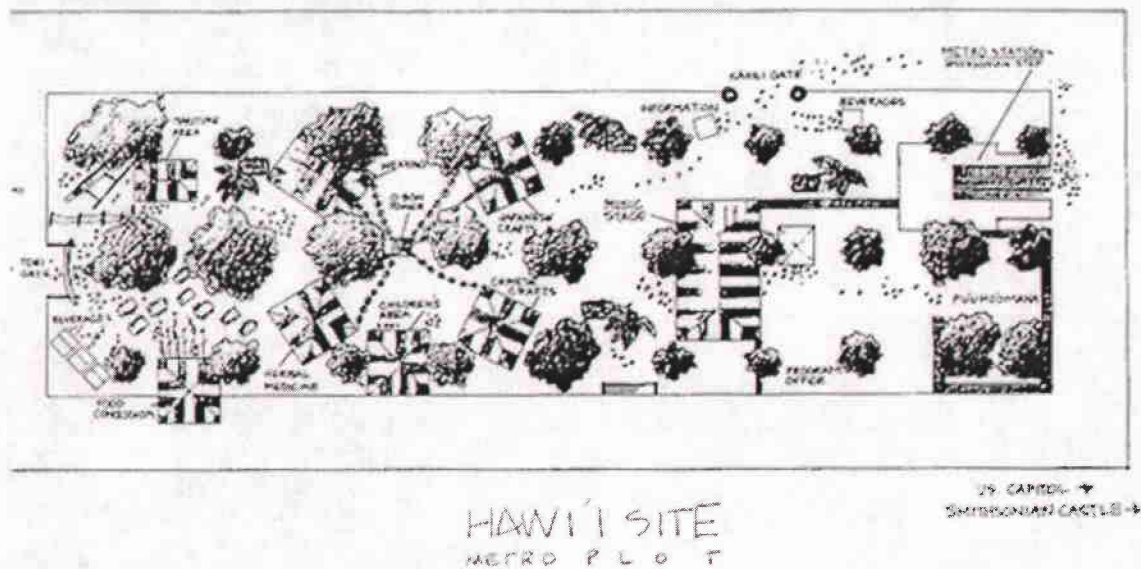


Figure 4. Final Site Design.

them in the festival would be historical reconstruction and tantamount to reinstating tourist industry tropes and making Hawaiians appear “out of time.”¹⁴ A plantation façade and the Okinawan red roof suggest that the atmosphere being sought in this design is an evocation of plantation life.¹⁵ This is understandable given that plantation life was the theme used at the fieldwork review meeting to decide which groups to represent and how to link them together into a unified narrative, but it commits the same error of recreating history rather than representing the present. Some elder tradition bearers might remember plantation life, but what they remembered no longer existed in contemporary life. Nor was the plantation a happy multicultural haven in its time.¹⁶ Furthermore, this design’s division of traditions by ethnicity imposes a multicultural template on Hawai‘i that had been roundly rejected by the Hawai‘i fieldworkers who had preferred to stress shared traditions. The inclusion of *haole* redresses their omission in the concept phase. Lastly, the implicit connection of *haole* and Portuguese groups contradicts the fieldwork review meeting assertion that Portuguese are not considered *haole* in Hawai‘i by virtue of their being connected to a plantation history. What these early designs reveal is the difficulty of representing multi-layered and hybrid history and culture in any kind of exhibition space, but especially in a Festival environment that must convey a great deal through overall impressions. The problem of representing “authenticity” is reflected in the variations between the designs of two people who attended the same meetings and

¹⁴ Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other : How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

¹⁵ It has since been pointed out to me that red roofs are common in Okinawa and that Okinawans in Hawai‘i must have tried to recreate a sense of home by having red roofs in their new environment.

¹⁶ For a history of the plantations, see Ronald T. Takaki, *Raising Cane : The World of Plantation Hawai‘i* (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1994).

heard the same discussions, yet interpreted the imperatives in very different ways by infusing them with their own observations and sets of signs.

The final design was a compromise that merged hybridity and ethnic distinction elements of the two designs. It was obviously the result of much rethinking of how to match space and concept. This design is integrated into the landscape of the Mall, worked around trees and walkways with an organic flow that the other designs lack (see figure 4). The plantation notion has been retained, but rather than being represented by an assortment of small outbuildings reminiscent of worker houses, it is relegated to two shared structures: a historical exhibit and a storefront. Although participants had been selected for a balanced representation of ethnic groups, exhibits are organized primarily by activity rather than ethnicity. An immigrant exhibit with the radial construction suggested in the concept stage would house quilters and a learning center on immigration. The *paniolo* area has been dropped and only a tack shed remains, near the *hula* performance area rather than at the far end of the program plot. Musical instrument makers are placed next to *lei*-makers since both required provisions for keeping their materials cool. Woodworking, agricultural, and maritime, weaving, and herbal medicine are each accorded a separate space. The only spaces designated by ethnicity are ones for Japanese crafts and Chinese crafts. The *hula* stage is placed at the end nearest the Washington monument and a music stage at the other end, next to the Metro stop. Behind it are the program office and the *Pu'uhō'omaha* (place of refuge)—a space for staff to escape the crowds. Across from the music stage and at the hub of five exhibit structures is the *yagura*. The effect of this site plan was to accomplish what the Hawai'i committee had preferred: instead of a division between ethnicities being foremost, the

division is between Hawaiian and “local.” Although the term local had multiple meanings in Hawai‘i (see chap. 2), they chose to interpret it as non-racialized and inclusive, and to use it as emblematic of Hawai‘i multiculturalism.¹⁷

In some ways the Hawai‘i program was a site design trendsetter. Festival programs usually have two large stages on which multiple performances take place. The Hawai‘i program site design was no exception, but the design was unique. When the division between indigenous and immigrant culture was translated into an actual layout, the result was a designated stage for each: Hawaiian and Other. An outdoor *hula* stage would be the site for Hawaiian performances, and a covered stage at the other end of the program area would be shared by the various immigrant groups. Although performance stages in Washington are usually covered and much *hula* in Hawai‘i is performed indoors in spaces designed for performance, a decision was made to create an outdoor stage for *hula* to insinuate the connection to nature. Low seats in rows were constructed with grandstand seating further back. The result was a compromise between a traditional *hula* mound—a site in Hawai‘i on which ancient *hula* was and revival culture is performed in traditional space—and the standard arena type of performance space where an audience looks down on the dancers rather than up to or across. The dancers would be symbolically elevated above much of the audience but the setting would remain intimate and outdoors. And since outdoors D.C. is not outdoors in the tropics, the idea was to create spatial authenticity by surrounding the structures with flowers and palms rather than with iconic images of an indigenous past.

¹⁷ For a debate of Hawai‘i being the model of multiculturalism, see Jonathan Y. Okamura, “The Illusion of Paradise: Privileging Multiculturalism in Hawai‘i,” in *Making Majorities*, ed. Dru Gladney (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998) and Glen Grant and Dennis Ogawa, “Living Proof: Is Hawai‘i the Answer?,” *Annals. AAPSS* 530, November (1993).

The final site design solidified some of the conceptual debates and shifted the balance in others. For instance, despite prayer being cited as a unifying force at the meetings and a church being suggested as a way to visualize missionary influence and incorporate Hawaiian hybrid culture through Christianity and quilting, the church idea was dropped. Apparently Christianity was associated with dominant culture. While the church as a symbol of modern Hawaiianess and synchronicity was eliminated, along with the Portuguese Holy Ghost Festival and Korean Christianity, Japanese Buddhism and Chinese Taoism were deemed acceptable for Festival presentation. An area was designated for a Taoist altar. Ironically, demographically playing down Japanese socio-economic domination in the islands by representing them only through traditional culture and as equal to less socio-economically powerful immigrant groups actually ended up as a spatial domination of the immigrant end of the festival site. The *yagura* echoed the radial organization of the interdependent immigrant area plan, but it was also the tallest structure and one with an observation deck. Underlining this unintentional symbolism, was the fact that it would become an ideal spot for reporters and photographers who wanted to survey the site.

The final plan featured four entrances called the *paniolo*, *kahili*, *puka kom* (gate in Hawaiian), and *tori* (Japanese) gates. Each of them would be designed to create an impression for the area into which it led. The *paniolo* gate would look like the entrance to a ranch, the Japanese gate like the entrance to a temple. That left two Hawaiian gates, one of which was to be *kahili* (feather standards associated with royalty), and an idea that was dropped as too elite. At the fieldwork review meeting when Kennedy had asked for a suggestion for the Hawaiian gate, Native Hawaiian historian Nathan Napoka had

facetiously suggested airport greeters—implying that commercialized and commodified Hawaiian culture and manufactured by the tourist industry was the real entrance to Hawai‘i. Those at the meeting agreed and enjoyed the joke, but the idea was quickly abandoned for a more serious and picturesque solution, tropical vegetation. Opting instead for what Page refers to as “embraceable imagery,” they avoided the “real” because it did not match with the program-defined notion of authenticity.¹⁸ The Japanese gate became the generic symbol for all the Asians, making it another symbolically dominant structure for the immigrant representation. The gates marked the boundaries between the outside and the inside—they invited visitors into festival time and space, operating as thresholds to the liminal space of cultural mimesis.

Anachronism was not eluded entirely. The tiki and *heiau* disappeared, but the past as a lens on the present was maintained in the immigrant area. A Portuguese *forno* appeared despite its being “extinct” in the words of the fieldworker. The “Mom and Pop” store became a plantation store in the final design. Ironically, most of the fieldwork pictures used as models show family-owned stores in Honolulu’s economically depressed neighborhoods, hardly plantation stores. Furthering that irony is the fact that the plantation store would have been a company store that operated to keep plantation workers economically dependent rather than a gathering place in which people could “talk-story,” a Hawai‘i term for conversation. And while the store might be seen as breaking the historical reconstruction rule, because the Hawai‘i curators were so concerned about setting the record straight about Hawai‘i culture and history, a learning

¹⁸ Page coined this term to talk about black male images in the media. Helan E. Page, “Black Male Imagery and Media Containment of African American Men,” *American Anthropologist* 99, no. 1 (1997).

center was included as a space in which history could be presented in connection to the present without compromising performance by presenting it as relics of the past.

Overall, the final design grants the majority of the program space and structures to shared traditions, opposing Hawaiian and Japanese structures at their respective ends of the green, with the staff areas hidden behind the immigrant music stage. As in the demographics of the festival, representational power was effectively masked and hidden to stress participant authority and voice. The result was that spatially, the Japanese and Hawaiians would be highly visible, other immigrants would appear in juxtaposition to each other, and *haole* would only appear in the guise of syncretic cultural productions presented as indigenous and immigrant appropriations.

Technology and Supplies

Practicality dictated many of the structural choices. For reasons of budget and space, most structures were committed to multiple uses—conceptual and actual. The canoe shed could stand for both ocean and maritime traditions although it would omit past boat-building and current voyaging. The stages would be shed and the “Mom and Pop” store would serve as a narrative and performance stage. Certain traditions dictated their structural needs, making for logical decisions about the sorts of structures that would be necessary to frame cultural performances and demonstrations; for example, the Korean dancers, who wear multi-layered costumes and masks, requested a dressing area and a shaded performance space. Weavers and quilters also needed shelter from the sun while throw nets and active games required large open spaces. *Lei*-makers needed tables and nearby refrigeration to protect delicate flowers from wilting.

No Festival program can be produced without adequate funding, and funding comes most readily from sources that see the program as an investment that will in some direct or indirect way benefit the sponsor. The State of Hawai'i put up a million dollars to promote itself within the Smithsonian frame. The following list of sponsors was repeated in signs and the program book:

State of Hawai'i, with support from the Office of the Governor, the Hawai'i State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, the Hawai'i Visitor's Bureau, the Hawai'i corporate sponsors: Duty Free Shoppers Inc, Alexander and Baldwin, Aloha Airlines Inc., American Telephone and Telegraph Inc, Bank of Hawai'i, First Hawaiian Bank, Frito Lay of Hawai'i Inc., GTE-Hawaiian Telephone, Hawaiian Electric Industries Inc. International Savings/National Mortgage and Finance Co., Japan Travel Bureau, Oceanic Properties, Pacific Resource Inc.

This list includes tourist agencies for both Hawai'i and Japan as well as a number of institutions that stood to benefit from investment and/or expenditures in Hawai'i.

Although the pledges from the State were generous, Kurin's midterm report indicates that the money did not flow as easily as did the promises. In a letter to the state, Kurin jokingly prodded by saying he would be willing to swim to Hawai'i to get the money if need be. But the money was produced for what was undoubtedly the biggest investment ever in buying a place for Hawai'i in the national imagination.

The trick to a successful cultural spectacle is to incur such a convincing representation that it never occurs to visitors to peer behind the curtain to see just how the wizard is making it all happen. The audience wants to be convinced by illusions of spontaneity and authenticity, and the tech crew at the Festival is the working end of producing that magic. In addition to raising tents and constructing structures, the tech crew had to set up electrical equipment for everything from mikes to kitchens to refrigerators for *lei* flowers—all run on portable generators. The Smithsonian version of

traditional culture is wired to sound systems and recording equipment, and, ironically, it took a lot of technology to engineer a version of Hawai'i, which, for the most part, fell outside the scope of the modern.

Curators had to decide what supplies were needed, and actually obtaining the supplies required the services of Sallie Brodie, Festival Resource Coordinator, and Barbara Strickland, Festival Purchasing Agent. Brodie contacted government and private agencies in her search for plants, rocks, and other supplies, asking for donations to defray festival costs whenever appropriate: "Since the Smithsonian Institution is non-profit and the Festival is free to the visiting public, we appreciate any contributions which help make the Festival a reality." Making the festival a reality is exactly what the supply procurement people do, and the reality they create depends on available funding and inspiring generosity in potential sponsors, transportation, and government regulations as well as the coordination of logistics for packing, shipping, and getting everything delivered on time and in acceptable condition.

Once participants had been selected, queries were sent out to them about the supplies they would need for their cooking and crafts demonstrations. One list in particular highlights the complexity of realizing Hawai'i traditions in a new site. Ah Wan and Jane Goo from Kaua'i had been selected to demonstrate *imu* cooking, the traditional method of preparing food for a *lū'au*. The plan was to demonstrate the cooking method by preparing a number of traditional foods. A memo faxed from Linda Moriarty to Sallie Brodie contains the following list of required materials:¹⁹

¹⁹ Linda Moriarty, May 23, 1989.

EQUIPMENT NEEDS:

A. IMU:

1. ONE HOLE: 2 ½' deep with 4' x4' dimension, must have good loose dirt to cover
2. WOOD: need two cords for all imus
3. IMU STONES: three wheel barrels
4. TI LEAF: 8 sacks per imu, 32 sacks for all imus
5. BANANA STUMPS: 7 trunks per imu, 4' long with at least a 6" diameter, 28 stumps for all imus
6. BURLAP BAGS: 10 bags can be reused for each imu
7. CANVAS: 10' X10' to cover imu
8. CORRUGATED IRON: 3' x4" to cover kulolo cans
9. SHOVELS: 4 shovels 5' long with all metal base
10. PICK: with a good pointed end to open coconuts with
11. FIRE STARTER: ½ large can wizard charcoal starter
12. CHICKEN WIRE: 1 sq yard of 1" mesh
13. COOKING PANS: 2 disposable aluminum foil turkey pans to fit turkeys in for all imus
14. ALUMINUM FOIL: 1 large width roll for all imus

IMU FOOD NEEDS PER WEEK:

1. PIG: 80 lbs slaughtered and cleaned, will yield 60 lbs. of edible port, need 1 pig per week
2. TURKEY: two 20 lbs turkey per week
3. SWEET POTATO: 20 lbs. per week
4. 20 lbs of Hawaiian salt per imu

KULOLO FOOD NEED to prepare 1, 4-can imu:

1. TARO: 1 100 lbs bag of mature taro corm per imu
2. SUGAR: 15 lbs white granulated per imu
3. COCONUTS: 50 mature coconuts per imu
4. TI LEAVES: 84 leaves per imu, in addition to the leaves needed to cover the imu

Anyone who has ever organized a picnic for a crowd will appreciate the amount of careful planning this list encompasses. Not only does it anticipate cooking in an environment where none of the usual tools are at hand, it estimates quantities for supplies that would have to be brought in from Hawai'i because they are not readily available on the mainland. The emphasis on authenticity also incorporated new challenges for the production crew. A hole seems a simple enough requirement, but a hole is not easy to come by on the National Mall where the National Park Service had strict prohibitions

against digging.²⁰ Presentation was also an issue. Traditional rural cooking methods might not be seen in the same way in an urban metropolis—cooking whole pigs chanced bringing out the animal rights protesters.²¹ Additionally, tropical ingredients had to be secured and substitution was a last resort. Moriarty had made handwritten notes on the list, saying that banana stumps might be a problem although they might be able to replace them with cabbage, and sweet potatoes did not mean yams. In the case of supplies that had to be the real thing, she identified suppliers for items to be shipped: ti leaves, Hawaiian salt, taro, and coconuts.²² One thousand and five hundred *ti* leaves were shipped from Kapaa on Kaua‘i,²³ and 100 coconuts sewn into burlap bags were shipped from Laie on O‘ahu, along with various types of coconut leaves for weaving.²⁴ The price tag for this small piece of the whole production was \$1,445.00 before shipping. Supply lists were produced for other participants as well—each entailing their own logistics.

It’s one thing to draw up an ideal plan for re-constituting Hawai‘i in sight of the Capitol Building. Obtaining the materials to do it is sometimes another story altogether, one in which appearance sometimes had to stand in for the real thing. In addition to plant materials needed for cooking, weaving, and herbalists, the site design in all its stages had been conceived with an abundance of tropical plants in mind. The physical location of the program under the enormous trees of the Mall would add a certain amount of foliage, but what the curators had in mind was palm trees and tropical flowers such as one

²⁰ At the 2002 festival, Ricardo Trimillos expressed surprise to see the tech crew were digging holes for structures, and said that apparently this rule has changed since 1989. Memories differ about the *imu* solution, but Richard Kennedy says that they ended up building it above ground.

²¹ At least one person remembers that there were some sort of protests and that as a precautionary measure, the slaughtered pigs were brought in early, so that they would be safely tucked away in the *imu* before the crowds arrived.

²² Linda to Sallie Brodie Moriarty, Supply List, May 23, 1989.

²³ Smithsonian Institution. Office of Folklife Programs, "Small Purchase Order," (June 17, 1989).

²⁴ Barbara to Linda Moriarty Strickland, Memo May 26, 1989.

encounters in Hawai‘i. However, according to the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA), Hawai‘i is treated as a foreign location and subject to quarantine rules. Importation is limited to only soil-free plants and some plants are prohibited altogether.²⁵ This posed a potential problem for overall site embellishment, the taro field, and herbalists who needed plant materials for their demonstrations. Furthermore, the USDA requires that all categories of plants imported into the US be listed by scientific or accepted name in English.²⁶ An effective demonstration *lo ‘i* would require taro in various stages of maturation, so the Folklife Center worked with the Smithsonian Horticulture Division to have them provide plants. From a nursery in Boca Raton Florida, \$8,420.00 worth of plants for the site was ordered. These ranged in height from the 1-2” range to one hundred and twelve palms from 4-5’ high. The Center saved money by ordering “B” grade plants, for, as Lau pointed out in a memo to Kennedy, “considering what 3 weeks on the mall will do to them, “B” grade is definitely worth the savings.”²⁷

Papa Auwe, native Hawaiian *lapa ‘a lapa ‘au* practitioner, or herbal healer, from the Big Island needed fresh plants that could be “grown” on the Mall. Horticulture experts at the Smithsonian were called on for help procuring the plants and for their scientific names since these plants are otherwise known by their Hawaiian names. While Papa Auwe’s plants needed to be authentic, the plants for the site were approximated to create the desired site appearance.

²⁵ It is worth noting that this attentiveness to plant importation is not, however, observed in the reverse despite overwhelming evidence that Hawaii’s delicate ecosystem continues to be irreversibly damaged by the importation and improper handling of non-indigenous plant and animal species. While declaration forms are required of all persons entering the islands, disclosure is voluntary. States Department of Agriculture Animal and Plant Inspection Service United, June 15, 1980.

²⁶ "United States Department of Agriculture Form Q 37-1," (Effective June 15, 1980).

²⁷ Barbara to Richard Kennedy Lau, Memo May 26, 1989.

The acquisition and transport of some supplies were more labor-intensive than others. Rather than build a facsimile *yagura*, Hawai'i organizers located a temple in Honolulu that was willing to loan theirs despite the fact there had been some initial resentment that only a Kaua'i *bon* dance group would be representing Japanese *bon* dances in Hawai'i. The *yagura* had to be disassembled and packed into a twenty-foot shipping container for transport to Washington D.C.²⁸ Obtaining lava rocks was another challenge. The plan was for Mr. Emmsley, the rock wall builder from Maui, to arrive early and construct walls on the site. There are many kinds of lava in Hawai'i and the lava needed to be the type typically used for walls called *a'a*. Although there are some people who worked on the festival who maintain that the reason that lava rocks were not brought from Hawai'i was because of the commonly held belief that removing rocks from the islands will result in bad luck for the remover, it is much more likely that cost was the major factor in the decision to find suitable lava elsewhere. In fact, *imu* stones, which are a particular kind of lava rock, were sent from Hawai'i—by a man in Kaneohe (a town on the east side of O'ahu) whose wife happened to be living in Washington D.C. and was active in the Hawai'i State Society. Lava was needed for rock wall building demonstrations, to surround the hula stage, and “to delineate entrances and program boundaries.”²⁹ Brodie contacted a number of rock wholesalers and through the Bureau of Land management in Shoshone, Idaho, finally located sufficient lava rock; however, the costs to ship them by rail and truck to D.C. were astronomical. A flurry of correspondence took place as the festival dates edged closer. The problem was not helped by the fact that none of the rock dealers in the D.C. area was familiar enough with

²⁸ Linda Moriarty, October 29, 2002.

²⁹ Sallie Brodie, February 29, 1989.

lava to help with estimates, as Brodie's letters to Idaho sound like a mathematical story problem: "A few questions – what is the ratio of lava rock in volume to weight? If we ship by rail, how many tons will a rail car hold?"³⁰ She hints in her letter that donated shipping would be gratefully accepted.

Brodie also had the task of procuring people and horses for a *pa'u* parade—a form of parade pageantry in Hawai'i in which a court of female riders dress in elaborate skirts made from many yards of fabric wrapped to look like a skirt and riders and horse are decked out in beautiful *lei*. This hybrid tradition, which had emerged out of a Hawaiian practice and been adapted to a local and tourist spectacle, was included after the fieldwork meetings. The equestrian riding unit, a standard feature in Hawai'i parades since at least 1903, was a portion of the program recommended by Lynn Martin and included when a donor had designated funds to send six island *pa'u* princesses and their elaborate costumes to the festival. Each princess would represent a major island in its traditional colors: Hawai'i—red, Maui—Pink, O'ahu—black and gold, Kaua'i—Purple, Moloka'i—Green, and Lāna'i—Orange.³¹ To cut costs, Martin had suggested that escorts could be recruited from the D.C. Hawai'i State Society.³² Horses were secured from Tyler, Texas. Twelve male riders were to be identified and coached in their responsibilities so that they would be able to appropriately play their roles as escorts for the *pa'u* princesses. Again, authenticity was a relative issue. Hawai'i pageantry would be performed by the female riders, and the borrowed props, in this case the male riders and the horses, would support their performance in a practice that owes its continued existence to tourism.

³⁰ Sallie Brodie, March 23, 1989.

³¹ Keahi Allen, "Pa'u Riders and Parades in Hawai'i," (Fieldwork Report, 1988).

³² Lynn Martin, May 17, 1989.

Concessions

Since medieval times, the fair has been a space where goods were sold or bartered, and the Festival does its best to avoid this kind of image, yet it contains concessions reminiscent of the fair and crucial to its economic survival. Park Service regulations now prohibit buying and selling on the Mall proper, and the sale of crafts and other program related items is relegated to the sidewalks in front of the Smithsonian museums. In 1989 the rules were not so strict. Program coordinators recognized the profit potential if they could sell flower *lei* and other items during the Festival and considered the museum shops and the Hawai'i State Society as possible vendors. Folkways Record, headed by Anthony Seeger, proposed an audiocassette tape anthology of Hawai'i performers that would be available for sale during the Hawai'i program. To this end, they contacted performers from Hawai'i to ask if they would be willing to contribute pre-recorded pieces to such an enterprise. Performers were told that Folkways Record did not expect to make much money off of the tape but that they would give each of them fifty copies. Musicians were to select their favorite recordings and send them to Seeger. The idea was to produce a tape that fit the ideals of the festival, "a double cultural creation"³³ that was a collaboration between performers and producers although any profits would be channeled back to Folkways, a non-profit agency, for its projects.

Traditionality and marketability conflicted in plans for festival concessions. The Smithsonian Museum Shops were in charge of the marketplace, and a representative had made a trip to Hawai'i to determine what could be sold during the festival.³⁴ He made the rounds of the shops in Hawai'i and came up with a list of items that he ran by Martin.

³³ Anthony Seeger, "Creating and Confronting Cultures: Issues of Editing and Selection in Records and Videotapes of Musical Performances," (unpublished paper: 1988).

³⁴ The Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage now handles the marketplace.

In her letter to him she tactfully told him that none of the things he had listed were folk or traditional arts of the state and suggested that he contact the Pacific Handcrafters Guild if he was interested in contemporary crafts such as windchimes, stuffed animals, and jewelry rather than limiting himself to commercial enterprises. Clearly, he had been looking for small items that could be sold as souvenirs (a word that is never used at the Festival) rather than handcrafts made by the craftspeople who would be participating in the festival. While there are many craftspeople in the islands, they generally do not sell through the tourist-oriented shops, many of which carry low-priced items made in the Philippines and Asia rather than in Hawai'i. Many of the traditional handicraft, such as quilting, are labor intensive and the products can be quite expensive. Martin recommended that the museum representative talk with Moriarty, who had operated a Pacific import business, and sent him a list of craftspeople he could contact directly. As an advocate for traditional artists, she pointed out that traditional handcrafts are produced in limited quantities, but that many people would be proud to have their work sold through the Smithsonian Shops. As a business person, he was most concerned with cost effectiveness and marketability.

Food concessions were considerably easier. With a direct tie to the multicultural emphasis of the festival, the decision was made to serve a version of the local "mixed plate," heavy on the Hawaiian food. The mixed plate—usually a combination of ethnic foods accompanied by rice—had entered the hybridity discussion as a metaphor for cultural sharing, so this was generally accepted as well as being a practical alternative to choosing which foods to feature. Unfortunately, all anyone remembers is that the food was universally bad. Due to health department regulations that prohibit demonstration

food being served to the public, visitors were able to watch authentic, delicious ethnic foods being prepared but then had to eat a tasteless facsimile at the food concessions.

Textual Productions

Because most visitors experience the Folklife Festival as performance, producers do their best to facilitate interpretation of that performance. The festival is heavily “captioned”—by promotional materials, signs, program books, and even structures. These captions are never simply informational; they are crucial to executing the festival’s educational mission and telling visitors how to interpret festival sites and sights; they form a narrative through which a variety of performances are strung together into a controlling vision. Formulation of this festival subtext begins in the planning phase when the over-arching theme for a particular program is hammered out. It is put into actual production when the fieldwork phase is completed and the curator has a corpus of materials and ideas from which to work. The Festival itself is a discursive field, and the textual materials for any Festival program are fitted within the template of the general Festival concept, which has its own carefully constructed jargon to symbolically differentiate it from tourism. It is carefully constructed as neighborly, intimate, and inclusive; people in the audience are referred to as “visitors” and never tourists, and tradition bearers are called “participants” to stress their active involvement in presenting their cultural processes. Tourism implies outsiders and insiders, viewers and viewed. The festival is about “us” so there can be no such easy divisions. In the literature, the interactions between those onstage and those in front are described as “sharing” and “conversation.” In the words of Folklife Center director, Richard Kurin: “the festival

promotes dialogue, not didacticism.”³⁵ Promotional literature states that the purpose is “to celebrate,” and the atmosphere is described as “spontaneous” and “festive.”

These parameters framed and guided the textual productions for the Hawai‘i program from press releases to signs and the program book. For example, press releases were sent out from the Smithsonian and picked up by papers throughout the region. In the press release, run as an article of varying lengths in papers throughout the region, the *lei* was iconicized as the symbol of Hawai‘i hospitality. The ultimate American vacation destination, through the image of *lei* bestowal, was being made to act out its own stereotypical image as beckoning, welcoming host. When a later syndicated column—on *paniolo*—appeared, it focused on flower *lei* as well, reinforcing the image of a gentle, happy Hawai‘i in accord with nature. Clearly, text was a powerful tool in building an image.

Signs

Signs at the Festival, like the godlike omniscient narrator in a novel, are a framing device, the disembodied voice of cultural authority. As emissaries for Festival ideals, they narrate the philosophy on which the Festival turns: that cultural diversity is superior to cultural hegemony and necessary to national health, that there is social value in communities learning from each other, that there is vast creativity in the ways that communities create identity and adapt to change. As program markers, they articulate the particular narrative honed by the organizers to frame performance and display.

³⁵ Richard Kurin, "Why We Do the Festival," in *Festival of American Folklife Program Book, 1968-1997* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989), 56. Kurin's book on the Festival provides many examples of this Festival rhetoric.

Signage is part of the overall site design and had to be integrated into performance and demonstration structures. The specific exhibit signs were masonite panels painted with a colored lacquer or clear varnish with text silk screened onto the panel and photographic prints mounted directly onto the masonite surface. Schedule signs were rust on white. Strict guidelines for style and copy length were mandated by the design department, and the results were attractive rust colored panels with white lettering. Signs were attached to lattice screens seven to eight feet tall. This meant that they would fall at eye level for the average adult, and would operate as dividers rather than barriers—important visually as well as in terms of ventilation in interior spaces. According to various people at the Center for Folklife, the Hawai'i program, with fifty four signs, was one of the more heavily captioned programs. This was due mostly to the meticulousness of Martin's input. Although Martin had been out on maternity leave and did not act in the official capacity of co-curator, correspondence shows that she, along with Dolly Strazar, who also worked at the SFCA, contributed and edited most of the material for signage. Some of this material came from SFCA projects, such as the *paniolo* exhibit for which Martin had produced a catalog plus audio recording and guide.

Hawai'i program signs relied on three forms: maps, text, and photographs.³⁶

Maps of the Hawaiian Islands were prominently displayed throughout the program. They operated as Brechtian reminders that Hawai'i was a collection of islands in the Pacific, and that what visitors were seeing was decontextualized despite the care given to creating illusion. They were there as visual aids for mainland Americans and internationals lacking general knowledge about Hawai'i geography. Maps were both a useful prop and

³⁶ Text for all Hawai'i program signs is in the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage Archives. The actual signs were returned to the State of Hawai'i and may be at the Lyman Museum in Hilo. I was unable to track them down during my research.

an imposed paradigm. They formed a bridge between participants and visitors as a convenient point of reference, yet they also forced island residents—who tend to relate to their home environment through landmarks and *mauka* (mountain), *maka' i* (ocean) direction—to reorient. Historical and contemporary photographs were juxtaposed with texts wherever appropriate. Many of the historical photographs came from the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and Martin had produced many of the contemporary photos while doing SFCA fieldwork projects. Photographs were especially effective, along with maps, as a means for recontextualizing decontextualized performance. Six signs were devoted entirely to photographs of spectacular land and waterscapes. Other photos showed the vegetation, structures *in situ*, dancers on a hula mound, and traditional arts in their usual contexts. Historical photos provided a visual link to the past by presenting the Hawaiian monarchy, plantation work and housing, early immigrants in attire from their homelands, and the before and after views of development. In addition to depicting instruments, occupations, and native plants, images supported an agenda advocating conservation of both natural and cultural resources. Maps and photographs did this visually while narrative knit images to ideas. That many of the panoramic photographs were on loan from the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau, which represents the industry most responsible for ecological devastation, was a hidden contradiction.

Textual captions for the Hawai'i program filled in gaps, explained processes, and represented the otherwise un-representable. Signs were written to inform performance by presenting history and cultural information that could not be made readily apparent through performance. In terms of history, the signage was conceived of as a corrective and supplementary site in which to construct a historical and cultural counter-narrative to

American hegemony. Juxtaposed to living culture, signs explicated how present practices were informed by history. Signage was designed to override omissions. One way it did this is was by inserting immigrants into the cultural landscape to pluralize Hawai'i history by telling each group's history. It also corrected colonially inflected accounts of indigenous history. For instance, a sign on hula and chant explained that missionaries "managed to ban it for at least 50 years." While the content is an over-corrective to standard histories, this text along with a sign on the Hawaiian renaissance, did allow for discordant notes in the multicultural presentation, albeit relegated to a footnote on the past.³⁷ Ironically, signs were needed to flesh out the live exhibits, and occasionally offered the possibility to move beyond festival parameters. For instance, the sign explaining the concept of *'ohana*, or family, featured an actual genealogy for a participant who was the progeny of multiple ancestries. On the one hand, this sign recognized the widespread practice of intermarriage and problematized the Festival's multicultural paradigm that, with its tendency to fall back on difference as its principle of analysis and presentation, had been a source of contention throughout the planning phase. On the other hand, it reiterated the unity in diversity theme of the Festival ideology.

Sign texts addressed what could not easily be displayed on the Mall, such as fishing, canoe-racing, *pa'u* riding, and surfing. Information that fell outside of the program definitions also appeared in signage, such as the reinvention of Polynesian navigation and voyaging (without mentioning that the teacher had been a Micronesian or that the art had been lost) and the development of *hapa-haole* music (which had been

³⁷ Noenoe Silva argues that hula was never actually banned although it was certainly discouraged; rather, a stiff system of fees and limitations was imposed that effectively suppressed it in urban areas. Noenoe Silva, "He Kanawai E Ho 'Opau Na Hula Kuolo Hawai'i: The Political Economy of Banning the *Hula*," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000).

banned from performance at the Hawai‘i program). They also allowed some conflict to be indirectly voiced; however, most sign texts operated to reinforce the Festival theme, to note cultural contributions of the various ethnic groups to the whole, and by extension, to underscore the Festival mission of valorizing democratic culture through folklife. These signs spoke to concepts adopted by the program as iconic of a Hawai‘i ethos: *‘ohana, aloha, lei* presentation.

Twelve signs in the learning center were allotted to individual ethnic groups and filled in gaps by adding immigrant histories and information about immigration (see figure 5). While they made room for accounts of US immigration restrictions, in places they sounded suspiciously like the format of good new/bad news jokes where positive and negative information is always presented in tandem. The introductory sign to this exhibit was entitled “They Settled in Hawai‘i” and, the text relates that, “New visitors, mass media and foreign investment are altering the landscape of Hawai‘i but communities are responding to the changes with a renewed pride in their own cultures and in the unique, multi-ethnic heritage of their state.” This rhetoric set the tone for the remaining panels by presenting an idyllic view that precluded any glimpses of the massive out-migration and displacement or ecological costs of immigration and infiltration; damaging forces are pleasantly trumped by islander flexibility and pride of place. The effect of this presentation is double-edged. In one breath a reader is told that there is a problem, and in the next that a solution is already in process.

Haole had been omitted from performance, but were included in a sign entitled “Europeans and Americans” that identified them as skilled workers in various occupations and traced their presence from early immigration to economic domination.

This sign also noted that 25% of the population were recent European and American immigrants from the military, business transplants, retirees, and former tourists who, it went on to say, were arriving in the islands at the rate of five million a year. The military occupies twenty-five percent of the land in the islands, yet this sign is the only place in which it appeared in the Hawai'i program information.³⁸ Likewise, Mormons, a strong presence in the islands since the early nineteenth hundreds, were mentioned as an aside on the Samoan sign and elsewhere omitted.

The sign for "The Hawaiians" related how powerful foreigners drastically altered Hawaiian traditions and states that half of the population died from disease after contact, but said that "the influence of Hawaiian culture pervades all aspects of contemporary island society even though the original Hawaiian population continued to decrease in number" (see figure 6). It concluded on a positive note by talking about the Hawaiian cultural renaissance as a movement in which people from other groups who were "Hawaiian in spirit" participated, and did not mention demographics or socio-economics for Hawaiians in the present. Hawaiian activists were mentioned in the "Hawaiian Renaissance" sign, but the focus on traditionality contained and dismissed them by associating them solely with universities, implying that they were disconnected from "real" Hawaiians—those at the Festival. The result of these portrayals was a narrative that honored cultural resurgence while pre-empting political activism and identity.

³⁸ Kathy E. and Phyllis Turnbull Ferguson, *Oh, Say, Can You See?: The Semiotics of the Military in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

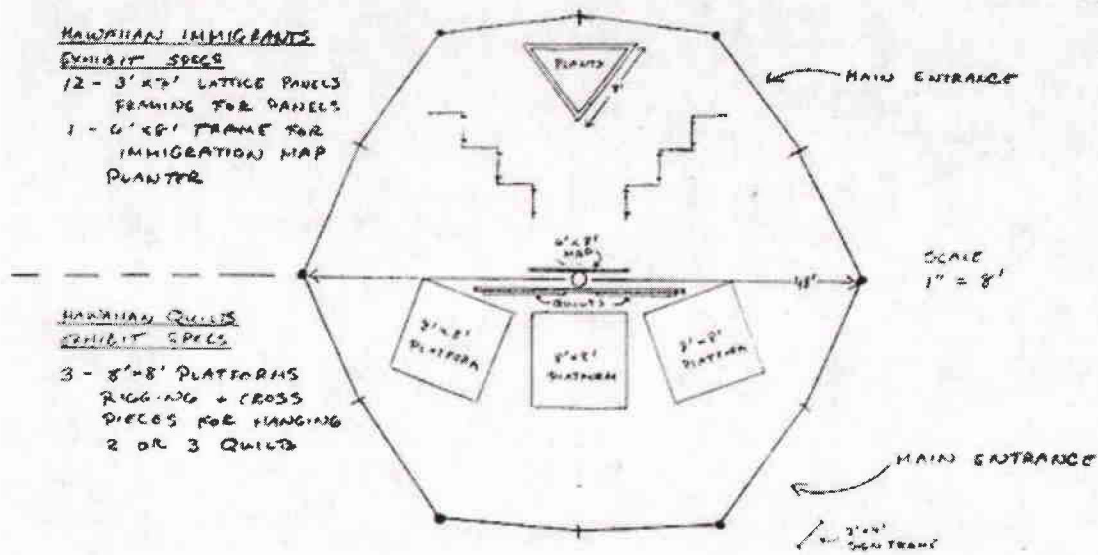


Figure 5. Design for sign placement in Learning Center

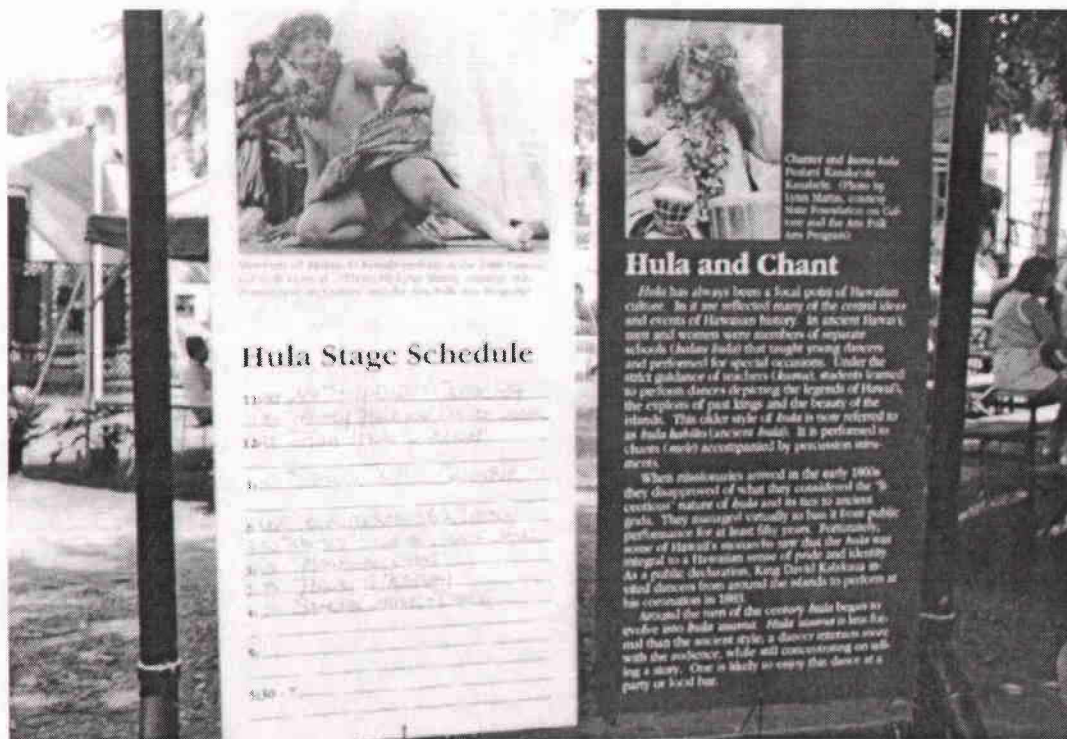


Figure 6. Hawaiians sign at Festival

Overall, the signs for ethnic groups followed a recognizable formula that served to structure a collective national and regional identity by inserting immigrant histories into an American “rags to riches” narrative that posed conditions in the home country against immigrant success stories. The focus throughout the learning center display was on survival, continuity, and creativity—a combination that relegated conflict to the past in order to reinforce unity in the present. The Chinese sign mentioned that they were currently only five percent of the population and that they “play an important role in the economic and social life of the islands.” This is quite an understatement compared to perceptions discussed openly in the fieldwork review meeting that the Chinese had become rich on real estate in Hawai‘i and continued to be very insular in relation to other communities. Nor does it recognize that many of the Chinese in Hawai‘i in 1989 had come recently from Taiwan or Hong Kong and were not necessarily affiliated with those who came to the islands from Canton for plantation labor. The Japanese sign mentioned that the Japanese had been the largest group until the 1960’s, but did not mention their economic or political power. Instead it portrayed the history of picture brides and the active preservation of court dance and music. The Okinawan sign discussed how Okinawans identify as separate from the Japanese, and the Korean sign mentioned that they had boycotted Japanese goods at one time, but neither made mention of colonialism, and nowhere was foreign investment in the islands engaged, although the Hawai‘i economy was painfully inflated at the time to the speculative investment of Japanese nationals.³⁹ Issues of tourism and development were treated in much the same manner.

³⁹ Jonathan Y. Okamura, “Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai‘i: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity,” *Social Process in Hawai‘i* 35 (1994).

Some signs were tied to special interests. The history of the sugar plantations in Hawai'i was told through the loan of a special exhibit called "Paia: Looking Back," produced by Gaylord C. Kubota for the Alexander and Baldwin Sugar Museum, a facility that commemorates one of the major sugar producers in the islands. This exhibit, produced for a plantation worker reunion sponsored by the company, did reveal a great deal about plantation life, but the history was focused solely on the cultural experience of workers. While the text accompanying photos acknowledged that laborers were placed in separate camps according to ethnicity "to discourage cooperation among ethnic groups in the event of labor dissatisfaction," it submerged this information by privileging positives: that this separation fostered the perpetuation of language and custom, eased transition from the homeland to the plantation environment, and fostered "a natural interaction." This account omitted the role of harsh conditions and unequal wages in these happy outcomes. The resulting image of plantation life was an extremely biased view in which Alexander and Baldwin are touted as "pioneers" and in which "plantation camps melded into interracial communities whose members shared a common spirit and experiences."

This view may reflect an outcome in accord with the desire of former workers to remember their experiences through a lens of survival rather than victimization; however, it still omits key elements in any melding that did take place, such as unionization and labor strikes and universal opposition to plantation abuses of workers. A brief critical view of the plantation system appeared on the signs for Portuguese immigrants. It mentioned only that they had received higher wages and been made *lunas*, or labor bosses. Visitors would need to mediate between these views.

Two signs in particular suggested the ideological conflicts underlying the Hawai'i program. The principle program sign, repeated four times within the Festival site, featured a map of Hawai'i, a definition of *aloha* from a Random House dictionary, and a Hawaiian proverb: "Where many hands create, there is *aloha*." Also on this sign is a list of all of the corporate, government, and private sponsors for the program. The proverb might be read in the spirit of linking craftsmanship and heartfelt reciprocity. It can also be interpreted from a practical perspective that recognizes that money and influence literally created the "*aloha*" of the program. The "Hawaiian Monarchy" sign spoke similarly, but through a disjunction of image and text. Although the sign included a paragraph (understated) on the overthrow, it was carefully worded to play down the impact of outside intervention and, as a result, misplaced agency. The sign said that Kalākaua had "granted the U.S. an increased economic and military role" rather than saying that he was forced to sign what is commonly referred to in recent histories as the "Bayonet Constitution." The sign went on to say that some people still mourned the monarchy, yet there was no mention of the growing sovereignty movement. Instead, this grief is trivialized by being linked to the compensatory salve of "royal courts" in pageantry, such as *pa'u* princesses. Finally, an odd choice of image surmounts this text; a photo captioned "Former President of the Republic of Hawai'i (1893-1897) Sanford B. Dole meets with former Queen Liliu'okalani in the 1910's several decades after Dole had worked to depose and later arrest the Queen." The photograph is an unsettling one in which both parties look somber and uncomfortable, but Lili'uokalani's dignity is a marked contrast to her obvious defeat at the hands of Americans. The photograph—a powerful rendition of two ideologies in an irresolvable standoff—seems a strange choice

given the upbeat tone of the rest of the program signage. It transcends the muted text and lends a note of integrity to the textual construction of an otherwise utopian culturescape.

Signage formed a critical link between concept and visual spectacle. Because it was there to provide historical and cultural context, much of the signage was couched in the past tense. Unattached to performance, the copy seems to relegate Hawai'i cultures to the historical past; its omission from the festival, on the other hand, could have rendered cultural practices mutely atemporal and ahistorical, trap Fabian points to as primitivizing and objectifying.⁴⁰ In tandem with live exhibition, the signage conjured missing place and narrativized cultural/historical continuity. It also served as the insertion point for the political, albeit a contained, historicized version that, on the surface, reduced debates over citizenship and identity to past issues that had been seemingly resolved by statehood. Still, the insertion of multiple local histories into national space, and by extension the national narrative, might be seen to constitute debate in a reformulated context and underline the festival's mission to be, as much as possible, a setting for dialogue. If the dominant discourse is seen as an erasure of Hawai'i's multi-ethnic population, its plantation history, its seizure and control by the U.S., and the damages of the tourist industry, then the narrative constructed by the signage is revolutionary even if muted and apologetic in places. From this perspective, the Hawai'i program signage was one half of a conversation conceived in opposition to the dominant discourse, an intervention in hegemonic histories. However, the degree to which it was engaged by visitors to the Mall was an unknown factor.

⁴⁰ Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*. All of the signs for the program were given to the SFCA. In their subsequent moves and changing of the guard, the signs have disappeared although some have resurfaced at the Lyman Museum in Hilo where they were used for historical exhibits, further demonstrating how much of their contemporaneity depended on live performance.

An impressive amount of ethnographic, botanical, and historical information was packed into the Hawai'i program signs, despite the limitations of space, but visitors can neither be led to signs nor be made to read them; audience absorption of the information offered by signs is an uncontrollable element. Signage is, necessarily, abbreviated captions and context tailored for the public. It is also an act of faith in the patience, literacy, and intellectual curiosity of the festival-going audience. Making signs attractive and brief, and placing them at eye-level, in the shade, and contiguous to live exhibits were strategies that sharpened the possibility that they would be perused, but thorough reading is never assured and digestion difficult to assess.⁴¹ The question also remains of whether in a festival that proclaims to give voice to its participants signage acts as amplification or obfuscation. With whose voice(s) do the signs speak? Do they replace one official paradigm with another? The ideal is that they represent an incorporation of the research, planning, and fieldwork processes; however, textual productions distill the many voices of the information gathering process into one singularly authoritative voice. In signs, the Smithsonian Institute, itself a discursive field in which the CFCH is only a small and often aberrant part, is the ultimate omniscient narrator.

Program Book

Whereas signage is necessarily a hit and miss, patchwork sort of educational enterprise, the annual festival program book is an opportunity to package the Festival concept into a coherent and portable product. If the consumption of signage is limited to

⁴¹ Over the years the Festival staff has tried many strategies to determine the effectiveness of signage. When I was there in 2003, interns were interviewing visitors who had stopped to read signs as well as simply counting how many people stopped in particular locations and timing how long they stayed. Signs were moved when deemed necessary. Random surveys have also addressed this issue.

the reading public, those who would take the time to read a sign and measure its meaning and impact in relation to performance, the audience for the program book is further constricted by being limited first to those who would and could afford to buy it and second to those who would actually read it rather than simply use it for the maps and daily schedules and/or take it home as a souvenir. A dim and hopeful third would be people who bought it, took it home, and read it cover to cover rather than skimming and looking at pictures. Program books, which over the years have become attractive 8 ½ x 11” catalogs filled with photographs and brief scholarly articles, are produced in advance to be sold at the festival. Cleverly, the CFCH has determined that placing the daily performance schedules and maps into the program book encourages sales and allows them to piggyback scholarly perspectives on practical information.⁴²

Although the program book for the 1989 festival covers all four programs for the year—Caribbean, Native American, French Traditions, and Hawai‘i programs—the cover of the program indicates that Hawai‘i was clearly the centerpiece of the festival (see figure 5). A color photograph taken by Lynn Martin of two *pa‘u* riders appears on the cover. One rider faces forward and one to the side. Both women and horses are wearing elaborate flower and foliage *lei* and the standard costume comprising many yards of fabric. The woman in the foreground wears a flower headpiece and a velvet cape. An observant viewer in Hawai‘i might notice that the photo was taken during the Merrie Monarch Festival in Hilo and that the rider in the foreground is *hapa* (lit. half-white). The choice of this photo invites contradictory interpretations. It rejects the familiar

⁴² Mindful of these challenges to its dissemination of information, the CFCH donates copies of the annual festival book to libraries around the country as well as using it as a tool for garnering future funding by gifting it to policy makers and prospects. *Festival of American Folklife Program Book*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1968-1997).

tourist industry iconicization of the *hula* girl, yet it reiterates the use of a flower-bedecked, brown-skinned and racially ambiguous woman to signify Hawai'i. Embracing all sides of the authenticity debates from the fieldwork and productions processes, it forefronts an image of creolized tradition—horses and Western dress adapted to a Hawaiian aesthetic and representing royalty that no longer exist—that emerged out of colonialism and has become central to pageantry performed for both local communities and tourists.

The program book became the one site in which otherwise invisible frames of authority were made unmistakably visible. Each book begins with statements from those in charge arranged in order of their level of relative power. The 1989 book contains grand conceptual statements from Secretary of the Smithsonian Robert McC. Adams, “Celebrating Freedom”; Director of the National Park Service James M. Riddenour, “Our Shared Cultural Resources”; and Director of the CFCH Richard Kurin, “Why We do the Festival.” Each of these three articles addresses the Festival in terms of how it enriches national identity. Following the directorial addresses are scholarly articles, one per program, that serve to frame each of the festival programs.⁴³ In the back of the book are (in order) general information, list of festival participants, site maps and schedules for each of the programs, sponsor lists, and the names of festival staff. Contrary to Festival rhetoric, which inverts power by placing participants on top, it is worth noting that festival participants—the central attractions of the festival, are centrally embedded in the book, midway between directors and scholars and sponsors and staff. In other words, participants are encountered through the legitimizing voices of officials and scholars who

⁴³ Program book articles were more randomly connected to the programs in books from earlier years.

study them but supported by the sponsors and staff—an accurate mini-model of festival hierarchy and institutional protocol.

Underlining a focus on cultural blending and adaptation in the scholarly articles and on links between groups and ethnic practices in the signs and site, participants are listed by traditional practices rather than by ethnicity. Cultural practices, on the other hand, are listed by ethnicity except in the genres of occupational traditions and crafts. Ethnicizing traditions rather than people served to distinguish ethnic groups without privileging the distinction.

The program book was also the one site in which the entire festival is presented as a whole since despite the juxtaposition of programs on the Mall, even site designs are individually orchestrated within programs and by program-designated staffs. In the 1989 program book, the programs seem conceptually linked through article titles (in order): “American Indian Problems of Access and Cultural Continuity” by Thomas Vennum, Jr., “Hawai‘i: Cosmopolitan Culture at the Crossroads of the Pacific” by Richard Kennedy with Lynn Martin, “French Traditions: Their History and Continuity in North America” by Winnie Lambrecht, and “Creolization in the Caribbean” by Helena Portes de Roux. The last two articles are preceded by a page in French. Hawai‘i and Native Americans are not accorded an alternative language space, presumably because they are polyglot entities and American. The 1989 articles thematically link four programs that came together as accidents of history and funding.⁴⁴ They cohered remarkably well, but it must be remembered that an editing and design team was given the job of producing a unified product out of seeming disparate parts—imposing yet another lens on the festival concept. The key operative words were creolization and continuity, and together they

⁴⁴ Lynn Martin, Telephone interview September 16, 2002.

were applied to dislodge tradition from the backwoods of the past and project it into modernity while animating it with creativity in the face of change. This dialogic dynamism is especially apparent in the article written by Kennedy, with Martin's assistance.

Kennedy's article is presented in four parts that highlight the program themes in Martin's signage: sense of place, hospitality, continuity, adaptation, cultural integrity, and creolization. The use of creolization as a keyword to describe Hawai'i culture focused on cultural processes rather than on hybrid products, and emphasized the adaptation and agency themes privileged in the signage. Hawaiian words with diacritical marks were used throughout the article, a symbolic gesture that recognized the resurgence and politicization of Hawaiian language by trying to present it authentically. (Although now readers would note that the *okina*, or glottal stop marker, was typed backwards, the use of diacriticals was still new at the time and they were not yet standardized.)⁴⁵ As the program book needed to link four programs, the article needed to link nine ethnicities as well as tying the past to the present and filling in historical gaps. The title, "Hawai'i: Cosmopolitan Culture at the Crossroads of the Pacific," is already a counterstatement to tourist imaginings of Hawai'i as an atemporal American playground. A look at a denotation of cosmopolitanism illustrates what a radical departure this article takes from tourist productions in utilizing this term as a label:

⁴⁵ The use of diacriticals is now mandated by the State of Hawai'i for all its official documents. There are debates about this, however. Some Hawaiians who work with translation argue that diacriticals should not be used because they are a university invention and were not used in the past. They feel that dependence on them makes it impossible for readers educated in his system to read older literature. In Samoa, diacriticals were mandate out by the government in the 1970's as a de-colonizing statement.

1. having worldwide rather than limited or provincial scope or bearing
2. having wide international sophistication: worldly
3. composed of persons, constituents, or elements from all or many parts of the world⁴⁶

In his introduction about the importance of the Hawaiian Islands' isolated but central geographical location, Kennedy invokes all of these meanings as a means of introducing Hawai'i cultural influences and practices. All four sections are focused on "sense of place." In the first section, which covers Polynesian migration, Kennedy historicizes and explains an often appropriated and misunderstood phrase meaning love of the land that had become a slogan of the Hawaiian renaissance:

Aloha 'āina is not a romantic concept arising out of a need to reestablish roots in the soil; it is rather, a ecological necessity born of people who had no choice but to accommodate themselves to the islands that became their home.⁴⁷

Kennedy makes this point in order to contrast early Hawaiian ecologically sound land use with the ecological devastation wrought by immigration and development. His discussion reiterates the bifurcation between a "sense of place" and a "sense of displace" introduced in the fieldwork meetings and represented in his early site design. He inserts the ravages of disease and colonization to applaud Hawaiian adaptability:

Hawaiians today may appear to be more acculturated, but perhaps less concerned with their origins than their Polynesian neighbors in the South, but this implies no inherent weakness in Hawaiian culture. In fact, Hawaiian cultural accommodation over the years can be attributed to the strategic position of the islands in the center of the Pacific and their colonization by European and American powers.

He characterizes European and American colonization as an unparalleled invasion that caused massive dislocation and reduced Hawaiians to "a minority in their own land." But

⁴⁶ *Merriam-Webster Online* (<http://www.m-w.com/cgi-bin/dictionary?book=Dictionary>, 2004 [cited April 1, 2004]).

⁴⁷ Richard Kennedy, "Hawai'i: Cosmopolitan Culture at the Crossroads of the Pacific," in *1989 Festival of American Folklife* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1989), 38.

the festival is about continuity and creativity, so even here this brutal history is subjugated to a good news/bad news formula that emphasizes cultural survival, invention, and amalgamation. Thus, the attachment to place is presented as a remarkable achievement in itself given the theft of Hawaiian land by outsiders, and the evidence given is a thread of continuity that is woven through Hawaiian music, dance, and crafts.⁴⁸ The good news is that Hawaiians emerge from this treatment as heroic survivors to be respected and admired for their creativity. The bad news is that the message of the Hawaiian movement—that ongoing neo-colonialism still exists in Hawai‘i—is eclipsed.

This contrast, in turn, works as a foundation for a discussion of the soundness of Hawaiian values and the ecological devastation wrought by contact. The second section, “Āpuka ‘Āina: The Desire for Land,” continues this direction by contrasting the suppression of traditional culture in the missionary era with the creativity of Hawaiian quilting, and the third section, “Ho ‘olioli ‘Āina: Transformation of the Land,” juxtaposes the dislocations and harshness of immigration and plantation life with ethnic intermarriage and cultural borrowing. The final section, “Lu‘au, Lei, and Plate Lunch: Culture in Hawai‘i,” contrasts cultural loss with cultural revival for Hawaiians and cultural adaptation and continuity for former immigrant communities. The *lei*, the *lū‘au*, and the plate lunch are then each explored as symbols of how the host and guest cultures have intermingled and emerged as local culture. Kennedy momentarily mentions current socio-economic reality in his conclusion, saying that:

Hawai‘i is a complex state that is home to an incredible array of ethnic groups and cultures. Each of these groups has maintained its unique identity and at the same time blended to create “local” traditions that are expressive of the community as a whole. However, increasing pressures from foreign investment and mass media are today further

⁴⁸ Ibid.

disenfranchising native Hawaiians and threatening the stability of several generations of other cultures in the islands.⁴⁹

Throughout this piece, ugly counter-histories are introduced. Each time they are offset by the agency of the victimized. While the goal is precisely that, to accord agency to victims of oppression and or dislocation and hardship, the effect is to neutralize the effects of oppression. At no point is America or are current Americans held responsible for current socio-economic disparities in Hawai'i. In the present, it is the nebulous forces of foreign investment and mass media that are presented as a threat, a threat aimed at traditional culture and to which cultural preservation is posed as the solution: "Hawai'i's characteristic attitude of tolerance and acceptance, molded in part by centuries of isolation, may be compromised by such pressures. Preserving these arts is crucial, for a community's psychic well-being is only as strong as its commitment to protecting its traditions." Although the intent may have been to stir potential donors and perhaps government agencies to the task of cultural preservation, the charge to preserve tradition seems to be laid on the doorstep of tradition bearers.

Overall, the Kennedy/Martin article appears to be an attempt to resolve differences between at least two Hawai'i narratives: a post-colonial Pacific narrative that exposes the ravages of colonialism and a multicultural one that posits cultural programs as the solution. It is unique in the textual production of the program in that it presents issues and places a socio-cultural warning in the present, but these are topics neatly balanced with a naturalization of the host culture's hospitality, made legendary by the tourist industry.

⁴⁹ Kennedy, "Hawai'i: Cosmopolitan Culture at the Crossroads of the Pacific," 49.

Conclusion

Two anecdotes in conversation with each other summarize the complexity of the production process and suggest a way of viewing how it was instrumental in articulating a narrative of the “real Hawai‘i” that actually encapsulated a debate over authenticity.

The first anecdote demonstrates how interpretation of textual production depends on the ideological bents of the writers and readers. During the fieldwork phase, Kennedy chose a quote that he felt poignantly expressed the ethos of the Hawai‘i program and used it on first page of his in-house production report:

A‘ohe o kāhi nānā o luna o ka pali; iho mai a lalo nei; ‘ike i ke au nui ke au iki, he alo a he alo.

The top of the cliff isn’t the place to look at us; come down here and learn of the big and little currents, face to face.⁵⁰

Kennedy was drawn to the quote because he felt that it spoke in an indigenous voice to invite those who held themselves apart or aloft to a closer view of culture, one that would demystify stereotypes and debunk hype. In that sense, it encapsulated the ethos of the festival, the mission to valorize the creativity and tenacity of traditional practices. He planned to use the quote in the program book to set the program theme. When Nathan Napoka saw the quote, however, he laughed and said Kennedy had it all wrong. In its Hawaiian context, he said, the quote was actually a challenge inviting warriors to come down and fight, an invitation to battle to the death.⁵¹ (This quote, rejected by Kennedy on the recommendation of Napoka, was reclaimed for use in the Restaging book produced by Martin in 1990.) This story points to tension between the good intentions of culture workers and the complexity of works of culture.

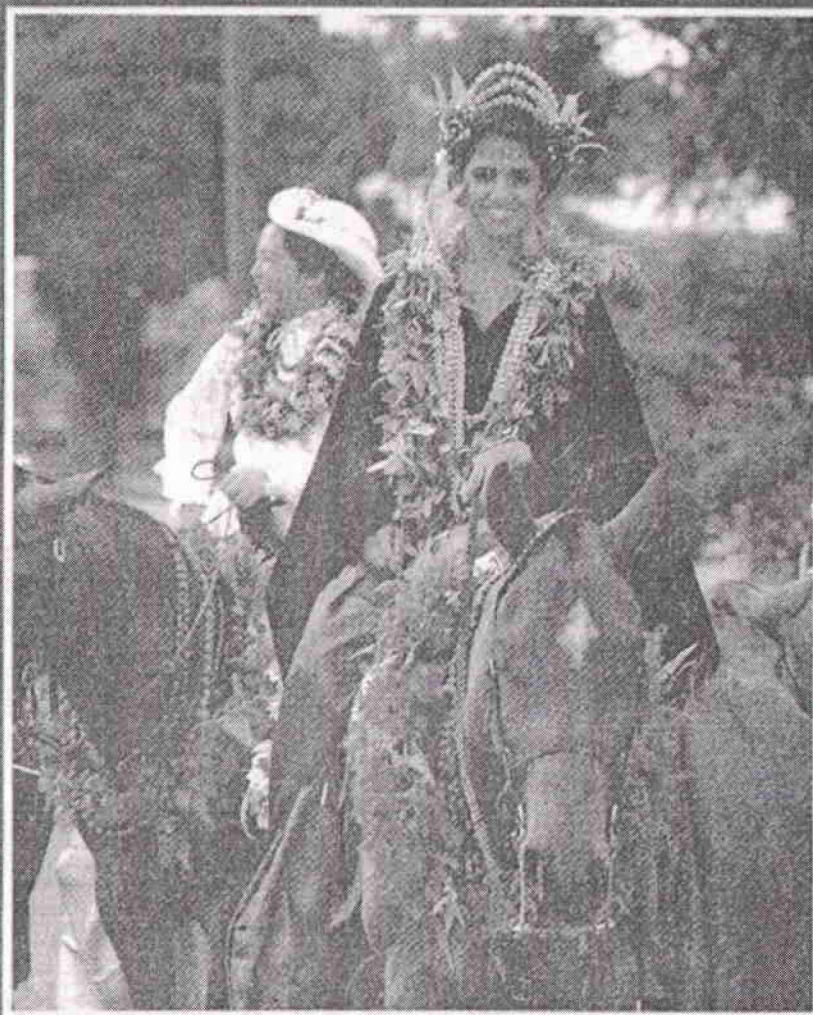
⁵⁰ "Hawai‘i Program," (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1989).

⁵¹ Richard Kennedy, Personal Interview. June 17, 2003.

The second story takes place in Hawai‘i but contains a warning against imprudent labeling that disrupts presumptions about culture and place, past and present. In Volcanoes National Park on the island of Hawai‘i, a short hiking trail leads onto a lava field dotted by petroglyphs where a small sign is a striking example of the power contestations underlying sites and signage. Most of the petroglyphs at this location are small, round depressions in the lava with circles carved around them. A circular boardwalk is suspended above them so that visitors can view them but not walk directly on the lava bed. A sign on the wooden railing explains that this place was once considered powerful and sacred enough that Hawaiians came here to bury the umbilical cords of their newborns to ensure the protection of the gods. Another sign asks visitors to stay on the walkway to help preserve the heritage of “Hawaiians who lived here.” But the sign’s meaning has been contested and altered. Some anonymous editor has boldly crossed out the “d” in “lived,” and the sign now reads as a small protest against the museumization of Hawai‘i’s indigenous people: Hawaiians LIVE here.

Together these two stories, one writ by a culture broker’s hand and one by an anonymous cultural subject, emphasize how authenticity is constructed in negotiations between cultural texts and interpretations. The materials created in the production phase—the site design and structures, the signs, the book of the program became part of the loop of meaning-making in the discursive field of Festival’s culture industry. The challenge in producing the Hawai‘i program was to move beyond museumization using ordering strategies that frame, categorize, and narrativize the workings of culture, using the same tools that have been central to museumization. The site and textual frames were

designed to dislodge simplistic diversity paradigms; their production was the result of negotiations that would shape festival performance.



1989 Festival of American Folklife

Smithsonian Institution/National Park Service

Figure 7. Program book cover.

CHAPTER 4

FESTIVAL PERFORMANCE: THE OTHER SIDE OF THE ISLAND

These are mostly articles of fancy work, made from fibers and seeds, shells and feathers, found on the islands, and are specimens of feminine taste and in domestic wear, rather than articles of commercial value.

The Hawaiian Exhibit at the World's Exposition, New Orleans, 1885

Hawai'i is unique in our nation in that its indigenous culture suffuses its society as a whole, giving nuance to the forms of immigrant cultures that came there.

Robert McCormick Adams,
Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

A longtime festival volunteer reminiscing fourteen years later about the Hawai'i program vividly remembers that "it looked like Hawai'i" although Hawai'i was a destination he had never visited.¹ And in many ways it must have. Potted palms and the sight and scent of tropical flowers were everywhere. Island performers, workers, and craftspeople, along with homesick former residents were decked out in bright aloha prints. Despite being landlocked in the middle of the National Mall in an area that stretched from 10th to 14th Streets, there was an open canoe shed. The rest of the festival performance stages were housed inside boldly striped Big Top style tents while the Hawai'i program featured an open-air stage with low benches for much of the audience. Low lava rock walls surrounded the stage and a small, water-filled *lo'i*. At the opposite end from the Hawaiian stage, stood a Japanese *yagura* with strings of colorful paper

¹ Mark Miller, June 28, 2003.

lanterns festooned from the top of the tower to the crafts booths arranged around its perimeter. Between these Native Hawaiian and Asian attractions were booths displaying indigenous and immigrant occupations, a demonstration kitchen, craft booths, a shave-ice stand, and a narrative stage designed to look like an old-timey store. Festival-goers wandering through might have watched a *hula* performance, listened in on a miked discussion about tourism or *'ukulele* music styles on the porch of the store, salivated over island foods being prepared, talked to craftspeople making feather *lei*, a canoe, or a quilt, learned about Hawaiian *paniolo*, cowboys, caught some Hawaiian slack-key or Puerto Rican *katchi katchi* music, and watched a Korean masked dance. Depending on when they arrived, they might have been lucky enough to catch a glimpse of the magnificently flower and fabric bedecked *pā'u* riders in the opening parade or a gotten a mouthwatering whiff of roast pig as a group of men unearthed an underground pit or *imu*. Any festival day around 3:00 PM, they might have joined in with various Hawai'i residents and Festival visitors answering the call to participate in a Japanese *bon* dance. All that was missing from this collection of choice sights, sounds, and smells of Hawai'i was the ocean, and there were net-throwing demonstrations and plenty of photographs posted throughout the grounds to evoke even that.

The Smithsonian's involvement in staged ethnography dates back to the Columbian Exposition of 1893 where it helped engineer anthropological displays steeped in Anglo-Saxonism and Social Darwinism. Much has changed at the venerable Smithsonian since then. The multicultural ideology of the Smithsonian Office of Folklife Programs (OFP), which created and conducts the annual Folklife Festival, emerged as a public revision of the Smithsonian's early approaches and a counter-statement of its

museums. OFP theory and methods are grounded in a different relationship to both ethnography and result in a very different approach to ethnographic display, one based on interaction rather than a separation between viewer and viewed. OFP Director Richard Kurin sums up the democratic mission of the Folklife Festival by saying, “We do the festival so that people can be heard.” The idea of significant interchange on a human scale is central to the whole concept of the Festival.² Textual and site productions are designed to blur the standard boundaries between performer and audience and to subvert distance between object and observer by encouraging participation.

Pulling off a program of this magnitude is predicated on the deliberate disappearing of its institutional frames, so what visitors to the the Mall saw, when things went right, was orchestration that appeared to be spontaneity. What participants experienced was the imagined community of the Festival. But can spontaneity and community really be nudged into being by careful production, or is the result merely what MacCannell refers to as a “staged back region” in which the tourist industry produces an illusion that panders to tourist desire for authenticity?³ Can “festival”—in the sense of a liminal zone that transcends the everyday—actually combust in what organizers admit is actually not a festival at all, but rather, a museum masquerading as a festival?⁴ Can real education happen in a festival environment? This chapter looks at what happened to the well-laid plans of the Hawai‘i program organizers once people inhabited the carefully crafted site and script. For this reason, I have construed the performance phase of the Festival to cover a period from the preparation of participants,

² Richard Kurin, *Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture of, by, and for the People* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1998), 153.

³ Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist* (New York: Schocken, 1976), 99.

⁴ Lynn Martin, Telephone interview September 16, 2002.

presenters, and staff to its ten days on the Mall. The planning through production phases of the Festival determined its casting, staging, and choreography. This process culminated in the performance phase, the process in which the program took on a life of its own as a multi-sited, multi-vocal public spectacle. In the first part of the chapter, “Choreography,” I examine the processes used to prepare performers (presenters and participants) for their roles in the Hawai‘i program. The subsequent parts, “Consecrations,” “Performance” and “Backstage and Behind the Scenes,” consider how the program concept was transformed by being embodied. When interviewing presenters and participants, I was interested in how the subjects of the program interacted with the overall concept. How did Hawai‘i participants respond to the site design, the program’s ethnic categories and themes, neighboring programs, and visitors? To what extent did the carefully constructed frames coincide with or dispute what actually happened at the Festival? Finally, I compare orchestration with experience in an attempt to understand how the intricacies of cultural appropriation and agency were negotiated through and within the multiple programmatic frames. How might performers’ experiences in and perceptions of the Hawai‘i program shed light on how we theorize about power and collaboration in institutionally backed ethnographic display?

Choreography

One Native Hawaiian woman’s reply to the letter she had received in April, 1989 inviting her to be a participant in the Hawai‘i program speaks for many and suggests that the OFP’s position as respectful cultural advocate had been effectively communicated through Kennedy and Moriarty. In her letter, she said: “It is with great honor and

gratitude that I look forward to the 1989 Festival of American Folklife in Washington, D.C.. I will do whatever is expected of me with great pride in my culture and the heritage of my past.”⁵ For those who were asked and agreed to go to Washington, the invitation was an honor and an opportunity, and because they were to be treated as the nation’s guests, the process of caring for participants began well in advance of their late June arrival in Washington, D.C., and continued throughout their stay. A great deal of attention was paid to preparing the Hawai‘i crew before departure as well. This section looks at the prepping of performers for the Hawai‘i program.

Although the OFP claims that the Festival is relatively informal and emphasizes that it is unscripted, a great deal of control is exercised over Festival frames in order to generate an outcome that is in accord with Festival philosophy as well as to coordinate the logistics for such a production. Despite organizer claims that *aloha* and *ohana* were Hawai‘i reality, producing an image of harmonious diversity required considerable pre-festival coaching. Martin showed awareness of this discrepancy early on when she wrote in her survey document to Kennedy that it would be important to select congenial personalities:

When selecting the participants for the festival, we should look for not only the best representatives of each tradition, but the best “mix” of representatives and how their individual spirits, skills, and personalities will harmonize with one another.

She also stressed that it was imperative to provide ample opportunities for participants to bond prior to departure:

Once the participants are selected, it is very important to encourage a “team” or “*ohana*” feeling among them prior to the departure to Washington, D.C. . . . Once in Washington, it is very important to set up opportunities for some bonding of the Hawai‘i group to take place. At the

⁵ Pearl Garmon, Letter 1989.

orientation meeting, time should be set aside . . . for an elder Hawaiian to say a prayer in Hawaiian and/or English. There should also be an opportunity for an elder to bless the site of the festival and for everyone there to have at least one opportunity before opening day to gather together, hold hands, and unify their intent to share the best of Hawai‘i through a prayer. My experience has been that doing these things assures the group that the organizers are respectful and sensitive to their traditional spiritual concerns. It also helps keep everyone focused on the higher purpose of their presentation, keeps stamina up, fictions, to a minimum, and charm at a maximum!

It is clear from Martin’s imperatives to Kennedy that the desired outcome of pre-departure meetings was the forging of ideological homogeneity amongst the staff and participants with regards to the State’s festival mission, so that Hawai‘i could be represented as a unified entity. Presenting Hawai‘i as a model community meant first creating it as one. Primed by the program themes conceived in the planning and fieldwork phases, the inclusive notions of *aloha*, sense of place, and *‘ohana*, participants were being asked to serve as State delegates putting “Hawai‘i’s best foot forward” (see chaps. 1 and 2).

Keeping one hundred and thirty six participants (not counting the many family members they were bringing along and the twenty-one presenters from Hawai‘i were also traveling) happy on a trans-Pacific and trans-continental journey was a formidable challenge, but the experienced Smithsonian staff would handle the majority of the housekeeping details. The task facing Kennedy and Moriarty was melding the participants into a coherent yet diverse whole for performance in a new environment. This required meeting with them before departure and inculcating them with an attitude of ambassadorial teamwork as well as enabling as many of them as possible to meet each other, for although they were to be presented as a unified entity, many of them had not

previously met. To this end, the OFP sent out pre-festival packets and inquiries, and Moriarty and Kennedy hosted separate meetings for presenters and participants prior to departure.

Training presenters was an important component of the mission to care for the participants, so Kurin and Parker flew in from Washington, D.C. to represent the Smithsonian at the presenters' meeting. On April 29, 1989 the Smithsonian directors, Moriarty, and Kennedy met with presenters at the East-West Center from 9:30 AM to 5:00 PM to discuss the festival program and the presenter role. Seventeen individuals—cultural specialists, community or academic scholars, and at least two craftspeople—had been selected to act as presenters who would give background information and facilitate between participants and audiences as well serving as the liaison between festival staff and participants. All but one of the selected presenters were already familiar with the project because they had been contracted to do fieldwork in the early phases of the program planning and helped in the selection process. The additional presenter was Marie McDonald, a *lei*-maker and former educator who had written a definitive book on Hawai'i *lei*. Wherever possible, presenters were matched with communities with which they had previous dealings. Four more people, including Martin, who had been out on maternity leave but had continued to work with the Festival planning in an advisory capacity, and Moriarty were inserted into the presenting schedule as well.

Presenters are the Festival's liaison to participants and the bridge between participants and audiences. They are charged with framing performances, inviting and fielding questions, interpreting cultural practices, and facilitating between participants and visitors. They were told that presentation is another form of public performance:

“Presenters are [a] special kind of performers at the Festival. Their performance is to communicate a face through which the audience can understand the performances of tradition-bearers.” Along with in-depth knowledge of a topic and its contexts, presenters were expected to have the ability to speak articulately and comfortably with a microphone to a large audience.⁶ Although Festival philosophy is mediated through signage and other textual productions, it is disseminated most directly by presenters, who form a visual and aural link to the Smithsonian. The need for presenters is predicated on the nature of the Festival performance. Selected participants were being represented as experts in their respective traditions, but possessing expertise in a traditional practice was not necessarily adequate qualification for the demands of festival performance. Cited amongst the criteria used in the fieldwork phase for selecting participants had been the ability to communicate a traditional practice to the public and to answer any questions they might have. In other words, the educational facet of the Festival required that participants possess a degree of meta-consciousness about their skills and be able to articulate as well as perform them.

For seasoned public performers who were used to bantering with an audience, the curator and coordinator’s challenge was sometimes to persuade them to trade disingenuous patter for a Festival ambience grounded in authenticity, informality, candor, and relative intimacy.⁷ Preparing the many people who were not performers at all presented a different set of challenges. Tradition bearers had been selected because they had learned their craft through informal rather than academic transmission, and for this reason many of them did not have the sort of historical or scholarly information required

⁶ *Festival of American Folklife Program Book*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institute, 1968-1997).

⁷ Jay Junker, April 16, 2003.

to situate their cultural practices into an educational, academically informed context. Language and lack of experience with crowds were other foreseeable obstacles. Although all of the participants were American citizens who were residents of the State of Hawai'i, for some of them, like the Hawaiians from Ni'ihau, English was a second language and one in which they were less comfortable. Presenters were key in mediating and modifying participant performance as well as looking out for participants since any of the performers were traveling from relative isolation in rural areas and organizers worried that they would have culture shock in an urban environment and in front of crowds on the Mall.⁸

To enable the presenters to answer all questions in an ethnographically informed way and ensure a more coherent and seamless program narrative to the public, prior to the April meeting, presenters had been given packets that familiarized them with the festival and outlined their duties. The guide presenters received contained the following subsections delineating their role along with information pertinent to specific traditions that they might be presenting: Informing Yourself and Your Audience; Participant Ease; Repertoire: Individuals, Contexts, Communities; Recontextualization; Performance Traditions; Material and Occupational Traditions; Presenting as Performance; 1989 Programs. In order for the presenters to become familiar with a specific tradition, an information loop was prescribed in which presenters were asked to inform themselves by reading the curatorial statement for the program, program related articles written for the program book, including bibliographic references, copies of the text of signs for the area, participant biographies or interview field reports, and the promotional pamphlet and press releases. They were also to discuss repertoires with participants. As a guideline, the

⁸ Linda Moriarty, October 29, 2002.

guide informed them of the program's inclusive stance on creolization and cultural adaptation while reminding them that the festival's primary goal is "*to present exemplary representatives of specific folk traditions from particular communities through repertoires that reflect a community aesthetic [sic].*" In other words, they were to assist participants in making selections that would 1) be recognized as valid within their community aesthetics, and 2) fit within the Festival definitions of folklife. As will be explained, these two definitions were not always compatible.

One of the most important tasks addressed at the daylong presenter meeting was the selection of topics for narrative stages since narrative stages are one of the interactive spaces in a program where topics can be placed that do not otherwise fit into the visual and performative aspects of the Festival. Of course, suggestions had been made throughout the planning and fieldwork phases for topics such as immigration histories, plantations experiences, tourism and development, and *hula* traditions. The process tackled in the presenter meetings was to refine a list already compiled by organizers from issues raised in the fieldwork process. Scholars, otherwise peripheral to the performances and demonstrations at the heart of festival display, would actually conduct and participate in some of the discussions. As with other Festival genres, scholars rather than participants selected topics for the relatively small portion of the festival devoted to "talkstory," as informal presentation and dialogue is known in Hawai'i, with the implication that outside authorities had a better understanding of context and issues than did the representatives and members of the communities being represented.

The Festival is unscripted but not unframed. Assiduous attention was also given to preparing Hawai'i participants for their roles in the festival as well. Much of this was

a practical consideration to cover the various logistical requirements of OFP administration for legal and commercial purposes. In addition to invitational letters, participants who had accepted the invitation received travel questionnaires so that the Smithsonian could coordinate their travel plans, including assistance with the plans of additional family members (at participant expense). Besides attending to practical cohesion for the group, organizers were concerned about psychological cohesion.⁹ Moriarty coordinated meetings on four islands—O‘ahu, Maui, Kaua‘i, and Hawai‘i—so that at least some of the participants could meet each other to review programmatic, travel, and housing arrangements. Pre-festival packets were distributed that covered a range of information and contained a participant handbook (medical services, meals, transportation, maps, clothes and climate, etc), an introduction letter from the participant coordinator, a letter from Folkways Music pertaining to music rights,¹⁰ a release letter from Richard Kurin, a small pamphlet on the festival, a museum shop sales questionnaire, a “Planning Your Smithsonian Visit” guide, hotel information, a name badge, and a contract letter. In a follow-up mailing, participants received a special events calendar, a guide to the nation’s capitol, a critical information checklist, orientation walk-through schedules, a Metro system guide, a map of Washington, D.C., meal tickets, a program book, release forms, an invitation to an opening reception at the Arts and Industries Building of the Smithsonian, and specific program information. They were definitely not going to Washington, D.C. uninformed.

⁹ Lynn Martin, 1988.

¹⁰ The Participant Release form is important in that it “grants the Smithsonian the right to make and use recordings, photographs, movies, and videotapes” of participation in the festival for non-profit use. In other words, although the agreement serves to protect the usage of festival performance by mandating that for-profit use would require the permission of participants, festival performance directly and indirectly becomes the acquired property of the Smithsonian, to be used for the perpetuation of Smithsonian projects.

Much of the information exchanged in pre-festival correspondence and meetings was practical and concerned performance logistics. People were introduced and the role of presenters was explained. Cooks were advised to consult with their presenters about which recipes would be most appropriate for festival presentation and advised about what kinds of equipment would be available in the on-site kitchen. Craftspeople worked with their presenters to produce lists of supplies and tools to be shipped or acquired in Washington, D.C.. Musicians were instructed to discuss their repertoires with their presenters, and those who wanted to be anthologized on a Folkways recording to be sold on-site needed to provide with pre-recorded material and releases. Artists who produced a product, be it music or craft, were instructed to communicate with the Museum Shops in charge of concessions if they wished to have their products sold on-site.

Even though presenters would serve as stage managers and facilitators, the idea of going to Washington still made many participants nervous. One group of musicians did not feel confident that they were good enough and had quietly asked their presenter if they might play less than others although they were excited about the trip and honored by the invitation.¹¹ Some of the participants, faced with being experts in the Smithsonian context, suddenly felt the need to learn more about their craft. Robert Ruiz, a saddle maker and fireman who lives in Waimea, Kaua'i, said that although he is a very proficient leather worker, he didn't know anything about the history of *paniolo* in Hawai'i and felt compelled to do some homework before going to Washington.¹² As a result, whatever he transmitted as his tradition became a mixture of unofficially and officially garnered information. Invested with a sense of mission, participants felt they

¹¹ Junker.

¹² Robert Ruiz, May 17, 2003.

were carrying a great deal of responsibility for representing their groups and traditions well.

The organizers from Hawai‘i felt this responsibility as well. Once live people inhabited a program, an uncontrollable factor is added, and the fostering of spontaneity and multi-vocality puts organizer credibility at stake in the most public of American public places. Although Kennedy asserts that the OFP continually tells program organizers to “blame it on the Smithsonian” if anything goes wrong, with the idea that the Smithsonian is big enough to take it on the chin, state agencies and program organizers do not have that kind of legitimacy buffer. In the case of the Hawai‘i program, the result was that little was left to chance. For example, prior to going to D.C., performance groups selected, ideally in conversation with presenters, the repertoires they would present. This was especially important for the musical groups that had been combined expressly for the festival and had not previously played together. All this adds up to a two-pronged approach to group identity in which vertical and horizontal lines of authority intersected. At the pre-festival meetings, presenters helped craft the intangible elements of the Festival frame. Pre-festival literature set guidelines for festival thinking and behavior while presenters were inculcated with their station as “ambassadors of aloha.”¹³

What appears particularly salient in reviewing the participant and presenter preparation is that the creation of ideological harmony amongst the Hawai‘i contingent was required precisely because it did not yet exist. The actual social diversity amongst participants could not be contained in the broad categories of the nine ethnic categories

¹³ Adria Imada identifies this same conundrum for dancers on the early hula circuits who made personal gains by performing in various venues but were, at the same time, co-opted by the territorial and national interests. Adria Imada, “Hawaiians on Tour: Hula Circuits through the American Empire,” *American Quarterly* 56, no. 1 (2004).

derived from the fieldwork process, and was, in fact, much more textured and varied than the multicultural model planners had designed for the Festival environment. Many members of designated ethnic groups had multiple ancestries. Participants hailed from various island communities, rural and urban environments, different socio-economic levels, and varied educational backgrounds. Although Festival signage and literature stressed shared backgrounds and traditions, in many cases, participants' paths had not previously crossed. Many people on the same island and in the same towns had never met and were quite unfamiliar with the cultural practices of other ethnic groups or even of their own ethnic group. This unfamiliarity is understandable given that the program was constellated around indigenous and plantation histories, and the plantation history that had been the foundational concept for ethnic group selection and site design was an abstraction for many of the actual participants who were at least a generation removed from that history if they had any ancestral connection to it at all. To overcome the obstacles presented by Hawai'i's actual pluralism, the organizers prepared the Hawai'i delegation by utilizing themes that had been appropriated by the tourist industry—*aloha*, *'ohana*, mixed-plate—in the repackaged forms crafted in the fieldwork and early production phases (see chap. 2). Sloganizing these themes helped forge the participants into an island delegation that would fit the program's carefully crafted vision of utopian multiculturalism.

In much the same way, the Festival itself is held together by a sense of purpose that permeates all levels of operation. A multi-sited public program of this magnitude could not be pulled off without a huge and efficient staff. The supporting cast of the Festival involves many more people than just the OFP paid staff, the presenters, and the

participants. Tuned to the seasonal schedule of Festival-making, every year the OFP swells in size and springs into a frenzy of pre-Festival activity approximately two months prior to arrival of the participants. As soon as college classes let out, interns conveniently arrive from various places and programs and are put to work under staff persons in charge of Festival tasks. Closer to the date of the Festival, hundreds of volunteers are also signed up, many of them regulars, and assigned to the Volunteer Coordinator.¹⁴ Interns and volunteers are apportioned according to their interests and staff needs. They work on everything from correspondence to travel coordination to site construction.¹⁵

During the Festival, temporary staff are deployed to the participant hotel, the participant hospitality area, and throughout the Festival site. Volunteers, who come in a wide range of ages but are overwhelmingly middle-class, educated, and white, tend to lean decidedly toward the political left.¹⁶ Many of them are professionals who take time off from their jobs each year in order to work at the Festival. In written materials and orientation sessions, volunteers are primed with the Festival mission of social democracy and advocacy and pumped with a sense of responsibility by being told that they are often the first contact a visitor has with the Festival and that they are representing the Smithsonian and the Festival. For hours of often demanding duty under hot sun and pouring rain, they get free lunches, recognition from Festival staff, and a chance to work with “the folk.” According to volunteers, working on the Festival is a labor of love for

¹⁴ In 2003, when I was a graduate fellow at the Smithsonian, several volunteers were awarded pins for fifteen to twenty-five years of service to the Festival.

¹⁵ In 2003, one long computer bank section of the OFP space had been designated as “intern row” during the festival countdown.

¹⁶ According to one board member, there is also a strong lesbian contingent amongst the regulars. He was not sure what the reasons were for this, but he felt it was worth noting.

which they feel amply rewarded. For them, the Festival serves the dual purpose of social activism and contact with interesting “others.” It is travel without going out of town.

Community groups get involved, too, although OFP director, Richard Kurin admits that such involvement can be a “mixed bag” that can derail or abet Festival goals.¹⁷ The Hawai‘i program was fortunate to be helped by members of the Hawai‘i State Society in Washington, D.C., a group comprising former Hawai‘i residents of various ethnicities. This group had been the source through which the landscape architect for the Hawai‘i program, Gordon Velasco, had been located, as well as the *imu* stones (see chap. 3). When they approached the OFP about volunteering and conducting flower *lei* sales on-site, the OFP particularly asked for Society members to help in areas where familiarity with Hawai‘i would be especially useful: decorating horses and trucks for the *pā‘u* parade, showing up as spectators for the parade, and hosting families and individuals from Hawai‘i. Delighted to be connected to the Hawai‘i program, the group enthusiastically complied with these requests as well hosting a *lū‘au* for Hawai‘i participants and staff prior to the Festival.

Getting media involved is critical to the ongoing success of the Festival. Journalists are wooed with press releases designed to snag them with Smithsonian credibility and enough key information that they do not have to do research (see Appendix A). To ensure intriguing and appropriate coverage of the Hawai‘i program, journalists familiar with the Festival were given lists of participants within the Hawai‘i program who were considered to be particularly articulate and colorful. A program for the *Today Show* was carefully planned to maximize coverage of all the programs with the main part of the interviews to take place in the midst of the Hawai‘i program site,

¹⁷ Richard Kurin, Interview with author July 25, 2003.

preferably in and around the *yagura*, which would give the camera people a visual vantage point. The show was to be filmed between 7:00 am and 8:30 AM, before the grounds were open to the public. Participants and staff were asked to populate the grounds to make the Festival look “alive” without the liability of dealing with an unpredictable real audience. To ensure the Hawai‘i program’s memorability, Moriarty was asked to find “a humungous aloha shirt” to present to the television interviewer; on-camera, Marie Macdonald, flower *lei* maker from the Big Island, would present him with a *lei* while Elaine Kaopuiki’s *hālau* danced.¹⁸ These scripted scenes of gifting underlined the program themes of hospitality, generosity, sharing, and *aloha* established in the program’s earlier phases (see chaps. 2 and 3) to cement associations established through nationwide press releases that had been focused on *lei* making as symbolic of Hawai‘i hospitality (see chap. 3).

Media is also a force to be controlled, especially in an environment in which non-professionals are performing and cultural divides might lead to misinterpretation or perceptions of harassment. Hawai‘i participants and presenters were given guidelines in their preliminary packets to prepare them for handling journalists. A memo on media states that, “the Festival is for participants and visitors,” and indicates that participants are to be protected in relation to the media and that journalists and photographers, required to sign in at the Press Tent, were not allowed block the audience’s view or to go “behind the scenes” without the permission of the program coordinator. A press officer, Mary Combs, had been designated for the Festival, and a chain of command had been established for interview requests. Participants were assured that interviews were a matter of choice and told that they had the right to say “No, thank you” to interviews as

¹⁸ “Notes on Today Show Meeting,” (Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institute: 1989).

well as photographs. An anecdote about a former participant who had preferred not to be photographed was included; that incident had been handled with an exhibit sign, with the understanding that if photographs were taken, they would be unpublishable due to the presence of the “No Photographs, Please” sign.¹⁹ Despite the nod to ethnographic ethics, the document did admit, however, that in a crowd of a million people waving cameras, photography was a difficult activity to control.

A memorandum circulated to all OFP staffing 1989 prior to the Festival, boldly proclaims that, “The Festival concerns culture, not politics.” Although it appears to be taking a stance that is actually antithetical to much of what the Festival literature professes, its practical purpose is to maintain Festival cover by dissociating it from politics “on the hill” in Washington and from government policy-making except in relation to culture. The memo anticipates various topics of a “sensitive nature” that may be brought up by the media, and reiterates the chain of command with regard to Festival policy and philosophy with Kurin at the political question-deflecting apex. Interestingly, all of the questions refer to the adjacent Caribbean and Native American programs, none to the two American programs. Questions about the presence of Cuba on the Mall were to be fielded by making a clear demarcation between politics and culture, insisting the Festival was apolitical and that musicians and other Cuban participants were not government officials. Questions about the performance of Haitian Voudon and Cuban Santería as “black magic” were to be used as opportunities to debunk misinformation and educate by making reference to an article in the program book. Likewise, criticism about animals on the Mall (buffalo, horses, and fowl in 1989) were to be met with information

¹⁹ Of course this precedes the age of digital photography and the endless potential for photograph alteration. “Notes on Press Tent Operations for Participant Orientation,” (Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institute: 1989).

about their expert veterinary care on the Mall as well as their respect within the cultural groups to whom they were being attached.²⁰ (In fact, although the OFP had jumped through cultural sensitivity hoops to be able to have buffalo on the Mall, petitioning Native American elders about their feelings on the matter,²¹ the experts cited in the memo somehow did not anticipate the surprise arrival of a buffalo calf during the festival.) That there were no “sensitive questions” anticipated for the Hawai‘i program, despite the socio-political ferment of the 1980’s (see chap. 1) and Martin’s alert about “sensitive issues” (see chap. 2) testifies to the assumed domestication of Hawai‘i within American discourse and the elimination of controversy from the Hawai‘i program.

The Festival guards its particular vision of culture against distortion from within and without, and staff at all levels are all charged with image management, particularly with regards to the media. All questions about festival policy and philosophy were to be referred to the directors. Participants were politely but firmly asked to not respond to questions about festival concept. There were also regulations on participant behavior in the form of prohibitions against individual participants using the Festival for self-promotion. The notes explain that the Festival would not permit “do-it-yourself” publicity,” nor would it distribute its press kits to participants although it could provide them directly to journalist contacts back home. Tradition bearers were encouraged to conduct interviews about their skills and experience, but they were not to transgress the institutional frame by acting as program experts. Ironically, maintaining the democratic image and feel of the Festival requires a clear chain of command with hierarchical roles and institutional control over information and behavior.

²⁰ "Memorandum," (Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institute: June 15, 1989).

²¹ Kurin.

For all the talk about Festival spontaneity, most actual spontaneity must be timed to happen within a very rigid schedule within which even spontaneity is scheduled. Before the Festival officially opens, there are program orientations, site walk-throughs, daily staff meetings, and special events for participants and VIP's. Once the Festival is open to the public, there are multiple events scheduled for each day and special events, such as concerts and dance parties, for most evenings. Some of these evening events are scheduled for the Mall and others for the hotel where the participants stay. The former is designed to maximize audience participation and the latter are designed to maximize a sense of community for the participants within programs and provide opportunities for contact between participants in different programs.

The Festival is kaleidoscopic once it is set in motion. Each Festival day, the Hawaii's program had between five and six stages in simultaneous performance 11:00 AM and 5:00 PM with anywhere from four to eight performance slots per day. These took place in different locations: the music stage, *hula* stage, narrative stage, foodways kitchen, children's area, and special demonstrations such as *imu* cooking, canoe building, *paniolo* crafts, net-throwing, and *bon* dance, each in its particular demonstration area. Each of these areas had to be staffed with a presenter and volunteers to run audio equipment since stages were being taped for the archives at the OFP and the Hawai'i State Foundation for Culture and the Arts. In addition to performing on stages within the Hawai'i program site, some Hawai'i participants were asked to participate in cross-cultural workshops held on the narrative stages of the four programs. There were eighteen of these cross-cultural workshops altogether, and the topics of tourism, water rights, cultural revival and folkloristics, and access to natural resources were slated for

discussion. Because the program in action could not be seen from any one vantage point, I have taken the liberty of imposing my own order in the three sections that follow. “Consecrations” covers ceremonies and rituals, “Performance” covers the program stages, and “Back and Offstage” covers events and areas out of view of the public.

Consecrations

The Mall is repeatedly referred to in Festival literature as “sacred ground,” and although it has been the site of many political protests, for the purpose of the Festival it is treated reverently but apolitically, except with regards to the politics of culture.²² Politicians attend, but their presence is considered to be in an altered capacity. The Festival itself is lent an air of religiosity through organizers’ use of ritual to define and sanctify temporal space through opening and closing ceremonies. Although the focus of the 1989 program was on valorizing Hawai‘i culture, it was fitted within the culture of Washington, and a round of standard Washington-style formal events marked its opening. On the opening day of the 1989 Festival, there were three such events: a luncheon at the American History Museum to thank the Hawai‘i Governor, the French Ambassador, the Hawai‘i Congressional Delegation, and sponsoring organizations; an opening ceremony and tour of the festival site involving delegates of all four of the programs; and an evening reception at the Arts and Industries Museum co-hosted by Hawai‘i Congressional delegates for participants. The latter reception invitation was sent out from the Secretary of the Smithsonian, the Governor of Hawai‘i, and the Hawai‘i Congressional Delegation, and an earlier memo to the administrative assistants to each of

²² See Kurin, *Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture of, by, and for the People*, 18-27.

these political figures attests to the Smithsonian's delicate position vis-à-vis politics.²³

To preclude any charges of sponsoring an event of a political nature, the individual names of the Congressional delegation could not be printed on invitations; however, they were printed on an acknowledgement card enclosed with the invitation.²⁴ This card did not have the Smithsonian seal and, presumably, exonerated the Smithsonian of political dealings through its mysterious appearance in the envelope.

The kick-off opening ceremony is generally held in a tent on the Mall, but unlike the rest of the Festival, it is conducted under conditions of higher security.²⁵ Despite the tent, it is a formal VIP event that shows off the Festival to the powers behind and connected to each program: politicians, dignitaries, and Smithsonian and National Park Service directors.²⁶ It is a platform from which the mission of the Festival is sold, where curators and coordinators receive their laurels, and where subalterns are momentarily recognized by the elite and the standard hierarchies of power momentarily undergo what Barbara Babcock refers to as a "symbolic inversion,"²⁷ yet it should not be overlooked that it is the officials who occupy the platform and make the addresses. It is in the opening ceremony where cultural advocacy is showcased and voiced to a captive audience though the assemblage might arguably be a choir of the converted. Participants

²³ "Invitation," (Office of Folklife Programs, Smithsonian Institute: 1989).

²⁴ Richard Kurin, March 9, 1989.

²⁵ This depends greatly on the level of the VIP's. When I was there in 2001 for the opening ceremony for the Silk Road program, Secretary of Defense Colin Powell, Senator Kennedy, and Yo-yo Ma were all in attendance at the opening ceremony, and there were Secret Service agents posted in locations close to the stage. Festival staff said that they hoped never again to have to deal with that level of security, so obviously it was not the norm.

²⁶ It is difficult not to see government officials in expensive suits sweating in a hot, steamy tent as an inversion of power incurred by the organizers, and one in which I suspect they take a secret delight despite concerns for the comfort of officials.

²⁷ Barbara A. Babcock and American Anthropological Association., *The Reversible World : Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* : [Papers] (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

do not speak; instead, they are honored by the presence of the officials occupying the same space and talking about the value of their cultural practices.

The opening ceremony speeches, not heard by the general public, are perhaps the only place in which the official agendas of the various programs are voiced. At the 1989 opening ceremony, speeches about nationalism and resistance figured prominently, despite the official position on separation of politics from culture. Governor Waihee, Senators Matsunaga and Inouye, and Congresswoman Saiki and Congressman Akaka from Hawai‘i sat alongside ambassadors from France, Haiti, and Jamaica and representatives of the Aandaga, Creek, and Shoshone Nations. Folklorist Nick Spitzer, in his introductory address to the assembly, pointed out that the four programs were linked through a common theme of creolization. Ray and Elodia Kane, two of the Hawai‘i participants, then gave the standard tourist industry inspired greeting in Hawai‘i, yelling, “Aloooooooooooooo-ha!” and eliciting an echoing response.²⁸ This rowdy greeting was followed by Pualani Kanaka‘ole, from the island of Hawai‘i, offering a chanted blessing. After a list of the corporate sponsors for the Festival, Ralph Rinzler, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian and the Festival founder’s, officiated over a series of speeches. First, the anniversary of the French Revolution was used to remark on the history of French-American alliance, and French-American friendship was used as a segue into linked traditions. The U.S. national motto—E Pluribus Unum—was cited in preface to honoring the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of Hawai‘i statehood, and Smithsonian Secretary McCormick Adams discussed the various programs, citing Hawai‘i as uniquely multicultural and connecting it to Pacific Rim diversity. He discussed France as more

²⁸ It is worth noting here that on one of the Festival narrative stages, a *kumu hula* from Hawai‘i discussed this as a disrespectful appropriation and misuse of the “*aloha*” greeting.

than a continent and the role of the festival in demystifying stereotypes of Caribbean beliefs and rituals, and then he connected the American programs to future Smithsonian projects: the American Indian Museum and a proposed Hawai'i restaging.²⁹ Adams ended his speech by lauding America for understanding the use of public space for dialogue, in contrast to Red Square, Tiananmen Square, and the Bastille. Clearly, in a Festival celebrating America, the politics of other nations are useful.

Before the representatives of the various programs spoke, Rinzler made a statement that illustrated the OFP's admirable capacity for self-editing. He apologized for the 1989 Festival's title, "Encounters in the New World," noting that it was Eurocentric and should be avoided in the future. This self-effacement, as well as calling attention to the constructedness of the rhetorical frame, served to background the OFP and forefront the program officials who spoke next. Hawai'i had the most politicians at the Festival, yet the state's message, sandwiched midway between Caribbean and Native American speeches, were the least political. The French Ambassador spoke to the occasion of the bicentennial commemoration of the French Revolution and Declaration of the Rights of men and Citizens. The Ambassadors from Haiti and Jamaica³⁰ used the opportunity of the Caribbean program's focus on religious creolization to stress their desire to see uninformed third-world stereotypes corrected as well as to speak about cultural adaptation as resistance. Oren Lyons, Aandaga elder, greeted the assembly "from our country" and talked about how the country was free before the white man came. Susan Carjoe, representing the Cheyenne and Creek nations used the anniversary of Little Bighorn the next day to emphasize the egalitarian values of native peoples. She

²⁹ The American Indian Museum is opening in August 2004 and the restaging, which took place in 1990, is discussed in chap. 5.

³⁰ The Cubans were not able to arrive in time for the ceremony due to visa difficulties.

and Lyons both recognized Inouye for his help on Native American policies, and she honored Inouye, Rinzler, Adams, and Lyons as “great men.” Carjoe ended by saying, “Like the buffalo, we’re coming back!”

By contrast to these speeches that overtly linked culture to politics, the Hawai‘i segment of the program concentrated on Hawai‘i as a model of successful multiculturalism. Senator Inouye introduced Governor Waihee with a compacted history of Hawai‘i immigration in which Hawai‘i served both as a destination and as a metaphor for “the good life” that all the trouble spots in the world are desperately seeking. The question he raised was “How did they live together?” The answer from the *kapuna*, he said, was the Polynesian gift of *aloha*. He then introduced the governor as the son of Hawai‘i. In his speech, Waihee reminisced about being let out of schools and the dancing in the streets when Hawai‘i became a state. He built on Inouye’s introduction when he talked about, “those that came later for a better life, reaching out so that their children’s future would be secure.” Twice he repeated the national motto, but once in reference to Hawai‘i multiculturalism, claiming it as “Our E Pluribus Unum,” and then asserting that Hawaii’s presence at the Festival was a gift to the nation, “To reinforce our nation’s motto: E Pluribus Unum. Out of the many, one. You see, to you, from the community of communities to the nation of nations, we bring you our spirit of *aloha*.”³¹ Waihee’s eloquent speech was an emotional endorsement of multiculturalism, but it also sounded a combination of national and touristic boosterism. Hawai‘i could be seen, thanks to its being showcased in the Festival, as having even more to offer in the tourist economy. Despite the governor’s indigenous ethnicity, Hawai‘i concerns—such as

³¹ “Smithsonian Folklife Festival,” (Washington. D.C.: 2002). This speech is reproduced in Chapter 1, and the edited version is in a 2002 Folklife Festival promotional video.

dependence on tourism and growing protests over colonial legacies, ecological problems, and economic disparities—that might logically have been linked with Caribbean and Native American concerns raised in the opening ceremony—were subordinated to advertising Hawai‘i’s multiculturalism along with its “beautiful beaches and wonderful weather.” Hawai‘i was/is a remote American constituency, and Waihee’s speech was necessarily tuned to politicking. Bidding for greater Hawai‘i recognition, Hawai‘i politicians expanded on the image of Hawai‘i as the model of harmoniousness, a tact that left no room for Hawai‘i resistances past or present. Like the other contingents of the Festival, they utilized the ceremony as a platform, as Martin had instigated in the early stages of festival planning, to put Hawai‘i’s “best foot forward” in the national arena. Senator Matsunaga was the last of the Hawai‘i politicians to speak, and he claimed that Hawai‘i was what the rest of the world was striving to be before he declared the festival officially open.

The program was officially open after the opening ceremony, but there were other ceremonies performed to make it “real.” Within the Hawai‘i program, organizers requested participants to perform their own rituals quite different from the formal events held within the confines of the Smithsonian museums. Early in the festival planning, unifying themes had been sought, and Martin had suggested prayer as a uniting force that spanned island heterogeneity. Following that line of thinking, the Hawai‘i program was further sanctified and invigorated through the use of multicultural blessings. One opening ritual was performed to symbolically open up the program gates. In Chinese communities throughout the world, lion dances are a noisy and festive ritual used to bring good fortune to new businesses and events. A new lion head had been ordered from

Taiwan for the lion dance to be performed by Kelford Chang and Clement Lum in Washington, D.C., and when it arrived, a ritual was required to “quicken” it, or to give it life. The ritual, similar to those performed in temples for Chinese deities, was enacted by Rev. Duane Pang, a Taoist priest from Honolulu. It involved invocations, prayers, and some chicken blood (symbolic in this case) prior to painting in the eyes of the lion so that it would be deemed “alive.” The ritual and the lion dance that ensued became part of the Festival pageantry—“spectacularizing culture,” and fitting with the Hawai‘i program’s complex ethnic makeup, the Chinese ceremony opened the Japanese gate.³²

Hawaiian and Samoan groups held other kinds of opening ceremonies. Based on Martin’s directive, a Hawaiian blessing had been requested by Hawai‘i organizers for the Hawai‘i program as a whole.³³ The idea was very much the same as that of dotting the lion’s eyes—to bring life to performance as well as to symbolically consecrate the space the program would inhabit. The use of Hawaiian prayers for a multicultural program, also reiterated the planning phase decision to present Hawaiian culture as dominant in the islands (see chapter 2). The Samoan group chose to perform their own opening ceremony outside of program framing; Kennedy remembered, “The Samoans did something on their own.”³⁴ The Samoan delegation was somewhat disconnected from the rest of the program concept, and their separate ceremony suggests they may have felt separate as well. The Samoans did not fit within the program paradigm based on indigeneity, plantation history, and creolization into a shared local identity (see chap. 2).

³² I borrow this term from Stanley’s discussion of theme parks. Nick Stanley, *Being Ourselves for You: The Global Display of Cultures* (London: Middlesex University Press, 1998), 17.

³³ Since the Hawaiian renaissance of the 1970’s, it has become standard procedure at many kinds of public events—political gatherings, symphony concerts, university conferences, etc.—to ask Hawaiian *kumu* to perform a chant. In most cases, these events are orchestrated by local *haole* who wish to show their respect for the “host culture.”

³⁴ Richard Kennedy, June 17, 2003.

Samoans were later immigrants to the Hawaiian Islands but organizers had decided that it was politically expedient to include Samoans because of the Samoan political presence in Washington, D.C. and had thematically linked them to Hawaiians through shared Polynesian-ness. The Samoan program presenter, Simeamativa Aga, invited Hawai'i Congressional delegates to attend a traditional *ava* ceremony to mark Samoan participation in the Hawai'i program.³⁵

The Chinese and Hawaiian rituals might be seen to have spectacularized sacred practice in the sense that they were performed for spectators, but in each case the groups also maintained control over the content and used the ritual for their own purposes as well. In the Hawaiian and Samoan ceremonies, visitors were invited to participate, by praying or drinking; thereby becoming a part of reifying and sacralizing recontextualized performance.

Not all ceremony was sacred. The Festival often incorporates the pageantry of parades that move through the Festival grounds, and one of the key events planned for the Hawai'i program was an evocation of Hawai'i pageantry in the form of a *pā'u* parade. *Pā'u* riders have been part of nearly every major parade in Hawai'i since the early 1900's. Hawaiian *ali'i* became very fond of riding after Europeans introduced horses to the islands. Developed so that female equestrians could avoid riding sidesaddle, as was the custom for European and American women, the *pā'u* skirts comprise many yards of fabric wrapped so that the rider appears to be wearing a skirt while sitting astride her horse. Over the years the parade custom has come to include the selection of *pā'u* princesses who represent each island, and the costumes have become very elaborate,

³⁵ Simeamativa M. Aga, June 6, 1989.. *Ava*, or kava, is a mildly intoxicating drink made from a root, and its ritual sharing and consumption is used in various locations throughout the Pacific for ceremonial purposes.

often topped by flowing capes in rich fabrics such as velvet. Horses and riders alike are decorated with elaborate flower lei—different flowers and colors for each island. Extra money had been raised expressly for the *pā'u* riders to come to Hawai'i (see chap. 3) and to rent horses for the event, and male riders had been recruited from the Hawai'i State Society to fill out the parade and serve as attendants to the *pā'u* princesses. The parade, with eighteen to twenty horses bedecked with floral and greenery *lei*, a lowboy trailer drawn by a truck cab, and a flatbed truck that would carry dancers and musicians, was scheduled for June 24, 1989. It would start at 14th Street on the south Mall paralleling Jefferson Avenue and make a circuit of the Mall with stops for two more rituals. At the statue of Joseph Henry in front of the Smithsonian Castle, the parade would stop long enough for a large *lei* to be put on the statue of the first Secretary of the Smithsonian. (Putting *lei* on statues on special anniversaries is a common practice in Hawai'i, and this gesture would symbolically thank the Smithsonian for its sponsorship.) When the parade reached 3rd street, the governor would hop into a limousine with other dignitaries and be driven to the Capitol where he would place a *lei* on the statue of King Kamehameha the Great in the rotunda.³⁶ These scripted rituals appropriated a local practice and elevated it to spectacularization of state culture.³⁷ Contrarily, they also possessed a certain post-colonial flair by symbolically superimposing Hawai'i onto two national icons.

What was planned ritual and what happened on the Mall were two different things, for, as anyone who has spent the summer in Washington, D.C. knows, the weather is unpredictable, and no amount of scripting could control how the forces of nature would

³⁶ Barbara Lau, May 9, 1989.

³⁷ Hobsbawm and Ranger discuss the use of extant cultural practices to create invented rituals that serve state purposes. E. J. Hobsbawm and T. O. Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1st paperback ed. (Cambridge, Cambridgeshire; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

treat the Hawai'i program. The parade began as scheduled on June 24th, with Governor Waihee, in a *palaka* shirt, riding in a convertible and Senator Akaka on a horse³⁸ (see figure 6). And then the rain started. People from Hawai'i are not easily daunted by rain since unpredictable showers are a regular occurrence in the islands, so they good-naturedly continued the parade. By halfway through they had lost quite a few bodies, and everyone was soaked. Someone found plastic bags for the musicians to protect their instruments, and they continued to play—hands inside the bags.³⁹ The statues received their *lei*, but Marie MacDonald wryly noted years later that the *lei* must have been against Parks Department regulations since the *lei* placed on John Henry, an extra long one at that, quickly disappeared.⁴⁰ The staged ritual was sodden, but it was redeemed by the good humor of the Hawai'i participants who were used to carrying on daily activities despite frequent showers and who read what seemed a minor disaster for the organizers as a good omen for the program, a Hawai'i style blessing.⁴¹ Furthermore, the *pā'u* riders had ritual plans of their own. After the parade, they took their elaborate horse and rider *lei* to the Vietnam memorial and left them to commemorate Hawai'i war dead, for as Moriarty said, "There were a lot of soldiers from Hawai'i and everybody knew somebody whose name was on the Wall."⁴²

Unless it is suffused with an ambiance of festiveness, the Festival is merely a live museum exhibit. Pageantry and ritual are techniques that organizers use to strike a match to a program, in hopes that it will spark a program to life and transport it beyond mere mimesis. Beyond the carefully orchestrated parade pageantry, the rain and the

³⁸ *Palaka* shirts were short sleeved, plaid shirts worn by plantation workers—also *palaka* cloth.

³⁹ Richard Ho'opi'i, Personal Interview. May 21, 2003.

⁴⁰ Marie McDonald, May 9, 2003.

⁴¹ I heard this from organizers and participants.

⁴² Moriarty.

spontaneous gesture of the *pā‘u* riders opened new spaces for meaning making outside institutionalized structures of feeling, even though those spaces were still contained within the frames of asymmetric power relations and tourism on which the Hawai‘i program was predicated.

Performance

As we have seen in earlier chapters, mainland and Hawai‘i program planners had spent a great deal of time negotiating and selecting the categorizations that would be used to represent Hawai‘i participants. In the interests of communicability and presentability in a festival format, the OFP had preferred clearly differentiated ethnic categories that juxtaposed root traditions. Hawai‘i advisors had argued that blurred ethnic boundaries were the norm in Hawai‘i. The compromise result had been a multicultural paradigm in which juxtaposed ethnic groups were offset by creolized and shared cultural practices. This conceptual frame permeated the program literature and site design, but the proof of its efficacy remained to be determined in the program’s unfolding. How would participants interact with the site and the constructed categories? Would performances coincide with or produce fissures in the carefully constructed frames?

MacCannell’s notions of “zones of authenticity” and “staged back regions” in tourist productions are particularly useful in looking at the Hawai‘i program performance phase. According to MacCannell, staged back regions are crafted to remove barriers and facilitate access to what or who is being viewed and are a calculated response to what he sees as tourist desire to encounter and experience authenticity rather than simulation.⁴³

The Festival is essentially the result of academically administered ethnography designed

⁴³ MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 9.

to foster intimacy between audiences and participants in the form of dialogue by inserting cultural practitioners into ethnographically informed spaces crafted to break down barriers and prompt conversation.

As with any environment inhabited day after day, even a stage set can become an alternative version of home. Kennedy fondly remembers running into one of the participants onsite during the Festival and asking her where she was headed. She replied that she was “going to the store,” but would be back. He chuckled to remember that he realized she was referring to K. Awa Grocery, the narrative stage designed to look like “mom and pop” store, and he tells the story as evidence of the site’s animation as a quasi-believable environment.

Benji Bennington, an arts curator from the East-West Center in Honolulu who was the presenter for the cooking demonstration area, said the foodways stage turned into “a real kitchen.” Although they had meal tickets that allowed them to eat at the concessions for free, many Hawai‘i participants thought the food sold at the concessions was terrible and took to hanging around the back of the demonstration area when more delectable dishes were being prepared. Bennington remembered that on many occasions she had to shoo extra bodies out of the demonstration area, and on one occasion, she pointed out to the audience that the governor was “doing what we call cock-a-roaching,” stealing food from the back.⁴⁴ Beverly Simons, OFP coordinator for the foodways stage, remembered that cooks were very interested in each other’s cooking, and used the stage as a place to exchange recipes and observe techniques. Some, like Chinese participant and cookbook author June Tong, had several family members along who tended to congregate in the “kitchen.” Conceived of in terms of occupational and regional

⁴⁴ Jeanette “Benjie” Bennington, Personal interview 2002.

affinities, the foodways stage became very “communal” and was transposed from a demonstration area directed at audiences to an activity area directed toward participants, friends, and family behind the scenes.⁴⁵

Despite the organizers desire to produce authenticity, official rules and regulations put uncharacteristic restrictions on some of the participants’ activities—changing them from what they would be in a home environment and drawing a strict line between actual practice and performed reality. As I have mentioned, health department regulations did not permit the distribution of demonstration cooking to the public, so food could be seen and smelled but not eaten by visitors to the foodways stage or observers at the *lū‘au*. For Hawai‘i cooks who pride themselves on hospitality, this showing without sharing was antithetical to what they would do at home. Likewise, herbal healers could talk about herbal remedies but could not prescribe on the Mall. For Papa Auwe, a *lapa‘au* practitioner, or traditional Hawaiian healer, who could intuitively detect physical or psychological ailments, it was difficult to have to refuse to help people, especially since he believed his healing ability to be a spiritual gift and duty to be bestowed on others free of charge. Napoka recalled one day when cultural imperatives took precedence over Festival rules. On that day, one of the participants was so ill that she needed to leave the site and organizers were discussing sending her to the hospital. Papa Auwe looked at her and determined that she was severely constipated. He gave her something to take, she went back to the hotel, and she recovered completely by the next day.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Beverly Simons, July 17, 1989.

⁴⁶ Nathan. Interview with author Napoka, May 7, 2003.

Audiences and participants felt the non-presence of children as a gap in the program. The regulation that the participants not bring children, no doubt due to logistical and legal concerns, was particularly ironic given that so much of the Hawai'i program concept was hinged on the *'ohana* theme and that children are very present in Hawai'i celebrations. Furthermore, implicit in the Festival emphasis on traditional arts is a focus on intergenerational connections. Both the OFP and the participants had addressed this concern as best they could. Many of the participants had brought family members (adults) with them who became part of the Festival, and in cases of particularly frail participants, the OFP had paid for a family member to accompany and assist a presenter. One intergenerational family of dancers—the Zuttermeisters—performed *hula*. Visitors to the Mall still asked, “where are the kids?” One of the Hawaiians musicians grumbled about the Children’s activity area segregating the children when they should be integrated.⁴⁷ For participants and visitors, the lack of children created a glaring lack of authenticity.

Perhaps the most difficult factor to assess in any program constellation is visitors/tourists—who they are and how they respond to programs and participants. Yet, they are perhaps the most critical frames in Festival production since without them there is no event, no spectacle, and no dialogue. The OFP mission of educating the public allows for the promotion of traditional culture and the recognition of tradition bearers. The demography of audiences is difficult to determine since the event is free and in public space. The OFP is continually developing new tools for assessing audience response and audience profiles, but staff admits that so far they can only come up with random samplings. My own observation, shared by others, is that the majority of visitors

⁴⁷ Ricardo Trimillos, October 1, 2003.

to the Festival are white, well-off, well-traveled, well educated, and very interested. They include people who reside in the surrounding metropolis as well as domestic and international tourists.⁴⁸

Whether arriving from the surrounding streets or from the adjacent programs, visitors to the Hawai'i program first encountered the program by stepping through one of the four gates constructed as part of the site design: two Hawaiian gates, a *paniolo* gate, or a Japanese *tori* gate. However, unlike entries to a theme park, these gates did not mark a threshold between worlds of fantasy and reality. Instead, they invited visitors into a Brechtian set that evokes but does not constitute another temporal or physical zone. Instead, it is a mediated space and experience that constantly calls attention to its constructedness at the same time that real participants communicate their contemporaneity with that of the visitors. The Hawai'i program was a multi-sited ethnographic display, but unlike ethnographic displays of the past (such as the world's fairs) it was designed to be an intimate spectacle that was primarily interactive, and that would, wherever possible, invert the roles of viewers and viewed.

Rather than being educational curiosities, participants were given the role of educators. This role was reinforced by site design, presenters, and Festival literature. The most direct form of educational interactions took place at the foodways and narrative stages and at crafts and occupational demonstrations where dialogue could take place between visitors and participants. MacDonald, a retired educator, made an educational experience her definitive festival anecdote. She remembers a little girl who came to silently watch her make flower *lei*, then came back a week later to tell her that she could

⁴⁸ International programs tend to attract diaspora audiences as well.

do it herself. She had gone home and practiced what she had learned.⁴⁹ For many participants not used to being public figures, thinking of themselves as cultural authorities was daunting and sometimes transformative. The daughter of James Kealalakani He‘eu said her father, a taro farmer from Maui, was a silent man who would not be able to face a crowd of curious onlookers, much less describe what he did for a living. According to presenter and historian Nathan Napoka, however, once Mr. He‘eu was installed in his miniature taro patch on the Mall, “he blossomed.” He loved talking to people and had a sense of the importance of what he did for the first time.⁵⁰ His amazed daughter later jokingly asked Kennedy and Napoka, “What have you done to my father? He’s a changed man! He never used to talk at all and now he won’t stop!”⁵¹

Although organizers say that overall, presenters were delighted with the level of interest and knowledge expressed by visitors,⁵² identities were sometimes negotiated against a perceived lack of audience awareness. One presenter says that someone in the audience of a talkstory session asked if everyone in Hawai‘i lived in grass shacks, to which the annoyed presenter answered, “No, we live in trees!”⁵³ While it is hard to imagine such a question being serious and impossible to determine anything about its source, the fact that it has been remembered and retold indicates there was some sense of frustration amongst Hawai‘i people with a lack of information amongst visitors who had not traveled to Hawai‘i. Of course, misinformation is understandable given the primitivized tourist industry packaging of Hawai‘i and the erasure of non-indigenous

⁴⁹ McDonald. With slight variations, McDonald related this story in a festival video, in a report she gave to the OFP, and in an interview I conducted. My text comes from the interview.

⁵⁰ Nathan Napoka, Personal interview. May 7, 2003.

⁵¹ Kennedy.

⁵² Moriarty.

⁵³ Jay Junker, April 15, 2003.

populations. Hawai'i responses varied from patient instruction to opportunism and self-amusement at the expense of tourists. At the foodways stage, the presenter started several of the demonstrations sessions by asking how many people thought that the performers were Americans. She says that there was always a scanty show of hands.⁵⁴ We can surmise this was because the people onstage didn't look like what the audience expected, but other presenters fielded questions that demonstrated that many people still considered Hawai'i a foreign destination. Even parts of the Smithsonian committed this error, arguing with the OFP that Hawai'i was an international location rather than a domestic one.⁵⁵ Occasionally, participant responses to audiences were abrupt simply due to repetition, as when one participant snapped out at a visitor: "Whassa madda, you stupid? I just said that!" Napoka summed up the possibilities for frustration as, "You say something to 250 people, and then you look up and there's another 250 people. How many times can you say the same thing and still be fresh?"⁵⁶ Still, given the number of visitors that came through the program in its ten days on the Mall, the general assessment was that most visitors were well-informed and sincerely interested in learning from the participants at a level far beyond that of the stereotypical Hawai'i tourist.⁵⁷

The tactics which participants employed to deal with the ethnic labels utilized for the program demonstrate the slippage of such categories within the program and in Hawai'i. Some participants, like the Korean group that had to perform without one of its teachers (see chap. 2), were unhappy with what they saw as artificial constraints on ethnic categories and Festival roles, while other Hawai'i participants simply stepped over them.

⁵⁴ Jeanette "Benjie". Interview with author Bennington, November 17, 2002.

⁵⁵ Kennedy.

⁵⁶ Napoka.

⁵⁷ Trimillos.

One day a participant was sick, and Napoka, whose designated role was as a presenter, filled in as performer. His job was to demonstrate how to husk coconuts, something he had seen done many times.⁵⁸ He started a patter with the audience, but when he struck the coconut, nothing happened. He tried repeatedly, but the coconut remained embarrassingly intact. Finally, a Samoan man sprang out of the audience and said, “Gimme me that coconut!” and effortlessly broke it open. He then proceeded to husk several more. Napoka says he felt “really dumb,” but the crowd loved it, and he enjoyed the joke on himself, “He’d been doing it all his life. I had no interest in husking coconuts.” Of course, the audience had been fooled as well in this case as they had presumed that the scholar in front of them possessed traditional skills based only on his Native Hawaiian appearance. Whereas Freshley’s racial difference had been cited as a reason to disallow her from performing with her dance troupe, Napoka’s assumption that as far as the audience was concerned Native Hawaiians were interchangeable prompted him to transgress invisible boundaries between presenters and presented. His transposition was exposed only by his lack of the appropriate skills for the performance.

Other participants amused themselves and each other by playing off audience’s cultural ignorance; for example, one of the *ondotori*, or *bon* dance singers, already known for singing “Old Susannah” in *bon odori style*, exclaimed during a late night drinking session, “Listen, tomorrow I’m going to sing, “Old MacDonald Had a Farm, and no one is going to know!” He did, in fact, much amusing participants who had witnessed his proposal.⁵⁹ The *bon odori* provided ample opportunities for such jokes since the *yagura* was one of the most visible structures and the *bon odori* a daily participatory

⁵⁸ Husking is generally done by hitting the coconut against a spike set upright in the ground.

⁵⁹ Junker.

performance. In more than one style of *bon odori*, a *hayashi*, or caller, makes vocal interjections, and Robert Cato, *bon odori* singer from Kaua'i, recalls Rev. Pang playfully interjecting calls in Chinese, "just to throw [him] off."⁶⁰ When Chinese participants joined in the *bon odori*, they joked that the audience couldn't tell the difference anyway.⁶¹

Category-jumpers were not practicing situational ethnicity only to play with the mostly white visitors' ignorance and tendency to generalize about exotic others although they seem to have enjoyed that aspect immensely; they also crossed ethnic lines in ways that were in accord with practices at home. Lion dances, *hula*, and *bon odori* are familiar to people of various ethnicities, especially in small, rural communities. People of all ethnicities can and do study *hula* and other traditional arts. The temples which host *bon odori* invite outsiders and some encourage participation in all or some of the dances.⁶² Also, because many people hail from multiple ancestries, they are likely exposed to or curious about multiple cultural practices. For example, one Hawaiian *lei*-maker who was "a tiny part Chinese" became friends with the Rev. Pang and enthusiastically filled in on the gong accompanying the Chinese lion dance.⁶³ Hawai'i participants enacted the OFP paradigm of multiculturalism onstage while practicing a much more fluid interpretation amongst themselves. Not all category-jumping was ethnic—when Senator Akaka sang at one of the Hawaiian music sessions on the narrative stage, he was stepping out of his official role of politician for Hawai'i and into that of a different kind of Hawai'i delegate.

⁶⁰ Robert Cato, May 17, 2003.

⁶¹ Cato. Clayton Lum, Personal Interview May 19, 2003.

⁶² Judy and Damaris A. Kirchhofer Van Zile, "Bon Dancing in Hawaii: A Changing Tradition," *Honolulu*, November, 1981.

⁶³ Moriarty. According to Moriarty, he enjoyed himself so much that he has continued to help out whenever needed after returning to Hawai'i.

The “talkstory,” or narrative stage, held on the porch of the K. AWA storefront, presented a different kind of informality and intimacy from that of the demonstration areas where visitors could carry on conversations with the participants. Two to several participants sat in folding chairs on the stage/porch and talked with each other and the audience, and a presenter stood to one side to introduce and facilitate. The audience would sometimes be addressed and at other times have the experience of overhearing an impromptu and informal, albeit miked, jam session or conversation. They could also ask questions of the participants.⁶⁴ As previously noted, these sessions covered a range of topics that had been selected by the presenters, coordinators, and curator. The frames and the staging were far from spontaneous, and speakers were prompted by their presenters, but the sessions were not scripted and represented a genuine effort on the part of the OFP to invite participants to speak on traditional practices and related issues. Some of these sessions were mini-performances/demonstrations of musical practices or sessions of traditional storytelling. These were overtly directed at the audience. Some of them became comparative oral history sessions about immigration, plantation life, or learning a craft. A few were reserved for discussions of contemporary issues such as tourism, cultural revival, and access to natural resources. In some cases the talkstory stage elicited stories that might otherwise not have been told outside a family circle or at all and validated family and community histories, practices, and values, but in others it was treated more formally.

⁶⁴ The showcasing of narrative is a type of cultural display that is constantly being rethought at folklife festivals. At other festivals, placing informants face to face with the audience in an outer circle to the side or behind the conversation has been used as a way of better simulating a conversation as opposed to a performance facing of an audience.

The Festival ideal is to create a place where participants can tell their stories in their own words, in their own terms, to encourage “dialogue, not didacticism.”⁶⁵ The Smithsonian policy has been to not shy away from difficult topics on the narrative stage, and the Hawai‘i organizers had included, along with sessions on immigrant histories and traditions, several sessions on Tourism in Hawai‘i, and the Hawaiian renaissance, and one session called Haoles in Hawai‘i. Community and academic scholars participated in these sessions. While organizers and presenters seemed quite comfortable raising difficult topics, many of the more provocative questions raised by audience members in tourism sessions evidenced inside knowledge about Hawai‘i issues like Japanese investment and development. This might suggest that people from the Hawai‘i Society or even other participants were in the audience.

These topics and other topics were discussed quite candidly, but it is clear from the recordings that there was a certain amount of editing taking place in spite of the attempt to create an open environment for dialogue. In one tourism session, a person in the audience asked about Japanese tourists and a participant responded by saying they were better liked because they spend more money, are more respectful, and don’t stay as long. These are comments are openly made in Hawai‘i, but the Festival audience reacted defensively and the speaker covered her tracks. In another session, when issues of real estate inflation were raised, someone in the audience shot back with “then why do you sell your property?” The participant responded with “money talks” and an admission that if someone offered him a million dollars he might take it. At the session on Haoles in Hawai‘i, Puakena Nogelmeier, a European who teaches Hawaiian at the University of

⁶⁵ Richard Kurin, “Why We Do the Festival,” in *Festival of American Folklife Program Book, 1968-1997* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989), 14-15.

Hawai'i, gave an etymology of the term in which he suggested a connection to white-skinned pigs. When they ended the session, Kennedy and Martin sounded a more than a little apologetic in thanking the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau, "who didn't drop any strings on what they said on the stage." In at least one session on the Hawaiian Renaissance, the movement to stop military testing on the Hawaiian island of Kaho'olawe was brought up (by someone in the audience) and discussed. A presenter, Edward Kanahele, mentioned that one craftsman had used the Festival as his opportunity to tell Governor Waihee, "Stop the bombing, Governor!" The audience laughed, and one of the other presenters said, "That's nice, put the governor on the spot!" Kanahele responded with "Make him feel comfortable, like he never really left home. Yes, it's even happening over here!" He went on to tell any Canadians in the audience that their government was also involved and to pressure it to stop its participation.

The audience could laugh about the Governor, but the tourism talks apparently hit closer to home for former or future tourists. More than once an audience member asked why the discussants were so negative, and how they could complain about an industry that give them work and helps the economy. In one session, visitors asked what the solution was, but several were clearly not receptive when the answers had to do with limiting visitors. When session time was up and there was still tension in the air, the moderator concluded by saying, "that topic was somewhat disturbing" and trying to smooth it over with a joke about how Spam was traditional in Hawai'i. In this case both time and the audience were editing factors.

Participants self-edited onstage. McDonald remembers kicking her sister, Irmalee Pomeroy in a discussion about tourism, saying that she didn't agree with her opinions

about tourism, but making it clear that the dissent was a family matter, not one to be aired in front of a crowd. Some topics were subject to self-editing based on anticipated crowd response. In a session on Japanese in America, a participant talking about her own family mentioned the difference between the “katonks” (mainland Japanese Americans, refers to the sound an empty coconut makes when it hits the ground) and “Buddhaheads” (local term for Hawai‘i born Japanese). The speaker, realizing that the terms might be seen as offensive on the mainland, quickly covered over what she said. One elderly *lauhala* weaver who worked in a resort doing weaving demonstrations mentioned that she worried constantly that she will end up living on the beach since everything had gotten so expensive, then covered her tracks with a laugh and said that at least she had a job she enjoyed. Others responded to actual reactions. “Kindy” Sproat, a falsetto singer from the Big Island, made a jovial comment onstage about *paniolo* “working all day and then going home to beat their wives.” According to Jay Junker, the presenter for the stage, “You could see the crowd gasp,” and Sproat quickly self-analyzed and self-edited. As Junker said, “I never heard him say that again!”⁶⁶ What these anecdotes suggest is that for all its seeming informality and invitation to speak freely, in fact, limitations of time, assigned topics, cultural constraints and a heightened sense of place and occasion make in depth discussion of controversial topics highly unlikely.

We can only wonder to what extent the felt presence of the Smithsonian frame influenced the degree to which people felt they could speak freely or present subjects of conflict. There were many reasons for people onstage not to bring up controversial subjects. Okamura argues that the appropriation and constant evocation of “the spirit of *aloha*” by local government and the tourist industry effectively serve to suppress dissent

⁶⁶ Junker.

in Hawai'i.⁶⁷ Many people in Hawai'i cite a cultural style, based both in Hawaiian and Asian values, in which reticence and indirectness in social situations is highly valued, and many *haole* from elsewhere are seen as *maha'oi*, overly probing, direct, and aggressive.⁶⁸ It seems particularly ironic that *kumu* discussed onstage that the traditional way of teaching for Hawaiians was the "shut your mouth school of learning," marking a clear contrast between the direct style of Festival education and the Hawaiian one being discussed. For the majority of performers, being a part of such an impressive production was an honor and they responded as cordial and cooperative guests to the opportunity for recognition, delighted to have their State and ethnic group recognized in the nation's capitol. Some even asked, "why did it take so long?"⁶⁹

Program definitions seem to have been most contested by musicians who had worked professionally and had a degree of self-confidence about their identities and their material that preceded and did not agree with the folklife paradigm. This is understandable given the public nature of what they do and may even be an additional reason why Festival organizers prefer to work with musicians who have not worked professionally nor had much public recognition. Musicians who were used to playing a variety of musics felt restricted; for example, the Puerto Rican musicians were unhappy that the folklife definitions had made it necessary for them to eliminate their popular salsa

⁶⁷ Jonathan Y. Okamura, "The Illusion of Paradise: Privileging Multiculturalism in Hawai'i," in *Making Majorities*, ed. Dru Gladney (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

⁶⁸ A local culture worker defined it this way to me in an e-mail: "There's a Hawaiian word "*maha'oi*" which is the opposite of humble, sort of when you go into someone's house as a guest for the first time, unless you're *maha'oi*, most people won't go looking into closets, helping themselves to the fridge and putting your feet up on the sofa etc. You sorta should "behave yourself." Well use the house as a metaphor for the islands and the guest as the *haoles* and you got what a *maha'oi* person can be as opposed to a sensitive person.

⁶⁹ Ruiz.

repertoire.⁷⁰ The Filipino musicians, instructed to play “pure” Filipino music, sang film songs in Tagalog—traditional as far as non-Tagalog speakers knew.⁷¹ For musicians used to creating and holding audience rapport, the time limitations of the Festival program seemed truncated and arbitrary. Ray Kane, a very talented slack key guitarist who had recently received a National Heritage Fellowship Award, got on stage and refused to get off. The more he was urged by the time-conscious stage managers, the more he ignored them and asked the appreciative crowd “Do you want to hear one more?” Kane, evidently caught up in the crowd’s enthusiasm and his newly acquired status as a national treasure, proclaimed, “I’m a living legend!” Meanwhile, the stage manager/presenter was being reprimanded for not clearing the stage according to the strict Festival time schedule.⁷²

One incident in particular, which spans the Honolulu and Washington, D.C. locations, illustrates a tension between institutional directives and participant views of acceptable repertoire. In Honolulu, some of the Hawaiian musicians had rehearsed in a space in the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa Department of Music, and because the musicians enjoyed playing together, these sessions could be quite spontaneous and experimental. They were playing “chang-a-lang” music one day, when Martin came in and told them that the rule for the Festival was to stick to music in Hawaiian and, to be safe, not to play any music after 1924. They smiled and agreed, but Auntie Vi was heard to say after Martin was gone, “They can kiss my ass! I’ve been playing for sixty years so

⁷⁰ Richard Kennedy, 1993.8.

⁷¹ Trimillos.

⁷² Junker.

don't tell me what's Hawaiian and what's not!"⁷³ She may have been concerned that veteran Waikiki performers like Violet Liliko'i would veer off into Waikiki entertainment mode and undermine the program objective of representing traditional rather than commercialized material.

Once in Washington, this rule provided a point of resistance for the Hawaiian musicians from Honolulu, and to protest the arbitrary date that they had been given as a cutoff, they played songs in Hawaiian that had been composed much later. One day they played a popular 1940's *hapa-haole* song called "Going to the Hukilau," and their stage manager/presenter was reprimanded with the "no *hapa-haole* music" rule. According to him, the musicians were quite aware of the rule but the song had been played in response to a Hawaiian *kumu* who asked for songs in English, and they responded to what they considered a higher authority than the program coordinators.⁷⁴ What this anecdote illustrates, both in terms of its actual content and its retention as a moral tale a decade plus later, is that although the actual performance of the program may have appeared seamless to the public, it was in fact a site of contestation and negotiation. In this incident, which moved from Hawai'i per-performance to D.C. performance, there was dissent not only about what constituted traditionality for a particular community, but about who could or should define both traditionality and ethnicity in the national arena. Martin, Kennedy, and Moriarty, understandably (and for different reasons) wanted to counteract past cultural compromise by showing America a Hawaiianness

⁷³ I have heard two slightly different versions of this story. Mine is a composite. The two accounts of this incident I've heard vary in terms of the cutoff date. No one is certain whether the rule was said to have come down from the Smithsonian. It may have been a case of blaming the Smithsonian, since Kennedy says that it is not the kind of rule the Smithsonian would make. My feeling is that the fact that the story has become part of the Hawai'i folklore of the festival attests to its validity in terms of testing the Festival frames. Ibid, Trimillos.

⁷⁴ Junker.

uncontaminated by the taint of tourism—one that had survived in private and had meaning in local settings. At the same time, the arbitrary boundaries imposed by the program’s culture brokers were not necessarily ones these savvy performers, familiar with tourist venues as well as informal settings, always found meaningful or valid.⁷⁵

Back and Behind the Scenes

The staged cultural displays and demonstrations comprised a spectacle for the public, but for many participants the most memorable part of the festival happened outside the public eye, in the back regions: in the hotel and beyond. In a program installation that was primarily composed of what MacCannell refers to as “staged back regions,” areas designed to appear unstructured and accessible, there was minimal backstage on the actual festival site. There was only one fenced staff and participant area that was off limits to the public—for the Hawai‘i program it was called the Pu‘uho‘omaha, or place of rest. Otherwise, the “backstage” was relegated to anyplace out of hearing, out of view, or beyond the understanding of spectators. Beyond where tourists were made to feel they had entered into real people’s lives, there were pockets of reality in the wings to which tourists and even the organizers were not privy.

Occasionally, these moments happened under the noses of OFP officials. One presenter remembers Alan Lomax, a well-known folklorist active in creating many public programs, putting his arm around Ray Kane and introducing him to another academic as “my slack-key player.” According to the presenter, the musician “shuffled his feet and ‘yes-sirred’ him, but when Lomax walked away, Kane turned and said “What an

⁷⁵ For a thoughtful insider discussion of the role of culture brokers, see Richard Kurin, *Reflections of a Culture Broker* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997).

asshole!’” This incident strongly suggests a dual consciousness in which the musician chose to comply with, without buying into, official expectations for dealing with institutional representatives.

The most obvious “offstage” arena was the city itself. Considerable preparation time and concern was devoted to making sure that participants could safely and efficiently get around in Washington, D.C. and to minimize culture shock for people coming from radically different environments. To this end, participants were provided with maps and city information, as well as a series of accompanied outings. As Hawai‘i coordinator and a friend, Moriarty was especially concerned about the culture shock that the participants from the island of Ni‘ihau might undergo since some of them had never even been to Honolulu and most of them were from a rural and isolated cultural environment. What actually happened when they got to Washington, D.C. illustrates how resourceful they really were. The women, says, Moriarty, were the first to learn how to use the Metro: “They all had these big wide feet, and they found the black part of town and bought all kinds of shoes. They must have gone back with a hundred pairs of shoes.”⁷⁶ The truth is that organizers could have no idea how people would operate on their own. Many participants had been to Washington, D.C. before or had family there. For these people, the Festival period was another kind of experience in off hours, one conducted on their own terms. For instance, Chauncey Pa, a participant from Kaua‘i who was demonstrating fishing and net-throwing techniques, decided while he was in town to take his son with him to visit an old friend. The friend had attended Occidental College with Pa and worked for the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. Pa, who had been “the most comfortable person on the site,” because he performed in a

⁷⁶ Moriarty.

bathing suit most of the time, donned an aloha shirt, shorts, and rubber slippers and was ready to go to the HUD office. Moriarty was horrified and told him he couldn't go like that, but he insisted on Hawai'i casual being appropriate for visiting an old friend even if he did work in a government office in Washington.⁷⁷

Offstage, the ethnic categories of the Festival were reconfigured into other groups. Participants tended to "hang out" by island rather than ethnic group, and then when it came time to go to the site, they re-sorted themselves back into ethnic categories for the purposes of the Festival.⁷⁸ New and old friends were a large part of the off-stage scene. People from the Hawai'i Society came to the hotel with coolers of food and partied with the participants. Family members from the mainland joined the participants for meals and stayed at the hotel.⁷⁹ The number of participants who had family members living in the Washington area pointed to a major omission in the program's demographics and themes, one that was mentioned a few times on the narrative stages: the loss of young people to the mainland due to lack of jobs and inflated cost of living in Hawai'i. Also visible offstage but not onstage were diasporic Hawaiians and other former residents of the islands. The program focus on "a sense of place" rendered out-migration invisible, along with its causes.⁸⁰

Sometimes the behind-the-scenes overtook the front stage, as in the case of the disappearing Spam. In order to make it appear authentic, The K. AWA general store had shelves stocked with various local foods such as rice, kim chee, and Spam—the infamous

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Trimillos.

⁷⁹ Moriarty.

⁸⁰ For an in-depth look at Hawaiian diaspora and its identity issues, see Rona Tamiko Halualani, *In the Name of Hawaiians: Native Identities and Cultural Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

canned ham that had arrived with American GI's and stayed on to become a favorite island food amongst the working class.⁸¹ At scheduled times of day, groups of presenters would appear on the narrative stage to talkstory. Every night the stock of Spam in the “store” went down. Every night there was a feast at the hotel in what became unofficially known as the “Ho‘opi‘i Café” or “Club Ho‘opi‘i.” When the stage manager was quizzed about this mystery by the festival staff, he was elusive and said, “It’s a store—stock is supposed to go up and down.”⁸² Moriarty remembers how she found out about this:

By the fifth day, every morning the fire alarm would go on . . . you’d be up in the morning, getting ready to go downstairs to get started with the Festival . . . and the fire alarm would go on and you’d have to go downstairs, everybody had to vacate the building. . . . and there were a number of high school groups staying in this hotel . . . I think most of us looked at these high school kids thinking, some little jokester pulled the fire alarm and thinks this is funny. Well, the first day it was one thing, then it happened three or four other times, and I think I complained to the hotel . . . the high school kids are playing around, maybe you should talk to the counselor . . . Well, as it turns out, the reason the fire alarm was going off was because the Ho‘opi‘i’s and Violet Liliko‘i and the Maui group every morning had their two big electric skillets that they brought with them . . . they had their rice cookers and they were frying up Portuguese sausage with eggs and rice! And you know, Portuguese sausage with all that oil makes a lot of smoke and was setting off the fire alarms!⁸³

By turning their hotel room into a gathering place, the Ho‘opi‘is took the national party indoors and re-localized it—the guests of the Smithsonian, who were required to act as hosts to Festival visitors, set themselves up as hosts to Hawai‘i participants.

Another skirmish began onstage but unfolded offstage. At a *hula* performance, Ray Kane confronted Noenoelani Zuttermeister, the *kumu hula*, asking why they were

⁸¹ For example, Spam *masubi*, a snack made of a block of sushi rice and a slab of Spam wrapped with *nori* (seaweed) is ubiquitous in Hawai‘i—yet another example of Hawaiianization of a mainland import. It is worth remembering that imported foods such as white rice and Spam have greatly contributed to the alarming health statistics amongst the poor in Hawai‘i, especially native Hawaiians.

⁸² Junker.

⁸³ Moriarty.

performing “devil songs” when everyone knew that Hawaiians were all good Christians. This challenge was shocking to others who all respected Zuttermeister and understood Kane’s behavior as an infraction of protocol and manners. Soon no one was speaking to either Kane or his wife Elodia. Seeing them sitting alone at a meal and picking up on the tension, Kennedy became concerned enough to talk to Papa Auwe, who had become the unofficial *kahuna*, or respected elder, amongst the Hawai‘i participants. Papa Auwe, at Kennedy’s request, gathered the Hawaiians together and told them that in Washington they were all ‘*ohana* and must behave accordingly. In this incident, the imagined community of Hawaiians that had constellated at the Festival acted on principle by shunning someone who had transgressed their unwritten rules; however, an OFP prompt forced it to overlook behavior that it had found objectionable and to suspend the discipline it had applied on its own in the interests of group harmony.

As a direct result of being “the other” in Washington, there were internal debates about identity and the formation of new alliances, many of which continued past the Smithsonian experience. Again, due to numbers and internal diversity, the majority of these took place amongst Native Hawaiians. People from different islands, rural and urban environments, political alliances, educational levels, and occupations had come together in a common intensive experience, a pressure cooker that was bound to create moments of bonding as well as tensions. Debates about who was more Hawaiian and more authentic took place. The *hālau* from Lana‘i wanted to know why everyone from O‘ahu and the Big Island were making such a big deal of *hula kahiko*, or ancient *hula*,

when they, who considered themselves the most Hawaiian of all due to isolation and perpetuation of the language, didn't perform it themselves.⁸⁴

While the rituals conducted in performance might be seen to secularize sacred practices for the sake of edutainment, there were rituals conducted offstage that served very different purposes. Two of them involved Mr. Cato, the Japanese *bon odori* drummer who emerged as a sort of comic genius. Cato is a self-proclaimed heavy drinker whose alcohol consumption became legendary at Festival. He carried a flask with him on the Festival grounds (he said it was beer, but one of the Japanese dancers insisted it was sake) and collected drink tickets from anyone who wasn't using them. Several people remembered seeing Cato with strings of tickets draped around his neck. Moriarty recalled one night in the hotel ballroom where participants from the four programs gathered, an inebriated Cato got interested in a nearby table full of Indians:

After the first day of the Festival, we all sit down and we're going to have a little program, and this tiny little Japanese man—must be all of 5'4"—with no teeth, goes up to these HUGE Indian guys, who look a bit formidable to us, who've never really seen or had much interaction with native American Indians—goes up to about seven of them at this big table and they're BIG—and he goes right up to them and he says HOW (fingers raised in a "V")—and we were looking at them...and they said How! C'mere! Sit down! And this Japanese guy and these Indians became the best friends. He got them every day during his time slot when they had the *bon* dances—he got the American Indians to come over and dance around the *yagura* with the *bon* dancers.

Moriarty said she thought, "uh oh, there's going to be a racial incident."⁸⁵ Cato's version of this story is slightly different. He said that an Indian came over to him and said "Your drum is bigger than mine," and Cato replied, "It's calling you."⁸⁶ Either way, the result

⁸⁴ Trimillos.

⁸⁵ Moriarty.

⁸⁶ Cato.

was an alliance and Cato being befriended by a group of Indians. Later, Cato was made an honorary tribal member by a chief and given the name "Walking Eagle." When someone yelled, "Hey, I thought eagles could fly!" the Indian's reply was, "Not this eagle!" Cato was also the subject of a Chinese ritual. Pang performed a Taoist ritual for Cato's birthday, which occurred over July 4th. Cato remembers only that horseflies were biting his legs, and he was told to stand still. When he complained, Pang jokingly told him that the pain was good for him.

Amongst participants, characters like Robert Cato and the Ho'opi'i brothers emerged as much from behind the scenes as they did from the stage. Not everyone stayed up late for jam sessions in the ballroom or dined in the "Ho'opi'i cafe." But most everyone drifted through, and camaraderie was born of proximity and shared experience. Even some of the oldest members of the group participated. Samuel Kamaka, *ukulele* maker, and what Moriarty refers to as a "a real gentleman," stayed up late every night with his tape recorder in hand because he was so excited about all the music being informally played that he said he "didn't want to miss anything."⁸⁷ Aunty Esther Makua'ole, in her seventies, happily flirted with the men and although she was lost on more than one occasion in the elevator, seemed blithely unconcerned.⁸⁸ A few, like the *hula* dancers, apparently had little time to socialize.⁸⁹

Occupational alliances dominated the participant exchanges within and between programs. The musicians jammed in the lobby and the ballroom of the hotel and their rooms. Offstage they could play whatever they wanted, and what they chose to play was often not the repertoire they played on the Festival site; rather, it included the modern, the

⁸⁷ Moriarty.

⁸⁸ Sherlin Beniamina, May 11, 2003.

⁸⁹ Kamuela Chun, Personal Interview May 1, 2003.

popular, and the cross-cultural.⁹⁰ Craftspeople discussed their materials and techniques, learning from each other. Ni'ihau shell *lei* makers and Indian beadworkers recognized similarities in each others' fine detail work and gifted each other with shell *lei* and beaded hats.⁹¹ *Kumu hula* and voodoo priestesses debated traditional beliefs, power, and rituals.⁹² Behind the scenes, what could not be shared at the Festival due to health code regulations could be freely distributed. No health codes were applied to the hotel hospitality that went on between rooms. Papa Auwe's reputation as a healer quickly spread amongst the participants of the Hawai'i and other programs and soon a line formed at the door to his room in the hotel. Some of those seeking his help did not speak English, but they came from cultural traditions in other parts of the world that respected herbal healing.⁹³ Reverence was mixed with irreverence, and sometimes alliances were made through mutual commiseration. An organizer had at one point admonished some of the Hawai'i presenters with, "Go see the Indians. Now that is real culture!" indicating that the Indian performances were successfully representing a spiritual sensibility in their cultural practices, a combination that she apparently saw as a benchmark toward which the Hawai'i program should aspire. Offstage, however, some of the Indians who were hanging out in Club Ho'opi'i were reported to be complaining about what they had to do, "saying it was all an act and a load of crap."⁹⁴

Both on and off of the Festival site, participants constellated in newly imagined communities that crossed ethnic boundaries. Unlike the program concept, which had divided people by ethnicity and re-clumped them through the alleged historical

⁹⁰ Ho'opi'i.

⁹¹ Moriarty.

⁹² Napoka.

⁹³ Napoka.

⁹⁴ Junker.

experience of their ancestors, these constellations formed around similarities in cultural practices and shared personal histories. Although there were certainly aberrations like Mr. Cato, it appears that most Asians made their closest alliances with other Asians, while Hawaiians by island and with the Indians. This is not too surprising given that at the pre-festival meeting of all the participants in 1989, when Ralph Rinzler, founder and former director of the OFP, had asked all of the participants hold hands and sing Woody Guthrie's classic "This Land is Our Land," the Indians were overheard to be singing 'This land was our land, you took it from us . . .'.⁹⁵ This kind of covert resistance, along with on and offstage opportunities to compare similar issues must have resonated for politically some Native Hawaiians.

Conclusion

Richard Kurin has said, "ideals have a way of becoming reality."⁹⁶ The experiences of Hawai'i program performers provide glimpses into the disjunctions between the Hawai'i program ideals and the actual experience of the participants and others, as well as illuminating some of the moments in which the ideals did, indeed, become reality. Despite its evocations of lived experience, the Hawai'i program was much more of a utopian experiment in the sense that it compressed Hawai'i pluralism and history into a single site and moment. In speaking about street parades, Susan Davis points out, the notion of public culture is itself based on an ideal:

The domain in which public performances take place must be viewed as structured and contested terrain, rather than as a neutral field or empty frame for social action, and the public nature of street parades should be analyzed rather than assumed. The institutions, practices, behaviors, space

⁹⁵ Junker.

⁹⁶ Kurin.

and places we call the public sphere include the very idea that there can and should exist social interaction open and accessible to the widest popular participation and influence.⁹⁷

The Mall is a nationalized version of the public street, and what happens within it seems democratized precisely because of its privileged location in the ultimate national public space.

Much analysis of festival/public culture concentrates on what is seen by the public; the Hawai'i program demonstrates that this was not the only locus of meaning. In fact, much of what festival performers found memorable about the Festival happened out of the public eye altogether. Based on interviews, I have argued that the careful orchestrations of the festival provided convincing illusions of authenticity for audiences while its spatial, logistical, and ideological edges prompted participants to transgress its boundaries and to subvert festival limitations. Carnavalesque spontaneity and inversion did erupt at the festival, instigated by participants, but in the program's seams much more than onstage. Whereas the fieldwork and production phases of the festival had homogenized pluralism into an institutional counter-narrative of cultural harmony expressed as creolization and cultural resurgence, the festival actually became multi-vocal only in the sum of its parts. In its totality—front, back, and offstage, as well as context—it embodied conflict, negotiation, and community in forms that eluded cooptation, for the most part, by either the tourist or the ethnographic gaze. In conceptual form, the program paradigm existed as an abstract ideal that was actually experienced by audience and participants in fragments, never holistically as it was designed; it was,

⁹⁷ Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), 12.

instead, a multi-sited production whose shape was morphing moment by moment in relation to its frames as well as in response to human interaction in its various zones.

My reconstruction of the Hawai'i program from archival evidence and memories might be seen as fragmentary on the one hand, and over-determined on the other. After all, performers, staff, and visitors experienced the program in a way very different from how it was designed, as an conceptual whole. Nor would it have been possible to experience it holistically. On the ground, the Festival was for everyone there a fragmentary journey filled with chance encounters, cameo appearances, and moments of insight, connection, entertainment, and education. Adding the performance phase to the earlier questions of what was selected and omitted, and how Hawai'i culture was repackaged, have been appended by the questions of what was and was not seen. Participants themselves, most of them present on the site for a full ten days in 1989, have random memories that underscore the piecemeal nature of such an event. Like those who came to see Hawai'i, they were tourists in Washington, D.C. and at the Festival. Fourteen years later, they remember random cameos: a member of the audience falling into a trance at the voodoo stage, the surprise birth of the buffalo calf, fireworks on the 4th of July. Audiences were critical to Festival production, but they seem to have been peripheral, in most cases, to participant experiences and meaning-making. The participants with whom I spoke, however, are united in saying that they felt well tended and respected while under the care of the Smithsonian. The festival conceptualization, selection, and design processes had been orchestrated to impose harmony on cacophony through thematic linkages, spatial design, and textual productions, but performance takes on a life of its own. Cantwell and others, when referring to what happens once the plans,

the participants, the audience, the site, the weather, and the fates come together and combust, can find no more appropriate word than "magic."⁹⁸ And if by magic we mean the slight of hand and well-pattered illusion that stir us to believe the unlikely, then magic it most certainly is. And beyond craft and illusion, there is real magic that can, and sometimes, does, occur--the ineffability of festiveness, the forging of new communities, empowerment and understanding. Ideals have a way of becoming reality.

Many of the performers who went to the festival developed a new sense of themselves and of their cultural capital. Participants experienced personal and community gains that should not be dismissed. What the anecdotal evidence surrounding the Hawai'i program suggests is that the radical juxtapositions of the festival may provide for re-definitions of community that transgress assigned categories. The OFP prefers to think of the Festival as dialogic rather than didactic; however, the insertion of a dialogic model of ethnographic display into national space is in itself didactic. In addition to serving as an ethical and aesthetic model, the festival is clearly a contact zone in which multiple discourses collide and coincide. As Stanley says about Pacific performers that "the question that remains at the end of the day is, who will come to own the script?"⁹⁹ If the disappeared frames of the Hawai'i program are brought back into focus, the Hawai'i program must be reassessed as a partial image with tremendous power to impart partial understandings.

⁹⁸ See Robert Cantwell, "Feasts of Unnaming: Folk Festival and the Representation of Folklife," in *Public Folklore*, ed. Robert Baron and Nicholas R. Spitzer (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992).

⁹⁹ Stanley, *Being Ourselves for You: The Global Display of Cultures.*, 112.

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Figure 8. Waimea Church Choir singing Hīmeni choral music



Figure 9. Chauncey Pa demonstrating net throwing

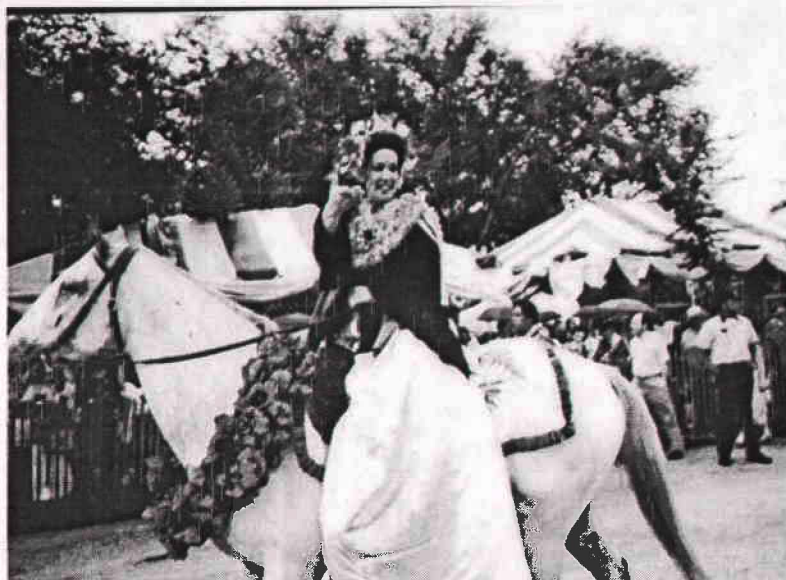


Figure 10. Pā'u rider in Festival parade



Figure 11. Gov. and Mrs. Waihee in parade. (Senator Akaka in second car.)



Figure12. Senator Akaka in parade (in the rain)



Figure 13. Hawaiian musicians on porch of K.AWA store (narrative stage)

CHAPTER 5

RESTAGING AND AFTER: THE FESTIVAL LEGACY

The essence of the carnivalesque is that one cannot tell male from female, rich from poor, black from white: those differences, ordinarily so crucial, do not matter for the duration of the carnival. Everything is freer there, everything is possible. But carnivals do not last. And the interpenetration of third and first world is not just festive. Behind the festivities are social and economic facts we should not forget.

Marianna Torgovnik, *Gone Primitive*

A STATE OF EMERGENCY EXISTS IN REGARD TO THE SURVIVAL, THE WELL-BEING, AND THE STATUS OF THE NATIVE HAWAIIAN PEOPLE ON THE ONE HAND AND THE NEAR EXTINCTION OF THE PRECIOUS AND FRAGILE ENVIRONMENT ON THE OTHER.

The 1989 Hawai'i Declaration of the Hawai'i Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism Conference

In the summer of 2003, I traveled to Waimea, Kaua'i to meet some of the surviving members of the Waimea Hawaiian Church Choir who had performed hīmeni choral music at the Festival. When I arrived at the house of Miriam Kaleipua Pahulehua, a crowd of relatives was busily tending an *imu* across the dirt road while the elders sat and enjoyed the shade. Soon after I had introduced my companion and myself, Miriam invited us to her grandson's wedding the next day. The wedding was held in the tiny Waimea Hawaiian Church, and the reception *lū'au* was held down the road in a park near the beach. It was a huge event with, in addition to an endless spread of food, a performance by a Sonny Ching's *hālau hula* from the Big Island, an appearance by a popular local band, and a local radio performer as the master of ceremonies. At the

wedding we had noticed two underdressed *haole* with cameras, a tripod, and a microphone, looking even more out of place than we felt. They reappeared at the reception, so we assumed that they had been hired to film the event until the MC brought them to everyone's attention. "Hey everybody!" he said, "We got folks here from the Smithsonian taking pictures! They're researching *lū'au* all across the nation, so when they come around with the camera, you better smile big! You never know—you might end up in National Geographic!" Later we talked to the embarrassed photographers who explained that they were actually from a nearby town and doing a feature for a local TV station. While my inclusion in the festivities certainly speaks to rural Hawaiian hospitality, the razzing of the would be ethnographers at the wedding and the MC's conflation of the Smithsonian and National Geographic say a great deal about the naturalization of outsider observation in Hawaiian cultural practices. Would he have made such a joke, I mused, before the 1989 Hawai'i program at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival?

Although most visitors and scholars focus on the Festival itself, or portions thereof, the Office of Folklife Programs (OFP) envisions the festival-making process as a catalyst, not an end in itself. Advocating cultural preservation, the OFP encourages local sponsorship to pick up where the Festival leaves off. The literature cites successful post-Festival programs at the local level, but OFP directors admit this ideal is not always predictable. This chapter traces the aftermath of the Hawai'i program to look at its legacy on several levels—local and national, institutional and personal—and at the various forms in which it was transported back into a local context—performance, film, follow-up projects, and memory. Along the way it raises a number of questions about

Festival after-effects. How did the Smithsonian living museum philosophy and methods translate into a Hawai‘i socioscape many residents claimed was still operating under “plantation mentality” and where the tourist industry continues to package a, “soft savagery” image of native culture for tourist consumption?¹ How did the Smithsonian use its own power to negotiate asymmetries of power between Hawai‘i’s peoples and between Hawai‘i and the rest of the nation? What happened in the transference of responsibility from national to state institutions? What effect, if any, did it actually have on cultural preservation programs and policy in Hawai‘i and what are the implications on a larger scale? These larger issues of ethnographic authority and historiography were played out a local level in the Festival’s aftermath. I argue that beyond its time-bound performance, the Hawai‘i program provided an ongoing means of production and reproduction, but that its ramifications at the local level were less predictable because they were subject to local politics and conditions.

Local Celebrities and the Festival Afterglow

The Smithsonian’s considerable ethnographic authority created a palpable afterglow for participants. Along with other federally funded cultural agencies like the NEA, the Festival legitimized and made cultural celebrities of participants, albeit on a small scale. During and immediately after the Festival, local newspapers sported photos and stories about the local residents who had performed on the Mall. Many participants returning to Hawai‘i had a new sense of their cultural capital after being legitimized by

¹ This term comes from Houston Wood’s *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai‘i*. New York and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999, 103-121.

their Festival experience.² While some tradition bearers were already known within their own communities, most of them had not previously been recognized beyond them, and for other participants, the Festival was the first public recognition that they had ever received for their skills.

Several Hawai‘i people had previously been recognized by national arts agencies in the capitol. For instance, Kau‘i Zuttermeister, a *kumu hula*, her daughter Noenoelani, and granddaughter Hao‘oli, had danced *hula* in the 1984 festival program called the Grand Generation, which had focused on intergenerational transmission of folklife. Pualani Kanako‘ole, *kumu hula* and educator, had participated with Lynn Martin in the 1988 Festival program marking the American Folklore Society Centennial. She and Martin were part of a Festival experiment in presenting folklorists and the people they study as equal partners in dialogue. Kennedy jokingly referred to it as exhibiting “folklorists and their catch.”³ Three traditional artists from Hawai‘i —Emily Kau‘i Zuttermeister, *kumu hula*; Meali‘i Kalama, quiltmaker; Raymond Kane, slack-key guitarist; and Clyde “Kindy” Sproat, falsetto singer and musician—had previously been recipients of the National Heritage Fellowship (NHF) Awards, an award based on recommendations by culture brokers and scholars knowledgeable about particular traditions. By 1996, six more Hawai‘i artists would have received this prestigious award—all of them former Festival participants.⁴ At the 1989 Festival, the Hawai‘i NHF Award winners had been showcased as exemplary cultural practitioners, valorizing their expertise and styles in front of their peers as well as a national audience.

² Ricardo Trimillos, October 1, 2003.

³ Richard Kennedy, Notes, 1988.

⁴ Marie McDonald—*lei-making* (1990), Seisho “Harry” Nakasone—Okinawan music (1991), Pualani Kanako‘ole and Nalani Kanako‘ole—*hula* (1993) Solomon and Richard Ho‘opi‘i—Hawaiian music (1994), Genoa “Auntie Genoa” Keawe—Hawaiian music (2000).

While these artists were indeed deserving of recognition, some local culture brokers and traditional arts practitioners point out that the sort of canonization involved in a NHF award and Festival selection has sometimes had the detrimental effect of elevating persons in communities that have customarily not prized individual styles over community aesthetics. Once recognized as National Heritage Fellows, tradition bearers were assured of being on the permanent "A" list for future Smithsonian appearances that might require a Hawai'i representation. Whether or not celebrity status was merited or not was sometimes a covert but contentious issue in the home environment. As one culture broker in Hawai'i, who prefers to remain anonymous, said:

Culture brokers create situations where opportunity and status is assigned to the cultural practitioners that "market" themselves the best. Once someone gets into the loop, it becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy . . . Kimo does a workshop for the museum, someone writes an article on it, a teacher sees article and hires Kimo to do a talk at the school, a TV crew is on hand at the school, a non-profit org. sees Kimo on TV and thinks he's the expert they need for their festival and when someone comes into town and asks who's the best, we all say in unison: "Kimo" da guy does all kine festivals, and workshops . . . the western world annointed Kimo, when in actuality the museum workshop was the first one he ever did and he was just a newbie. Meanwhile, unbeknownst to the western world, Kimo's teacher's teacher keeps the tradition alive for those who really know. By now Kimo has developed a "shtick" and is quite good . . . does the culture circuit for a living like those motivational speakers. In his native culture, Kimo's rise to fame would never have happened.

This hypothetical anecdote might be applied to a pivotal irony of the Festival; while folklife is defined by its community authorship and its ability to endorse community values, beliefs, and aesthetics, institutional recognition imposes a system of meritocracy. The usual complaint against celebratizing individuals is generally not a judgment that those being recognized are lacking in artistic merit; rather, it asserts that traditional practices, such as *hula* or *paniolo*, vary from place to place and insists that one style is

not necessarily superior to another. Some local culture workers point out that the merit system upends the natural horizontal proliferation of cultural practices by legitimizing one lineage over others or crediting certain teachers while overlooking others.⁵ At issue is not just the question of whose cultural authority is the final arbiter of excellence, but also whether a merit system fits a community ethos. A related issue is that for the purpose of administering public programs, institutional perspectives tend to flatten many small communities into conglomerates. Hawai'i folklife practices vary over several islands, and although the Festival staff had tried to represent the diversity of styles in the islands and to represent Hawai'i as multi-regional, for budgetary reasons the selection had to remain limited. Three *hula* variations had been represented out of somewhere between one hundred and fifty and two hundred *hālau hula*.⁶ For other traditions, the program had only been able to choose representatives of one community to represent a diversified group or tradition, with the after-effect that one style was legitimized over others. This sort of celebrity-making and style validation was bound to leave some individuals and groups disgruntled.

Selective Documentation

Tensions between the linked issues of cultural authority and cultural celebrities were played out in conflicts over visual Festival documentation. Two local firms went to Washington to document the Hawai'i program on video. Juniroa Productions, a Hawai'i based documentary film company founded by Heather Guigni and Esther Figueroa and that has produced an impressive array of local films, contracted with the State of Hawai'i

⁵ This view was expressed to me in several conversations with four different Hawai'i culture workers.

⁶ Teri Skillman Interview with author, May 3, 2002.

to film the Hawai'i program.⁷ Guigni's proposal stated the principle goal of their film would be to bring the Festival home for the Festival participants and the people of Hawai'i. To this end, Guigni and Lurline MacGregor, her partner on the project, hoped to air the final product on local television. The SFCA planned to distribute it to participants, schools, and libraries.⁸ Juniroya proposed to interview participants before, during and after the Festival, but when they finally received approval for their proposal, it was too little and too late for such an ambitious plan. They had to shrink their project to half of their requested budget and a shorter video format that would cover only a portion of the Festival itself.⁹ Festival Director Diana Parker at the Office of Folklife Programs (OFP) had met with Guigni and stressed that her first imperative should be to devise a way to film all of the participants, despite budget and time constrictions.¹⁰ Juniroya's contract, however, expressly stated that they retained the right to make artistic decisions about format and editing, so they chose to follow their own directives. This choice laid the groundwork for a dispute centered on issues of ethnographic authority and control over Festival imaging and historiography.

Based on their filming of the Hawai'i program in 1989, Juniroya produced a 24-minute video called *Celebrating Hawai'i's Cultures*. It opens with a *lauhala* mat filling the screen, and centered on the mat is what appears to be a photograph held by corner mounts. Superimposed on the mat, across the top and left sides of the photograph, is a small graphic image repeated in single rows. From this image, the camera zooms into the

⁷ This meant that although the film was being paid for primarily by the Hawai'i Visitor's Bureau, payment had to be cleared through the SFCA since it had been designated by the State to handle all Festival funds.

⁸ The film was entered into the 1989 Hawai'i International Film Festival and aired on KGMB-TV on December 2, 1989.

⁹ Heather Guigni, Letter of Agreement, July 12 1989.

¹⁰ Millicent Kim, Letter, Sept. 15, 1989. According to attached memos, this letter was drafted by Lynn Martin, with the help of Dolly Strazar, and reflected her views. It went through at least three drafts.

photograph for a narrated film segment. This sequencing is repeated several times, using various photographs surrounded by graphic symbols. Some of the photographs are black and white historical images while others are images from the Festival performances and demonstrations. In the film, culture brokers Richard Kurin, Richard Kennedy, and Linda Moriarty are interviewed about Festival philosophy, and various tradition bearers are shown demonstrating their skills in the context of the Festival. Abbreviated histories of immigrant groups begin with historic photographs that were actually exhibited in the Hawai'i program learning center, surrounded by a repeated graphic image, such as a *forno* (beehive oven) for the Portuguese or an *ipu* (gourd instrument) for Hawaiian instrument makers. A female voiceover explains pertinent histories, such as the immigrant experience in Hawai'i, as well as narrativizing the Festival. Although the film had been drastically abridged due to a reduced budget, film time is also devoted to portions of the other three programs concurrent on the Mall in 1989, after-hours jam sessions at the Festival hotel, and even the food concessions—styrofoam and all.¹¹

When presented with the finished film, Martin was unhappy enough with it to request that Juniroa make changes and to suggest that the State or the SFCA come up with the funds to facilitate those changes. Juniroa dug in its heels and cited the original contract agreement that had granted them artistic control.¹² Martin expressed her disapproval to Pat Brandt at the Governor's office and to Millicent Kim, President of the SFCA Board of Commissioners. She cited several objections to the Juniroa film, ranging from credits to content. Chief among them was that NHF Award Winners and Hālau o Kekuhi had not been depicted, nor had *hula kahiko*. Taking to heart the idea of folklife as

¹¹ Heather and Lurline McGregor Guigni, *Celebrating Hawaii's Culture*. (Honolulu: Juniroa Productions, 1989), VHS.

¹² Ibid. Letter, October 10.

anonymously authored and communally owned, Juniroa had deliberately chosen to not focus on celebrities and to use their abbreviated film format to focus on cultural practices, not individuals, particularly those practices less well-known than performance arts like slack-key guitar and *hula*. Martin was horrified to learn that due to budgetary and time constrictions and because another Hawai'i film crew was also filming on-site, no one had filmed the "artists of stature," to use Martin's words. This meant that even if Juniroa had wished to comply with Martin's demands, the requested footage did not exist. Another objection was that subtitles had been used to identify culture brokers like Kurin, Kennedy, and Moriarty but program participants who appeared onscreen were not identified. Martin asserted that the choice to represent cultural authorities from the Smithsonian over Hawai'i cultural practitioners misrepresented OFP and SFCA principles and that it was highly inappropriate to narrate over silenced participants when the Festival philosophy was to present tradition bearers in their own voices. She deemed the overlap of the voiceover with a Hawaiian chant given by Pualani Kanaka'ole as disrespectful, and she was offended that the Hawai'i State Folklorist (herself) had not been mentioned in the final credits. Tactfully stated at all times, her correspondence reveals her awareness of ethnographic ethics as well as concern that the omissions in the film and its distribution as a public record of the program might open up criticism and affect her careful cultivation of SFCA relationships with key Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners. Much to Martin's dismay, neither Brandt nor Kim was willing to take on the fight, and in her correspondence, Guigni staunchly defended her position on the grounds that she and McGregor were both part Hawaiian and therefore "naturally sensitive to the issues of Hawaiian representation." Guigni argued that she had not felt it

appropriate to ask cultural practitioners to explain Festival policy or philosophy, that the names of all participants had been listed in the credits, that the SFCA was listed (Martin had not been an official member of the Festival crew), and that their understanding had been that the emphasis was to be placed on the traditions, not on individual accomplishments.¹³

Both sides of this altercation raised ethical issues important in the politics of representation. Where they clashed was over their interpretations of institutional versus artistic integrity. On one level, the issues surrounding the Juniroa film were about creative agency, interpretation, and reputation, but on a deeper level they were about *re*-presentation and historicization through selective distillation and narration. The film(s) would codify how the empirical and conceptual aspects of the event would enter into public and even participant memory. An interpretation at variance with the institutional view had the potential to give the organizers a permanent black eye.

As part of its "Spectrum" series, Hawai'i Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) set out to make a very different kind of Festival film. In its interpretation of the Festival experience, Juniroa situated the Festival as the locus for an examination of Festival philosophy, histories of Hawai'i communities, and selected traditional arts. The 28-minute PBS special was entitled simply *The Festival*, and it was directed by Bart Fredo.¹⁴ Fredo was unhampered by SFCA and Smithsonian surveillance and chose to locate the Festival as a point on a trajectory that began in Hawai'i, journeyed to Washington, and returned to Hawai'i. The film enters and leaves the Mall from an aerial view that symbolically positions Washington as a destination on the margins of a Hawai'i

¹³ Heather Guigni and Lurline McGregor, Letter to Millicent Kim October 10, 1989.

¹⁴ Bart Fredo, dir., *The Festival* (Honolulu: Hawaii Public Television), VHS.

perspective. Within this frame, the film features a series of vignettes on Festival participants. The interviews themselves were based on interviews conducted in Hawai'i before and after the Festival as well as on the Festival site. A female Native Hawaiian was employed for voiceovers (Nalani Wilson-Ku), but her voice only intervenes as a transitional device to segue between sequences in which individual participants are cameoed. As in the Juniroa film, filmic time left only time and space enough to highlight a few artists. Within that time, both directors chose to portray all nine ethnic groups, but where Juniroa had decided to focus on historical storytelling about major ethnic groups, Fredo focused on stories about individuals. Similarly to Juniroa, Fredo also concentrated almost exclusively on people who had not been previously celebretized by the NEA or the Smithsonian. The one exception in *The Festival* is Meali'i Kalama, a quilter who was the first artist from Hawai'i to receive an NHF award. Fifteen participants from a range of craft and occupational traditions are portrayed, along with two cooking and seven performance traditions. Tradition bearers are identified with subtitles throughout, along with their practices: *lei*-making, bulrush sandal making, calligraphy, canoe building, rawhide braiding, dollmaking, quilting, *imu* and *forno* cooking. As in the Juniroa film, the high profile traditions of *hula* and slack-key were omitted in favor of portraying less well-known performance traditions: Hawaiian falsetto singing and *lū'au* music, Puerto Rican *katchi katchi* music, Filipino *rondalla*, Japanese *bon odori* music and dance, and Korean and Okinawan dance. Narratives with local appeal were included in the PBS film, such as rain blessing the *pā'u* parade, McDonald's story about a little girl who learned to make flower *lei*, and a lava rock acquisition anecdote that claimed the Smithsonian chose not to import rocks out of respect for Hawaiian beliefs. In the film,

Henry Silva, a *paniolo* craftsman who had never left Hawai‘i, recounts his initial reluctance to go to the festival; whereas, in the Juniroa film, this reluctance is recounted by a coordinator speaking for participants.

Three moments in the PBS film anchor its multicultural theme. Near the beginning, Marie McDonald talks about herself and Hawai‘i diversity as “chop suey.” Meali‘i Kalama refers to herself as a quilt because of her “mixed race” heritage. In *The Festival*’s conclusion, the narrator defines the Hawai‘i program as a “symbol of our ability as a nation to celebrate unity in diversity.” Displayed prior to the credits is the Hawaiian proverb about coming down from the cliffs to get to know those below—the same quote that Kennedy had dispensed with on Nathan Napoka’s insistence that its Hawaiian meaning was really a call to war. Here, Fredo uses it in the spirit of Kennedy’s misinterpretation—reading it as an invitation to understand difference from up close rather than as a challenge to confront face-to-face¹⁵ (see chap. 3). These anchors establish a multicultural frame for the film, but unlike the Juniroa production, there is little mention elsewhere of ethnicity elsewhere in the PBS film.

Both of these films were designed to historicize and bring the Festival home to Hawai‘i by creating a definitive account of the event, but where the Juniroa film attempted to capture the festive spirit of the Hawai‘i program and the effect of Hawai‘i on a national audience, the PBS film was more interested in the effect of the Festival experience on tradition bearers from Hawai‘i. Neither of them featured the institutionally legitimized stars, but only one of them was in a position to answer to Festival organizers who were concerned about image control for the Hawai‘i program’s historic record.

¹⁵ KHET-TV (Television station : Honolulu, Hawai‘i), *The Festival* (Honolulu: KHET, 1989), VHS.

The Hawai'i program was also returned home in the distillations of memory. According to Marita Sturken, "What memories tell us, more than anything, is the stakes held by individuals and institutions in attributing meaning to the past."¹⁶ Festival memory serves its tellers in various ways, and the personal narratives connected to the Hawai'i program are illustrative of a variety of positionings. Directors tell stories about meetings with officials and stories about outsmarting or eluding rigid institutional limitations. *Haole* OFP staff narratives tend to reinforce the image of the OFP as a cultural ally to the Hawai'i communities it represented and thus incorporate a body of stories about successful intervention and facilitation, unlikely friendships across cultural and class lines, their own inclusion in communities of participants. *Haole* presenters from Hawai'i, aware of their peripheral status in terms of Festival construction and operating as mid-level culture workers, reinforce their ally status by stressing intimacy with participants, often being witnesses or confidantes to small resistances invisible to directors and others at the institutional level. My own observation has been that although culture worker stories concentrate on relationships with participants, few participant stories mention culture workers at all. Instead they tend to focus on relationships formed with other participants and Festival hi-jinks. In other words, while insider (participant) stories serve to verify an inside and outside to imagined community constructions, outsiders (culture workers and brokers) tell stories that assert their own inclusion and access while maintaining community exclusivity—exclusive of others with less cultural savvy and sensitivity. Thus, the narration of memory operates to make meaning of a set

¹⁶ Marita Sturken, *Tangled Memories: The Vietnam War, the Aids Epidemic. And the Politics of Remembering* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 9.

of experiences and to reveal and reify (or create) the teller's ideological and social position.

In the same way that we find the primacy of memory difficult to determine once an event has been solidified by technologies of film or print, the recounting of personal narratives raises the question of whether the media simply reflected or actually codified stories as official memories. All participants and staff members received a copy of the *Juniroa* film and several wrote to the OFP to say that they had re-lived Festival experience through its viewing. Most of them probably also watched the PBS special.¹⁷ The interweaving of media encapsulization and experience cannot be easily untangled and serves to illustrate the potential of media to intervene in memory. For example, on a routine survey of former Festival participants years later, Marie McDonald recounted the same story she had told on camera about a little girl who had leaned to make *lei*. In the PBS documentary she tells a story about overhearing Festival visitors observing that they had traveled to Hawai'i but had never seen the cultural practices they were seeing on the Mall. One of them, according to McDonald, exclaimed that what they were seeing at the Festival "must have been the other side of the island!" Years later, the same story was recounted to me by a festival staff-person as his partner's first-hand experience. The recirculation of certain Festival narratives that reinforced official Festival rhetoric and the program themes had the effect of legitimizing them as the "correct" versions. In recirculation, they further anointed memories of the program as a utopian experience.

Beyond presenting regional folklife at a national level and American folklife to the world, Festival directors hope that regional participation in the Festival will breed cultural preservation efforts at home. As we have seen in the production and

¹⁷ Several participants with whom I spoke mentioned having seen this on TV.

performance phases of the Festival, a plethora of supplementary and documentation materials are produced that extend a Festival program beyond its existence as a performance bound by time and space. Annual Festival books, with program specific articles, are sent to a program's home institutions and to libraries throughout the country. During the Festival, volunteers make audio recordings and handwritten logs at the various performance stages. After the Festival, this documentation, along with fieldwork recordings and reports, is compiled by OFP archivists for future research purposes, one copy to be archived at the OFP and a second set to be presented to the cooperating agency at the local level. These pre-Festival and Festival materials are expected to form a valuable database for local researchers and culture workers. For example, although considerable research had been conducted into the cultural practices of certain groups in Hawai'i, such as Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, and *paniolo*, and into particular crafts such as weaving, the Smithsonian project had instigated the first comprehensive survey of Hawai'i folklife that looked beyond performance and crafts and included a range of ethnicities. The final compilation returned to the State of Hawaii consisted of fieldwork reports and logs, fieldwork reports, and festival tapes and logs. These materials found a home in the Hawai'i /Asia/Pacific collection at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa library where they were lodged after being rejected by the Hawai'i State Archives.¹⁸ Although we can only speculate about the reasons that the Archives declined such a treasure trove of information about Hawai'i's living cultures, at the time the Festival was apparently not anticipated to have historical value at a local level, nor was the documentation of Hawai'i's living cultures deemed appropriate to archive in an institution devoted to social and political history.

¹⁸ This information was gleaned from conversations with University of Hawai'i librarians.

Restaging Hawai'i for Hawai'i

One splashy way to capitalize on the energy and momentum of the Festival was to restage it in Hawai'i. Moriarty and Martin both remember that when they were first approached about restaging the Hawai'i program in Hawai'i, the Festival production was in progress and they were horrified that anyone would suggest they consider such a project. As previous chapters should attest, the process of planning and mounting the Hawai'i program in D.C. had been a logistical feat of no small proportions, and they were understandably exhausted and relieved to see the year and half of preparation coming to fruition and the looking forward to the actual program as the final product. Most accounts attribute the idea to Governor Waihee who wanted to bring it to Hawai'i because he strongly felt that the people of Hawai'i should see what was being presented in Hawai'i.¹⁹ The idea of a restaging may well have germinated in conversation with OFP directors who were aware there was a precedent in how the 1987 Michigan program on the Mall had generated an annual in-state folklife festival. However it began, no time was lost in building on the momentum of the Festival, and on August 15, 1989, less than a month after the close of the Festival, Martin sent a memo to Sarah Richards, acting SFCA Director, proposing a six-week planning period in which to consider the project. To accomplish this task, she suggested a staff of herself, Moriarty, Kennedy, Lau, and Nahwoosky—the joint creators of the 1989 Hawai'i program.²⁰ Kennedy was especially keen on the project. In his six-month stay during the fieldwork phase, he had become attached to the islands, and follow-up projects would enable him to return as more than a tourist. In September, the President of the SFCA Board of Commissioners, Millicent

¹⁹ Richard Kurin, Interview with author July 25, 2003.

²⁰ Lynn Martin, Memorandum, August 15 1989.

Kim, sent a letter to Waihee that stressed the Smithsonian's enthusiasm for the project and outlined the benefits of restaging the Hawai'i program—that it would stand as the first multicultural cultural festival in Hawai'i and become a model for future cultural programs within the state. She estimated a cost of \$500,000, half of the State's contribution for the program in 1989.²¹ In October Martin called a pre-planning meeting at the SFCA,²² and on November 11, 1989, she submitted a formal proposal, co-authored with Moriarty, to the OFP, the Governor, and the SFCA.

The proposal for the Hawai'i restaging of the Smithsonian program argued for a full restaging rather than a more economical partial restaging in order to avoid any problems of making selections from the original line-up of participants and risk offending some groups. In this way, the SFCA could still deflect any criticism to the Smithsonian. The proposal highlighted several ways in which localizing/recontextualizing the national program incurred subtle reorientations of its educational agenda. Most evident was that despite a state economy deeply enmeshed with tourist promotion and the financial backing of the original version by the Hawai'i Visitor's Bureau (HVB), this event was being pitched, at least overtly, at local residents. According to the proposal, the stated purposes for the restaging were seven-fold:

- To highlight folk art traditions in the state of Hawai'i.
- To provide a highly visible means of focusing public attention on the importance of the SFCA Folk arts Program and its impact on identifying and nurturing folklife traditions and artists in Hawai'i.
- To provide a state sponsored venue, open and free to the public for the honoring and celebrating of the great diversity of folk arts traditions in Hawai'i.

²¹ Kim.

²² Lynn Martin, Memorandum, Oct. 17 1989.

- To provide a model for the professional presentation of folk arts traditions for other organization and ethnic festival in Hawai'i.
- To provide an educational opportunity for the residents of the state of Hawai'i to learn more about our multi-cultural community and it's localized traditions.
- To provide an educational opportunity for visitors to experience authentic representations, performance and displays on the folk traditions of Hawai'i.
- To provide an educational opportunity in the area of festival production and interpretation for local organizations and institutions through the development of an ancillary educational workshop.²³

On his copy of the proposal, Kennedy added one more handwritten item to the purpose list: “* Capitalize on momentum.” The Washington program had been geared toward educating or re-educating tourists, but the restaging was overtly directed at educating residents. Tourism does appear in the proposal's purpose statement, but near the bottom of the list. However, the attraction of a broad audience is implicit in providing a state sponsored venue for folk arts and a model for ethnic festivals. Also implicit in the purpose statement was an assertion that the Smithsonian fieldwork-based model of cultural representation could be interjected in Hawai'i tourism to present a more textured and authentic view, an alternative to “soft savagery,” cultural commodification, and erasures of pluralism (see chap. 1).

Ancillary educational opportunities were planned, utilizing the skills and advice of OFP educational specialist Betty Belanus. A special festival day would provide docent-lead tours for school children, and Belanus would meet with the Department of

²³ Lynn and Linda Moriarty Martin, "Proposal for the Possible Re-Staging of the Hawaii Program, Smithsonian Institution's 23rd Festival of American Folklife," (Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage Archives, Washington D.C., Nov. 11, 1989).

Education and private school art programs to offer curriculum suggestions and other information. Workshops on festival production and folklife presentation were planned for professionals and cultural groups, using the restaging as a tool and model.

Ultimately, the rationale used to sell the restaging proposal was that a single event could be used to maximize educational opportunity for schools, the general public, and community professionals and to increase visibility for the SFCA and the Folklife Program. Where the Washington, D. C. version of the Hawai'i program had been outreach, transmitting what the OFP felt Hawai'i had to say to the nation about living with diversity, the Hawai'i version was shifted to "inreach,"²⁴ providing a role model for local cultural exhibition and local education about diversity, and enhancing the SFCA image as an advocate of folk arts and ethnic diversity.

Orchestrating the restaging was less demanding in some ways and more in others. The fieldwork had already been done, reducing the program process to planning, production, and performance phases. Production was also simplified because the signage from the Hawai'i program had been donated to the state, eliminating a major production phase task. However, presenting the program in Hawai'i also meant it was under new scrutiny since the organizers were presenting Hawai'i to Hawai'i rather than to a national/international audience. The restaging also incurred new logistical problems. A few key Smithsonian advisors were on hand to provide expert guidance, but for the most part the restaging was a local affair. As the SFCA's baby, the restaging did not have the benefit of the OFP's large and experienced staff and streamlined infrastructure although it would have advisory assistance from Nahwoosky and Lau and a small staff from the

²⁴ Bess Lomax Hawes came up with this term to refer to connecting a community to itself. Dan Sheehy, "Smithsonian Folkways Recordings," *Talk Story*, Spring 2003.

OFP. Furthermore, using local labor involved dealing with the State of Hawai‘i’s cumbersome fiscal procedures requiring all state-funded jobs over a nominal amount to be sent out for bids. Faced with the dismal prospect of slogging through a bureaucratic process with which she was all too familiar, Martin predicted that the process could take years instead of months if a solution was not identified that would skirt the “projected obstacle” of state regulations and fiscal restrictions.²⁵ Martin recalls that at one official meeting, she was frustrated enough to exclaim that perhaps the project was impossible. In the silence that followed, alarmed glances were exchanged between the state employees. Finally, a spokesperson said that maybe they could pull a few strings to get around the rules.²⁶ This would become the pattern for dealing with the state.

A new context shifted program meanings. Although two other time slots were up for consideration, one of them Admissions Day, and two sites were being considered, the committee settled on re-staging the Hawai‘i program, to be called “Folklife Hawai‘i,” from October 18 to 21 on Magic Island, a man-made promontory shaped like a foot and located midway between the Waikiki and downtown areas of Honolulu on the island of O‘ahu. Again by happenstance, the date marked a convenient cause for celebration. 1989 had been the thirtieth anniversary of Hawai‘i statehood, so the Festival became a symbolic reenactment of Hawai‘i’s inclusion in the nation. 1990 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the SFCA, a chance to publicly recognize the state agency’s commitment to local communities (and not just fine arts, as the SFCA was often perceived) and in particular, affirming the importance of the Folk Arts Program, a fledgling addition to the SFCA (see chapter 1).

²⁵ Martin, "Proposal for the Possible Re-Staging of the Hawaii Program, Smithsonian Institution's 23rd Festival of American Folklife."

²⁶ Lynn Martin, Telephone interview, September 16, 2002.

Surrounded by ocean on three sides, Magic Island had a decidedly different feel from the landlocked National Mall—an island of green surrounded by the imposing edifices of government buildings and national museums and galleries. Evoking Hawai‘i out-of-place had relied heavily on making associations to place through language, music, and dance—much of them about the ocean and nature. Implying ocean and tropical ambiance where they were not was a problem made infinitely easier by the global commodification of Hawai‘i as an exotic tourist destination coded into the recognizable tropical iconography of *hula*, aloha shirts, and flower *lei*. These exotic but familiar icons had been recoded into more ethnographically “accurate” forms through their connection to participant hands and voices and by supplementary captioning. In Hawai‘i, the *in situ* programmatic challenge was to translate the ordinary—everyday people against a familiar backdrop of tropical sea and landscape—into something extraordinary enough to draw local crowds. In Washington, D.C., the geometric grid of the Mall had been organized through a clever site design that broke up its hard lines with a profusion of plants, lava rock walls, and circular exhibition spaces. Like the Mall, Magic Island is traversed by walkways that skirt the perimeter and subdivide the interior, but these are meandering and follow the topography of the site (see figure 14).

The difference between cityscape and naturescape dictated very different exhibit and performance accommodations with a much looser arrangement on Magic Island than the tight design in Washington, D.C. Due to limited space in which to accommodate audiences, the two music stages were located all the way to one side of the park (# 3 and #36 to the far left of map). The *yagura* was erected on the other side of a small hill and

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within the same walkway bound area. Asian crafts were arranged around it as they had been on the Mall. Also within this area were the foodways demonstration area,

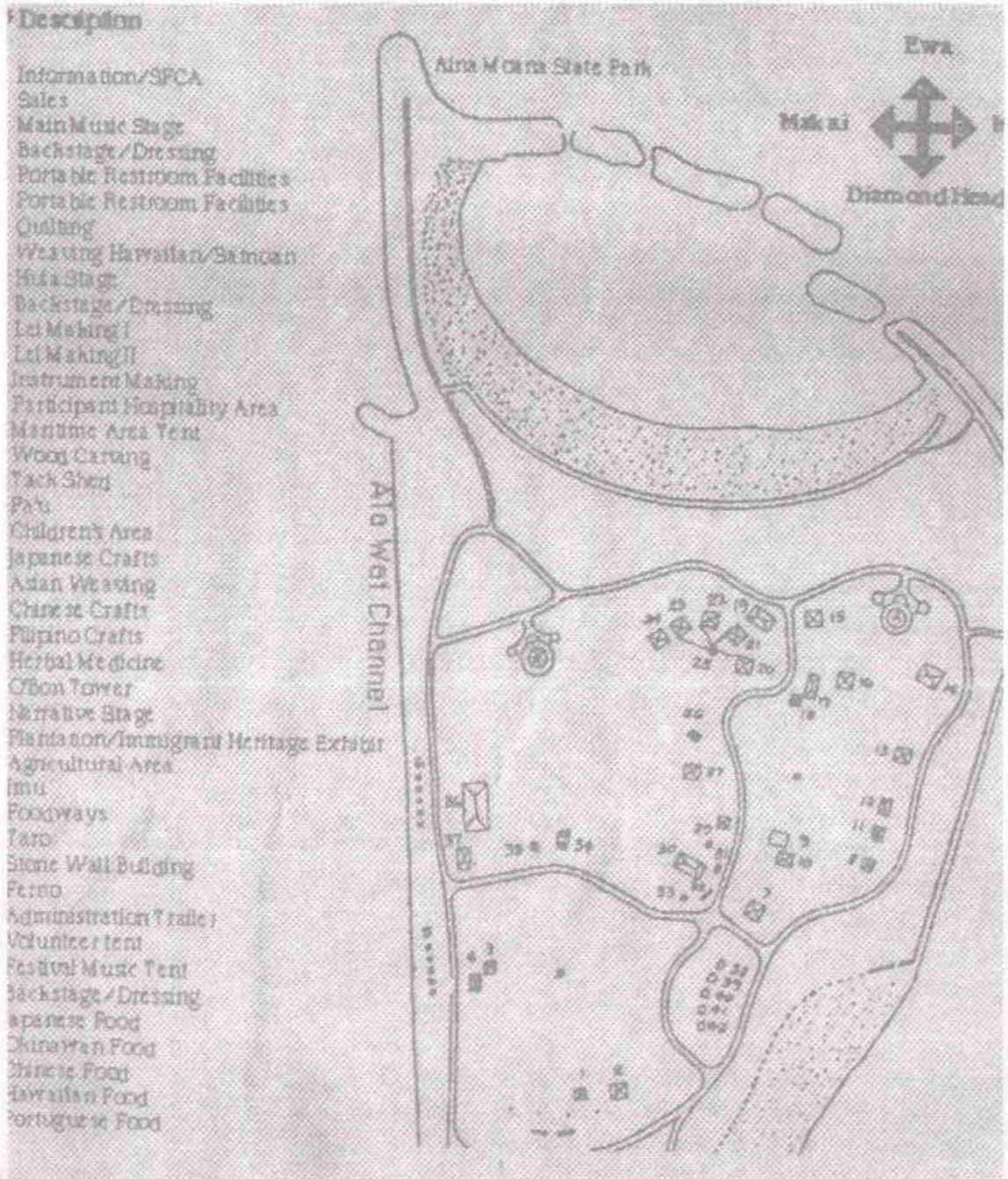


Figure 14. Site map for restaging at Magic Island

plantation exhibit, and narrative stage. Occupational areas, and Hawaiian crafts were located in an adjacent area on the other side of the peninsula the hula stage (#9). While the ordering of the new site into immigrant and indigenous areas roughly replicated the bi-furcated arrangement of the original design, it also deviated in some important ways. Hawaiian quilting was off is off by itself and Asian crafts were distanced to a far corner. Overall, the design is loose and sprawling rather than tightly integrated, as it had been on the Mall where the goal had been to present a unified diversity knit together by shared history alongside shared cultural practices. In the Magic Island site map, juxtaposition seems considerably more accidental. The various groups had coalesced to make the Mall an imagined island in metropolitan Washington, but on Magic Island, where the cultural and geographical boundaries were more blurred, each cultural group seemed to surface as an island of its own.

Martin and Moriarty made an effort to recreate and even expand on the original performance lineup. They augmented the history-bound definitions that had limited the initial selection to nine ethnic groups by adding several groups and traditions that had not been represented in Washington: Laotian music, games, and flower-arranging; Vietnamese traditional theater; Southeast Asian weaving traditions; Chinese paper cuts; Japanese stitchery; Portuguese dance; African American Gospel Music; and Tongan church music. In the process of expanding the roster of traditional practices, they added ethnic groups that had immigrated to Hawai'i after the plantation era: African Americans, Southeast Asians, and Tongans. They also brought in two groups from the contingent 1989 programs: a zydeco group called the Lawtell Playboys and a group of Plains Indians dancers. Moriarty said that as soon as word got out that the restaging was going to

happen, she began receiving phone calls from participants who felt strongly that participants from the other programs should be included so that people in Hawai'i could have the same experience that they had in Washington. She said that many of them argued that Hawai'i people needed to see cultures from other places. Some of the Hawai'i performers had become particularly friendly with the Zydeco musicians and the Native American dancers because of the similarities in their traditions, so they petitioned organizers to include them, along with their wives who could do cooking demonstrations, in the restaging.²⁷

Despite the efforts to recreate the program in Hawai'i, it was impossible to maintain the same sense of cohesion precisely because much of the sense of community had been predicated upon being in a location outside of Hawai'i. As the cultural and geographical others in Washington, D.C., participants had bonded through the joint experiences of liminal time (two weeks of semi-vacation), dislocation (the mainland), and location (the Festival site and hotel). The restaging lasted only four days in contrast to the two-week stretch on the Mall. Off-island participants stayed at the Ramada Renaissance Ala Moana Hotels while participants from O'ahu went home at night, so there were far fewer opportunities to convene informally. This reinforced the "Honolulu versus the rest" division that had been temporarily bridged during the Festival.²⁸ The imagined community was subdivided in its own locale because it lacked the same sense of cohesion and removal from reality.

As in Washington, day and night performances took place, alongside crafts, occupational, and cooking demonstrations, but with modifications. The narrative stage

²⁷ Linda Moriarty, October 29, 2002.

²⁸ Trimillos.

was re-constructed, and potentially controversial topics such as “Tourism in Hawai‘i,” “Natural Resources,” and “Islands in Transition,” were presented, as well as informational topics like “Asians in Hawai‘i,” “Cultural Preservation,” “Plantation Life,” “National Heritage Award Winners,” “American Indians,” and “*Paniolo*.” Most topics were presented twice in the four days of the restaging, except “*Paniolo*,” which was presented three times. Several of the informational topics were repeated in modified form from the Children’s Area. Perhaps due to time constraints, none of the re-staging guests other than American Indians were given time on the narrative stage. All of the presentations remained upbeat—in keeping with the festive atmosphere.

“Festival Hawai‘i ” presumed an audience comprised mostly of uninformed residents. On the Mall, audiences had included former residents of Hawai‘i and diasporic Native Hawaiians, but had been predominantly people unfamiliar with a vision of Hawai‘i that existed outside of its tourist industry packaging. The restaging was an opportunity to teach local young people from various ethnic groups about the past and to teach local residents about each other. This “inreach” undertaking underscored the utopian nature of the program concept given that one of the principle images projected in Washington was of a multicultural society intimately inter-connected through generations of shared cultural practices. Local television news coverage featured persons not usually seen on the news; polished urban announcers discussed occupational skills like *poi* making, canoe building, rock wall building, and *forno* cooking as exotic relics of a past being resuscitated, providing further evidence that these practices were neither widely practiced nor known.²⁹ According to staff and participant narratives and news reports, older visitors remembered the past, younger people remembered stories they had heard

²⁹ All the local news stations ran clips—some of which were collected at the SFCA.

from elders, and many youngsters encountered ideas and practices quite new to them because they had not had occasion to see them before. School children were bussed in from ninth grade classes throughout the city, and participants became teachers using “Festival Hawai‘i ” as a culture lab in which to educate Hawai‘i youth about the importance of continuity, of keeping traditional practices alive. Richard Kennedy linked the dual cultural preservation goals of education and counter-hegemony in his opening address:

Today some 5,000 kids came here. Kids need heroes. Kids have to see their history, their culture, their art reflected in educational programs. MTV, Indiana Jones, and Bart Simpson are not going to give the children of Hawai‘i they confidence, pride and knowledge of self necessary to summon past wisdom and knowledge and to create their own future, here on these grounds today, kids made connections to the older generations, to bearers of artistic, cultural, historical and occupation traditions³⁰

Although the local news clips showed rapt faces and interviewed suitably impressed students, this reconnecting of generations was not always a complete success. Henry Silva, for example, looked down after talking to a group of students about *paniolo* crafts such as rawhide braiding and discovered that his favorite leather-working knife had been lifted.³¹ This petty theft, although an isolated incident, suggests that not every young person approached the demonstrations with the reverence for elders and tradition claimed by the romanticized restaging rhetoric. Rather than being a confirmation of living traditions that had been kept alive inter-generationally, the restaging’s emphasis on reaching children was an attempt to reinstate a missing generational link by inspiring young people to become interested enough to learn traditional practices. This encouragement and support for transmission of folk arts was already in place as a mission

³⁰ Richard Kennedy, 1990.

³¹ Robert Ruiz, May 17, 2003.

of the SFCA through its NEA sponsored Master and Apprentice program (see chap. 1). The restaging was visible impetus for that process on a wider scope.

When I asked former participants about their memories of the restaging, their responses were ambivalent. They were in agreement that it had felt different from the Mall, but they found it difficult to articulate just how and why. That it was short and lacked the intensity of the original were stated factors. Yet, participants had been delighted to reconvene, to renew friendships and mourn lost ones. Emotion had run high at both the opening and the closing. On the closing night, those who had worked on the festival were so reluctant to see it end that they started a fund to keep the festival going. It was a dream not to be realized.³²

Festival Hawai‘i, the book

Like the D.C. program, Folklife Hawai‘i was accompanied by a handsome program book that could be donated to libraries and used to provide information supplementary to performances and demonstrations. Graced with a color photograph of mixed flower *lei*, the Folklife Hawai‘i book mimicked the OFP production in format, including introductory statements from officials—in this case the governor, the SFCA Board Chairperson, and the Chairman of the Department of Land and Natural Resources. In fact, the mimicry is particularly pronounced in the opening essay by Marie Strazar, which essentially paraphrases Kennedy’s essay “Cosmopolitan Hawai‘i” in the 1989 program book. The Smithsonian emphasis on culture and change, however, ends here in the “Festival Hawai‘i” book. The 1989 program book contains single essays on the themes of the four programs; the Hawai‘i book is devoted almost entirely to profiles of

³² Richard Kennedy, Letter, November 14, 1990.

performance genres categorized by ethnicity, making it function as a folklife, rather than a Festival, reference. The 1989 book essays had focused on creolization, but the *Folklife Hawai'i* essays are neatly compartmentalized by ethnicity—ironic in that the Hawai'i crew had hotly debated such categorization when shaping the original Hawai'i program, and suggesting either that representation in Washington and at home engendered different framing rationales or that the Smithsonian view had been imported to the SFCA in 1990.

Photographs in the *Festival Hawai'i* book indirectly compensate for the deficiencies of the Juniroa film by devoting several images to “master artists” recognized by the Smithsonian and/or the NEA. Sixteen articles, many written by fieldworkers for the Festival, conceptually replicate the dual emphasis of the site design and general program concept by allocating half of the main text space to Native Hawaiian Folklife and sub-dividing the remaining space amongst immigrant groups. A third section is added for the guests from the other programs and the new groups from Hawai'i. The first section, “Profiles of the Festival,” is divided into halves like the Hawai'i program in Washington. One half features articles on Hawaiian topics: performing arts, crafts, and occupation. In the second half, Japanese, Okinawan, Chinese, Korean, and Samoan traditions each have their own headings, but Portuguese, Puerto Rican, and Filipino traditions are lumped together under the single heading of “Music from the Plantation Camps.” The final section, “Guests of the Festival,” introduces, in abbreviated form, the added local groups and the zydeco and Native American groups.

Although the restaging represented folklife in multiple categories—foodways, crafts, occupational traditions, narrative traditions, and performance traditions—the majority of the articles concentrate on performance arts. In an attempt to give equal

weight to each ethnic group, ethnic nomenclature is distributed in non-parallel categories that waver between ethnicity, nationality, and genre: “Music and Art in the Life of Laotian Immigrants in Hawai‘i,” “Vietnamese Popular Theater,” “A gospel Song is a Sermon Set to Music—Gospel Music in Hawai‘i,” “Zydeco Music—the Lawtell Playboys,” “Native American Music—the Plains Indian Ensemble.” The confusion between ethnic labels and more creative headings suggests that an effort was being made to avoid racial terms by not identifying Gospel Music as African American, but placing this group within the ethnic categories construed by country of origin posed other problems. Inversely, hymn singing is not directly identified as Tongan although other practices are labeled by ethnicity, such as Japanese, Chinese, Puerto Rican, etc. These groups are collected under the heading of “Plantation Culture,” using the strategy of shared culture while also identifying them by ethnicity. Reserving the “Guests of the Festival” for last has the effect of symbolically othering the later Lao, Vietnamese, African American, and Tongan communities and marking them as outsiders with regard to “localness” based on the shared history narrative constructed for the Festival(s).³³

Haole were again, as in the D.C. program, widely present in the Festival frame as authors, presenters, and organizers, but disappeared entirely from the restaging program lens despite the inclusion of other groups that had not appeared in Washington. The underbelly of making ethnic culture on Magic Island visible was its apparent disconnection from white privilege and power. Of course, peripheral vision in at least three directions from Magic Island could easily have complicated any insightful gaze on

³³ Lynne Martin, ed., *Folklife Hawai‘i: A Restaging of the Hawai‘i Program of the Smithsonian Institution's 23rd Annual Festival of American Folklife, 1989*. (Honolulu: State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, 1990).

traditional culture. The fantasy Hawai‘i evoked on the Mall, on the other hand, was uncluttered by the concrete jungle of Honolulu development and traffic.

Spin-Offs

The Hawai‘i program did produce a recurrent event, but a number of other events, programs, and projects emerged from the Festival and restaging afterglow. Local culture workers who had attended the workshops created festivals of their own on a smaller scale but modeled after the Smithsonian example—two on the island of Hawai‘i.³⁴ Martin built on the Festival fieldwork to produce a number of projects in her capacity as SFCA Folk Arts Coordinator, including a concert series, two rock wall builder conferences, and an authoritative and widely used book and audio CD-Rom set called *Musics of Hawai‘i*.³⁵ These kinds of projects fulfilled the OFP mission of the Festival serving as an impetus for local initiatives.

The Festival experience also manifested in newly imagined communities. Ku‘ulei Kekiwi, of the Hawaiian backyard *lū‘au band* called Ku‘ulei’s Own had gone to the festival against her doctor’s orders, proclaiming that if she died there, she’d die happy.³⁶ When she passed way soon after the Festival, six of the women from the Waimea Church Choir traveled from Kaua‘i to Maui with “tons of coolers full of all kinds of food” and proceeded to stay for a week to cook and take care of her family. Ku‘ulei and Merton Kekiwi, whom the women had not known prior to the Festival, had become extended family by way of the Festival experience.³⁷ Another invented community that formed in

³⁴ Martin.

³⁵ Lynne J. Martin, ed., *Musics of Hawai‘i*. (Honolulu: State Foundation on Culture and the Arts, 1994).

³⁶ Jay Junker, April 16, 2003.

³⁷ *Ibid*, Moriarty.

the wake of the Festival was constellated around performance. Some of the Hawaiian musicians—Barney Isaacs, Violet Liliko ‘i, Richard and Solomon Ho ‘opi ‘i, Ledward Ka ‘apana had enjoyed playing together so much that they decided to do an inter-island tour so they could reconnect with Festival participants as well as perform for local audiences. Jay Junker, their Festival presenter/stage manager, had experience as an agent and set up their gigs. They called themselves simply Da Bunch, and in various configurations and with SFCA support, they performed together off and on for the next four years, until Isaacs passed away.³⁸

Elsewhere, participants went home to paste together photo albums and settle back into their lives.³⁹ What did the Festival mean to them in the long run? In some cases the free exhibition created new markets for folk arts labor. For musicians like Richard Ho ‘opi ‘i and Harry Nakasone, who got entered into the Washington Folk Arts register and went on to become NHF Awardees, it was a step toward wider recognition. For some artisans it meant commissions; for example, rock wall builder Thomas Kamaka Emmsley was soon working on lava rock walls for the wealthy of Maui.⁴⁰ In the PBS documentary, Kenichi Tasaka politely complained that he couldn’t make enough bulrush sandals to keep up with orders he was receiving from the mainland.⁴¹ For nonagenarian Tasaka, at least, being plunged into the capitalist market economy was not a desirable fringe benefit of his Smithsonian experience.

The intangible effects are a more elusive determination. For many participants, like the women from the Waimea Choir and Merton Kekiwi, the Festival set the stage for

³⁸ Junker.

³⁹ Several participants mentioned their photo albums. While intriguing, an analysis of their content will have to be deferred to further research.

⁴⁰ Nathan Napoka, Personal interview. May 7, 2003.

⁴¹ *The Festival*. 1989. VHS. Hawai‘i Public Television, Honolulu.

their connection to people in the islands whom they hadn't known before they went to Washington, D.C.. But over time, the Festival afterglow ebbed. As Nathan Napoka said, "one day somebody is a celebrity on the mall, but then the next day he is back in his taro patch, and he's nobody and nothing has changed. He can't even talk to anyone at home about his experience because to them it's meaningless."⁴² Napoka supports the Festival but said he would like to see some of that money actually make it to real people who could use it. My observation was that in most cases participants who live in the same small towns say hello when they meet, but those from different cultural groups, occupations, and social classes do not seek each other out, and fourteen years later, many have not seen each other in the ensuing years. Robert Ruiz, citing rumors of reunions that never happened, probably spoke for many participants when he said that the only disappointment he had about the whole experience was that it never happened again.⁴³ Without institutional support to sustain or regenerate it, the dynamic imagined community of the Festival faded to personal memories.

Aborted Collaborations

Organizers on both sides of the Pacific hoped the degree of enthusiasm generated by the Hawai'i program and the restaging would spawn permanent local cultural preservation endeavors. This did not happen in Hawai'i. It is difficult to pinpoint just where and why the breakdown in institutional support occurred, but the fact that it did illustrates the degree to which the overall effort was contingent on its political and economic contexts. The Hawai'i program and the restaging both came about because

⁴² Napoka.

⁴³ Ruiz.

Hawai‘i had the right critical mass at the right time: Smithsonian interest, like-minded people at the local level (Martin, Trimillos, Waihee, et al), money (Waihee, HVB), and infrastructure (SFCA, EWC). Without Waihee as governor, Martin as Folk Arts Coordinator, and a flush local economy, the collaboration would never have come to pass. The importance of these factors was thrown into sharp relief by Smithsonian attempts to collaborate with the State of Hawai‘i that followed the 1990 restaging.

There was no lack of vision on the part of the OFP staff; in fact, their vision reached beyond that of the larger Smithsonian establishment. Kennedy, now Deputy Director of the Festival, had been on soft money at the OFP throughout the Hawai‘i project. During the Hawai‘i program, Kurin had been Acting Director of the OFP. New on the job, they developed a daring proposal—to establish a Smithsonian Hawai‘i and Asia/Pacific Center in Honolulu, to be co-sponsored by the State of Hawai‘i. The Smithsonian had begun a number of distal operations designed to take the museum to the people, and the OFP saw a Hawai‘i Center as a dramatic challenge to established hierarchical and Eastern-centric notions of culture. Kennedy said at the restaging:

We at the Smithsonian have learned much from the people of Hawai‘i. We have learned that national institutions, if they are properly to do their job, must engage, as partners—and full partners at that—local communities and state organizations. We have learned that local and regional culture are part of a Nation’s cultural heritage. And we have learned that all wisdom, knowledge, culture, and art does not repose in New York, Boston, and Washington. Hawai‘i’s culture and history, and that of the Pacific need to be brought to national consciousness.⁴⁴

After exploratory letters, on March 1, 1991, Kurin submitted a proposal to Waihee, Hawai‘i’s senators, various members of the Hawai‘i Legislature, and to Bob Adams, Secretary of the Smithsonian. In it, he outlined a rationale for such a research center:

⁴⁴ Kennedy.

“the new center would deal with Hawaii as a multicultural society closely connected to those of the Pacific RimThe Center will research and examine the relationship between culture and economic development, culture and environmental preservation.” This proposal acted on the Festival goal of being a catalyst rather than an end in itself and demonstrated recognition that culture is not static, as it tended to be represented at the Festival; rather, it spoke of culture as dynamic, creative, evolving, and embedded in its socio-political contexts. Kurin creatively engaged the complicity of tourism and culture by proposing that the center would investigate questions about the viability of local culture and whether “bearers of local culture” could “appropriate tourism and control its production of images” while becoming an educational center “along the lines of a continuing festival” and an entity effecting cultural policy. In other words, the Center would pick up where the Festival left off and move beyond simplistic paradigms of cultural conservation that did not take into account contemporary issues.⁴⁵

As a location for the Center, Kurin and Kennedy attempted to rescue a contested property in Waikiki—the historic Waikikian hotel where Kurin and Parker had stayed when they visited Hawai‘i in the Festival planning phase. This attempt became their introduction to the politics of development versus cultural preservation in Hawai‘i. The Waikikian was a historic two-story hotel, a remnant of a bygone era in a resort area quickly transitioning to a high-rise concrete jungle. In it was a bar called the Tahitian Lanai that was frequented by local residents and musicians, as well as tourists, and that was locally famous for its spontaneity and warmth—a rare find in a tourist zone that had become almost exclusively corporate owned and operated.⁴⁶ When a group called People

⁴⁵ Richard Kurin, Memorandum March 1, 1991.

⁴⁶ Will Hoover, “Lanai: The Gang Waxes Nostalgic,” *Honolulu Advertiser* July 25, 1990.

for the Preservation of Hawai‘i’s Socio-cultural Resources learned that it had been bought by a Japanese developer and slated for demolition to make room for yet another high-rise hotel, they circulated a petition to have the building designated a historical landmark and garnered over a thousand signatures. They pointed out that the proposed development was breaking with city codes to control additional development and noted that it was the last of a genre of establishments where locals and *malahinis* (newcomers) freely mixed.⁴⁷ Joining the effort to preserve the Waikikian, Kurin and Kennedy joined the cause, seeking funds to buy the hotel and establish it as a cultural center accessible to locals and tourists alike. Unfortunately, development by a foreign corporation won out despite the best efforts of concerned citizens with OFP backing.

Exploratory correspondence between the OFP and Senator Inouye and Governor Waihee about a research center continued into 1992. Meanwhile, the SFCAs directorship had changed hands; Sarah Richards was replaced by Wendell Silva. Where Richards had dragged her feet, Silva was a strong supporter of the folk arts program and was enthusiastic about the idea. In Hawai‘i, the proposal made it to the legislature, but then got hit by a double economic whammy. At the same time that the OFP was asking for \$40,000 in matching funds from the state to open a center, Franklin Odo, University of Hawai‘i Professor of Ethnic Studies, was proposing a much more ambitious plan—a Museum of Hawai‘i History—and asking for \$200,000.⁴⁸ When Odo approached Kurin about supporting his proposal, the two parties joined forces, but the timing was not auspicious for a large expenditure in the arts just when the Gulf War had funneled off federal funds. The State of Hawai‘i, which had been riding an economic wave, was hard

⁴⁷ Bullard and Eva Robinson Thais, "Project #1: Tahitian Lanai--Waikikian Property," (Honolulu: People for the Preservation of Hawaii's Socio-cultural Resources, Jan. 28, 1991).

⁴⁸ "Hawaii/Smithsonian Center for Asian and Pacific Cultures," (Smithsonian Institution, 1991).

hit. In an address to the Hawai‘i State Legislature entitled “Staying Ahead,” Waihee, with his usual eloquence, expressed strong dissent with the Republican administration, noting that Hawai‘i residents were paying more for interest on the national debt than they were in Hawai‘i State income tax:

To avoid deeper debt, the federal government is increasing taxes, cutting services and mandating the states do more with less federal help. The reality is that with problems as deep and wide as homelessness and pollution, Washington has no coherent domestic policy. In effect, they are passing us the buck, without giving us the buck to do it.⁴⁹

In an atmosphere of financial crisis, despite the OFP interest and the Governor’s ongoing support for expanding the Festival to develop a long-term commitment to cultural preservation, education, and research in Hawai‘i, the piggybacked proposals sank.⁵⁰

Mining the Festival

For the Smithsonian, the Hawai‘i program articulated the democratic ideals on which the Festival had been founded as well as presenting a new paradigm for representing cultural diversity. Kennedy conveyed the OFP’s nostalgia for the Hawai‘i program in his opening speech at the restaging:

In 1989, a bit of Hawai‘i came to the National Mall in Washington, D.C. There in the midst of the National Museums and Monuments, more than 150 exemplary musicians, artists, crafts people, cooks and others demonstrated the richness and diversity of the many cultures that make up Hawai‘i to over 1.5 million visitors. These artists gave a broad American public a sense of Hawai‘i that went beyond the naïve stereotypes and notions of sun, sand, and sea. They gave us all a sense of the people of

⁴⁹ John Waihee, "State of the State Address: 'Staying Ahead,'" (Honolulu: Office of the Governor, January 22, 1991).

⁵⁰ Reflecting on this effort years later, Kurin said that perhaps if he had not been so green on the job he might have been able to get the proposal through, but this perspective does not take into account that without sympathetic supporters in state government and agencies, many lofty ventures get mired in Hawai‘i. As one reply to Kennedy’s inquiries warned, people in the islands can also be very protective of their “turf” Kurin.

these islands. Most of all, they brought with them and conveyed the spirit of aloha. Frankly, in Washington these days we miss the *aloha* spirit, and need it badly.⁵¹

The “aloha spirit” never quite left Washington, D.C., however, because the Hawai‘i program was mined by the OFP for useful by-products. Folkways Music had produced two audiotapes of Hawai‘i music for sale at the Festival, one an anthology of Hawai‘i musics and one of Puerto Rican music in Hawai‘i.⁵² The Smithsonian newsletter was renamed “Talk Story,” the Hawaiian term for conversation. In 1991, a Smithsonian Cookbook was produced, and Hawai‘i was included in a section called “The Islands,” for which Moriarty contributed an article that incorporated foods from several of Hawai‘i’s ethnic groups and ended with Hawai‘i’s version of fast food—the plate lunch.⁵³ In 1995, the Hawai‘i program was one of three chosen for the Virtual Smithsonian Festival website.⁵⁴ This website features an African (Yoruba) naming ceremony, Borderlands culture (Southwestern States and Mexican border), and a Hawaiian *lū‘au* with several related sub-topic links under each of the three topics.

In addition to information on typical foods one might find at a Hawaiian *lū‘au*, the Hawai‘i segment offers photographs and information on hula, falsetto singing, and *lei* customs. It includes a bibliography of suggested readings on culture and one reference on Hawai‘i history. On the one hand, this virtual site enacts the educational mission of the OFP by establishing an online reference, but its informational value is mediated by its

⁵¹Kennedy.

⁵² Haunani Apoliona et al., *Musics of Hawai‘i* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1989), sound recording, Hoover, “Lanai: The Gang Waxes Nostalgic.”, Ted Solâis, *Puerto Rican Kachi-Kachi Music in Hawai‘i* (Washington, D.C., Cambridge, Mass.: Smithsonian Folkways ; Distributed by Rounder Records, 1989), sound recording.

⁵³ Katherine S. Kirlin and Thomas M. Kirlin, *Smithsonian Folklife Cookbook* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991).

⁵⁴ *Virtual Smithsonian Folklife Festival* [Website] (Smithsonian Institution, 1995 [cited May 20 2004]); available from <http://www.folklife.si.edu/CFCH/virtualfestival.htm>.

circular re-presentation of Festival culture as authentic culture and by the doubled use of recycled and reconstituted cultural performance for educational purposes and institutional promotion. The virtual venue permits visual images and sound bytes, bringing the Festival to life but in limited space where tidbits of the Festival are fragmented and de-contextualized. Bits of Native Hawaiian culture have been skimmed out of what the Festival (and Moriarty's cookbook article, which had incorporated immigration and modernization) had presented as a complex, cosmopolitan culture and thus appear to stand in for the whole of Hawai'i culture. In the past, Native Hawaiian traditional culture has been repeatedly mined by outsiders "going native" as an escape from the pressures of modernity, conformity, and hegemony, and what is different in the Virtual Festival treatment is the attempt to re-contextualize these icons by portraying authentic Hawaiians at the Festival. Although the intent is no doubt to provoke interest in further research (provided one were to read the one history listed and use it as a point of departure), taken as is, the presentation operates much like a museum collection of cultural relics.

The "Virtual Festival" teeters between museum strategies of collection and action. Clifford has pointed out that collection and decontextualization imply possession and facilitate power through the acquisition of knowledge of one group about another.⁵⁵ Looking from an opposing direction, MacLeod, in discussing the post-colonial museum of the Pacific, asserts that "Treating objects in the context of their local importance restores sovereignty to their owners" and negotiates away "ancient binaries."⁵⁶ The Virtual Festival attempts to perform a post-colonial action by recontextualizing culture.

⁵⁵ James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture : Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988).

⁵⁶ Roy MacLeod, "Postcolonialism and Museum Knowledge: Revisiting the Museums of the Pacific," *Pacific Science* 52, no. 4 (1998).

However, the danger is that showcased in cyberspace, Hawai‘i lapses back to the monocultural portrayal favored by the tourist industry, and, like flies in amber, the same fragments of indigenous culture that have been exoticized since the Hawaiiana craze that followed the 1915 Panama Pacific International Exhibition—*hula*, *lū‘au*, *lei*, and slack-key—are again used to interpolate the Hawaiian islands as a primitivized and conflict-free zone.

In addition to being reproduced as products, the Hawai‘i program has been embedded into Smithsonian history as an institutional epiphany and Festival watershed. According to Kurin, the OFP had been involved in an internal crisis prior to the Hawai‘i program and was a place where “nobody wanted to go to work.” In a time of crisis, the Hawai‘i program appeared as the perfect program. Its transformative power was attributed to genial people, ample funding, and enthusiastic reception. Another reason for its being upheld as a model was because it marked a turning point in OFP administration when Kurin had just stepped into the Director’s position and Kennedy came on board. Earlier programs had featured ethnic groups from American states and regions, American Indians, and occupational groups, but increasingly the OFP was being drawn to transnational programs such as the Old World—New World program that began in the late 1970’s and continued into the 1980’s. The 1988 Festival marked the Centennial of the American Folklore Association and brought folklorists to the Mall to discuss their work alongside “the folk.” This program implied the beginning of a new self-consciousness and self-reflexivity in the work of culture brokers, akin to post-colonial directions in the academic anthropology. However, true to the Festival tendency toward education and celebration, sessions were mostly descriptive. The festival-making process in Hawai‘i

had defied previous processes and categorizations, helping to shape a new paradigm for the Festival process, one that would recognize the need to be informed by local fieldworkers and inclusive of ever more complex ethnic identities. Small failures of the Hawai‘i program, such as the exclusion of Mary Jo Freshley from Korean dance on the grounds of her race, were absorbed as lessons for future programs. Kennedy thoughtfully says now that the Hawai‘i program was a learning experience and that they would do that and other things differently now.⁵⁷

Hawai‘i program workers attribute personal epiphanies to the Hawai‘i program with results that illustrate the difficulties of eluding the seductive tropes of tourism. One OFP staff person, who preferred not to be quoted, attributed a “Buddha-like quality” to the people of Hawai‘i. Several made pilgrimages to the islands, and some bought condos there, so they could return regularly. In 2001, one State Department employee who had worked on the 1989 Festival enthusiastically told me that the Hawai‘i program had “changed [his] life.” “Look!” he said, and showed off his neo-traditional armband tattoo as evidence of his transformation.⁵⁸ Genuinely moved by their experience of the culture and people of Hawai‘i (or by the Smithsonian/SFCA repackaging of Hawai‘i as an inclusive paradise), the well-intentioned enthusiasm of these culture workers found expression through some of the very avenues that the Festival had sought to question: orientalizing, “going native,” and contributing to development.

⁵⁷ Richard Kennedy, June 17, 2003.

⁵⁸ See Marianna Torgovnick, *Gone Primitive : Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

Hawai'i as national metaphor

When a new Festival promotional film was produced in 2002 by the OFP, Hawai'i replaced and revised earlier Smithsonian representation of Appalachia as the ultimate symbol of American diversity. Bracketed within Smithsonian promotional materials, portions of the Hawai'i program re-presented Hawai'i as a national asset and as an OFP tool to expound the textural and spatial dimensions of American diversity. Permanently quoted within a new institutionally produced text, Waihee's address from the 1989 opening ceremony, which focused on what Hawai'i was bringing to the National Mall and the nation, takes on a global dimension and becomes a statement about what the OFP is contributing to national ideology by way of having represented Hawai'i. Whereas the earlier promo film that had been presented to the Hawai'i planning meetings held in 1988 had a soundtrack dominated by Appalachian fiddle music, the new video features an extended Hawai'i sequence that operates as a fulcrum between state/regional programs and international programs such as the ones on India and Tibet (also shown). Hawai'i is constructed as both America's past, as a sort of alternative Ellis Island, and as its future, in the form of an American-owned global village.

Utilized within Festival promotion, the Hawai'i program ultimately becomes a calling card for OFP (now the CFCH) success in cultural facilitation and interpretation. By extension, the State of Hawai'i is presented as poster child for a new national paradigm of American multiculturalism that transcends the old melting pot metaphor and replaces the old world/new world transnationalism with a cultural paradigm that is much more complex: revitalized indigeneity, creolization, and domesticated internationalism.

In the video, Hawai'i segues the OFP into a vision of an American-mediated, peaceful, and colorful globalism.

Changed Contexts

In her study of the colonization of Hawai'i through law, Merry identifies several forms of resistance to hegemonic domination, some confrontational and others operating from within the dominant system and using its own tools to alter its structure.⁵⁹ Keeping these resistance variations in mind makes room to discern how institutional agencies and communities might each perceive their actions as forms of resistance. In 1989, the Ecumenical Council on Tourism in Hawai'i had issued a public statement about how tourism was devastating to both the ecology of the islands and culture of the Hawaiian people.⁶⁰ The restaging, as the product of a government agency, demonstrated a very different philosophical direction. Operating with state and national funding, the restaging and related projects were an effort to harness government and business interests to support traditional arts preservation projects and to change the terms of tourism rather than confront the industry. The restaging was overtly geared toward education for residents, and workshops for training public culture workers to stage events on the Smithsonian model. Fieldwork and collaboration were stressed as ways to aspire toward cultural "authenticity." In the context of omnipresent tourist kitsch in Hawai'i, advocating cultural tourism that rejected commodified Hawaiiana and replaced it with

⁵⁹ Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 12.

⁶⁰ *The 1989 Hawai'i Declaration of the Hawai'i Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism Conference Tourism in Hawai'i: Its Impact on Native Hawaiians and Its Challenge to the Churches* (1989 [cited July 28 2004]); available from <http://members.tripod.com/~MPHAWAII/Tourism/The1989.htm>.

respectful depictions of community-based culture constituted resistance to the uses and abuses of culture committed by corporate tourism.

The workshops, from another perspective, also co-opted culture. Hawaiian ideas/customs like *‘ohana*, *aloha*, and *malama‘āina* were utilized as inclusive and abstract concepts that served to link cultural groups and include culture workers by way of institutionally defined Hawaiianess. A community spectacle four years later, the Onipa‘a, demonstrates that Hawaiianess in a grassroots context was being construed very differently from the institutionally sanctioned version that presented Hawaiians as hosts and Hawaiian culture as the ambiance and glue for multicultural unity.

The Hawai‘i program and its restaging represented a form of resistance from within that had celebrated having a Native Hawaiian in office, the year of the Hawaiian in 1987, and the Hawaiian renaissance. Grassroots Native Hawaiian groups chose to resist hegemony through different means, and in 1993 they, too, used spectacle and traditional culture as tools to further their cause. From January 14 to 17, 1993, the Onipa‘a Centennial Committee, a conglomeration of sovereignty groups working through the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, performed an on-site restaging of the 1893 overthrow, a bloodless coup in which a group of mostly American businessmen had enlisted the US Marines to force the abdication of Queen Lili‘uokalani and illegally seize control of the Hawaiian Islands. Twenty thousand people were in attendance, and the four-day theatrical event publicly established a call for Hawaiian sovereignty.

The restaging and the Onipa‘a—both of which utilized staged authenticity in the interests of nationalism—illustrate different strategies of resistance and raise questions about what form had the most resonance in the local context. There were obvious

differences in form between the two events. One was a festival and one was living history. At the Onipa‘a, there was no pretense of entertainment. The Festival had showcased real people performing themselves in a present informed by the past. The Onipa‘a used actors to reenact the past as a way to inform the present. Most importantly, the Onipa‘a openly articulated the frames of colonization: missionization and political/military/cultural dominance. The restaging erased them.

Like the Hawai‘i program, the Onipa‘a utilized rituals, pageantry, procession, and traditional culture to accomplish an educational purpose. Similarly, it began with rituals and became interactive. Iolani Palace was draped entirely in black bunting, as it had been for the funeral of King Kalākaua. The first day, leaders of Hawaiian organizations entered the palace to give *ho‘okupu* (spiritual offerings). On the second day, the overthrow was performed, a performance that moved many in the crowd to lose track of the unreality of the staging and become involved with the actors. The third day a stone *ahu* (altar) was erected and offerings made. Then on the final day, sixteen thousand people marched on the palace and an apology was given by a representative of the United Church of Christ for the damage its predecessors had perpetrated against the Hawaiian people. This was followed by a speech by the actress playing the Queen in which she told the people “Onipa‘a! Hold fast!” The final ceremony was a torchlight procession.

This combination of theater, ritual, and communal observation combined culture with politics in what Arnie Saiki identifies as a powerful recuperation of loss.⁶¹ The sense of loss Saiki refers to had no place in the Festival/restaging narrative, however. Where the Smithsonian/SFCA model presented traditional culture as a way of celebrating

⁶¹ Arnie Saiki, *Restoring Loss: Performing Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Globulab, 2002 1993 [cited May 10 2004]); available from http://www.globulog.com/restoring_loss.html.

adaptation, survival, and unity, the Onipa'a enacted a narrative of disruption and victimization. The former implied that Hawai'i and Hawaiians had transcended politics through culture, but the other left room for resolution and political mobilization. Saiki argues that a cathartic recognition of loss is necessary to healing. If so, the narrative of benign multiculturalism and happy hybridity, along with the obligations incurred through institutional affiliation, blunted the political edge of Hawaiian resistance. Thus far, accounts of the Festival and the Onipa'a seem to have paid no heed to each other, but together they articulate tensions neither can make legible alone. Tellingly, the Onipa'a seems much better remembered as a ritual of empowerment than is the restaging, the program designed to empower participants and communities.

Conclusion

There were happy outcomes to federal attention to Hawai'i—some of which may have been attributable to Hawai'i's high visibility vis-à-vis the Festival. In September of 1991, Hawai'i received the largest National Heritage Foundation grant ever given to a state. It was the first such grant for Hawai'i, given for summer training of secondary school teachers teaching Hawai'i heritage, and it signaled serious attention to incorporating a history and heritage that had been previously excised. In 1990 and 1991, the Smithsonian repatriated 209 Hawaiian remains for burial. Smithsonian attention to the State of Hawai'i from 1988-90 may have influenced a number of positive outcomes by putting the State in the federal limelight. Of course, we can only conjecture due to

timing that these actions were in any way predicated on Hawai'i representation at the Festival.⁶²

The legacy of the Festival shows that the Hawai'i program in Washington, D.C. helped the OFP to facilitate an expanded national discourse of dynamic cross-culturalism that was simultaneously American and global. It helped the OFP reinvent the Festival from a focus on geographically bounded American folklife to one with more permeable boundaries. In the aftermath, sound, image, and concept bytes mined from the Festival provided materials and justification for future OFP projects. Likewise in Hawai'i, the Washington program and the restaging raised the profile of the SFCA Folk Arts Program and provided fodder for several impressive and valuable projects. Both productions became sites from which the carefully crafted discourse of Hawai'i multiculturalism and framing of traditional culture were reproduced as an alternative to the imaging of Hawai'i by the corporate-controlled tourist industry. They also became sites of meaning-making for individual Festival/restaging participants through both the machinations of memory and of media.

The Hawai'i program, which had recontextualized Hawai'i in a national frame, did not, however, have the same resonance at home that it did at the Smithsonian. In both memory and media the Festival was as contested a site as it was in production. This fact, combined with the contrast between the restaging and the Onipa'a as opposed local sites of meaning-making, attests to there being multiple narratives of ethnic identity in the islands. Dislocated from long-term collaboration, the Smithsonian/SFCA festivals and their offshoots became the locus for perpetuating, through a cultural preservation model,

⁶² These actions are all recounted as evidence of Hawai'i's importance vis-à-vis the Smithsonian in the proposal for a distal Smithsonian office in Hawai'i. "Hawai'i/Smithsonian Center for Asian and Pacific Cultures," (Smithsonian Institution, 1991).

a de-politicized version of Hawai'i. The proposed research center could have extended and expanded the research begun for the Festival into socially and politically relevant policy issues, but local and national economics conspired against long-term change and collaboration.

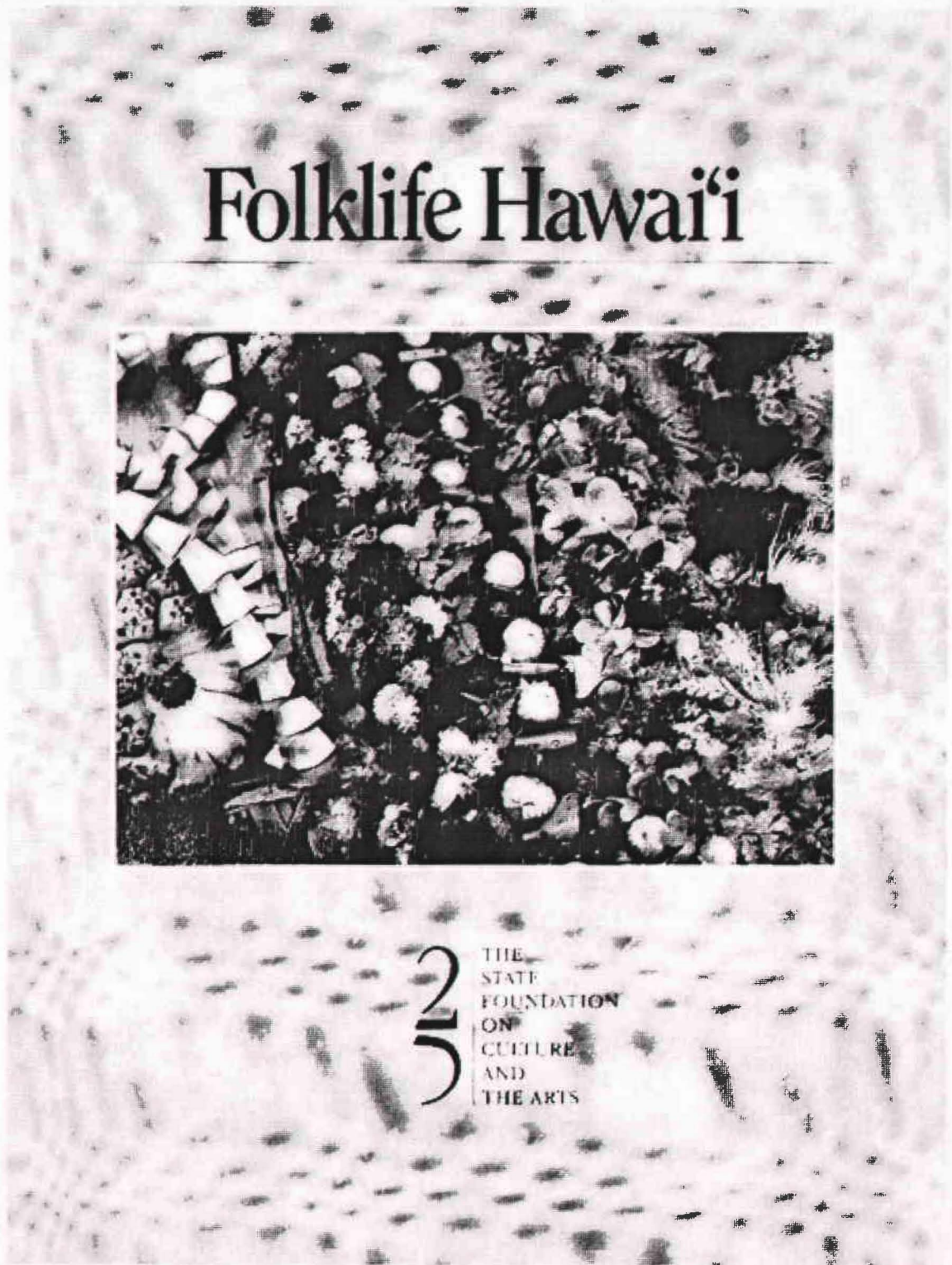


Figure 15. Folklife Hawai'i program book cover



Figure 16. Governor Waihee posing with Native Americans (Waihee in headdress)



Figure 17. Local children with Native American presenter



Figure 18. Portuguese *forno* on Magic Island



Figure 19. Okinawan dancers at restaging

EPILOGUE

In 2002, on my first visit to the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, I asked Diana Parker if she thought the Folklife Festival was subversive. Her immediate reply was, "God, I hope so!" For many reasons, I think she is right. After all, in 1989, one could step out of the Museum of Natural History where Hawaiians are still portrayed as artifacts or out of the National Portrait Gallery where art is all great masters in gilt frames and see real people from Hawai'i practicing beautiful and meaningful living traditions. I think that qualifies as subversion. My exploration has not been intended as an invalidation of the CFCH mission. Rather, it has been an investigation into how it was applied in relation to the complex socio-political reality of Hawai'i and what it meant at the national and local levels for a former sovereign nation and territory to be inserted into national space.

The issues I have raised in relation to the production and impact of the Hawai'i program at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival are not new ones, nor were they unfamiliar to the directors and staff at the OFP in 1988-90. In 1978, many of the same questions were debated by public sector folklorists and scholars in a seminar on festival issues held at Berkeley and sponsored by the National Council on Traditional Arts and the NEH.¹ Central to the discussion were questions about the intent of folklife festivals. Attendees agreed that folklife festivals are marginally political in that they can serve to reinforce identity and that they support cultural advocacy. They also agreed that there are many tensions and contradictions inherent in festivals, such as issues of cultural authority,

¹ David E. Whisnant, "Folk Festival Issues Report from a Seminar," (Los Angeles: John Edwards Memorial Foundation at the Folklore and Mythology Center, University of California, July 31, 1978).

enforcement of cultural definitions, and private agendas. They recognized that festivals brought out tensions between conservative aesthetics and liberal politics, between minority and mass culture, and between the celebratory nature of festivals and the social and political problems in society. Where they strongly disagreed was on the function of festival in the face of these tensions. What impact and responsibility does a festival have? David Whisnant, author of an important study on the politics of folk music festivals in Appalachia, argued that festivals, in divorcing culture from politics, have the effect of artificially soothing audiences rather than stressing the correlations between carriers of traditional culture and contemporary life. Bess Hawes, Director of the Folklife Center at the Library of Congress, disagreed, saying that festivals should do what festivals do best—be festive. She argued that they have only the limited function of celebratizing, socializing, sharing, and healing. Several people agreed that festivals have only a small job to do and should confine themselves to that function, but added that festivals are also instigators and can introduce and start conversations about larger issues. Smithsonian staff took a slightly different perspective, saying that what festivals do is political, albeit covertly so. The Hawai‘i program crystallized these debates.

On several levels, the Hawai‘i program successfully reimaged Hawai‘i in relation to the rest of the nation. It brought Hawai‘i’s peoples and histories to mainland consciousness, and pointed to the selective amnesia of mainstream historical accounts about America’s relationship with Hawai‘i. Ethnic groups that had been effectively disappeared became both visible and storied. Through captioning and textual support, indigenous practices that had been essentialized as both relics and “timeless” in tourist venues were embodied and informed by the past. The program design employed an

interactive, dialogic model that made space for tradition bearers to speak. In performance genres and through demonstrations, appropriated and commodified cultural practices were reconnected to cultural practitioners and sensibilities. Combined, these aspects of the festival-making process were and are revolutionary, particularly when compared to the commercialized practices of corporate controlled tourism in the Pacific and to the Smithsonian's past role in ethnographic study and spectacle.

If we approach the Hawaii program through Hawes' perspective on the function of festivals, then the festival truly did what festivals do best—it celebrated Hawai'i folklife and people. What was not as easy to see was that it also defined them. A close reading of the planning, fieldwork, and production processes reveals that the program paradigm was tightly controlled at all levels, and while this was done to secure the success of the program and to seal out the corruptions of tourism, its effect was also to cull out dissident voices through careful selection of planners, fieldworkers, and participants and the relegation of conflict to a selectively narrated past and its exclusion from an aestheticized present. In keeping with the rationale of national arts agencies, the Hawai'i program was used to foreground a national narrative of cultural diversity as a counter narrative to cultural homogeneity. Read in the context of Hawai'i and the Pacific, however, this effort to mythologize Hawai'i as America's global village had other implications. The representation of living traditions in Hawai'i masked living contexts. It symbolically leveled Hawaii's rich and poor, and by relegating the issues of colonialism to the past, gave the impression that local and federal government and even the tourist industry were fully invested in the best interests of the people.

The Hawai'i program unfolded within national, state, and tourist frames that influenced its form and message. Of course, it behooves an arts agency dependent on federal funding to present itself as politically neutral if it wants to survive. Consequently, the version of Hawai'i that was crafted for representation on the Mall was a conservative view that celebrated intercultural balance without publicly recognizing how it evolved as a means of coping with economic and political disparity. The Festival is a tourist event, and despite its attention to maximizing educational opportunities, it is calibrated to the tourist gaze and its educational endeavors are tailored to being engaging, entertaining, upbeat, and festive. In their efforts to portray multicultural harmony, the Hawai'i program organizers erased or neutralized any traces of real conflict. This erasure, in turn, erased the causes of conflict in the present by either containing them in the past making them invisible in the present.

Whisnant has argued that festivals can have the effect of lulling the public into thinking all is well if they present only the bright side of culture and omit the politics that continue to oppress many culture bearers and their communities.² In 1989, Hawai'i was rife with public debates over land, socio-economic disparities, tourism, and development, and while these issues were discussed on the Festival narrative stages, the larger message presented by the program negated them. Homogenizing Hawaiian culture into core program values worked to make the program cohere and reiterated the tourist tropes that use Hawaiian language and traditional culture to sell Hawai'i. The legacy of the Hawai'i program continues to reinforce, through its ongoing reproductions of aesthetized, ethnized Hawai'i culture, the notion that all is well in Hawai'i and that Hawai'i is a gift to the rest of the world.

² David Whisnant, Letter to Ralph Rinzler August 27, 1973.

In their efforts to give voice to Festival participants, organizers made themselves and whiteness invisible as well. Disappearing whiteness worked to foreground indigenous and immigrant peoples, but it also deceptively disappeared the frames of power. Johnson and Underiner stress how forefronting ethnicity and authenticity in cultural exhibition is linked to the erasure of colonialism:

To ignore whiteness—and the privilege it inherits—not only marks the Other as different, ethnic, exotic; it also denies the power, politics, and historical legacy of colonial discourse. This problem for the invisibility of whiteness is caught up in the illusionary search for authenticity in the Other.³

Invisible in the Festival reimagining of Hawai‘i were military and touristic neo-colonialism, the political dominance of *kama‘āina haole* and local Japanese and the economic dominance of American mainland and Japanese corporations. Native Hawaiian resistances were hidden by being aestheticized. *Haole* control over the Hawai‘i program concept and production was hidden in plain sight by their non-performance onstage and omnipresence in program administration.

On the other hand, what is missing from all of these views is participant agency. Without the participants, there is no Festival, and Hawai‘i participants went to Washington voluntarily and came away, for the most part, enriched and empowered by the experience. They chose to work within the parameters of the Festival constructions of ethnicity and traditionality—some of them only temporarily taking on the labels, like the Okinawans who agreed to be “folk” for the sake of the Festival even though they played court music and considered “folk” a term applied to peasants.⁴ In the seams of the

³ Katie N. Johnson and Tamara Underiner, "Command Performances: Staging Native Americans at Tillicum Village," in *Selling the Indian: Commercializing & Appropriating American Indian Cultures*, ed. Carter Jones Meyer, and Diana Royer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2001).

⁴ Ricardo Trimillos, interview by author, October 1, 2003.

Festival, participants resisted covertly as they defined themselves outside of and in spite of program categories. They may have felt constrained by the festival frames, but they clearly did not feel threatened and had decided that compliance was advantageous for personal and community reasons.

If we step back one more circle from the Hawai‘i program as an interactive performance zone in which ideologies of power were encoded and decoded between its frames, staff, and participants, it appears as part of a complex dance between Hawai‘i and mainland America—a dance of resistance, compliance, and centrality. Waihee had offered Hawaii’s “spirit of aloha” to the nation in his Festival address, an offering “to the nation of nations from the community of communities.” His speech strategically interpolated the well-worn notion of native hospitality. On the surface, this performance beckoned to tourism, yet it also withheld itself and Hawai‘i from the rest of the nation. Waihee presented a Hawai‘i both within and separate from the nation to which it proffered its gifts. Anthropologist Annette Weiner has argued that the notion of gifting in Polynesian tradition has been misinterpreted by Western scholars and others to mean reciprocity when, in fact, wealth is actually displayed to protect and withhold what is most valued. A note of this withholding appears in Waite’s speech to the Hawai‘i legislature in 1991, a speech that stands in contrast to his 1989 Festival address:

We are used to living with paradox. We call it diversity. Neither east nor west, part of American---yet still an island people looking inward and outward at the same time. Pacific people carving out an international identity, and stubbornly guarding our values, traditions, and quality of life.⁵

⁵ John Waihee, "State of the State Address: 'Staying Ahead,'" (Honolulu: Office of the Governor, January 22, 1991).

At the Festival, Waihee located Hawai‘i as the center of the Pacific. In this local address, he valorizes that center as an international zone, a “crossroads of the Pacific”⁶ that is not simply an American frontier. He asserts that people in Hawai‘i are tenaciously hanging on to, rather than giving away, culture and the ways of life to which it is intrinsic.

In 2003, I interviewed former Festival participant and NHF award winner Richard Ho‘opi‘i in the tiny village where he lives on Maui. We sat at a picnic table behind the church where he is a lay minister, and he talked about the wonderful times he had at the Festival and how it had launched a career for himself and his brother. He also talked emotionally about the young people leaving Hawai‘i to find jobs and how tourism and development have accelerated change. He summed up the problem of American appropriation of *aloha* by saying:

I think after the Festival, everyone in Washington wanted to come to Hawai‘i. It’s not that we don’t want them to come. We don’t mind Giving them our *aloha*. But we also want to be able to tell them goodbye.⁷

The Festival and the restaging reinforced geniality, hospitality, reciprocity, and inclusivity as inherent in “local” and indigenous lifestyles. For tourism and culture brokering, of course, this is the happiest of solutions, for it constructs an exotic locale and its wonderful people as ever welcoming to those displaced souls (mostly white, urban, elite) who long for a sense of belonging and community. This is not to say that these attributes do not exist. To ask whether these attributes are customary in Hawai‘i is the wrong question. At issue is the impact when a nationally sponsored institution redefines and appropriates them for national use and they are imported back into Hawai‘i as the

⁶ Rob Wilson, *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge, New Americanists* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).

⁷ Richard Ho‘opi‘i, interview by author, May 21, 2003.

officially endorsed status quo. The question is to what extent essentializing them construes their opposites as un-Hawaiian and bargains away the language of protest, ownership, identity, and recovery.

APPENDIX

Folklife Hawai'i

Schedule of Events



A Festival in Celebration of the
25th Anniversary of
The State Foundation on Culture and the Arts
October 18 - 21, 1990

Thursday October 18, 1990

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information

Main Music Stage	Festival Music	Hula Stage	Children's Area	Narrative Stage	Food Demonstrations	Craft Demonstrations
9:00 Camoës Players	9:00 Family Camarillo	9:00 Samoan Music and Dance	9:00 Hawaiian Games and Paniolo Roping	9:00 Family Celebrations	9:00 Hawaiian	9:00 am - 5:30 pm Ongoing Craft and Occupational Demonstrations
9:45 Okinawan Music and Dance	9:45 Clyde Sproat	9:45 Zuttermeister Family	9:45 Plains Indian Presentation	9:45 Paniolo Lifestyle and Traditions	10:00 Filipino	
10:30 Ku'ulei's Own	10:30 Vietnamese Folk Theatre Duo/Laotian Khene Playing	10:30 Waimea Church Choir	10:30 Halla Pai Huhm	10:30 Oceanlore	11:00 American Indian	
11:15 Lawtell Playboys	11:15 Raymond Kane and Elodia Kane	11:15 Halau O Kekuhi	11:15 Storytelling	11:15 Asians in Hawai'i	Noon Okinawan	Hawaiian Leimaking (Floral, Feather and Shell), Woodworking, Musical Instruments, Lauhala Weaving, Quiltmaking, Pa'u Dressing and Horse Leimaking, Samoan Fine Mat Weaving, Okinawan Textile Weaving, Japanese Bullrush sandalmaking, Japanese Stitchery, Chinese Taoist Religious ceremonies, Chinese Calligraphy, Chinese Paper Cuts, Filipino Parol Making, Filipino Basketmaking, Chinese Herbal Healing, Hawaiian La'au Lapa'au, Samoan Herbal Healing, Koa Canoe Building, Taro Cultivation, Throw Net Fishing, Saddlemaking, Rawhide Braiding, Laotian Textile Weaving, and Laotian Ceremonial Floral Arranging.
Noon Ho'opi'i Brothers	Noon Halla Pai Huhm	Noon Plains Indian Ensemble	Noon Chinese and Okinawan Lions	Noon Plantation Life in Hawai'i	1:00 Chinese	
12:45 Family Camarillo	12:45 Clyde Sproat	12:45 Na Hula O La'i Kealoha	12:45 Hula Lessons	12:45 Herbal Healing	2:00 Cajun	
1:30 Haunani Apoliona/Ledward Ka'apana	1:30 Vietnamese Folk Theatre Duo/Laotian Khene Playing	1:30 Waimea Church Choir	1:30 Hawaiian Games and Paniolo Roping	1:30 Access to Natural Resources		
2:15 El Conjunto Boricua	2:15 Okinawan Music and Dance	2:15 Plains Indian Ensemble	2:15 Storytelling	2:15 Guitar Styles Workshop		
3:00 Camoës Players	3:00 Opening Ceremony Ho'opi'i Brothers	3:00 Samoan Music Ensemble	3:00 Hula Lessons			
3:45 Raymond Kane and Elodia Kane	Kau'i Zuttermeister Papa Henry Auwae Speaker's Remarks	3:45 Na Hula O La'i Ke Aloha	3:45 Halla Pai Huhm			
4:30 Ku'ulei's Own	Kuo Min Tang Physical Culture Association	4:30 Waimea Church Choir	4:30 Camoës Players	4:45 pm Percussion Workshop	4:30 pm Portuguese	
	5:00 El Conjunto Boricua					

6:00
First United Methodist Church Tongan Choir
6:20
Lawtell Playboys
7:00
Voices of Trinity
7:20
Hawaiian Music with Na Hula O La'i Kealoha

Obon Dance at the Obon Tower
10:00 - 10:30 am
11:00 - 11:30 am
12:00 - 12:30 pm
5:00 - 5:30 pm

Friday October 19, 1990

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information

Main Music Stage	Festival Music	Hula Stage	Children's Area	Narrative Stage	Food Demonstrations	Craft Demonstrations
9:00 Camoes Players	9:00 Ku'ulei's Own	9:00 Samoan Music and Dance	9:00 Hawaiian Games and Paniolo Roping	9:00 Plantation Life in Hawai'i	9:00 Okinawan	9:00 am - 5:30 pm Ongoing Craft and Occupational Demonstrations Hawaiian Leimaking (Floral, Feather and Shell), Woodworking, Musical Instruments, Lauhala Weaving, Quiltmaking, Pa'u Dressing and Horse Leimaking, Samoan Fine Mat Weaving, Okinawan Textile Weaving, Japanese Bullrush sandalmaking, Japanese Stitchery, Chinese Taoist Religious ceremonies, Chinese Calligraphy, Chinese Paper Cuts, Filipino Parol Making, Filipino Basketmaking, Chinese Herbal Healing, Hawaiian La'au Lapa'au, Samoan Herbal Healing, Koa Canoe Building, Taro Cultivation, Throw Net Fishing, Saddlemaking, Rawhide Braiding, Laotian Textile Weaving, and Laotian Ceremonial Floral Arranging.
9:45 Okinawan Music and Dance	9:45 Ho'opi'i Brothers	9:45 Zuttermeister Family	9:45 Storytelling	9:45 Hula Training	10:00 Cajun	
10:30 Ku'ulei's Own	10:30 Family Camarillo	10:30 Waimea Church Choir	10:30 Plains Indian Presentation	10:30 Paniolo Lifestyle and Traditions	11:00 Portuguese	
11:15 Lawtell Playboys	11:15 Raymond Kane and Elodia Kane	11:15 Halau O Kekuhi	11:15 Halla Pai Huhm	11:15 Oceanlore	Noon Hawaiian	
Noon Ho'opi'i Brothers	Noon Vietnamese Folk Theatre Duo/Laotian Khene Playing	Noon Plains Indian Ensemble	Noon Chinese and Okinawan Lions	Noon Hardwoods in Hawai'i	1:00 American Indian	
12:45 Family Camarillo	12:45 Camoes Players	12:45 Na Hula O La'i Kealoha	12:45 Hula Lessons	12:45 Asians in Hawai'i	2:00 Chinese	
1:30 El Conjunto Boricua	1:30 Clyde Sproat	1:30 Samoan Music Ensemble	1:30 Hawaiian Games and Paniolo Roping	1:30 Quiltmaking	3:00 Filipino	
2:15 Lawtell Playboys	2:15 Vietnamese Folk Theatre Duo/Laotian Khene Playing	2:15 Zuttermeister Family	2:15 Chinese and Okinawan Lions	2:15 Family Celebrations		
3:00 Raymond Kane and Elodia Kane	3:00 Halla Pai Huhm	3:00 Waimea Church Choir	3:00 Storytelling	3:00 Herbal Healing		
3:45 Ku'ulei's Own	3:45 Okinawan Music and Dance	3:45 Plains Indian Ensemble	3:45 Hula Lessons	3:45 Music and Tourism		
4:30 El Conjunto Boricua	4:30 Clyde Sproat	4:30 Na Hula O La'i Ke Aloha	4:30 Samoan Ensemble	4:30 Cultural Preservation		

6:00
First United Methodist Church Tongan Choir
6:20
Halau O Kekuhi
6:35
Hawaiian Music w/ Halau O Kekuhi
7:25
El Conjunto Boricua
7:55
Voices of Trinity
8:20
Lawtell Playboys

Obon Dance at the Obon Tower
10:00 - 10:30 am
11:00 - 11:30 am
12:00 - 12:30 pm
4:00 - 5:00 pm

Saturday October 20, 1990

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information

Main Music Stage	Festival Music	Hula Stage	Children's Area	Narrative Stage	Food Demonstrations	Craft Demonstrations
						9:00 am - 5:30 pm Ongoing Craft and Occupational Demonstrations
10:00 Carnoes Players	10:00 Raymond Kane and Elodia Kane	10:00 Halau O Kekuhi	10:00 Hawaiian Games and Paniolo Roping	10:00 Herbal Healing	10:00 Chinese	Hawaiian Leimaking (Floral, Feather and Shell), Woodworking, Musical Instruments, Lauhala Weaving, Quiltmaking, Pa'u Dressing and Horse Leimaking, Samoan Fine Mat Weaving, Okinawan Textile Weaving, Japanese Bullrush sandalmaking, Japanese Stitchery, Chinese Taoist Religious ceremonies, Chinese Calligraphy, Chinese Paper Cuts, Filipino Parol Making, Filipino Basketmaking, Chinese Herbal Healing, Hawaiian La'au Lapa'au, Samoan Herbal Healing, Koa Canoe Building, Taro Cultivation, Throw Net Fishing, Saddlemaking, Rawhide Braiding, Laotian Textile Weaving, and Laotian Ceremonial Floral Arranging.
10:45 Ku'ulei's Own	10:45 Family Camarillo	10:45 Samoan Music Ensemble	10:45 American Indian Presentation	10:45 'Ukulele Styles Workshop	11:00 Filipino	
11:30 Lawtell Playboys	11:30 American Indian Ensemble	11:30 Zuttermeister Family	11:30 Chinese and Okinawan Lions	11:30 Rhythm and Percussion Workshop	Noon American Indian	
12:15 Ho'opi'i Brothers	12:15 Laotian Khene Ensemble/Vietnamese Folk Theatre Duo	12:15 Waimea Church Choir	12:15 Hula Lessons	12:15 Tourism in Hawai'i		
1:00 El Conjunto Boricua	1:00 Clyde Sproat	1:00 Halau O Kekuhi	1:00 Hawaiian Games and Paniolo Roping	1:00 Hula Training	1:00 Okinawan	
1:45 American Indian Ensemble	1:45 Okinawan Music and Dance	1:45 Voices of Trinity	1:45 Halla Pai Huhm	1:45 Island Storytelling	2:00 Cajun	
2:30 Lawtell Playboys	2:30 pm Ku'ulei's Own	2:30 Na Hula O La'i Kealoha	2:30 Chinese and Okinawan Lions	2:30 Access to Natural Resources	3:00 Portuguese	
3:15 Family Camarillo	3:15 Laotian Khene Ensemble/Vietnamese Folk Theatre Duo	3:15 First United Methodist Church Tongan Choir	3:15 Hula Lessons	3:15 Native Language Revival		
4:00 El Conjunto Boricua	4:00 Halla Pai Huhm	4:00 Zuttermeister Family	4:00 Storytelling	4:00 Oceanlore	4:00 Hawaiian	
4:45 Voices of Trinity	4:45 Raymond Kane and Elodia Kane	4:45 Waimea Church Choir	4:45 Carnoes Players	4:45 Herbal Healing		
6:00 Samoan Music Ensemble 6:30 Clyde Sproat 6:55 Plains Indian Ensemble 7:25 Okinawan Music and Dance 8:05 Ku'ulei's Own with the Ho'opi'i Brothers 8:35 Hawaiian Music Jam with Na Hula O La'i Kealoha						

Obon Dance at the Obon Tower
11:00 - 11:45 am
2:00 - 2:45 pm
4:00 - 4:45 pm

Sunday October 21, 1990

Schedules are subject to change.
Check signs in each program area for specific information

Main Music Stage	Festival Music	Hula Stage	Children's Area	Narrative Stage	Food Demonstrations	Craft Demonstrations
						9:00 am - 5:30 pm Ongoing Craft and Occupational Demonstrations
10:00 Family Camarillo	10:00 am Carnoes Players	10:00 Waimea Church Choir	10:00 Paniolo Roping and Hawaiian Games	10:00 Quiltmaking	10:00 Cajun	Hawaiian Leimaking (Floral, Feather and Shell), Woodworking, Musical Instruments, Lauhala Weaving, Quiltmaking, Pa'u Dressing and Horse Leimaking, Samoan Fine Mat Weaving, Okinawan Textile Weaving, Japanese Bullrush sandalmaking, Japanese Stitchery, Chinese Taoist Religious ceremonies, Chinese Calligraphy, Chinese Paper Cuts, Filipino Parol Making, Filipino Basketmaking, Chinese Herbal Healing, Hawaiian La'au Lapa'au, Samoan Herbal Healing, Koa Canoe Building, Taro Cultivation, Throw Net Fishing, Saddlemaking, Rawhide Braiding, Laotian Textile Weaving, and Laotian Ceremonial Floral Arranging.
10:45 Clyde Sproat	10:45 Raymond Kane and Elodia Kane	10:45 Zuttermeister Family	10:45 Plains Indian Ensemble	10:45 Islands in Transition	11:00 Portuguese	
11:30 El Conjunto Boricua	11:30 Laotian Khene Ensemble/Vietnamese Folk Theatre Duo	11:30 Samoan Music Ensemble	11:30 Halla Pai Huhm	11:30 Hardwoods in Hawai'i	11:00 Portuguese	
12:15 Ho'opi'i Brothers	12:15 El Conjunto Boricua	12:15 Na Hula O La'i Kealoha	12:15 Chinese and Okinawan Lions	12:15 Instrument Making	Noon Chinese	
1:00 Lawtell Playboys	1:00 Okinawan Music and Dance	1:00 American Indian Ensemble	1:00 Storytelling	1:00 Guitar Styles Workshop	1:00 Okinawan	
1:45 Ku'ulei's Own	1:45 Haunani Apoliona and Ledward Ka'apana w/ Ho'opi'i Brothers	1:45 First United Methodist Church Tongan Choir	1:45 Laotian Khene Ensemble/Vietnamese Folk Theatre Duo	1:45 Hula Training	2:00 Filipino	
2:30 Carnoes Players	2:30 Family Camarillo	2:30 Clyde Sproat	2:30 Paniolo Roping and Hawaiian Games	2:30 American Indian Presentation/ Discussion	2:00 Filipino	
3:15 Raymond Kane and Elodia Kane	3:15 Halla Pai Huhm	3:15 Voices of Trinity	3:15 Chinese and Okinawan Lions	3:15 Island Storytelling	3:00 American Indian	
4:00 Okinawan Music and Dance	4:00 Ku'ulei's Own	4:00 Waimea Church Choir	4:00 Hula Lessons	4:00 Rhythm and Percussion Workshop	4:00 Hawaiian	
4:45 Hawaiian Music Jam Session	4:45 Lawtell Playboys	4:45 Halau O Kekuhi	4:45 Samoan Music Ensemble	4:45 Heritage Award Winners	4:00 Hawaiian	

Obon Dance at the Obon Tower
11:00 - 11:45 am
2:00 - 2:45 pm
4:00 - 4:45 pm

Festival Participants

Hawaiian Crafts

Floral Leimaking
William Char - O'ahu
Marie McDonald - Hawai'i
Irmalee Pomroy - Kaua'i

Feather Leimaking

Tsugi Kaiama - Hawai'i

Ni'ihau Shell Leimaking

Sherlin Beniamina - Kaua'i

Woodworking

Alapa'i Hanapi - Hawai'i
Michael Dunne - O'ahu

Hula Instruments

Calvin Hoe - O'ahu

'Ukulele Making

Samuel Kamaka - O'ahu

Lauhala Weaving

Esther Makua'ole - Kaua'i

Quiltmaking

Deborah Kakalia - O'ahu
Meali'i Kalama - O'ahu

Pa'u Demonstrations

Carol Ann Kamila Grace Anana - O'ahu
Shirley Kukana Brenner - O'ahu
Corine Puanani Mata - O'ahu

Samoan Crafts

Fine Mat Weaving
Fa'alele - O'ahu

Asian Crafts

Okinawan Textile Weaving
Alfred Kina - O'ahu

Japanese Bullrush Sandalmaking

Kenichi Tasaka - Kaua'i

Japanese Stitchery

Shigemura Family
Mikiko Hirohata - O'ahu
Grace Kiyoko Shigemura - O'ahu
Sumiko Kubota - O'ahu

Chinese Taoist Priest

Duane Pang - O'ahu

Chinese Calligraphy

Wah Chan Thom - O'ahu

Chinese Paper Cuts

Barbara Ho - O'ahu

Filipino Crafts

Parol Making
Leovilgo E.C. Patacsil

Basketweaving

"Pat" Tetrocino Camarillos

Performance Traditions

Halau 'O Kekuhi (Hawaiian Hula)

Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale,
Kumu Hula - Hawai'i
Nalani Kanaka'ole, *Kumu Hula* - Hawai'i
'Olapa:
Kau'ilani Almeida - Hawai'i
Karmuela Chun - Hawai'i
Hui Hui Kanahale Mossman - Hawai'i
Hokulani Kaikaina - Hawai'i
'O'ilipua Kaikaina - Hawai'i
Punahale Lerma - Hawai'i
Keonaona Trask - Hawai'i
Kika Nohara - O'ahu
Jennifer Shaw - Hawai'i
Kawaiula Kobayashi - Hawai'i

Na Hula 'O La'i Kealoha (Hawaiian Hula)

Elaine Kaopuiki, *Kumu Hula* - Lana'i
Sam Kaopuiki, musician - Lana'i
'Olapa:
Pearl Ah Ho - Lana'i
Juliet Bayez - Lana'i
Janelle Barfield - Lana'i
Rita Moon - Lana'i
Sandra Pate - Lana'i
Heather Romero - Lana'i

Zuttermeister Family (Hawaiian Hula)

Emily Kau'i Zuttermeister,
Kumu Hula - O'ahu
Noenoelani Zuttermeister Lewis,
Ho'opa'a - O'ahu
Hau'oli'onalani Lewis, 'Olapa - O'ahu

Waimea Church Choir

Alina Kauinohea Kanahale - Kaua'i
Elama Kanahale - Kaua'i
Isaac Kaahamana Kanahale - Kaua'i
Kau'i O Kahome Kanahale - Kaua'i
Malaki Kanahale - Kaua'i
Nahele Kanahale - Kaua'i
Lama Kaohelaui'i - Kaua'i
Rama Kaohelaui'i - Kaua'i
William Kaohelaui'i - Kaua'i
Miriam Kaleipua Pahulehua - Kaua'i
Josephine Kelley - Kaua'i

Hawaiian Musicians

Haunani Apoliona - O'ahu
Richard Ho'opi'i - Maui
Solomon Ho'opi'i - Maui
Barney Isaacs - O'ahu
Ledward Ka'apana - O'ahu
Raymond Kane - O'ahu
Elodia Kane - O'ahu
Violet Pahu Liliko'i - O'ahu
Clyde Sproat - Hawai'i

Ku'ulei's Own (Hawaiian Music Group)

Merton Kekiki - Maui
Francis Po'ouahi, Sr. - Maui
Melva Po'ouahi - Maui
Elliott Baisa - Maui
Janice Baisa - Maui

Storytelling (Hawaiian)

Pearl Ulunui Garmon - O'ahu

Camoés Players (Portuguese)

Josephine Carreira - O'ahu
Mary Carvalho - O'ahu
Alfred Castro - O'ahu
Marilyn Domingo - O'ahu
Harold Teves - O'ahu

Portuguese Dancers

Ruth Gomes - Maui
Manuel Martins - Maui
Betty Martins - Maui
Tex Teixeira - Maui
Henry Martin - Maui
Bernice Tabbal - Maui
Betty Ventura - Maui

El Conjunto Boricua (Puerto Rican "Katchi-Katchi")

Marciel Maldonado - O'ahu
Charles Figueroa - O'ahu
August Rodrigues - O'ahu
Julio Rodrigues, Jr. - O'ahu
Julio Rodrigues, III - O'ahu

Family Camarillo (Filipino Rondalla)

George Camarillo, Sr. - Hawai'i
George Camarillo, Jr. - Hawai'i
Davin Camarillo - Hawai'i
Rama Del Rey - Maui
Connie Camarillo - Hawai'i

Guests of the Festival

Halla Pai Huhm Dance Studio (Korean Dancing)

Halla Pai Huhm, Master - O'ahu

Dancers:

So Jin Chong - O'ahu

Jennifer Cho - O'ahu

Remy Choi - O'ahu

Christine Won - O'ahu

So Yeong Park - O'ahu

Kyung Sook Lee - O'ahu

Deborah Masumoto - O'ahu

Chinese Lion Dancing

Kuo Min Tang Physical Culture Association

Kelfred Chang - O'ahu

Clement Lum - Kaua'i

Iwakuni *Bon* Dance Group

Robert Kato, Leader - Kaua'i

Elaine Kaneko - Kaua'i

Shoichi Nagamine - Kaua'i

Ken Morita - Kaua'i

Kiyoko Kato - Kaua'i

Nakasone Seifu Kai

(Okinawan *Sanshin* Group)

Harry Seisho Nakasone, Master - O'ahu

James Maeda - O'ahu

Terry Higa - O'ahu

Teruya Sokyoku Kenkyu Kai

(Okinawan *Koto* Group)

Katsuko Teruya - Master

Majikina Honryu Buyo Dojo

(Okinawan Dance)

Yoshino Majikina Nakasone, Master - O'ahu

Dancers:

Raelene Balidoy-Noda - O'ahu

Lorraine Kaneshiro - O'ahu

Norman Kaneshiro - O'ahu

Karen Nakasone - O'ahu

Kooko Nakasone - O'ahu

Phyllis Sumiko Shimabukuro - O'ahu

Hirohichi Nago - O'ahu

Tammi Hokama - O'ahu

Samoan Music Ensemble

Tanya Fuamatu - O'ahu

Tofoi Tuitele - O'ahu

Nia Faletoi - O'ahu

So'o Sotomua - O'ahu

Emema Tulafono - O'ahu

Naomi Ma'afala - O'ahu

Dennis Ah Yek - O'ahu

Gary Sword - O'ahu

Katherine Tuitele - O'ahu

Ali Fa'amasino

Pita Sala

Occupational Traditions

Hawaiian Herbal Healing

Papa Henry Auwae - Hawai'i

Chinese Healing

Jon Young

Samoan Herbal Healing

Lusia Ma'afala - O'ahu

Koa Canoe Building

Wright Bowman, Jr. - O'ahu

Lava Rock Wall Building

Thomas Kamaka Emmsley - Maui

Taro Cultivation

James Keolaokalani Hu'e'u - Maui

Throw Net Fishing

Chauncy Pa, Sr. - Kaua'i

Saddlemaking

Robert Ruiz - Kaua'i

Masa Kapahu - Kaua'i

Rawhide Braiding

Henry Silva - Maui

Chinese Cooking

June Tong - O'ahu

Filipino Cooking

Betty Camarillos

Hawaiian *Imu* Cooking

Ah Wan Goo - Kaua'i

Jane E. Goo - Kaua'i

Okinawan Cooking

Kay Kimie Hokama - O'ahu

Portuguese *Formo* and Cooking

Doris Mary Correia - O'ahu

Manuel Correia - O'ahu

Children's Area:

Paniolo Roping

Claude Ortiz

Zydeco Music

Lawtell Playboys - Louisiana

Delton Broussard

Jerold Broussard

Calvin Carriere

Philip Carriere

J.C. Gallow

Berlin Gallow

Plains Indian Traditions

Plains Indian Ensemble - North Dakota

Keith Bear

William Bell

Dean Fox

Catherine Fox Harmon

Heath Harmon

Billy Baker

Southeast Asian Traditions

Laotian Loom Weaving

Somsongouane Mekdara - O'ahu

Laotian Ceremonial Floral Arranging

Lance and Nimonh Chounramany - O'ahu

Laotian *Khene* Playing

Soumounta Phanthadeth - O'ahu

Laotian Music Ensemble

Lawrence Chatharong - O'ahu

Sone Chantharong - O'ahu

Phothone Keunkhamdy - O'ahu

Khamphanh Thongkhamay - O'ahu

Vietnamese Folk Theater Duo

Ton Hoang Gia Ky - O'ahu

Duc Luong - O'ahu

Tongan Traditions

Church Choir Singing

First United Methodist Church

Tongan Choir - O'ahu

Reverend Langi Fine, Pastor - O'ahu

Sinaipa Langi, President - O'ahu

Iunisi Ma'ua, Choir Director - O'ahu

Afro-American Traditions

Gospel Choir Singing

Voices of Trinity - O'ahu

Reverend Stanley E. Amos, Pastor - O'ahu

Leborah Bolden, Minister of Music - O'ahu

Presenters

Simeamativa Aga, Samoan Traditions - O'ahu
 Ginger Alexander
 Keahi Allen, *Pa'u* Dressing Demonstrations
 and Horse Leimaking - O'ahu
 Mililani Allen, Children's Area - O'ahu
 Jeanette Bennington, Foodways - O'ahu
 Manu Boyd, Hawaiian Music - O'ahu
 Suzanne Harada, Narrative Stage - O'ahu
 Bill Feltz, Guests of the Festival - O'ahu
 Mary Jo Freshly, Korean Traditions - O'ahu
 Jay Junker, Hawaiian Music - O'ahu
 Edward Kanahele
 Barbara Kawakami, Japanese Crafts - O'ahu
 John Koon, Maritime Traditions - O'ahu
 Gaylord Kubota, Alexander & Baldwin Sugar
 Museum Plantation Exhibit - Maui
 Sabina Mahelona - Hawaiian Herbal
 Healing - Hawai'i
 Karen Matsunaga, Japanese Crafts - O'ahu
 Edith McKinzie, Hawaiian *Hula* and
 Chant - O'ahu
 Nathan Napoka, Taro Cultivation - O'ahu
 Puakea Nogelmeier, Hawaiian Crafts - O'ahu
 Keone Nunes, Hawaiian Instrument
 Making - O'ahu
 Barbara Stephan, Asian Crafts - O'ahu
 Kalena Silva, Waimea Church Choir - Hawai'i
 Audrey Rocha Reed,
 Portuguese Traditions - O'ahu
 Nora Sisounthone, Southeast Asian
 Traditions - O'ahu
 Charlene Sumarnap, Filipino
 Craft Traditions - O'ahu
 Allan Tasaka and Thomas Yoshida, Japanese
 Bullrush Sandallmaking - O'ahu
 Ricardo Trimillos, Okinawan and Filipino
 Performing Traditions - O'ahu

Stage Managers

Tanya Fluegge
 Michiko Ueno-Her
 Richard Kennedy
 Diana Parker
 Arlene Reineger
 Teri Skillman

Site Production

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Other Consultants:

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