

# Evolutions of “Paradise”: Japanese Tourist Discourse about Hawai‘i

Yujin Yaguchi and Mari Yoshihara

## I

In the summer of 1963, the popular Japanese actor Yuzo Kayama starred in a film called *Hawai no Waka Daisho* (translated as *A Young Guy in Hawaii* by the distributor).<sup>1</sup> The film is set in Hawai‘i, a paradise-like vacation land that many Japanese long to visit.<sup>2</sup> *Waka Daisho* [Young Guy], a handsome college student played by Kayama, visits Hawai‘i on behalf of a wealthy Japanese businessman whose spoiled son has turned into a “beachboy” in Hawai‘i.<sup>3</sup> *Waka Daisho* manages to find the son, but he also accidentally meets an acquaintance, Sumiko, a beautiful young woman sent by a Japanese cosmetic company to help establish a branch in Honolulu. The two become close friends, and in one scene, they stroll on the beach together, *Waka Daisho* sings with an ‘ukulele, and the sun sets beautifully in the Pacific Ocean.

The film, the first of the extremely popular “*Waka Daisho*” film series to be shot abroad, portrayed many of the iconic images of Hawai‘i for the Japanese audience. In the narrative and filmic construction, Hawai‘i serves as the setting where beautiful women await the young, clean-cut hero who accomplishes his mission of finding a “lost” son, refines his skill as a sailor, and, through integrity and honesty, is united with the heroine. The popular icons of Hawai‘i—clear sky, blue ocean, yachts, surfing, palm trees, lei, ‘ukulele, hula, and Hawaiian

melodies—all provide a setting for the narrative in ways that the Japanese audience could recognize.

In the forty years since the release of *Hawai no Waka Daisho*, Hawai‘i has become the most popular and familiar foreign tourist destination for the Japanese. Today, images of the islands abound in magazines, television programs, and other media. The number of tourists who visit Hawai‘i has increased by almost twenty times in the last forty years, and today nearly two million Japanese vacation in the islands every year. The presence of Japanese tourists and their consumption of “Hawaiiana,” as well as the influx of Japanese capital into the islands, have had a significant impact on the local economy, politics, and culture. Former Governor Benjamin Cayetano has publicly stated that “it would be difficult to refute the notion that much of what Hawaii is today” would not have been possible “were it not for the huge economic impact of Japanese investment in Hawaii.”<sup>4</sup>

Although Cayetano and many other politicians and business interests have willingly embraced the presence of Japanese tourists and related businesses, a number of local activists and critics have denounced the islands’ increasing dependency on the tourist industry as depleting the islands’ natural resources and exploiting local labor as well as “prostituting” the indigenous culture for commodified consumption.<sup>5</sup> Today’s Japanese tourists occupy what is in many ways a neo-colonialist position in relation to the people and culture of Hawai‘i. Yet, as Jane Desmond has pointed out in her recent study of the representation of Hawaiian culture in the U.S., few studies have explored the cultural significance of Japanese tourism in Hawai‘i.<sup>6</sup>

This article traces the history of popular Japanese discourse about Hawai‘i and, more specifically, of Japanese tourism in the islands. By looking at the persistent as well as evolving mode of popular representations of Hawai‘i in Japan, we interrogate the cultural politics of Japan’s fascination with Hawai‘i. To a significant degree, Japan’s projections of idealized, feminized, and commodified Hawai‘i resemble Euroamerican discourses about the islands, which have been analyzed and critiqued by scholars such as Jane Desmond, Rob Wilson, and Haunani-Kay Trask.<sup>7</sup> However, the Japanese discourse is worthy of analysis on its own, because it reconfigures tourism’s traditional racial dynamics between the white “guests” and nonwhite “hosts” in Hawai‘i and the Pacific islands. Furthermore, the Japanese imaginary of Hawai‘i is complicated by the unique position of Hawai‘i in the historical context of U.S.-Japan relations. The major actors in these relations—namely, the Native Hawaiians, Japanese immigrants and their descendants in Hawai‘i, and Japan and the Japanese themselves—were often conveniently erased, distorted, or constructed in the Japanese romanticization, feminization, and consumption of Hawai‘i. Through this process, Hawai‘i for the Japanese has become a “familiar Other” that fulfills and mediates Japanese longing for “paradise islands.”

## II

The Japanese fascination with Hawai'i long preceded the age of mass tourism. Hawai'i has been a familiar place to many Japanese since the end of the nineteenth century. Between 1880 and 1924, about 200,000 Japanese immigrated to Hawai'i, which was advertised as "the heavenly country" by agents looking for laborers to work in the islands' sugarcane industry.<sup>8</sup> The presence of Japanese immigrants made Hawai'i familiar even to the Japanese who stayed home. Some relatives of the immigrants visited their family members in Hawai'i; Japanese merchants sailed to the islands to sell various Japanese goods to immigrants eager to obtain products from home; journalists and other writers visited the islands to report on the condition of the Japanese life in Hawai'i; and finally, many Japanese made a temporary stop in Honolulu on their way to or from the continental U.S.

Although the primary purpose of these visitors was not pleasure, many of them did enjoy their time in Hawai'i. In 1920, a Japanese newspaper in Honolulu published a travel guide for Japanese visiting Hawai'i. *Saishin Hawaii Annai*, or *The Newest Guide to Hawaii*, written in Japanese with many illustrations, introduced the islands to its readers as "a paradise in the sea," where "summer lasts all year around" and visitors could enjoy the "beautiful colors of hundreds of flowers" as well as the "color of the ocean and lovely beaches." While the guide conceded that it was "difficult to become a millionaire in Hawaii," it asserted the place offered "a chance for easy life as long as one is willing to do some bits of work."<sup>9</sup> *The Newest Guide to Hawaii* explained many interesting sites worth visiting, such as the zoo and aquarium in Kapi'olani Park and Waikiki, where one could see the "bluest ocean" and the "wildest waves" on which the "natives surfed in skillful ways." Other places mentioned in the book were not unlike today's popular tourist spots—Diamond Head, Nu'uuanu Pali, the Bishop Museum, the statue of Kamehameha the Great, and 'Iolani Palace.

The best part of the trip, however, was observing "*fura fura* [hula hula]," a "primitive dance" in which "several girls showed the beauty of their sensuous bodies." This was not an opportunity to be missed. But the book quickly cautioned the reader "not to take his family along" because it was a sexually explicit, titillating performance inappropriate for women and minors.<sup>10</sup> As in the case of Euroamerican discourse, which projected a romanticized and feminized image of Hawai'i, the gaze of the tourists was thus invariably assumed to be male, and Hawai'i itself was constructed as a sensuous and exotic woman offering deviant sexuality. The use of the word "primitive," of course, also illustrates that the author—and presumably the Japanese reader and traveler—considered Hawaiians to be less civilized than themselves.<sup>11</sup>

With its simplified narrative of a "paradise in the sea," *The Newest Guide to Hawaii* typified the way the Japanese discourse selectively represented the islands. The book came out in 1920, just as one of the largest labor strikes in the history of Hawai'i was taking place. More than 5,000 Japanese and 2,000 Filipino

laborers on various sugarcane plantations walked off the job, demanding higher wages and better treatment. The local newspapers labeled the Japanese laborers as “an invading enemy” who assisted the “Japanese conspiracy” to take over the island from the United States.<sup>12</sup> As Gary Okihiro writes, the 1920 strike was regarded as the confirmation of the “reality and magnitude of the ‘Japanese menace.’”<sup>13</sup> At the same time, a great influenza epidemic was sweeping through the island, killing many strikers and their families who had been evicted from their homes on the plantations and been left homeless. *The Newest Guide to Hawaii*, supposedly the most up-to-date information on Hawai‘i, not only made no reference to the labor strife but also virtually ignored the lives of Japanese sugarcane laborers on the islands.<sup>14</sup> Nor did the book talk about the strong anti-Japanese feeling prevalent throughout Hawai‘i at the time. Instead, the travel guide offered an image of the island as a beautiful place, where a minimum amount of labor was needed to lead a happy, carefree life.

Erasures of certain realities and selective representations of a place are hardly surprising in travel guides, but the Japanese discourse about Hawai‘i is unique in that it positioned a Japanese tourist not only in relation to Hawai‘i as a place but also specifically to the ethnic Japanese in Hawai‘i. While the Japanese tourist imaginary of the islands partly derived from the sense of “closeness” shaped by the large number of Japanese immigrants, it also diverted the travelers’ attention from the actual lives of the Japanese and other immigrants in the islands. By doing so, such a discourse veiled the Japanese travelers’ own privileged class position distinct from the immigrants, while simultaneously removing themselves from the real conflicts in Hawai‘i and in U.S.-Japan relations in general.<sup>15</sup>

The romanticized, idealized image of Hawai‘i was carried into the period in which the geopolitical relations between Japan and the United States became increasingly strained. In 1934, a Japanese shipping company published *Hawai Annai*, or *A Guide to Hawaii*, for its potential customers.<sup>16</sup> Like *The Newest Guide to Hawaii*, this book also drew a picture of “paradise,” a place with an ideal climate, beautiful setting, and “interesting customs.” Significantly, the book came out only a year after the Japanese government withdrew its membership from the League of Nations in protest of the criticism it had received for invading Manchuria. The United States had been highly critical of the Japanese action, and the relationship between the two nations continued to sour. *A Guide to Hawaii*, however, continued to see the American territory of Hawai‘i as a “jewel of the Pacific,” a place worth visiting for all Japanese. Hawai‘i was divorced from the geopolitical context of U.S.-Japan relations, and the island’s status as a territory of the United States was downplayed in the Japanese tourist imaginary even though Hawai‘i had been one of the most important U.S. military and commercial bases since the nineteenth century.<sup>17</sup>

During the 1930s, the period of deteriorating U.S.-Japan relations, the popularity of Hawaiian music in Japan brought Hawai‘i to the Japanese but further decontextualized Hawai‘i. Bucky Shirakata, a Japanese American born

in Hawai'i, introduced the steel guitar to Japan, and its sounds were heard over the radio at urban cafés frequented by university students. Shirakata formed a band called "Aloha Hawaiians" and their song, "A Honolulu Girl," became a big hit in Japan in 1939. The "Aloha Hawaiians" drew large audiences at concerts, and other bands with such names as "Moana Glee Club," "Waimea Hawaiians," and "Kalua Kamaainas" gained considerable popularity in Japanese cities. Melodies of popular "Hawaiian" songs from the United States by such musicians as Sol Hoopie, Andy Aiona, Lani McIntyre and Bing Crosby also became widely known in Japan through the radio and records.

Although the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 made it difficult for Japanese to separate Hawai'i from the reality of U.S.-Japan relations, the popularity of things Hawaiian, especially Hawaiian music, continued. Strong anti-American sentiment and strict censorship made it virtually impossible to openly express admiration for Hawai'i. The Hawaiian bands changed their names—Aloha Hawaiians simply became "The Music Group" and Moana Glee Club became "The Southern Band." In January 1943, the Japanese government published a statement prohibiting not only public performances of American and British music but also recalling such records from the stores and urging individuals to destroy the records they possessed. Among the long list of prohibited songs were a number of Hawaiian songs, such as "Aloha Oe," "Waikiki Blues," "Blue Hawaii," "Hano Hano Hawaii," "Lei Hula," and "Hilo March."<sup>18</sup>

Nevertheless, Japanese sought ways to bypass such wartime constraints. The sounds of the steel guitar and 'ukulele essentially remained the same, even though technically "Hawaiian" songs were no longer performed in Japan. The "Southern Band," for example, often played songs from Southeast Asia, which the Japanese military had invaded, so as to familiarize people in Japan with the newly colonized area. When performing these "southern" melodies, the band often incorporated the "Hawaiian" sounds of 'ukulele.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Setsuo Ohashi, a student at Keio University, composed a song called "Hoshi no Furu Mado" [Stars from the Window] in 1943 and dedicated it to his mother, shortly before being conscripted into the Japanese Navy, most likely to be assigned to become a "human torpedo," the naval equivalent of a *kamikaze*. Although the lyrics of the song had nothing to do with Hawai'i—it was about his promise of returning to see his mother, perhaps in the next life—the song's tempo, melody, and the instruments ('ukulele and steel guitar) clearly recalled the sounds of popular Hawaiian songs from the pre-war era.<sup>20</sup> These songs exemplified Japanese fascination with Hawai'i and the paradoxical appropriation of Hawaiian music during the war for purposes antithetical to Japan's *realpolitik* relationship with Hawai'i and the United States.

Once the war was over, a quick revival of the "Hawaiian boom" occurred. Singer Haruo Oka's 1948 song entitled "Akogare no Hawai Koro" [A Lovely Passage to Hawaii], in which he celebrated Hawai'i's "crimson sunset" and "coconut trees," became one of the biggest hits of the post-war period. Other "Hawaiian" songs also became popular.<sup>21</sup> These songs offered a colorful, dreamy

image of Hawai‘i to the war-ravaged Japanese living drab existences and suffering food shortages, high inflation, and extensive social change under the U.S. occupation.

The popularity of Hawaiian sounds continued into the fifties, during which several thousand “Hawaiian-music” bands were formed in Japan.<sup>22</sup> The radio show “Hawaii Calls,” which had been popular in the U.S. since the 1930s, was broadcast through Far East Network radio in Japan and attracted a large audience. Ethel Nakata, a Japanese musician who became popular enough to be broadcast on the show in 1958, told the Japanese audience that Hawai‘i evoked fantasies of a place with the “bluest sea and clearest sky.”<sup>23</sup> The image of Hawai‘i as a paradise was reinforced by reports of visits by well-known Japanese singers, actors and actresses who visited Hawai‘i often on “business”—mostly to perform for the first and second generation Japanese Americans living in Hawai‘i. The experiences of these stars enjoying Hawai‘i’s beaches and other popular sites were reported in detail in popular Japanese magazines and were avidly read by young Japanese fans.<sup>24</sup> These fans also enjoyed watching Elvis Presley’s *Blue Hawaii*, which was released in Japan in 1962 for enthusiastic audiences who embraced not only the natural beauty of the islands but also the carefree love and romance of the film’s narrative. The conjuncture of these visual and aural discourses served to enhance the image of Hawai‘i as a place of fun and relaxation, thereby reinforcing the popular Japanese tendency to regard the islands as a space of pleasure devoid of any productive labor.

The attractiveness of Hawai‘i was conditioned by particular economic and political conditions of Japanese society at this time. Hawai‘i seemed all the more attractive because the fifties was a period during which an overwhelming majority of the population had neither the financial nor legal means to leave the country. The U.S. occupation after the second World War had deprived the Japanese of their freedom to travel abroad, and this restriction continued even after the end of the occupation in 1952, primarily because the Japanese government cautiously guarded its foreign cash reserve (mostly U.S. dollars). The government did not permit the Japanese to leave the country unless they were able to provide official justifications. Most Japanese permitted to travel abroad were students sponsored by third parties and businessmen and bureaucrats on business trips. Besides, traveling abroad was financially impossible for most people. For example, a round-trip airfare to Honolulu from Tokyo cost more than US\$600, which was more than ten times the average monthly salary of a newly employed university-educated businessman.<sup>25</sup> Although a small class of wealthy business people and their families were able to leave the country for pleasure purposes by ostensibly calling their trips business-related, the vast majority of Japanese had no economic or legal means to leave the country. Many, however, dreamed of traveling abroad, particularly to Hawai‘i, after the barriers to foreign travel were abolished.

The liberalization of foreign travel took place on April 1, 1964, just a year after the release of *Hawai no Waka Daisho*.<sup>26</sup> Along with the Tokyo Olympics,

which were held in October of the same year, the liberalization signaled to many Japanese that, nearly two decades after their defeat in the second World War, their country had finally re-entered the world arena. While the Olympics brought many foreigners to observe a newly industrialized and “miraculously” transformed Japan, the liberalization provided the Japanese citizens with a basic privilege enjoyed by citizens living in an industrialized and developed nation—the ability and freedom to travel. Japanese welcomed the day as the “beginning of a new era” and the “final demise of isolationism.”<sup>27</sup> Just like Waka Daisho, the Japanese were free to travel abroad, if they had the financial means to do so.

### III

When it became possible to travel abroad in 1964, about 128,000 Japanese citizens left the country. Of those, more than 35,000, or 27 percent, visited Hawai‘i.<sup>28</sup> The first group of post-liberalization tourists from Japan to Hawai‘i arrived on April 8, 1964. Theirs was a tightly-scheduled tour that included visits to the islands of O‘ahu, Hawai‘i, and Kaua‘i in seven days. The twenty-five members of this group had saved money for three years to purchase this packaged tour, which cost them 375,000 yen, or \$1,042. It was called “save now and travel later plan” and was sponsored by the Japan Travel Bureau and Dai Ichi Bank, which had them deposit 10,000 yen every month into a special savings account for thirty-six months.<sup>29</sup> For Manji and Chizuru Morikawa, members of this group, being in Hawai‘i at last was just “like a dream”—Hawai‘i was “beautiful” and “like a dreamland” and allowed them to “feel relaxed.”<sup>30</sup>

Although the majority of these visitors were wealthy businessmen and their families, many others who previously would not have been able to travel abroad also managed to make the trip. One farmer who visited Hawai‘i in 1967 recalled that the trip was “a dream-like experience that freed me from the daily farm work.”<sup>31</sup> In the historical and social context of Japan’s rapid postwar economic growth, which was increasingly manifesting its social ills—long hours at work, inadequate housing, pollution—the ideal climate and beautiful surroundings provided the Japanese with the sense of a much needed break from their daily lives at home.<sup>32</sup>

At the same time, this Hawaiian “dream” was predicated on an assumption that the Japanese shared a cultural bond with the ethnic Japanese in Hawai‘i. Coming from a nation that defined its citizenship by blood, the Japanese tended to confound the identity of these Americans of Japanese ancestry. The presence of a Japanese-speaking population in Hawai‘i enabled Japanese visitors to feel comfortable and secure, believing that they could depend on Japanese Americans to bridge linguistic and cultural gaps they might encounter.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the Japanese had been excited to see the first and second generation Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i gain solid political and economic power in the islands after the war, beginning during the 1950s, when the Democrats wrested power from the Republican party. The Japanese media closely reported the national

election of 1962 in which Daniel Inouye won the Senate race and Spark Matsunaga won a seat in the House.<sup>34</sup> In this context, whereas the prewar Japanese discourse of the visit to the islands hardly acknowledged the presence of Japanese immigrants, the Japanese now proudly constructed Japanese Americans in Hawai‘i as their fellow countrymen who heartily welcomed them. In *Hawai no Waka Daisho*, for example, the only local people Waka Daisho befriends are Japanese Americans. Waka Daisho meets a local Japanese American woman, Jane, whose grandfather runs a Japanese restaurant in Honolulu and faithfully holds onto his Japanese culture by keeping old Japanese treasures such as swords at his home. Her father runs a Japanese theater as well as a cosmetic shop that sells Japanese toiletries. Both men speak perfect Japanese and interact smoothly with Waka Daisho, who hardly speaks English. In fact, the grandfather speaks almost exclusively in a heavy Hiroshima dialect, with only a smattering of English, and thus hardly seems to be a long-time resident of an American territory.

At the same time, while they were viewed as kin, Japanese Americans were also marked as different from Japanese visitors. Japanese Americans were constructed and judged based on their ability to understand and serve the needs of Japanese visitors. Those Japanese Americans who did not “act Japanese” and could not speak the language often drew sharp criticism from Japanese visitors as “strange” and even “lazy.” Japanese tourists assumed that the local guides spoke fluent Japanese and often became angry or disdainful when they only spoke “elementary school-level Japanese.”<sup>35</sup> In *Hawai no Waka Daisho*, Jane, unlike her father and grandfather, is unable to speak Japanese well. Nor is she capable of understanding Waka Daisho’s reticence in openly expressing his feelings to a woman. Her love for Waka Daisho is unrequited mainly because of her “Americanness.” Even though she is a beautiful, friendly, and kind woman, she is so “Americanized” that Waka Daisho, who claims to be a “proud Japanese man,” cannot possibly consider marrying her. Instead, he chooses Sumiko, the Japanese woman who is in Honolulu only temporarily and would soon return, like Waka Daisho, to Japan.

Thus, in the popular Japanese discourse, the linguistic barrier between Japanese visitors and Japanese Americans signified a larger cultural difference between Japan and America. As Japan was regaining its national pride as an economic power, Japanese maintained a fine line between being part of the world and maintaining their national identity and cultural distinctiveness. In this historical and cultural context, Japanese Americans symbolized both “sameness” and “difference” in ways that were convenient to Japanese visitors.

Thanks partly to the presence of Japanese Americans who assisted the visitors from Japan, the Japanese longing for a Hawaiian “dreamland” remained strong even after the initial euphoria of liberalization of foreign travel had passed, and many Japanese continued to arrive during the sixties. The number of annual visitors reached 100,000 in 1970. This was a significant period in the history of U.S.-Japan relations, as it was a time of intense anti-U.S. feeling in Japan. Massive

demonstrations against the Vietnam War and the renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, led mostly by university students, were taking place. In Hawai'i, however, young and old visitors from Japan happily coexisted with American soldiers on leave from the battlefields in Vietnam. Many Japanese students also cheerfully enrolled in the intensive English language courses offered at the University of Hawai'i.<sup>36</sup> The political issues that triggered intense feelings and extreme actions in Japan did not strongly affect the image of Hawai'i held among the Japanese because, as in the prewar period, Hawai'i was considered a place unto itself, a paradise decontextualized from their daily lives as well as from *realpolitik*.<sup>37</sup>

During the seventies, more and more Japanese tourists sought a temporary escape into "paradise," thanks to such factors as the growing affluence of Japanese society, the introduction of the jumbo jet (Boeing 747) in March of 1970 for flights over the Pacific, and bulk-discount tickets.<sup>38</sup> By 1978, more than 500,000 people were traveling annually to Hawai'i. Japanese corporations also began investing heavily in Hawai'i during the 1970s—purchasing hotels, condominiums, golf courses, and shopping complexes.<sup>39</sup>

During the eighties, an economic boom in Japan and the increasing appreciation of the value of the yen further boosted Japanese interest in international tourism. By 1986, more than five million Japanese a year were taking advantage of the economic prosperity and the strong yen by traveling abroad. It became possible to take a one-week trip to Hawai'i for less than 100,000 yen, or about a quarter of what it had cost in 1964, and at the same time the average entry salary of a university-educated employee had increased by more than tenfold. The number of Japanese visitors to Hawai'i reached one million in 1987, and even though the economic slump in the 1990s has slowed the rate of increase in foreign travel, many Japanese continue to visit Hawai'i today. Of sixteen million Japanese who now travel abroad every year, about two million are bound for Hawai'i, making it by far their most popular foreign destination. The Japanese are the second largest group of tourists in Hawai'i, trailing only visitors from the continental United States, and they compose roughly a third of the total number of visitors to Hawai'i.<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps nothing expresses the Japanese image of Hawai'i as a paradise better than a children's song entitled "Minami no Shima no Hamehameha Daio" or "The Great King Hamehameha [*sic*] of the Southern Island."<sup>41</sup> First released in 1973, the song has remained enormously popular among the children in Japan and has continued to profoundly condition the ways in which the Japanese construct their image of Hawai'i to this day.<sup>42</sup>

The song does not make a direct reference to Hawai'i, but it is presumed to be about Hawai'i because "Hamehameha," which is a palindrome when written in Japanese characters, plays on the name of the famous Hawaiian King Kamehameha. The song depicts the life of "Hamehameha" and his family in "the southern island." Inheriting the prewar Japanese discourse of *nan'yo* (south

seas), which envisioned the Pacific islands as objects of both romantic desire and colonization, this song posited the island in a geographically remote and historically anterior location.<sup>43</sup> According to the lyrics, Hamehameha is a “great king” who is “romantic,” “sings along the wind,” and “dreams with the stars.” He has “a very kind wife” whose name is also Hamehameha. She is a lazy woman who “rises after the sunrise and goes to bed before the sunset.” The king has children who are also named Hamehameha. Since they “hate going to school,” they are “late when the wind blows” and “play hooky when it rains.”

Played along a simple and rhythmic tune, the song is regarded as “fun” and “happy” and remains a favorite of many children in Japan today. The song demonstrates how Japanese exoticize the “southern island.” According to the lyrics, the island is reigned by a king and therefore lacks democracy. It also lacks industry; it is surrounded by nature so that one could feel the wind and see the stars everyday and live “romantically.” Tough competition does not exist on the island. Women are kind and generous, but also very idle. Since everyone is named Hamehameha, there is no individuality. Neither is there a sense of discipline in this society where children are easily allowed to skip class because of the weather. The world described by this song is a place that sharply contrasts with the contemporary conditions of Japanese society. Hawai‘i is construed as a primitive place where a feudal polity persists amidst the grace of abundant nature. It is a place that has been spared the evils as well as the benefits of modernity, such as individualism, democracy, and industrialization. The song reflects and reinforces this exoticized image of Hawai‘i, thereby locating the islands and the people associated with “Hamehameha”—i.e. Native Hawaiians—outside the realm of modern civilization. Native Hawaiians are framed as innocent and happy-go-lucky “primitives”—as an exotic and alluring element of the landscape of “paradise.”<sup>44</sup>

While Hawai‘i was thus constructed as a retreat from industrial society, Japanese tourists also began to perceive Hawai‘i as yet another type of paradise as Japan became one of the wealthiest nations in the world. Thanks to the rising appreciation of the value of the yen over the U.S. dollar during the mid-1980s, Japanese tourists acquired the kind of purchasing power they had never possessed before.<sup>45</sup> Shopping became a major activity.

Although Japanese had been known as “shoppers” since the days of the liberalization, initial Japanese tourists in the post-World War II period were primarily interested in purchasing goods that offered a sense of local flavor and were specifically marked with “Hawaiian-ness”—aloha shirts, *mu‘umu‘u*, pineapples, and tropical flowers. Travel guides published in Japan in the 1960s showed convenient places to purchase such souvenirs in Honolulu, but they offered no detailed information on other types of shops. Shopping malls like Ala Moana Shopping Center were recommended in travel guides of this period as a site that offered a “chance to interact with the local people.”<sup>46</sup> In this context, shopping was an activity that offered a connection and identification with “Hawaiian life.”

Since the middle of the 1980s, however, tourists from Japan began enjoying shopping at places that had little, if anything, to do with people or things Hawaiian. Hawai'i as a consumption site became yet another terminal for global capital and goods—like New York, Paris, or Hong Kong—whose cultural meanings operate independently of the local environment. Fashionable European and American boutiques opened their branches in Honolulu to cater to these tourists wishing to purchase the latest styles of attire and accessories—which they would wear in their urban life back home, rather than during their stay in Hawai'i—at prices far below what they would be in Japan. During the height of the "bubble" economy in the late 1980s, an average Japanese visitor spent more than \$300 per day—in other words, they outspent visitors from the continental U.S. by more than three times.<sup>47</sup> Despite the economic slowdown in Japan, shopping continues to be an important activity for the Japanese in Hawai'i. Although the average spending per day of Japanese tourists has declined significantly during the 1990s because of the recession at home, they continue to spend far more than tourists from the continental U.S. or any other nations.<sup>48</sup> Today, Japanese travel guides devote a major portion of their pages to information on various shops in Honolulu and other towns—some even focus exclusively on the shopping experience in Hawai'i.<sup>49</sup>

These shopping activities exoticize Hawai'i differently both from Euroamerican discourses and from the past Japanese emphasis on the islands' appeal as a romantic retreat. The "paradise in the sea" is now simultaneously a "shoppers' paradise," where tourists can enjoy a temporary break from their pattern of daily consumption back home and engage in a kind of spending spree that is permissible only on special occasions. An opening passage to a recent guidebook exemplifies this view:

Hawaii is close.

After all, it is "America" that is close to Japan. . . .

Hawaii is fun.

After all, this is the "southern island" we all dream about. . . .

Of course we prefer Hawaii, the real paradise. Of course we prefer the "Hawaii" where exotic beauties welcome us by dancing hula and putting a lei around our neck. The dream is no longer beyond our reach. The blue ocean, the blue sky, beaches, pool, restaurants, shopping . . . anything is attainable.

Hawaii is easy.

Optional tours, restaurants, and shopping—we can manage all of these activities speaking only in Japanese. There is no other "foreign country" that is so convenient . . . . Even in Nippon where everyone loves famous brand-name fashions, there is no famous brand name store that is open from 9am to 10pm. Where is this?—We are in Waikiki.

It looks like America but is not “America”; it looks like Japan but is not “Japan.” This is Hawaii; this is Waikiki.<sup>50</sup>

The blatant exoticization, commodification, and materialism represented here may seem extreme, but this “bubble economy” mode of discourse has constituted the typical Japanese view of Hawai‘i since the 1980s. In this formulation, Hawai‘i is a site that provides all kinds of material devices to fulfill visitors’ desires to consume. Rather than romanticization of the exotic Other commonly constructed in both Euroamerican and Japanese discourses about Hawai‘i, this version presents Hawai‘i as a location of intensive capitalism.<sup>51</sup>

This new consumptive mode of Hawai‘i tourism has gendered the Japanese tourist imaginary differently from earlier times. After the liberalization of foreign travel, more than 80 percent of the people traveling abroad from Japan were adult men; Japan’s tourist gaze toward Hawai‘i was gendered accordingly. However, the rapid increase in the number of women traveling abroad from Japan since the mid-1980s has contributed to the formation of more divergent views of Hawai‘i. Hawai‘i is no longer simply construed as a “relaxing dreamland” with exotic and sensual “primitive” women; it is also a commercialized paradise that satisfies, according to one magazine, the visitors’ “material greed.” Men and women utilizing the strong purchasing power of the Japanese yen actively contribute to the formation of this imaginary. Women’s magazines often run feature articles on Hawai‘i with a particular emphasis on shopping.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, it is no longer only male Japanese tourists that project sexualized visions onto Hawai‘i’s exotic beauties. As Karen Kelsky has shown, it has become quite common for young Japanese female tourists to pick up, if not happily be picked up by, “local” men on the beaches and streets of Waikiki. The gendered and sexualized nature of Japanese tourist imaginary has thus become much more complex and multi-layered.<sup>53</sup>

Whether Hawai‘i is construed as a “paradise in the sea” or a “shopping paradise,” conventional Japanese tourist discourse constructs “Hawaiian culture” in ways convenient for their consumption. Most Japanese do not recognize the need to acknowledge Native Hawaiians’ claims to their land or culture. At most, the indigenous presence is recognized as the “narrowly survived” Polynesian tastes, which can be experienced at a resort *lu‘au* or a show at the Polynesian Cultural Center.<sup>54</sup> On the other hand, the Japanese American presence in the islands is acknowledged through the “familiar” faces that greet the tourists at the hotels and shops. Japanese visitors simply view the islands as a happy vacation resort and are oblivious to the complex social issues in Hawai‘i that are, to a significant degree, caused by tourism itself—the high cost of living, shortage of affordable housing, environmental destruction, lack of diversified and sustainable agriculture, and the racialized hierarchy in the tourism-dominated labor market, to name a few.<sup>55</sup> A result of this mixed process of the Japanese “understanding” of the people and culture of Hawai‘i is the “familiar Other,” simultaneously quasi-American, quasi-Japanese, and quasi-Hawaiian.

## IV

While the capitalist discourse that constructs Hawai'i as both object and site of consumption dominates the mainstream contemporary Japanese imaginary of the islands, alternative visions of Hawai'i have emerged. Like the increasingly popular "eco-tourism" and "cultural tourism" in the United States, this alternative discourse claims to present the "real," "authentic" Hawai'i to the Japanese readers. The authors deliberately distance themselves from "ordinary" tourists from Japan, assume the position of closeness with and inclusion in local Hawaiian life, and critique commercialized tourism. Often written by well-known writers, critics, or scholars who have lived extensively in Hawai'i and published by presses geared toward literary, academic, and/or general audiences, these texts fall outside the conventional "travel guides."<sup>56</sup> Yet, despite their greater awareness about environmental, historical, and political issues in the islands, a narrative stance that tends to position the authors "above" the crass commercialized tourist literature also can translate into a different type of elitism that lacks self-reflection, reappropriates the discourse of "paradise," and reinscribes the dynamics of tourist discourse in ways that are presented as more authentic and benign.

An excellent example of a new Japanese narrative of Hawai'i is a travelogue by Natsuki Ikezawa, an award-winning novelist who is one of the most prolific and popular writers in Japan today.<sup>57</sup> Ikezawa's *Hawaii Kiko* makes a sharp break from the conventions of the tourist discourse that presents Hawai'i as exotic, feminized, innocent, pre-/anti-modern tropical islands or as shoppers' heaven.<sup>58</sup> Ikezawa's narrative is a nuanced and sophisticated account of the islands' natural habitat, history, culture, and people that places the Native Hawaiian people and culture at its center. Rather than taking readers to popular tourist spots, Ikezawa introduces diverse themes and topics ranging from Hawai'i's natural history, the politics of water rights, and traditional Hawaiian agriculture to the wonders of hula, efforts to revive the Hawaiian language, and the physical and spiritual appeal of surfing. Most important, the book demonstrates Ikezawa's sensitivity to the issues of colonialism and political economy in Hawai'i. While the complexity and depth of Ikezawa's narrative and its commercial success make the book particularly worthy of analysis, Ikezawa's text also demonstrates the contradictions and limitations of Japan's "alternative" discourse about Hawai'i.

Ikezawa's narrative both complicates and obscures the author's position as a Japanese man traveling in Hawai'i and the historical position of Japan in relation to Hawai'i. In *Hawaii Kiko*, Ikezawa's strategic positioning and textual formation take place in three ways:<sup>59</sup> (1) the use of a grand environmental narrative as overall framework; (2) the discursive position whereby the author identifies with Native Hawaiians and disassociates himself from the Japanese, especially Japanese tourists; and (3) the focus on Native Hawaiian culture and people. All of these interrelated factors work together to construct a narrative that simultaneously marks and masks the tourist discourse and presents a new account

of Hawaiian history and culture while leaving the agency and subjectivity of both the writer and the reader unquestioned. The result is a “postcolonialist” account of Hawai‘i’s history and culture that reproduces Japan’s neo-colonialist dominance over the islands even as the author critiques the history of Euroamerican colonialism. It is also a “progressive” narrative of “paradise” which serves Japan’s tourist industry even as the author tries to critique it.

Early in the text, the author constructs a grand narrative vision that situates Hawai‘i as a case study of the relationship between nature and human history. The overall vision of the narrative maintains this basic environmental perspective, which juxtaposes humans and nature. As the author tours the island of Moloka‘i in the first chapter, he refers to Hawai‘i as the “land which culminates the history of human interaction with nature.”<sup>60</sup> Of course, the author is aware of many historical and political issues that are central to the livelihood of the people of Hawai‘i. However, those issues are subsumed under the grand rubric of nature and humankind. Ikezawa’s framing of the narrative in terms of human relationships to interventions with nature reveals his sensitivity to and respect for the natural environment and his critique of Euroamerican endeavors in and destruction of such an environment.

However, by constructing a binary relation between humans and nature, the text obscures the multi-layered hierarchies of power among different segments of the islands’ human population. Crudely put, human subjects in Ikezawa’s narrative are divided into two: “good” natives and “bad” Euroamericans. By focusing exclusively on the relationship between Euroamericans and Native Hawaiians, Ikezawa’s discussion of hierarchies of power among humans glosses over other kinds of power. When the author encounters those who do not neatly fit into such a binary—for example, “good” Euroamericans and other non-Native residents—he handles these subjects by turning them into versions of the “native,” rather than elaborating on their specific and localized subject positions in the Hawai‘i context.<sup>61</sup> Thus, complex relations of ethnicity, nationality, gender, and class are obscured or subsumed under the rubric of “human vs. nature” and “Euroamericans vs. Native Hawaiians.”

Because human history in the islands is narrated in terms of these binaries, major historical events and conditions that have dramatically affected lives in the islands are sometimes relegated to the background, and historical subjects are sometimes denied/relieved of their agency. While Ikezawa makes clear that Euroamerican capitalists, politicians, and missionaries have been historically responsible for economic, political, and cultural deprivations of Native Hawaiians, he obscures other agents of Hawai‘i’s history. This is particularly true of Ikezawa’s treatment of the role of Japan and the Japanese in the narrative. The most revealing example of this is his broad overview of the history of Hawai‘i in the first chapter. After a paragraph discussing the aggressive colonial enterprise of Euroamericans that forever changed lives in the islands, Ikezawa opens a new paragraph with the sentence: “Then, a big war took place.” What is notable

about this sentence as well as the rest of the paragraph is the curious erasure of agency of historical subjects.

Then, a big war took place. The islands became the site of the opening of the war, and numerous battleships were sunk. Aside from this moment, the islands never became actual battlegrounds, but the war front was not far away, and the islands experienced a strange period of prosperity as a base for soldiers en route to the war front; then eventually the war was over. The islands were upgraded (although some question whether this should be referred to as "upgrading") to the status of a state of a large country, and agriculture generally declined and was replaced by a more urban culture which featured the islands as a tourist site. (30)

In this entire paragraph, there is not a single reference to the human subjects responsible for the actions he mentions. Ikezawa does not say that it was the Japanese who sank the numerous battleships in Pearl Harbor and initiated the war in the Pacific. By telling this history from the perspective of the "land," Ikezawa deflects attention from the role of the Japanese in the war. Furthermore, despite the reference to Hawai'i as the site for its opening, war, as discussed in this paragraph, appears as an abstract, far-away event devoid of human agency. In contrast to the previous paragraph where diverse human subjects are mentioned in specific terms (i.e. Europeans, indigenous people, the Hawaiian kingdom, immigrant laborers from East Asia), this paragraph constructs the "islands" (rather than island residents) as an entity upon which various historical forces are enacted, rather than as a home for people with diverse interests, stakes, and forms of agency in historical events such as the war.<sup>62</sup>

In fact, precisely through this narrative act of obscuring and marginalizing the historical agency of the Japanese as well as other subjects, Ikezawa is able to create a discursive position for himself that ostensibly works well for his postcolonialist critique: he situates himself in a position synonymous with his subjects, i.e. Native Hawaiians. He assumes a bond between himself and his subjects, and turns their voice into his and vice versa. In this narrative structure, his own discursive position as a Japanese traveler, observer, and writer is conveniently erased, obscuring the specific dynamics between himself and his subjects, i.e. Japan's neo-colonialist domination of Hawai'i.

Just as important as Ikezawa's identification with Native Hawaiians is his deliberate diassociation from Japanese tourists. The travelogue's common narrative strategy of distancing oneself from "ordinary" tourists is used in Ikezawa's text as well. Early in the book, Ikezawa briefly addresses the huge impact of tourism in the islands. Yet, throughout the narrative, the author makes few remarks about tourism, and when he does, he clearly does not see himself as part of it. As far as it appears in the text, he never stays in a resort hotel, let

alone takes part in organized tours of any sort. He never visits or talks about any of the popular tourist sites such as Waikiki, Pearl Harbor, or the Polynesian Cultural Center. On the other hand, he boasts of going to places where “ordinary” tourists don’t go, such as to the island of Ni‘ihau (which is off-limits to most tourists) or, in the new chapter added to the paperback edition, to Midway. He presents himself as an independent traveler driving around the islands on his own, making contacts with people with various expertise, and talking with them in depth.

Through such textual formations and self-positioning, Ikezawa is able to present a narrative that is critical of Euroamerican colonialism while absolving himself and the Japanese of their complicity in the disenfranchisement of the people he portrays. This effect is enabled and facilitated in part by his deliberate focus on Native Hawaiian history and culture and, in turn, omission of other aspects of Hawaiian history and life. As Ikezawa mentions at several points in the narrative, he deliberately chooses to focus on Native Hawaiian culture while de-emphasizing other aspects of Hawai‘i—such as immigration, inter-ethnic relations, the impact of the military, and tourism—from the text. Yet, one needs to analyze exactly *how* Ikezawa constructs Native Hawaiian culture and identity and how such a construction intervenes in the contemporary discourse and political economy of Hawai‘i.

As he delves into the history and culture of indigenous people, Ikezawa explains the meaning of “Hawaiian” identity today. At the beginning of Chapter Four, he explains the history of racial mixing in Hawai‘i and talks of his friend:

In his case, his father is half Hawaiian, quarter English, the remaining quarter German; his mother is again half Hawaiian, quarter English, and quarter Chinese. This means that he is himself half Hawaiian, quarter English, and the remaining eighths are German and Chinese. And he considers himself Hawaiian.

Given these circumstances, whether one is Hawaiian or not is to a certain point a matter of one’s own sense of identity. . . .(99-100)

Thus, Ikezawa points to Hawai‘i’s racial hybridity, the social constructions of race, and the psychological dimension of Hawaiian identity. Yet, he does not explain why a man who is biologically only half Hawaiian chooses to—and/or has been compelled to—identify himself as Hawaiian rather than privileging his other racial and ethnic backgrounds. Nor does Ikezawa provide the reader with the historical, political, and economic context in which “Native Hawaiian” identity has been constructed and what is at stake for “Native Hawaiians” to claim an identity as such in order to assert and protect their livelihood today.<sup>63</sup>

As a consequence, what emerges from Ikezawa’s narrative is a kind of cultural essentialism that equates Hawaiian identity with a particular kind of

lifestyle and cultural practices, such as taro farming, dancing hula, learning and trying to revive the Hawaiian language, or retracing the path of ancient Polynesian canoes. While Ikezawa's discussion of each of these topics is sensitive to and critical of the history of colonialism that prompted these Native Hawaiian movements in recent years, the tone of the narrative is generally depoliticized. Thus, the text ends up valorizing these elements of Hawaiian life as cultural practices without considering them as political acts.

All of the narrative structures discussed above contribute to the construction of a new, progressive, postcolonial narrative of "paradise" that, although very different from a typical colonialist narrative, serves today's tourist imaginary in that it appropriates the notion of "paradise" while veiling the position of the Japanese tourist and Japan's neo-colonialist relation to Hawai'i. The persistent appeal and effectiveness of the discourse of "paradise" is seen most clearly in Ikezawa's very attempt to resist such a discourse. Ikezawa makes an explicit intervention in the discourse of "paradise" in his discussion of hula. As he contemplates what "*fura dansu* (hula dance)" has meant to the popular Japanese imagination, which was reinforced by Hollywood pictures, he makes a clear and strong critique of the notion of "paradise" itself.

I have no intention of calling Hawai'i prior to the arrival of haoles a paradise. A paradise is a definition, a concept, and not a human reality. To apply the word to other people's land is to see those people not as people but an other, abstract beings, as a product of our own mind. Even if we were to concede that people who live difficult lives [in an industrial society] need the fantasy that there is a paradise somewhere in this world where beautiful women are dancing in grass skirts, such a fantasy must not be very comfortable for those on whom it is imposed. That kind of dynamics between the self and the other is culminated in the word, "*fura dansu*."

What we should see is not our own fantasies but the dance itself. (170-171)

Ikezawa is thus very critical of the popular notion of "paradise," which exoticizes and commodifies Hawai'i and its people as the Other, and his critique is indeed very powerful. Yet, in the end, Ikezawa reappropriates the concept of "paradise" in a way that is distinct from, yet not entirely divorced from, the conventional discourse of "paradise." He closes the book with the following paragraph:

Humans can live and prosper to a limited extent on this earth. [The history of] Hawai'i has proven this basic principle of human existence. Why that principle does not work well in the modern age, that is another issue. Yet it is worth looking

into the Hawaiian islands and their people to think about that very issue. *Paradise is possible, Hawai'i is telling us*. (323-324, emphasis added)

This last sentence is used in the advertising strip attached to the book's cover, which prints the phrase, "Paradise is possible," in oversized, color, bold print. Underneath the sentence is the phrase, "The Winner of the JTB Travelogue Award." The contrast between this commodified marketing of the book and the book's cover—a photograph of a verdant valley overlooking the ocean, which seems antithetical to commercial tourism—illustrates both the subtle and overt contradictions not only of Ikezawa's text but also of many works in this genre. Despite the cultural critique of the accounts themselves, such books often carry the word "rakuen [paradise]" in the title or the sub-title—e.g. *Imeeji no Rakuen* [*Paradise of the Image*], *Samayoeru Rakuen* [*Meandering Paradise*], *Rakuen no Sugao* [*The True Face of Paradise*—simultaneously questioning the commonly-held notion of paradise and also titillating the reader with the seduction of paradise (Figure 1).

The tension between Ikezawa's progressive, postcolonialist critique and the narrative structures he employs and the position he assigns to himself and to the reader represents the limitations and contradictions of many of Japanese "alternative" narratives about the islands. That these "alternative" narratives are often originally commissioned by publications that are closely affiliated with the tourist industry, or are endorsed by it, demonstrates the irrevocable relationship between the mainstream tourist imaginary and acceptable and possible forms of progressive, postcolonialist critique. Furthermore, the popularity of such alternative narratives is itself predicated upon the further growth of tourism in the islands.

The emergence of alternative discourse, evident especially since the 1990s, has been partially made possible because Hawai'i had already become so familiar to the Japanese. Today, approximately 50 percent of Japanese tourists to Hawai'i are so-called "repeaters" who have visited the islands at least once before. Many of these repeaters, who have already "done" the popular tourist sites, are tired of the "ordinary" introduction to the islands that focuses on tourist attractions and shopping, yet they continue to visit the islands as tourists.<sup>64</sup> The commercial success of Ikezawa's book—in less than four years since its first publication, the book has gone through twelve printings (approximately 40,000 copies)—and the travelogue award given to the book suggest the capitalist cooptation of today's postcolonialist critique in Japan.<sup>65</sup>

Throughout the twentieth century, the Japanese tourist imaginary of Hawai'i has gone through numerous stages. The Japanese have traveled to Hawai'i partly out of exoticism for the tropical islands they considered less civilized than themselves. Sometimes Japanese dreamed of Hawai'i as a land of affluence as well as beauty. More recently, they have visited the islands to fulfill their romantic and/or materialistic desires away from the realities of daily life in their crowded



**Figure 1:** *Hawaii Kiko*, by Natsuki Ikezawa, with a cover photo of a verdant valley overlooking the ocean in the island of Molokai. When sold in bookstores in Japan, the lower portion of the photo is covered by an advertising strip that says, “Paradise Is Possible.”

homes. Sometimes the motivation for travel has been the combination of all of these. More important, Hawai‘i’s geographic, historical, economic, and cultural place in relation to Japan and the continental United States has allowed the Japanese to negotiate these different incentives and to turn them into a packaged vacation. Some travelers, however, have not been content with Hawai‘i as the site and object of capitalist consumption, and have sought an alternative, more “authentic” Hawai‘i in their journeys through their explorations of Hawaiian history and culture. Yet, those who seek the real and the authentic in Hawai‘i today are also implicated in the historical and contemporary relations among Hawai‘i, the continental U.S., and Japan. In addition, their efforts to reach the “true Hawai‘i” are often made difficult by their neo-colonialist subject position in the islands, if not by their own obliviousness to it.

This is not to say, of course, that such new, progressive, postcolonialist discourses and sincere respect for indigenous people and culture on the part of some Japanese are meaningless or doomed to fail. While we acknowledge that there may never be such a thing as a “truly authentic” account of Hawai‘i by a Japanese, we hope to explore a more meaningful relationship with the islands and give credit to those who work towards that goal. We are also aware that, as

Japanese scholars situated in Japan and in Hawai'i, we ourselves do not exist outside the Japanese discourse we have critiqued. What we aim to gain and learn from an analysis of the discourse is that traveling with more respect for the land and people we visit entails more than simply identifying with them and immersing ourselves in their culture; we must be mindful of our own markings in history and place, rather than masking ourselves under the veil of "paradise."<sup>66</sup>

Today, tourism is the largest industry in Hawai'i, and the presence of Japanese tourists and capital has become indispensable to the islands' economy. According to one report, in 1999 travel and tourism was expected to "generate \$14.0 billion of economic activity" in the state and the figure is expected to reach \$28.7 billion by the year 2010. To put it another way, the travel and tourism industry was "expected to contribute 18.2% to GDP" in Hawai'i in 1999 and the figure will be 22.9% by 2010.<sup>67</sup> Given that nearly two million Japanese visit Hawai'i every year and that they outspend visitors from any other country, their presence is crucial to the well-being of the state's economy and cannot be dismissed or ignored, as was proven by the severe economic impact of the drop in Japanese tourism to Hawai'i in the wake of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack.

Such economic dependence on Japanese tourism has shaped Hawai'i residents' attitudes toward Japanese tourists in complex ways. The locals' perceptions of Japanese tourists vary widely. Filipinos, Native Hawaiians, and other working-class minority groups who have low-wage jobs in the tourist industry often resent the privileged economic status of Japanese tourists, yet they are the first to be laid off when Japanese tourism drops. Japanese Americans, haole, and other locals who greet tourists in hotels, restaurants, and retail shops welcome Japanese consumers yet are often repulsed by their rude and insensitive behaviors, especially the failure of Japanese tourists to observe the custom of tipping. Local youths find Japanese tourists in Waikiki oddly dressed and awkward, but many—especially young Japanese Americans—are also fascinated by contemporary Japanese culture and follow the latest trends in Japan. The mixture of locals' dependence on, repulsion towards, distance from, and fascination for Japanese tourists shape the daily interactions between the residents and the tourists in complex ways.

At the same time, it is also important to consider the significance of Japanese tourism not simply in economic terms but also in a broader perspective that promotes more nuanced encounters and understanding. While tourism—commercial or otherwise—inherently carries numerous exploitative and irreverent relationships between the tourist and the host society, it also can be, and has been, a means of cross-cultural encounter and interactions in its own terms. Amidst this reality, an analysis of different positions held by Japanese tourists in relation to the place and culture they visit may be a small but useful step toward exploring more respectful and less exploitative forms of tourism.

## Notes

Versions of this paper were presented at the East-West Center-University of Hawai'i International Cultural Studies Program and at University of California, San Diego. We are grateful to Geoff White, Mingbao Yue, and Lisa Yoneyama for giving us these opportunities. We would like to thank the following colleagues who read earlier versions of the paper and offered generous comments and criticisms: Marcus Daniel, Cindy Franklin, Kieko Matteson, Robert Perkinson, and Naoko Shibusawa.

1. In this article, we spell "Hawai'i" with the 'okina except when we are discussing a text that uses the Japanese transliteration of the Anglicized pronunciation of "Hawaii," with a shortened vowel at the end. When we alphabetically transliterate the shortened Japanized word, "Hawaii," we transliterate it as "Hawai" with a single "i."

2. This was Kayama's first experience abroad. The activities of Kayama and other members of the film crew were closely observed and reported by Japanese newspapers in Hawai'i. See, for example, "Toho Roke Dai Nijin" [The second Toho film crew arrives], *Shukan Times*, March 15, 1963; "Waka Daisho Ikko Kitaru" [The Young Guy's group arrives], *The Hawaii Hochi*, March 13, 1963; "Waka Daisho Kombi ga Raifu" [The Young Guy and his group come to Hawai'i"], *Hawaii Times*, March 11, 13, 14, 16, 20, 21, 1963. Because of the popularity of Hawai'i in Japan, the film distributor Toho was shooting two other films, *Shacho Gaiyu Ki* and *Hong Kong, Honolulu, Tokyo*, in Hawai'i at the time. Kayama and Yuriko Hoshi, who played the role of Sumiko in *Hawai no Waka Daisho*, also appeared in *Hong Kong, Honolulu, Tokyo*.

3. Even though the film's distributor has provided the English translation "Young Guy" for "Waka Daisho," the translation does not entirely capture the connotations of the Japanese word. "Waka" means "young"; the title "taisho" refers to the military rank of a general, and in common parlance the word is used to refer to a man who assumes a leadership role and/or who is well respected and liked by his fellow men. A more accurate translation may be "Young Dude."

4. Address by Governor Benjamin J. Cayetano to Japan-Hawaii Economic Council, Nagano, Japan, October 2, 1999. <http://gov.state.hi.us/publicaddress/japanspeech/htm>, accessed January 21, 2002.

5. Noel Kent, *Hawaii: Islands Under the Influence* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 164-185; Haunani-Kay Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture," in *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1993), 179-197; Dana Naone Hall, "Preserving Hawai'i as a Hawaiian Place: Tourism, Development and Destruction of the Environment," in Ulla Hasager and Jonathan Friedman, eds., *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood* (Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1994), 165-170; John Kelly, "Tourism in Hawai'i," *Hawai'i: Return to Nationhood*, 172-182; 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), 161-178.

6. Jane Desmond, *Staging Tourism: Bodies on Display from Waikiki to Sea World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 13, 271, 300. For a broad overview of Japanese tourism in the Pacific, including Hawai'i, see Colin Michael Hall, *Tourism in the Pacific Rim: Development, Impacts and Markets* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1994), 18-35.

7. Desmond, *Staging Tourism*; Haunani-Kay Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands"; Rob Wilson, *Reimagining the American Pacific: From South Pacific to Bamboo Ridge and Beyond* (Durham and London: Duke UP, 2000).

8. For the history of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i, see Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983); Gary Okihiro, *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); Eileen H. Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); John E. Van Sant, *Pacific Pioneers: Japanese Journeys to America and Hawaii, 1850-1880* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000). It is important to note that not all those who immigrated to Hawai'i stayed in the islands. Many went "castwards" to the west coast of the U.S. and others returned to Japan. But enough remained in Hawai'i, and the Japanese came to occupy a significant portion of the population. By 1920, the Japanese immigrants and their children accounted for more than 40% of the population in Hawai'i. Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 119.

9. Namitaro Murasaki, *Saishin Hawaii Annai* [The Newest Guide to Hawaii], (Honolulu: Hawaii Annai Sha, 1920) 3, 4.

10. *Ibid.*, 24-58, 72.

11. Desmond analyzes the cultural politics of early hula performances and argues that it was the "soft primitivism" of Native women whose sexuality was presented as "non-aggressive sensuality rather than the hyperbolic sexuality sometimes ascribed to African American women" that made the female hula performers even more attractive to Euro-American visitors. Similarly, the Hawaiian women's sexuality, while deviating from the prescribed standards of the Japanese

society, was presented as something non-threateningly attractive, even though the Japanese probably did not as clearly recognize the constrasting “hyperbolic sexuality” of African American women as Euro-Americans. Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, 68.

12. See, for example, the editorials of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 10, 1920; February 16, 1920.

13. Okihiro, *Cane Fires*, 66, 117. See also Masayo Umezawa Duus, *Japanese Conspiracy: The Oahu Sugar Strike of 1920* trans. Beth Cary (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

14. The book came out on March 15, two months after the strike had begun. The influenza epidemic was causing “great misery” among the Japanese population and had already killed 35 people by that time. “Koko no Dojo ni Uttau” [Sympathy Needed by Everyone] *Nippu Jiji*, March 19, 1920.

15. Many of the Japanese immigrants in Hawai‘i were men who had come to the islands for economic reasons and originally intended to return once they saved enough money. However, the difficulty of saving as quickly as expected and the rising cost of living in Japan often prevented them from going back, and eventually they decided to settle in the islands. In that respect, the Japanese immigrants, particularly those working for sugarcane plantations, belonged to a different socio-economic status from those Japanese who were visiting on a temporary visit to the islands. Tamura, *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity*, 9-41.

16. Nihon Yusen, ed., *Hawai Annai* [A Guide to Hawaii], (Tokyo: Nihon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha, 1934) 1, 3.

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

18. Komota Nobuo, et. al. eds., *Nihon Ryukoka-shi* (Tokyo: Shakai Shiso-sha, 1995), 46-62. We thank Yoko Kurokawa for bringing our attention to this source.

19. For example, the band released a song entitled “Moonlight” in 1943 based on a popular song in Indonesia.

20. The end of the war was announced only six hours before he was to go on the final suicide mission. Later, Ohashi came to have a distinguished career as a musician. He was the first musician of Hawaiian songs to receive the distinguished National Award for Culture by the Japanese government.

21. For example, Shirakata’s “Honolulu Girl,” originally sung before the war by the popular Japanese singer Dick Mine, was released again in 1949 by Hisao Otaka and became popular.

22. Bessatsu Takarajima, ed., *Ura Hawai Dokuhon* [Hawaii behind-the-scenes] (Tokyo: Takarajima-sha, 1993). According to this book, there were more than 4,500 “Hawaiian bands” in Japan during the fifties.

23. Ethel Nakata, “Uta to Odori no Shima Hawai” [Hawaii—the island of songs and dances] in Zayuhō Kankokai, ed., *Hawai Minami Taiheiyō* [Hawaii and the South Pacific] (Tokyo: Shogakkan, 1964), 148.

24. See, for example, “Hawai wa Ore Tachi no Bakansu Chitai” [Hawaii is our vacation land] *Heibon* (September, 1963). Figures such as Yujiro Ishihara, Ken Takakura, Chicmi Eri and Kyu Sakamoto, who were all household names in Japan, visited Hawai‘i.

25. “Kaigai Ryoko Shitsumon Bako” [Questions about foreign travel], *Tabi* 39 (June, 1965), 215.

26. The Japanese government remained protective of Japan’s foreign cash reserve and restricted the total amount of cash a citizen could take out of Japan to a maximum of US\$500 dollars. This meant that each traveler had to travel within the allotted amount, including the hotel accommodation and food (excluding airfare, which could be paid for in Japan in Japanese yen). Moreover, people were allowed to travel abroad only once a year. This restriction was abolished in 1966 and the amount permitted to be taken abroad was raised to \$700 in 1969, \$1,000 in 1970, and \$3,000 in 1976. In 1977, this limit was abolished.

27. “Michi no Seikai e no Akogare wo Jitsugen,” [Realizing the dream for an unknown world], *Tabi* 38 (April 1964), 155.

28. Toshitada Tsutsui, “Konto no Hawai Chishiki ABC” [The basic information about this winter’s Hawai‘i ], *Tabi* 39 (December 1965), 149. The total number of visitors to Hawai‘i for the year was approximately a half million, which meant that Japanese consisted of 7% of all the tourists. The figure is considerably lower than it is today (about 30%), but already the Japanese were the second largest group of tourists after those from the continental U.S.

29. In expectation of the liberalization of foreign travel, various travel agencies and banks began similar plans in early 1960s. According to one estimate, 45,397 people were subscribing to some kind of travel saving plan in 1962. Of those, 26,444, or about 70%, intended to use the money to visit Hawai‘i. “Hawai ni Akogarcru” [Longing for Hawai‘i ] *Hawaii Times*, January 1, 1963. An overwhelming majority of the Japanese visitors to Hawai‘i came as a member of a prepackaged group tour because it was much easier for them to do so linguistically and financially. According to one estimate in 1965, 93% of the visitors came on group tours. Tsutsui, “Konto no Hawai Chishiki ABC,” 149.

30. "First Japanese Tourists Find Dream Fulfilled," *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 9, 1964. In Japanese, the word "dream" is often used synonymously with "paradise," and many Japanese visitors made references to the islands as a "dreamland."

31. "Akogare no Hawaii Koro" [Longing for a trip to Hawaii], *Yomiuri Shimbun*, February 25, 2000. See also "Ikunaraba Hawaii" [If one leaves, it is to Hawaii], *Hawaii Hochi*, April 23, 1964, in which a Japanese journalist predicts the "popularization of Hawaiian tour" by indicating the fact that many farmers are saving to visit the island.

32. It must be noted here that the construction of this Hawaiian image was not a one-sided process. The state of Hawai'i played a significant role in promoting its own image as an ideal destination for tourists to come and spend their money. Already during the early part of the 1960s, in anticipation of the liberalization of foreign travel, the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau began courting Japanese tourists. For example, two months before *Hawai no Waka Daisho* was released in 1963, a publicity campaign to promote Hawai'i in Japan began with Governor John Burns' visit to the country. He appeared in two nationally-televised shows and toured the country with a Hawaiian band that performed nineteen times at various locations. During the two-week campaign, the bureau also held an "Hawaiian Festival" in six cities including Tokyo and Osaka, and aired radio and television advertisements. By the campaign's end, the bureau estimated that it succeeded in showing Hawai'i's attractiveness to as many as fifty million Japanese. "Kanko Kyoku no Nihonjin Kanko Kyaku Yuchi Undou" [Effort to attract Japanese tourists by the Travel Bureau] *The Hawaii Hochi*, 17 July 1963. In addition, Japanese travel agents began discussing ways to promote tourism with the agents in Hawai'i. Forty-five Japanese agents visited Hawai'i for a week in June, 1963, and participated in discussions at the East-West Center with members of the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau and travel agents in Hawai'i. See a series of articles in the *Hawaii Hochi*, June 13, 15, 17, 24, 1963.

Another event that served as a great promotion of the islands took place after the liberalization of foreign travel. In 1970, the state of Hawai'i participated in the Osaka World Exposition held in Osaka, Japan. More than two million people visited the Hawai'i Pavilion. "Hawai Kan no Kenbutsu Nin," [People visiting Hawaii pavilion] *The Hawaii Times*, May 27, 1970; "Isles' new Expo pavilion ichi-ban," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, June 25, 1970. The state of Hawai'i continues to court the Japanese tourists actively, as is evidenced by Governor Cayetano's quick decision to visit Japan after the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, to convince the Japanese tourists of the "safety" of the islands. In October, Cayetano met with the Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi to assure that Hawai'i was safe for Japanese tourists. "Japanese Prime Minister Gets Pitch from Cayetano," *Honolulu Advertiser*, October 10, 2001.

33. For example, according to a travelogue published in 1966, Hawai'i was not simply a "paradise in the Pacific" but, more importantly, a paradise where the Japanese visitors could "feel familiar with, thanks to the presence of the Japanese Americans." Ichiro Suzuki, *Anatano Hawai Taiheiyō Koro* [Your Trip to the Pacific and Hawaii] (Tokyo: Kokusai Tosho, 1966), 135.

34. The Japanese national television even conducted a telephone interview of Matsunaga immediately after the victory. "NHK kara Matsunaga shi ni Denwa" [A telephone call for Mr. Matsunaga from NHK] *Hawaii Hochi*, November 7, 1962.

35. Chocho Miyako and Yasunori Kawauchi, "Nodoka Desuwa Aroha no Shima Wa" [The island of aloha is quite relaxing], *Tabi 39* (December 1965), 150. "Hctana Gaido ni Shitsubo" [Disappointed by bad guides], *The Hawaii Times*, March 28, 1970.

36. In 1971, for example, more than 1.6 million Americans visited Hawai'i. Of those, 16% were said to be Vietnam War soldiers on leave from the battlefields. That year, 120,000 Japanese visited the island. Midori Yajima, "Hawaii" [Hawaii] *Tabi 45* (December 1971), 210. About 1800 students came to study English at the university that year. "Nihonjin Gakusei ni Dai Ninki" [Very popular among Japanese university students], *The Hawaii Times*, July 5, 1970.

37. A notable exception was Katsuichi Honda, a journalist whose exposé on the racial discrimination in the American south triggered a controversy in Japan. He stopped in Hawai'i for a few days on his way to Los Angeles in 1969 and noted that it was a place that has been "invaded" by Americans. He found similarities between Hawai'i and Vietnam, where he had lived as a journalist for several years during World War II. Katsuichi Honda, *Amerika Gasshukoku* [The United States] (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun Sha, 1981) 17.

38. The first commercial 747 to arrive in Japan was a Pan American flight from Honolulu on March 11, 1970. The bulk discount officially started in Japan in November of 1969 with the flights bound for Europe and later was applied to flights to other destinations. Travel agencies would purchase seats by the "bulk" at a discount and, in turn, sell them to customers at a rate that was considerably lower than the regular fare. With the introduction of this system, it became possible to purchase a roundtrip ticket to Hawai'i for as low as \$250. "The Kaigai Ryoko" [Foreign Travel] *Travel Journal 31* (June 1994), 84; Ryuzo Hirai, "Kaki Gakusei to Nichibei Shinzenni Baruku Unchin no Kakudai wo" [More bulk discount needed for the summer students and promoting U.S.-Japan friendship], *The Hawaii Times*, August 29, 1970.

39. The best known investor was Kenji Osano, who purchased Sheraton Waikiki, Royal Hawaiian and Sheraton Maui in 1974. By the mid 1980s, his Kyoya Company owned more than

4,000 hotel rooms in Waikiki alone. It must be noted, however, that there has been a considerable amount of “divestment” in the nineties because of the depression in Japan.

40. After the terrorist attacks in New York City and elsewhere in September, 2001, the number of Japanese visitors to Hawai‘i declined significantly from this figure of 2 million. The figure for the year 2001 was 1,528,562; for the year 2002, it was 1,484,770, according to the Department of Business, Economic Development, and Tourism of the State of Hawai‘i (<http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt/monthly/dec02/japan.html>). Since then, the number has gradually increased, and the Hawaiian Visitors and Convention Bureau expects the number to increase to the level of the years prior to the terrorist attacks once the Japanese are assured of the safety of the islands. *Asahi Simbun*, January 17, 2002. However, more pessimistic reports suggest that the recovery will take a long time. “Japanese Tourism Rebound Will Take Years,” *Pacific Business Journal* June 4, 2002.

41. The words of this song were written by Akira Ito, and the melody was composed by Koichi Morita, one of the popular singer-song writers in Japan.

42. An informal survey of students conducted at several universities in Japan has shown that at least 90% of them had heard the song. Many remembered the lyrics and were able to recite the song.

43. A fine history of Japanese enterprise in the Pacific islands is Mark R. Peattie, *Nan‘yo: The Rise and Fall of the Japanese in Micronesia, 1885-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1988).

44. A young Japanese elementary school teacher who visited Hawai‘i in the summer of 1970 wrote in her diary that Native Hawaiians were “born from the sea” and reminded her of “black dolphins.” “Nihonjin Daigakusei de Dai Hanjo” [A great business thanks to Japanese university students], *The Hawaii Times*, August 8, 1970. As already noted, such a description of the native Hawaiians parallels with what Desmond labels as “soft primitivism.”

45. The exchange rate in the year of liberalization in 1964 was 360 yen to one U.S. dollar. After 1985, the value of one dollar declined precipitously and became less than 200 yen. By the end of that decade, it was less than 150 yen.

46. In addition, a travel guide published in 1966 recommended items such as “kahiko (an wood ornament),” “paki (a paper knife),” “koa banako (a piggy bank made of koa tree)” “lefu pa (an ashtray in the shape of a boat),” and “kuipini kukini (a pineapple-shaped pin)” among others. As the “localized” names of these goods indicate, they were intended to generate a sense of “Hawaiianess” that could be taken back home. Ichiro Suzuki, *Anata no Hawaii Taiheiyō Koro*, 173-175. Advertisements for shops in Honolulu emphasized the availability of “inexpensive,” “useful,” and “memorable” goods. Ala Moana Shopping Center was also known for its “rich selection of souvenirs and memorable goods.” See, for example, a travel brochure called *Aloha Minasan* distributed to Japanese tourists in Honolulu by the *Hawaii Hochi* immediately after the liberalization in April of 1964.

47. For example, in 1987, Japanese visitors spent \$365 a day, outspending the tourists from the continental U.S. who, on average, spent only \$95. Hawai‘i Visitors Bureau, *Study of Japanese Visitors to Hawaii* (March 1988), 1.

48. According to the report provided by the state’s Department of business, Economic Development and Tourism, during the year 2001, domestic travelers from U.S. West spent an average of \$162 per day. The figure for those from U.S. East was \$174. In contrast, those from Japan spent \$245 per day. Although this figure was much lower than it was during the height of Japan’s bubble economy when visitors were spending more than \$300 per person a day, it was an increase of 3.4% from the previous year. Japanese visitors spent three times as much per day shopping than their U.S. mainland counterpart. <http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt/01/vrr/expend.html>, accessed July 13, 2003.

49. In contrast with the description of 1964 mentioned above, recent descriptions of Ala Moana Shopping center emphasize the abundance of goods readily available to Japanese tourists. One advertisement says, for example, “OOO AAH WOW OOH! From casual to ‘hi fashion,’ from Hawaiian originals to the famous brands, everything is here. Banana Republic, Disney Store, Christian Dior, Emporio Armani, Gap, Tiffany. These well-known brands are only a part of Ala Moana Center. In addition, you will find surf-shops, bikini shops, and other ‘real’ Hawaiian style shops here.” *Hawaii: Aloha Express Sony Magazine Deluxe* (June 1995), 98.

50. *Hawai Gokuraku Dokuhon—Sono Saki no “Rakuen” e!* [Super-fun Hawaii: To the “Paradise” Beyond!] (Tokyo: Takarajima-sha, 1997), n.p.

51. Junko Obayashi, “Hawai‘i in the Japanese Tourist Gaze: A Reflection on Imaginary Hawai‘i” (MA Thesis, University of Hawai‘i, 2000), esp. 18-20.

52. See, for example, “Butsuyoku no Hawai” [Hawaii of material greed] *CAZ 272* (December 6, 1999); “Rakuen Hawai Bukku” [Hawaii Paradise Book] *Can Can* (January 2000).

53. Japanese women’s encounter with “good men” is difficult to document compared to the blatantly explicit existence of the sex industry for Japanese men in such places as Waikiki. However, many Japanese women’s magazine articles refer—both directly and indirectly—to the excitement of chance encounters with handsome local men. For example, a recent advertisement of a new

Polaroid camera run in one fashion magazine's special Hawai'i issue promoted the product by reminding the female readers that this new camera would "no doubt attract the attention" of "good-looking" "local surfers" and "lifeguards." Along with the article is a series of photographs of smiling Japanese women with young and relatively handsome white men that were supposedly taken using the camera. "Hawai Sunappu Nikki" [Photo diary from Hawaii] *Fine: Go Go Hawaii* (May, 2000), 86-87. On the broader phenomenon of Japanese women's relationships and affairs with Western men, see Karen Kelsky's works: *Women on the Verge: Japanese Women, Western Dreams* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); "Intimate Ideologies: Transnational Theory and Japan's 'Yellow Cabs,'" *Public Culture* 6: 3 (1994), 465-78.

54. Obayashi, "Hawai'i in the Japanese Tourist Gaze," 20.

55. The former consul general of Japan in Honolulu has said, for example, that he has been deeply impressed "by the natural beauty of Hawaii, much of which has been well preserved and generally unaffected by environmental damage caused by human activities." And yet at the same time he has recommended that the people in Hawai'i make "more modern resort hotels" and develop areas such as Makaha, an area currently inhabited predominantly by Native Hawaiians, because it takes "more than natural beauty and ideal climate to bring in more tourists." Predictably, he does not reflect upon the kind of negative impact such a development would have upon the residents of Makaha because he knows "how much the people of this state are interested in trends in the visitor industry." Gotaro Ogawa, "How to woo Japanese tourists," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, March 20, 1999. Noel Kent, *Hawaii*, 164-185; Haunani-Kay Trask, "Lovely Hula Hands"; Dana Naone Hall, "Preserving Hawai'i as a Hawaiian Place"; John Kelly, "Tourism in Hawai'i."

56. Examples of such writing include Hayato Yamanaka, *Imeeji no Rakuen* [Paradise of the Image] (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1993); Hayato Yamanaka, *Hawai* [Hawaii] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1993); Yumiko Nakajima, *Hawai: Samayoeru Rakuen* [Hawaii: Meandering Paradise] (Tokyo: Tokyo Shosha, 1993); Fumiko Haroran, *Honoruru kara no tegami: Sekai wo Hawaii kara Miru* [Letters from Honolulu: Looking at the World through Hawaii] (Tokyo: Chuo-koronsha, 1995); Nikku Kato, *Dare mo Shiranai Hawaii—25-nen Kurashita Rakuen no Sugao* [Hawaii that Nobody Knows: The True Face of Paradise Where I lived for 25 Years] (Tokyo: Kobunsha, 1998).

57. In the last twenty years, Ikezawa has published more than 40 books, including short stories, poetry, translations, essays as well as novels and has been awarded a number of prizes for his writing including the prominent Akutagawa prize for his novel *Sutiru Raifu* [Still Life] in 1988.

58. Natsuki Ikezawa, *Hawaii Kiko* (Tokyo: Shinchosha, 1996). As he discusses in the text, he deliberately transliterates the word "Hawai-i" in the way that reflects the pronunciation of the word in the Hawaiian language, as opposed to the commonly used "Hawai." However, the English title on the book's cover, *Cruising Around Hawaii*, does not show an okina (') between the two i's in the word "Hawai'i."

59. On the functions of "strategic location" and "textual formation," see Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978), 20.

60. Ikezawa, *Hawaii Kiko*, 29. We use the original hardcover edition in our discussion. Further references are made parenthetically in the text. Translations are ours.

61. Such examples are seen in Ikezawa's account of Father Damien (24, 62), "Robert" and "Freda," who lost their houses in lava flow (54-57), and "Sawara-kun," a young Japanese who moved to Maui to surf (228, 247-253).

62. The paperback edition has an added chapter in which Ikezawa visits Midway, but he maintains his environmental perspective and his discussion of the war in this chapter is also rather abstract.

63. J. Kchaulani Kauanui, "'For Get' Hawaiian Entitlement: Configurations of Land, 'Blood,' and Americanization in the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1921," *Social Text* 17:2 (Summer 1999), 123-144.

64. Among those visiting Hawai'i from Japan in January of 2001, for example, 53% were repeaters. The average throughout the year 2000 was 47.5%. See statistics available at <http://www.hawaii.gov/dbedt/monthly/index.html>, accessed January 17, 2002. Industry analysts are debating whether the patterns of spending and daily activities of repeat visitors differ significantly from the first-time visitors. While most say that the repeaters spend less and do less—that is, they tend to simply enjoy the beaches—some argue that is far from the case. However, it is safe to assume that with the rapid increase in the number of repeaters, there now exists a relatively large number of tourists who look for the kind of experiences that are different from the more "conventional" vacation experience. Russ Lynch, "Survey dispels myths about Japanese tourists" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, November 13, 1998.

65. The data on the book's printing was provided by the publisher. In 1996, the book received the JTB *Kiko Bungaku Taisho*, an award given by Japan's largest travel agency to the best travel literature published in the year. The citation for the book reads: "The author looks down at the mouth of the Kilauea, the huge volcano. He is lured by the beauty of the flowers and learns the meanings of the leis made out of them. He imagines the thoughts of the people who first arrived

in Hawaii in a small canoe only with the stars as their guides. The book is a detailed report based on his two-year travel in which he explored each of the islands on foot or by boat. As can be seen from the fact that he chose to transliterate the word 'Hawai-i' so as to be faithful to the indigenous language, the author pays particular attention to the Native Hawaiian culture ranging from the Hawaiian language, hula, lei, and maritime technology. This is an innovative travelogue which sheds new light on these islands too often discussed in terms of their aspects as a tourist resort." The continuing popularity of the book led to an expanded paperback edition, with two new chapters on the Midway and the National Observatory, which was published in August 2000. This version is called *kanzen ban*, or "the complete edition."

66. Desmond's discussion of "alternative tourist shows" in Hawai'i is suggestive here. She argues that while these shows contain many of the contradictions of touristic representation of indigeneous culture discussed in this paper, they also provide the possibility of "rewriting" commodified images of Hawaiian culture "from the inside" by attempting to establish a "dialogic relationship" between the tourists and performers of Hawaiian culture. Desmond, *Staging Tourism*, 28-33.

67. World Travel and Tourism Council, *WTTC Hawaii Tourism Report 1999: How Travel & Tourism Affects Hawaii's Economy* (London: World Travel and Tourism Council, 1999), 6.