

Hawai‘i/Hawaii: Alterity, Space, and the Settler Imaginary

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B.A., Pacific University, 2015

A Thesis

Submitted as partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of masters of arts in Museum and Exhibition studies
in the graduate college of the University of Illinois at Chicago, 2021

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis committee—Therese Quinn, Erica Meiners, and Michael Jin—for their unwavering support and assistance. I would also like to thank Anthony Stepter for making sure I finished all these requirements and for the postcards that served as the basis for one of these chapters. I would also like to thank Nizar Ajanovic for all the discussions of critical theory over the years. I would like to thank Alex Bove for introducing me to Derrida and all the wonderful theory in various literature classes. I would like to thank Jules Boykoff for getting me into the archives for the first time back in Portland, which helped greatly with the first chapter of this work. Thanks to River Gerding for lending me the Heidegger book. Thank you to my mother for teaching me to read.

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Tourism as the Endless Consumption of Alterity	4
Chapter 3: “Wish You Were Here”: Postcards and the Production of Hawaii.....	19
Chapter 4: Settler Futurity and <i>Lilo & Stitch</i> : The fantasy of red settlerism.....	29

SUMMARY

This thesis is an inexhaustive study of the creation of an economy of knowledge surrounding Hawai'i. Through settler imaginings a new psychic place coalesced around the fantasies of colonists. This place Hawaii is distinguishable from Hawai'i by the absence of the okina.

The analysis begins at the end of the Nineteenth Century when settlers began to articulate a new future for Hawaii. These imaginings sought to reshape the landscape and population of Hawai'i into the easily distributable and consumable commodity of Hawaii. This process serves to render alterity manageable, consumable, and amicable to settlers. By drawing on the work of Georges Bataille, Emmanuel Levinas, and Jean Baudrillard, I analyze the exhibitions created by the Hawaii Chamber of Commerce to market Hawaii to the global stage at various international expositions. At around the same time, settler anxieties about US annexation raised questions about the future of Hawaii. In imagining what Hawaii could be, settlers sought to realize the creation of a new place within this economy of knowledge.

The thesis then turns its attention to the middle of the 20th Century as air travel produced an influx of visitors. Analyzing the advertisements of Hawaii placed in newspapers and postcards, I deconstruct the ways settler fantasies shaped and articulated the desire to become tourists in Hawaii. By drawing on Baudrillard and Heidegger, I discuss how these images sought to produce a distanceless world that allows for the production of the hyperreality that settler colonialism requires.

The final chapter analyzes the film *Lilo & Stitch*. I analyze the film through the lens of settler futurity. I argue that this children's film serves to reproduce the fantasy of perfect Natives who are the end point of genocide. It serves to perfect the settler fantasy of the civilizing project.

Chapter 1: Introduction

The doctrine of discovery undergirds all settler states. Central to the doctrine is the idea of terra nullius, a land that is devoid or empty, because to discover and have the right of first possession colonizing nations needed to find them first (Miller, 2011). With this simple juridical tool, the Western nations committed a massive revisioning of the world, wherein entire nations of indigenous people vanished with the planting of a flag. I begin this thesis with terra nullius for a few reasons. First, terra nullius serves as the foundation for justifying mass dispossession of indigenous lands. Second, as a basis for dispossession it relies on a specific representation of the world. Lands that are home to people's must be reimagined to be empty, the people imagined as not a people or not there. Third, the doctrine's emphasis on the visual aspect of settler colonialism. The title to land relies on the ability to not see people and to vision the land in a particular manner. Taken together, these elements reveal the role of knowledge and representation in settler colonialism.

This theme of knowledge stretches through all three chapters of this text and is the governing theme of this work. Jodi Byrd argues elegantly in *The Transit of Empire* that colonialism creates a mesh of clashing representations that stem from the global export of "Indianness" around the globe (Byrd, Loc. 84 – 93). The centrality of knowledge and imagination to colonialism finds another important articulation in the work of Ariel Dorfman. Reading children stories such as *Babar*, Dorfman reveals the way that colonialism primes children to accept its values through various stories that allow for the realization of "colonial dreams" repackaged in pastel colors (1983, 25). My concern then is primarily with unpacking how the world came to know a place called "Hawaii."

The absence of the okina in "Hawaii" is essential to my project. Somewhere in the marketing images and pamphleteering, across World's Fairs and *New York Times* travel ads, the okina vanished. And while this may seem like a simple, incidental act of colonial carelessness, I intended to suggest it is something more. Drawing on Derrida's (2004) notion of difference, I want to distinguish "Hawaii", the place produced through a global scale exchange of meaning, from "Hawai'i", I place I cannot define (and

have no desire to define). This mode of thinking about two separate epistemic places occupying a similar geography was probably sparked by geographer Alastair Bonnett's work, where he discusses the transformation of the "Ottoman Empire" into "Turkey" and "Siam" into "Thailand." He focuses extensively on "Leningrad" and "St. Petersburg" and the two different worlds they refer to while sharing a single city (Bonnett, 2014, Loc. 198 – 218). Thus, "Hawaii" will be used most of the time in this text to refer to the mass produced place that I am examining. Similarly, I will use "luau" to refer to the tourist attraction and not the food.

With this in mind, this thesis seeks to travel a great span of time ranging from the second half of the 1800s till 2017. The text is not exhaustive in its coverage, but rather seeks to examine the salience of certain images, within the repository of knowledge that produces Hawaii. To begin this investigation, the first chapter focuses on nineteenth-century colonizers fascination with the future of Hawaii. A great deal was written by Westerners about what they thought would happen to Hawaii. These range from economic dreams fixated on profiteering to anxieties about foreign powers. It traces these strands from these writings to the debut of Hawaii overthrow to a global audience at various international exhibitions, creating a very particular idea of Hawaii ripe for mass consumption. The images in the first chapter reverberate through the second chapter, which leaps to the middle of the 20th century, as air travel accelerates the expansion of Hawaii's tourist industry. Focusing on postcards and advertisements in newspapers, I examine the way the images used in the late-1800s and early-1900s persist through this period. The images reveal the ways in which Hawaii seeks to naturalize the settler through an emphasis on their role in space. The final chapter moves ahead to the early 2000s, with a look at the film *Lilo & Stitch* (2002). The film once again brings the settler's fantasies about the future to the fore as it illustrates a role for the native in the civilizing project of settler colonialism.

By and large, this thesis focuses on the desires of settlers and what they produced in order to know. It is an attempt to break apart the way in which this knowledge and desire structures tourism and the settler colonial apparatus in Hawaii.

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Chapter 2: Tourism as the Endless Consumption of Alterity

After the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Westerner planters dreamed of the expansion of Hawaii's agricultural industry. Towards the end of the 19th century an entire industry emerged that sought to sell Hawaii on the world's stage. Through a string of International Exhibitions and World's Fairs, the mega event served as the background for the sale of Hawaii. While business leaders of the Republic of [Hawaii] thought they were marketing Hawaiian agricultural products such as sugar, rice, wheat, and other goods, the real function of the exhibitions was the production of knowledge about Hawaii.

In the first section, I will explore settler imaginings of the future. Eve Tuck cautions scholars to the dangers of "damage centered" research that focuses on accumulating narratives of pain and suffering. An alternative method lies in a focus on desire (2009, 414 - 416). I am also cognizant of Foucault's warning that "visibility is a trap" (Foucault, 1977, 200). The important take away from the discussion of the panopticon at least in this context of paper is the distributional quality of visibility as central framework of power. The object of observation "is seen, but... does not see," pointing to the importance of the invisibility of the guardian for the "automatic functioning of power" (Foucault, 1977, 200 - 201). Particularly in the context of Hawaii, constant visibility and especially visibility of "natives" promotes consumption. In museums, it is the kahili and the ipu that are on display, not the tourist postcards and hula dancer bobbleheads. Yet, this choice relates back to the very way in which visibility is the fundamental object of power. It's a question of what the optics of visibility choose to both include and occlude, but also why the accoutrements of the colonizers are kept from the archive. Why is the "Hawaiian" on display, while the tourist is not? Thus, in the context of this work centering and viewing the desire of the colonizer putting it on display and unpacking it becomes central to the process of analyzing it. Situating the desire of western writers and ideologues in their imaging of Hawaii I seek to break apart the master narrative. As Tuck and Yang observe, "academic knowledge... disguises itself as universal... it refuses desire... through erasure, but also through inclusion, and its own imperceptibility...

Desire invites the ghosts that history wants exorcised...” (Tuck & Yang, 2014, 235) In effect, this project is a retelling of Hawaii as a fantasy, in order to situate the desire of settlers at the fore and shift the gaze from the “violated body to the violating instruments” (Tuck & Yang, 2014, 241).

The second section, builds on this analysis of desire by emphasizing the ways in which the imaginings of the future by settlers manifested in the production of knowledge about Hawaii in international exhibitions.

The Future

Speculation played a critical role in shaping Hawaii as a place that does not exist. One early example was James Jackson Jarves observation in his 1843 history of Hawaii that “Some indulge in visions of greatness and prosperity, based upon the increasing civilization of the present inhabitants, and look forward to the time when it shall become a kingdom, known and respected among kindred nations” (1843, 347). Imagination of where Hawaii would head formed the groundwork for the fledgling economy of knowledge surround Hawaii. Jarves’ future of Hawaii centered abundance, economic expansion, and prestige.. The economic future of Hawaii, in the minds of 19 century Western writers, hinged on agricultural production. Writing before the overthrow of Hawaiian monarchy, Manley Hopkins imagined the Hawaii of the future. Observing the overdependence on the industry of whaling, Hopkins argued that for the economic good of the island nation it needed to turn “inland and ‘develop the resources of the island’” (1866, 402). He foresaw an economic boon surrounding coffee, sugar, hides, wool, and indigo, concluding “the future looks smiling upon the commercial... prosperity of the islands” (Hopkins, 1866, 406; quote at 407). Thus, the future was imagined as a time of economic prosperity.

This masturbatory fantasy, wherein Western fetishization of agriculture and heady fantasies about agricultural largesse, culminated in the Overthrow. The various planters were publicly transparent about their desire. Klaus Spreckels told Julius A. Palmer, in an investigation for the *Boston Transcript*, that, “without the sugar bounty... there would have been no revolution” (1894, 14) While annexation may have been premised as the future by some, it still produced anxiety over economics. The planters expressed anxiety about US labor law and fears that it would impede the importation of cheap labor

(GPO, 1894, 973). Some speculated that, “annexation would ruin every planter on the island” (Palmer, 1894, 14).

While many may applaud Grover Cleveland today for recognizing the illegitimacy of the overthrow, whether this was anything other than a calculated political move is debatable. At the time, observers believed Hawaii was a “veritable modern paradise” that coincidentally was very important to America’s interests given its “geographical position... situated practically in the center of the Pacific Ocean” (Whitney, 1895, 158-159). Geography facilitated a shift from the fetishized object of paradise to the military fetish as, “an objective which the major powers eyed with jealous temptation” (Blumenthal, 1959, 59). As the President of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society noted, “our location midway between the West coast of America and Japan and China on one hand, and New Zealand and Australia on the other, gives us consideration from all nations” (Hyde, 1880, 24).

But while the islands were seen as economically and geographically important by all parties, there was a small problem and constant source of anxiety—the Hawaiian population. The Blount Commission wanted to know if Annexation could be democratically secured, but were told, that if the vote was held it would be “only one-fourth [in favor of annexation] against three-fourths” (US House of Representatives, 1894, 977). At the same time, the civilization of the Hawaiian population served as an important empirical example for Christianity’s project of colonization, as it was the most successful example of conversion, so much so that “if this county becomes the seat of ... moral degradation ... a blow will be struck at the cause of religion...” (Hyde, 1880, 24). But the native population was always already a threat to this future, as Palmer worried that “any half-caste demagogue can control a large majority of the Hawaiian people, and thus plunge the nation into anarchy for selfish ends” proving the need for “extremely limited suffrage” (Palmer, 1894, 15). This concern was mirrored by the Blount Report, which reported that if the US put annexation to a vote in Hawaii it would lose by anywhere from a two to one to over a five to one margin because the Native population was aligned against the whites (US House of Representatives, 1894, 599). In fact, given the importance of “American prestige... the future of Hawaii must be controlled by other than the native race... ” (Stevens, 1893, 124).

The Blount Commission was particularly interested in a solution to this population problem. On the subject of the Japanese, the investigator asked Chief Justice A. F. Judd about the Japanese desire for suffrage, and Judd told them, “they would vote as the consul wanted them to vote. They are an inferior class, brought up with the idea that they must obey their superiors” (US House of Representatives, 1894, 842). The committee in its recommendations made explicit connection between labor, economy, and watering down Hawaiian voting power,

...the material development of the islands, but surely advancing their prosperity by diversifying and expanding the industries, building roads and bridges, opening the public lands to small farmers from Europe and the United States, thus increasing the responsible voting population, and constituting a solid basis for American methods of government.

Two-fifths of the people now here are Chinese and Japanese. If the present state of things is allowed to go on the Asiatics will soon largely preponderate, for the native Hawaiians are growing less at the rate of nearly one thousand per year. At the present prices of sugar, and at the prices likely to hold in the future, sugar-raising on these islands can be continued only by the cheapest possible labor - that of the Japanese, the Chinese, and the Indian coolies. Americanize the islands, assume control of the "Crown lands," dispose of them in small lots for actual settlers and freeholders for the raising of coffee, oranges, lemons, bananas, pineapples, and grapes, and the result soon will be to give permanent preponderance to a population and a civilization which will make the islands like southern California, and at no distant period convert them into gardens and sanitariums, as well as supply stations for American commerce, thus bringing everything here into harmony with American life and prosperity. To postpone American action many years is only to add to present unfavorable tendencies and to make future possession more difficult (US House of Representatives, 1894, 381).

Anxiety about Hawaiian suffrage were nothing new. Whites were a minority constituting six-percent of the population at the time of the overthrow (Williams, 2015, 8). But suffrage was a key area of political contestation between settlers and natives, with fights over limits occurring throughout the second half of the 19th century. In 1864 limits were placed on suffrage, which were subsequently overturned by Lunalilio on January 1, 1873 allowing all men over twenty to participate (Ing-Tsai, 2016, 67 - 68). Whites supported Lunalilo largely in hopes he would expand suffrage, which they believed would expand the Missionary party's influence (Ing-Tsai, 67). However, the settlers underestimated the energy and efficacy of Native Hawaiians, as mass popular support for Lunalilo's successor Kalākaua led the same party to force the Bayonet constitution on the king at gun point (Kualapai, 2005, 33). Kalākaua's rejection of the Reciprocity treaty in 1887 played a pivotal role since it constituted open defiance of haole's, who supported the treaty, in favor of Hawaiians, who opposed it (Walker, 2011, 1055 - 1063). The new rules

decreased residency requirements and added property requirements (Kualapai, 2005, 33). Simultaneously increasing the power of settlers while decreasing the power of Natives. Third, Hawaiian organizers responded to such repressive actions with political organizing that utilized petitions and mass community meetings demonstrating both the efficacy and infrastructure of native Hawaiian political movements (Walker, 2011, 1073). Fourth, the provisional government used largely undemocratic means to maintain its power including requiring an oath of loyalty in order to vote, which limited the electorate to “only about 4000 men, most of foreign birth” (Silva, 2004, 136). Limited suffrage and a fear of highly energized and effective native Hawaiian activism coupled with orientalist ideology led to the persistent anxiety over democracy. In effect, the paradox was two fold: entrance into the US would broaden suffrage and lead to greater protection for workers, effectively mitigating white control; while at the same time entrance into the US was necessary to produce a broad shift in the population that would ensure white control.

Steven’s fantasy of the future for Hawaii as one dominated by agrarian production and giving land to “actual settlers” fits in with the vision for the Yeomen’s Republic articulated by Jefferson (Johnson, 2013, 24). This focus on the necessity of economic growth, along with population management undergirds the settlers understanding of the future in the 1800s. Of course, this vision of an endless agrarian wonderland, would not come to be as while Hawaii was geographically central, it was also an island, which does tend to limit the amount of agricultural expansion possible. The real industry would be very different from what the Westerners thought, but nonetheless it depended upon population, disappearance of natives, and international expansion of information about Hawaii. What the planters didn’t realize yet was that rather than attracting visitors to an existing landscape, their next set of efforts would create a whole new world. It would also render death productive.

International Exhibitions

By the early 20 century, the Republic of Hawaii began to explore selling the islands on the international stage. The Paris Exposition of 1900 provided an opportunity to achieve all of these ends. In a 1901 report by the Hawaiian Commission to the Paris Exposition, W. G. Irwin wrote, “this effort to

disseminate information regarding our Islands will bear fruit in attracting here not only the tourist, but those who seek by honest toil to better their condition; and, moreover, that the personal inspection of the exhibit of Hawaiian resources by the officials and agents of the countries of Europe will be found to have an excellent effect should further immigration from those countries be attempted” (Irwin, 1901, 8). At the time, tourism was only one part of the program. As much of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce’s efforts sought to sell Hawaii as a business destination. The *Trenton Times* reporting on the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair, noted that the community in Hawaii wanted to ensure that “‘hula-hula’ or low-class vaudeville midway effects shall not disgrace the islands” (1902, 4). The early forays into international advertising sought to emphasize the success of the civilizing project. Ahead of the Fair, Lahau T. Atkinson wrote to the committee requesting “that a portion of the fund... be set aside for general educational exhibits, of which we can make a very good showing” (1903). The Fair’s education department even asked about “the representation of schools of Hawaii in this exhibit which will be one of the most attractive features of the fair” (Rogers, 1903). The civilizing focus fit nicely with appeals to business investors.

The other central focus of the Exposition Association was agricultural commodities. The shipping manifest for the Fifth Annual Industrial Exhibition in “Tokio, Japan” in 1903 includes: coffee, vanilla, tamarinde, sugar, rice, arrow root, okra seed, “papaia” citron, olona, tobacco, sugar cane, poha jelly, guava jelly, fiber for native hats, sisal, bananas, pineapples, volcano water, and photographs (“Letter to R. W. Irwin”, 1903). The photographs themselves per the exhibition description focused on scenes of the cane industry, coffee farms, the extent of electrification, and the schools. Here the nearness of Hawaii to other “Developed” parts of the world was stressed to sell it as a place of business, but many of these factors would also shape public interpretations of Hawaii as a visitor destination. The photographs sent included pictures of the pumping station, electric light works, railways, the judiciary building, the “Boston Block, in Fort Street, a fine modern building,” “the Young Building, four and six stories, would be an ornament to any city,” (“Packing List”, 1903, 7) “King street... showing electric cars [,]... Pacific Heights, showing electric cars.” (“Packing List”, 1903, 5) The text of the descriptions for the exhibition

indicate the overarching desire to demonstrate how Hawaii was like any other place. The buildings would look good anywhere, they were modern, and all the amenities of the most advanced cities were available. On the other hand, the exhibition sought to express Hawaii as a place of profound difference. Already in this early moment in touristic advertising, the Chamber of Commerce began constructing a historicized Hawaiian figure to draw on. An entire set of photographs was devoted to “Types of Hawaiian life.” It featured images depicting “skirts of grass as in the olden days,” the Hawaiian method of washing clothes (?), “fisherman with spears.” This production of knowledge around the native asserted particular understandings of who Hawaiians were and what constituted Hawaiian culture. Another frame claimed to show, “Incidents of the ancient Hawaiian life.” These pictures featured grass huts, “scenes at a luau or native feast,” cooking in an imu, and the ancient method of riding (“Packing List”, 1903, 12 - 13). Of course, the very notions of “ancient” Hawaii had nothing to do with “ancient” Hawai‘i. Adria L. Imada indicts the notion of luau as a Hawaiian practice, arguing that, in fact, it was invented by Westerners (Imada, 2008). Nonetheless, luau, roasting pig in an imu, and grass shacks remain salient symbols of Hawaiian today.

While the Chamber of Commerce might have thought they were advertising a place, they were in fact building it at the level of knowledge. The assertion of the photographic images, coupled with explanatory texts in the exhibition asserted credibility and knowledgeability of the Hawaiian other. This process of constructing a totalizing form of knowledge—an assertion of what particular form of being a “Hawaiian” is—provides the basis for the rest of my argument. In the work of Emmanuel Levinas knowledge is intimately connected to violence. According to Levinas, “Knowledge or theory ... also designates comprehension ... that is, a way of approaching the known being such that its alterity with regard to the knowing being vanishes” (1969, 42). This is to say that attempts to know at the point they attend to comprehend the other foreclose the alterity of the other. But as Levinas implies, this isn’t the total eradication of alterity, but rather the production of a surplus of alterity. Since this method deprives “the known being of its alterity,” as such it’s less a loss so much as a gain, the confiscation or literal foreclosure of alterity, the rendering of it as surplus so the bank can cash in on it. In order for this to be

possible, the knowledge must be mediated through that which “is not a being” but rather a “concept” that merges “objective quality and subjective affection” (Levinas, 1969, 42). This process was clearly on display at the *Industrial* exhibition where Hawaii was rendered both through the objective lens of commerce, through measurable and empirical images, but also the affective desire for consumption of the exotic other. The images meld the two, rendering Hawaii as a concept that can be completely encompassed in a set of images that assert expertise.

In effect, knowledge production preceded the ability to extract economic value from alterity. It both allowed for alterity to be made productive as a commodity that people wanted to acquire—the exotic fruit, food, and places—derived value from their alterity, which was commodifiable by the production of totality, both in terms of Native Hawaiians but also of the totalized Western same. Hawaii could not be a tourist destination until it existed in the imaginary, it could not sell many of its “exotic” fruits until they were granted value by the act of knowledge production. The real thing being produced wasn’t interest in investment, but rather the investment of interest. For the viewer seeing the exhibition, Hawaii was born. They could state facts, concepts, and associations with Hawaii. They learned a vocabulary of exchange that they could then symbolically traffic amongst themselves and the media to imagine and lust after Hawaii.

Although knowledge production may seem rather tame, the production of totality that it necessitates has dire consequences. For Levinas, the production of totalities—which is preceded by knowledge—is the root of conflict, since ontological being, the product of totality, creates war with other totalities, as the totality cannot abide other totalities (Messina, 2013). This macro level violence of war directly relates to the work of Bataille. As Sawyer & Agrawal (2000) observe in their history of natural history, the ability to commodify the natural landscape required categorization, through Western attempts to global a singular system of knowledge. Thus, production requires one to know. This is even seen in mid-eighteenth century writings about the future of Hawaii. Hopkins in discussing the Indigo plant, which he saw as a future cash crop, noted, “knowledge and capital are required for utilising [sic] this valuable plant” (Hopkins, 1862, 407). Before the application of knowledge transformed the landscape, it could not

be productively utilized. This in turn implies the way that productivity requires knowledge. This rush towards the productive has disastrous consequences. According to Bataille war is the inevitable product of excess energy, but this excess is actually the result of an attempt to render the entire world productive, since economic growth only leads to greater surplus and that surplus gets hoarded as weapons, paving the way for war (Bataille, 1989). Thus, both Bataille and Levinas establish a direct connection between knowledge and war. This manifests in Hawaii's double nature as productive tourist attraction, but also military center.

The knowledge of Hawaii was necessary to not only produce the tourist economy that is central today, but also the military one. Another set of pictures in the exhibition depicted Pearl Harbor ("Memorandum of Hawaiian Products", 1903, 9). Of course, even leisure—the luxury of tourism—was rendered productive to ensure troop morale and military readiness (Imada, 2004). Preceding the Overthrow weapons justified economic expansion (Hopkins, 1862, 402). All of these incidents exist at the intersection of knowledge and productivity. Knowledge made the weapons necessary through its production of anxiety and even this emotional excess was rendered productive, commandeered to drive the manufacture of more weapons. The productivity provided the capital and the material for the expansion of force.

These processes describe the relationship between knowledge and war, but knowledge exists on other registers of violence. For Levinas murder is "command and word" (1969, 162) and "total negation" (194). It "aims at a sensible datum" and the exercise "of power over that which escapes power" (198) The relationship between murderer and murdered is fundamentally a relation of knowledge. Total negation denies the other's assertion of their alterity, which is to say their Otherness. In theory, the face-to-face encounter proposes a deconstruction of my knowledge, the existence of the Other, their infinity effectively makes them an entire universe I cannot access. This alternate universe forces me to question my understanding of the world, but to murder the Other is to claim my knowledge of them to assert the truth of what "I know." However, much like totalization is simply an appropriation of alterity, the act of murder does not let me know the Other, rather it's a way for the same to make real its understanding. In

the context of Hawaii, the genocide of Hawaiians was not possible until the assertion that natives must disappear. In effect, knowledge preceded the violence. Although war and murder constitute two facets of knowledge productions effects, the third and final facet in relation to Hawaii is the power of reanimation.

Death frustrates knowledge. In reading Macbeth, Levinas uncovers the way in which the “effort to escape the Other in dying ... recognizes the other” (1969, 231). This is to say that death is infinite in the same way the Other is infinite. But in the same way the same asserts knowledge of the Other, the same tries to totalize death. Macbeth, for Levinas, reveals two desires for death: that it either end the world or it prevent the world from existing in the first place (1969, 231). Both betray a desire to preserve the World of the Same to prevent the encounter with infinity, with true lacerating Otherness, from forcing the “I” to become vulnerable. If the world ends, then it maintains its pristine interpretation. If it never was outside of Macbeth, then Macbeth’s interpretation is the only one that exists. These attempts to know death represent an allergic reaction to otherness. Much like the attempt to know the Other is always headed towards murder, the desire to know death which for Levinas is the Other is headed for murder. Only in this case it is the murder of death.

While "cultural appropriation" may be an important analytical register for discussing some elements of colonization, its usefulness in discussing the particular case of Hawaii is limited. Many of the practices that people "appropriate" from Hawaii are just that: practices of Hawaii and not Hawai‘i, and as such they have nothing to do with Hawaiians. The practices such as luau and "Hawaiian shirts" are misattributed to Hawaiian culture, when they are actually tools of advertising. This not however to make the reproduction and the transmission of these practices innocuous. Rather, a different analytical framework is required to discuss them.

Baudrillard in *America* argues that world has become engulfed in an endless rush to survive. This forgetting of living in the name of survival is a profound form of violence, as the loss of the power to control one’s death is the epitome of violence (1988, 40 – 41). Likewise, capitalism has become a constant drive to endlessly reproduce life because "immortality is our ultimate fantasy" (Baudrillard, 2000, 3) Death is by its very nature a "useless function" (Baudrillard, 2000, 11). It is the epitome of

nonproductivity, a rupture in the logic of capitalism, so even the dead must be conscripted into the logic of work. For death, which exceeds knowledge and in its unknowability it confronts the very logic of productivity (Bataille, 1957, 46). This aporia of death as preprogrammed event coupled with its entirely useless nature manifests in our desire "for a state that is long gone.... a nostalgic attachment to some prior state of being" (Baudrillard, 2000, 15). This is because Baudrillard argues that the earliest forms of life--viruses--were immortal and without difference and endlessly productive. The modern rush towards immortality manifested in cryogenics and cloning is at the same time a drive towards sameness. Of course, Baudrillard's focus on the flash bleeding edge of science ignores another much earlier form of this rush: tourism.

In Hawaii, the exotic is but a wink, the story to be brought home to one's friends--the brush with the more alien and exotic Other. However, unlike other destinations where food or plumbing or language might confront the tourist with the rupture of difference, Hawaii is stocked with iHops and Cheese Cake Factories, and English is the first language--the city has all the accoutrements of a typical American metropolis. Thus, the specificity of difference--the tropical, the luau, the beach, surfing, etc.--is really situated within a spatiotemporal sameness. It's not so much the otherness of Hawaii, but its sameness that make it the ideal destination. This mentality was captured perfectly when Basquiat (2010) said that his favorite place he had been to was Hawaii, "'Cuz of the convenience and the wildness of it. Because you can buy anything you can buy in America--you can buy your favorite toothpaste. And then you can just drive for two hours and then be in a place where they speak English.'" That's not to say that otherness is not a central element of the experience--it is--but it's always controlled, regimented, and engraved by sameness. To produce this experience there is a heavy reliance on the past. As tourists search for the authentic Hawaiian experience, they find validation in the notion of a "traditional Hawaiian luau," implying the historicity and temporality of the practice. The tourist, in the present, is separate from the object they experience (the luau), which is in the past. This temporal barrier serves like the wall in the lion enclosure at the zoo. The glass though transparent demarcates and keeps the tourist safe. The validation of the tradition requires the constant appeal to the past. However, as Imada has noted the luau

is not a Hawaiian practice, it was invented by the military during World War II to maintain troop morale and produce a specific racial hierarchy. But this practice, much like many of the ads, draw upon historicity to authenticate themselves, this requires a miracle. These advertisements through the magic of capitalism have reanimated the dead to bring back the past as a puppet for commercialism. Alterity is dismembered and sewn together as a new amalgam creature, a zombie for the tourists to see. This is not cultural appropriation as much as cultural zombification, where the past is reanimated to do the dark bidding of the capitalist necromancers.

This tension between the sameness of Waikiki and the consumption of difference are part of the same drive that Baudrillard isolates. Hawaiians are not allowed to die. Their past is nothing more than another object to be kept on life support, attached to strings, and made to dance for the tourists and proselytize the gospel of tourism. Seeing the immortal culture fulfills the touristic desire for both authenticity but also immortality. The comforting reassurance that all things will last and be reproduced into infinity, without end. Now of course, one might argue for the necessity of cultural survival, but Baudrillard is right that survival has been traded for living. The alterity of cultural life by its presence forces the confrontation with it. This is the relationship between the same and the other at the level of the face to face in Levinas. The face to face encounter where the same sees the Others face and hears their voice ruptures the I. It is a demand that I have no right to demand. It is what Derrida refers to as being held hostage. Other touristic destinations through their cultural life force this encounter, but in Hawaii, where the tourist can safely limit their encounters to the reanimated dead whose voices have been replaced by endless advertising, the tourist is safe.

Therein lies the major disjuncture between capitalism and colonialism. Colonialism wants the erasure of the native. It's a moral system with a specific moral end--eradication. Capitalism on the other hand is amoral--this means that eradication is inefficient. Rather, capitalism must render genocide productive. This requires the endless presence of the colonized, combined with their endless genocide, but never their extinction. It's like the frog that jumps half way to a point into infinity. Capitalism makes

genocide eternal, because from eternal genocide it can extract endless profit. The erasure is never done because the dead can still produce value. This is why sacred objects are taken by museums to be displayed for visitors--the guests pay money to look at these preserved objects, while the texts produce knowledge that wakes the dead--no colonized person can Rest In Peace for the colonized bodies are the ultimate form of capital. The point is that memory of the dead has stopped being a form of mourning that affirms the value to life and instead becomes a form of ritual reanimation, where the bodies are mined for cultural capital and credibility to produce social gain. Thus, while murder may be one limit of knowledge, reanimation is the other side of the coin.

Thus, the construction of the place of “Hawaii,” a place that to paraphrase Foucault “did not exist and still does not exist” (Foucault, 2004, 19), is the prerequisite to the tourist industry today. But importantly, as Levinas points out, Hawaii cannot access Hawai‘i. The construction of the object makes the other place beyond reach, for Hawai‘i does not exist in the Western imaginary. Rather, the image repertoire of Hawaii is sought after, mass produced, and constantly coveted. Of course, the construction of the idea allows for the foreclosure of alterity, which is infinite. This taking of metaphysical property gives the grandest economic resource for the economy. As the alterity of Hawai‘i is infinite, that means it’s a boundless resource. This production requires the construction of the totalizing knowledge system, which in turn mines the alterity for endless commodities that generate value. Here, genocide is rendered productive, the dead are invoked to grant authenticity, in these practices the spaces beyond power are accessible to knowledge, which kills death to produce an economy of endless affluence.

Conclusion

The 19 century and early 20 century led to the mass production of a non-existent place called “Hawaii.” This geographic fantasy persists till today, sustained by the Western imaginary. In effect, the ideal vacation would involve stepping into the postcards or the advertisements directly, for the images themselves are the place that the tourist desires to arrive at. Yet, the autonomy of Hawai‘i, the alternate universe where life continues in spite of colonization, wages guerilla warfare at the symbolic level. The numerous negative reviews from tourists who found a place that could not be totalized, that confronted

them, that called them a haole—a derogatory term for white people--demonstrate the autonomy of Hawai'i from the representation of Hawaii.

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Chapter 3: “Wish You Were Here”: Postcards and the Production of Hawaii.

After the 2017 election of Donald Trump, American short story author Wells Tower (2017) went to the islands of Hawaii because of “a political moment so well supplied with nastiness” that sent him in search of “a slack-keyed, macadamia dusted holiday, where things are pretty and people are smiling, if only because it’s in their job description.” For Tower, “Hawaii”—which is what he calls his fantastical destination—is a place that constitutes “a cure.” Tower’s comments imply both the constructed nature of Hawaii in the allusion to a “job description,” while also fetishizing bizarre commodities “slack-key” and “macadamia [nuts].” In constructing the vacation destination, Tower’s characterizes Hawaii as “notoriously nice” and “paradise” full of “cocktails containing patio equipment, ... talcum soft-sand,... [and] sun.” Of course, Tower’s discussion of Hawaii is consistent with over one century of writing on the subject. It draws upon a repository of knowledge, a specific language of place constructed by various government agencies and corporate forces over decades. His particular knowledge and experiences aren’t particular, but rather mass produced. This democratization of expertise about Hawaii, which to paraphrase Foucault is a place that does not exist that has been made into a place that still does not exist has been a driving force for research in recent years. In previous work, I’ve looked at the relationship between the post-overthrow government, sugar planters, and various international exhibitions as a site of knowledge production surrounding Hawaii. In this paper, I will examine postcards as a form of knowledge standardization that primed audiences and produced a specific language and expertise about Hawaii. I argue that the use of photographic representation through postcards centered settlers and discursively constructed natives, within a hierarchy of colonial domination that persists today. This production at the level of knowledge was central to the creation of a distanceless world and the enforcement of transparency. Tourist anxieties about authenticity are part of a broader desire for meaning, within a globalized empire built on genocide.

Paul B. Preciado in *Testo Junkie* (2013) observes the relationship between the elimination of localized (read: feminized, indigenous, and racialized) forms of knowledge as the prerequisite to the

construction of modern capitalism. Central to this was the standardization of knowledge through institutions like witch hunts (1812 – 1892). This standardization was also necessary to the production of colonial systems of land holding and exchange. Walter Johnson in *The River of Dark Dreams* observes the necessity of surveying as a form of knowledge production and standardization that could globalize knowledge about an environment into mass producible terms was necessary to the expansion of the American empire by making land “legible—and salable—at a distance” (Johnson, 2013, 34 – 36 quote at 36). The rise of natural history, also provided a way for the male-European gaze to assimilate “exotic” landscapes into a globalized form of knowledge, by providing a standard language for classifying various flora and fauna (Sawyer & Agrawal, 2000).

Photography proves particularly useful for this mode of knowledge production. The issue of memory, representation, and history finds itself entangled in the medium of photography. Which serves to disperse images, while removing their context reducing them to pure information (Langford, 2007, 198; Keilbach, 2012, 449 - 450). According to Baudrillard, “Photography exorcizes the world through the instantaneous fiction of its representation” (Baudrillard, 2000). Similarly, settler colonialism requires a constant forgetting, an erasure of indigenous bodies and historical shredding of memory of genocide. The tourist postcard, in particular, reveals that as Baudrillard wrote, “But what cannot be said can also be kept silent through a display of images” (Baudrillard, 2000). Tourism postcard cannot be read outside of the context of infrastructural development. Postcards served as both a central technical development for expanding tourism, but also a record of the values and ideals promoters tried to communicate (March, 2008). Indeed, the postcard represented a unique and particular innovation in the modes of communication that materialized “values and dreams” and serve as a “viewing aid” for tourists that both embodies ideal images, but also constructs them (Winiwarter, 2001, 452 - 453). The importance of peer-to-peer communication in the usage of postcards remains a central focus of tourism studies (Foltêtea, 2015). This importance is exemplified by a travel ad from the 1960s that told readers, “Maybe this is the year the postcards from Hawaii will come from you instead of Ethel and Fred” (Display Ad 305”, 1969). Other travel advertisements for travel drew a distinction between “two types of hotels... the ultra-modern,

luxurious skyscraper and the smaller but very imaginative native type accommodation,... blending into the surrounding landscape like the picture postcards on which they are depicted” (“Display Ad 1541”, 1962) This description reveals the way the postcard was tied directly to notions of authenticity in relation to Hawaii, where that which is closer to the depictions of the postcard is closer to nature. At the same time, the postcard became a metonymy for presence in a place, where it empirically proved one’s visit.

As a growing culture of interconnection and speed emerged at the dawn of the 1900s, the postcard allowed for the vast proliferation of images (Gillen, 2013). The unique nature of the postcard grants them “power in generating interest toward a destination is important, as it is one of the most widely used tourist icon” (Yüksela & Akgülb, 2007).

In the context of Hawaii, a 2014 report prepared for the Hawai’i tourism authority by Repucom notes, “insertion of Hawaii postcard imagery into each of the four international feeds was a great success, with high exposure duration and Qi media value recorded for the Hawaiian Tourism Authority (HTA). This source was by far the most valuable for HTA, generating 78% of their global media value.” Hawaiian Airlines also invokes the postcard in their advertising about “your postcard perfect visit to Kauai” (“Kauai”, n.d.). Hall situates postcards within a broader commodification of Hawaiian identity through globalized consumption of images of Hawaiianess (Hall, 2005).

Of course, care must be taken to discuss the importance of infrastructure. The 1950s marked a massive expansion of tourism. The number of hotel rooms available increased 43-percent in 1954 as part of a concerted construction effort in Waikiki (Burby, 1954). Transportation was the core of a Hawaii Visitors Bureau ad from And in 1955, the Hawaii Visitors Bureau stressed that Hawaii was “a place of dreams, luxuriously near” emphasizing it was only “9 ½ hours by plane or 4 ½ days by luxury liner” (“Display Ad 263”, 1955). By 1960 the Visitors Bureau was stressing even quicker flights observing that there was “plenty of transportation... you can reach Hawaii by jet from the West Coast in 4 ½ hours [or] by luxury liner in 4 ½ days” (“Display Ad 123”, 1960). Of course, while these advertisers and business folks are concerned with physical distance the images in these advertisements and these postcards also reveals a concern about metaphysical distance as well. It’s not just that the advertisements needed to

make potential tourists feel like they were physically near, they had to make them feel ontically and epistemically near as well. This involved producing a standardized language of themes, objects, and images that allowed for the construction of expertise on Hawaii—a mass social delusion—while also naturalizing the presence of haoles within Hawaii. Hawaii needed to be close to home. It needed to be a place the visitor was meant to be.

Postcards played an important role in this process because of their seeming particularity, due to the personal exchange of postcards between persons, and their construction of a specific placement of visitors (haoles) within the context of Hawaii. In effect, they served to make the fantasy both personal and universal, while simultaneously producing a world in which the foreign invader is a naturalized part of the environment. Naturalizing the presence of visitors coincided with the marketing narrative, the Hawaii Visitors Bureau in a 1960 advertisement, showed a couple on the beach, with the caption, “This could be you—at Waikiki—any day of the year” and imploring readers to “make your ‘lifetime dream’ come true... keep your date with the 50 state” (“Display Ad 161”, 1960).

The postcard depicts two men and two women. The two women stand on a grassy bank, while the two men sit in a canoe. All four wear aloha attire. Around them lush green foliage abounds, there is the cook pine tree, water lily, and assorted coconut trees. The women wear puakenikeni leis. In the background, a triangular roofed building evokes a vaguely tropical aesthetic. The back of the card indicates that “the guests are paddling an outrigger canoe.” The visual image here, while it purports to show a real place, actually only depicts a fantasy that embodies what Heidegger terms the “abolition of all distances” (Heidegger, 1971, 163).

The photograph is at a loss for time. The exoticized past constructed by the architectural aberration in the background collides with the white present. Here, the past attempts to assimilate the white tourist into it, thus, naturalizing them. While at the same time, the visitor attempts to assimilate the past into the white present. In effect, the picture is not so much timeless as timefull. The overabundance of time is apparent in the foliage; much of it is introduced, the water lily and the cook pine tree were introduced and naturalized after European contact (“Flora of the Hawaiian Islands.”). This in effect

functions similarly to the Disney project which according to Baudrillard (1996), “realizes... an atemporal utopia by producing all the events, past or future, on simultaneous screens, and by inexorably mixing all the sequences...” Baudrillard notes that the J. Paul Getty museum’s Malibu location would be mistaken for a Villa in the Third Century BC or the celebration of the French Revolution would retroactively become the revolutionary event, this reveals the way that the atemporal utopia of Disney is a process of producing the past, where the images cannibalistically consume their original.

The woman stands reading a magazine, there are newspapers on the table, the walls are white, and floral print abounds. There are flowers on the table and rattan furniture. The room keeps clearly tropical details, while at the same time rendering them distanceless. The white figures of both postcards emphasize who the space is for: tourists. In constructing a world meant to be a home for the tourist, the postcards eliminate not only geographic distance but epistemic and ontic distance. Rather than Hawai‘i, a place of radical alterity, the postcards construct Hawaii a place very close to home with mere differences. The room features newspapers, which connect to the visitor to the world, western style chairs, in a western style room rendered with tropical accents. The dark green foliage outside the window implies a sort of other worldliness, but at the same time the walls push alterity out and create a safe, white box that while far from home in miles is truly distanceless.

Thus, while Heidegger isolates the airplane as the eradicator of distance, the bringing together of the far away and the near, in fact the airplane is nothing but the inevitable end point of a long process of producing a distanceless world. The process of knowledge production that enabled the eradication of distance began in the 1800s as the first chapter of this thesis indicates. These new, mass produced color photographs extended the project of visual education. Rather than being an entirely new endeavor they simply extended the project started at the World’s Fair through a democratization of information.

Access to the World’s Fair required the ability to be in a specific place at a specific time. The postcard globalized the ground work laid at the World’s Fair, allowing the mass consumption and reproduction of images in a way that broadened the vocabulary to include a larger part of American society. On the flip side, the whiteness of the images not only renders them home, but aspirational and

competitive. Regardless both efforts the late 1800s participation in various international exhibitions and the postcards and advertisement of the 1950s and 60s mirror the process of producing transatlantic paintings. Jennifer L. Roberts in writing about *Boy With Squirrel* describes a sort of “pictorial mobility” focusing on how Copley ensured “the portability of the paintings illusory content” despite transatlantic travel by steering “the painting toward the generic and away from the specific” (2014, 23 -24). The relationship the between America and England vis-à-vis knowledge is salient to this project, Roberts observes, “Every scrap of knowledge that American colonists had about England... had to be physically transported thousands of miles... ‘England’ was a cargo of ideas, accessible as a vitiated packet of information” and as such objects were not merely passively consumed, but instead transformed by their movement requiring “practices of material recalibration” this process locates itself at the “intersection of transit and consumption” (2014, 46). Thus, although Roberts is discussing the 18 century, these thoughts apply just as well to the images at the core of this study. Where the postcard could be either kept as a material residue of a particular place or sent to a confidant, which in and of itself transformed it. Much like “England” was a cargo of ideas for Copley, “Hawaii” is a suitcase full of dreams that is constructed, ascertained, and known through packets of information like these postcards.

But the importance of general specificity, where Hawaii was both generalized into a set of easily consumable metonymies, while also the emphasizing the specificity of each object. Particular objects lead viewers to invoke the fantasy of Hawaii. These commodities run through the various depictions of Hawaii. For instance, Aloha Wear is typically referred to by USAmericans as Hawaiian Shirts, revealing the generalization of the association but also its specificity. This attire appears on visitors in both postcards and ads and serves as a sort of de facto uniform for the tourist. Likewise, woven hats appear in numerous ads and postcards along with bathing suits and leis. All of these images taken together produce a visual vocabulary of what constitutes Hawaii.

The disappearance of natives (I use the lower case here to signify the meaning, which is not as in people of Kanaka Maoli descent but rather brown folks coded or framed as natives) is complete except for

when the natives are acting to serve the visitors. natives can be seen dancing hula, conducting net fishing, preparing a kalua pig from an imu. What's notable about these various appearances of natives and Natives is that they only exist in relation to their service and labor for tourists. The postcards showcase docile and productive hawaiians bringing the white imaginary of the colonial project to life. They are happy with their labor, they smile (even if as Towers points out it may be because they're paid for it), and most of all they serve. These postcards of course follow in the footsteps of Adia L. Imada's (2008) work on the construction of the luau through army films that sought to situate locals to Hawai'i in a subservient and host role, while producing military personnel as honored guests who must be served. The postcards and advertisements broadened this imperative from military personnel to all transient settlers—aka tourists. The trip to Hawaii and observation of the happy natives/Natives serves to allay some of the anxieties of globalized empire discussed by Roberts, since the USAmerican tourists can now empirically verify the joyous, productive, and beneficial nature of the imperial project.

Simultaneously, the postcards center the white tourist figure. The orientation of the camera which marks it as for the tourist reduces Hawaiians to “extras [figurants] in their own world” (Baudrillard, 1996). This marginalization is part of a broader process of discursive construction that's essential to settler colonialism. Saranillo notes that settler colonialism seeks to replace “seemingly primitive societies with settlers who are discursively constituted as superior and thus more deserving over these contested lands and resources” (Saranillo, 2015, 294 – 296). The postcard by situating the native as always in relation to “traditional” and “ancient” modes of existence, while simultaneously centering the refashioned world that caters to the tourist/settler functions to demonstrate the superiority of the colonist and the primitiveness of the native. In essence, the production of these images of Hawaii creates the settler hyperreality necessary for the continuation of the settler society.

The Hawaii Visitors Bureau stressed vacation activities that captures “Hawaii's unique spirit of Aloha” including The Merry Monarch Festival which promised to allow visitors to “Relive the Days of Island kings” (“Display Ad 409”, 1964). Embedded within this advertisement lies a profound contradiction. On one hand, there is a desire for an authentic experience, but on the other hand, there's a

desire for empirically verifiable authenticity, which requires standardization. Thus, authenticity becomes that which is verifiably “Hawaiian.” It is a value term meant to drive visitor interpretations of their experiences. Yet, most of Hawaii is artificial and simulated. For example, numerous ads and postcards focus on the image of Waikiki beach. Images of Waikiki beach span many years from a drawn image in a 1955 advertisement from the Hawaii Visitors Bureau (figure xz). However, like other elements of this paper have indicated the images and the geography are heavily produced. They are beyond air brushed. The beach at Waikiki is not the product of some mystical island charm, but engineering. In 1951, the state of Hawaii dredged massive amounts of sand and installed a seawall to produce the Waikiki beach that exists today, it cost \$300,000, but the Hawaii Visitors Bureau estimated visitors would spend between \$40 to \$50 million that year (MacMillan, 1951).

Of course, this search for authenticity is really a search for meaning. And that search embodies the acquiescence to the simulation. Baudrillard (1992) writes, “Simulation is precisely this irresistible unfolding, this linkage of things as if they had a meaning, so that they are no longer controlled or regulated except by artificial montage and non-sense.” The postcards, ads, visitors, and potential visitors echo meaning produced through a cavalcade of images that repeat in discontinuous form. The beaches of Waikiki with its sail boat, umbrellas, tourists in “Hawaiian Shirts” and leis, natives working hard, these form a random assemblage of images that produce Hawaii a place rich with meaning. This meaning subtends the fantasy of authenticity because here the fantasy is accepted as the advertising and think piece writers agree it’s simulated. Thus, authenticity is nothing more than meaning in a situation where the fantasy has been accepted. This is the function of Hawaii, whereas meaning frustrates in its inevitable failure because of the desire for the real that produced Disneyland. Similar to how Disneyland is a massive generator of the outside reality, Hawaii is an affirmation of the existence of authenticity (1981). It is the place where meaning can still exist carefully manufactured and produced to replicate the image it is the ultimate form of what Baudrillard calls dissuasion which creates an odd curvature to history (Baudrillard, 1992). The postcards embody this in so far as they are objects from the future—premonitions of what Hawaii will be like—that reshape the past. For the expectation of authenticity is

nothing more than the expectation of history, but the expectation of history is a paradox one cannot expect the past, so history loops in on itself. Where the past is constructed as a white hallucination, that reshapes the material form of Hawaii, which reifies the hallucination. Each year, millions of clairvoyants step off of time machines to arrive at Hawaii, where they have already foretold the past, in order to precede the future.

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Chapter 4: Settler Futurity and *Lilo & Stitch*: The fantasy of red settlerism

Disney's *Lilo & Stitch* showcases a bright island world known as "Hawaii," which both differs from but also defers to "Hawai'i" to paraphrase Derrida (2004). The fantasy of Hawaii so salient in the minds of Western tourists who forget the okina time and time again finds a bright visual realization in *Lilo*. While I enjoyed the film as a child, hearing the dialect of pidgin, hearing the Kamehameha Children's Choir sing the opening song, this seemingly accurate representation papers over a specific ideological fantasy. In this paper I will deconstruct the film *Lilo & Stitch* by contextualizing its characters in relation to the history of settler colonialism, the hidden trace that lingers behind every scene of the film. *Lilo & Stitch* embodies a vision of settler futurity that conscripts the ideologically assimilated Native to civilize the new barbaric/savage alien. The family plays a critical role in this vision of settlerism as both a justifier of and insurance policy for the settler state. This enforced whitening universalizes the logic of settlerism by demonstrating through narrative that any/all would colonize given the opportunity. The process is one of reconstructing, attributing, and designing a safe and codependent form of native desire. In effect, the family allows for the native to become the new vessel for settler perpetuity. The film provides an idyllic fantasy world of bright colors and settler futurity. A world where home for the colonizers does not dispossess the colonized.

Literature Review

Lilo & Stitch serves as an example of the intersection between cultural misappropriation and intellectual property law. The film's opening number "He Mele No Lilo" became the subject of controversy because it took two preexisting mele inoa, songs written to honor specific historical figures, dedicated to King David Kalakaua and Queen Liliuokalani and combined them

into one song, before slapping a copyright on them. Issues of consent and representation play a central role in preceding work on the subject, as does the central conflict of whether or not utilization of intellectual property law constitutes a viable strategy or another tool of westernization (Mantilla, 2012; Hokulei, 2005).

The film has also been read in relation to its reproduction of specific stereotypical representations of the “South Pacific.” Including pleasant natives, surf, absentee parents, and Elvis (Brislin, 2003, 106 - 108). Emily Cheng’s reading of the film focuses on the assimilation of Stitch into the liberal social order. Specifically focusing on the film’s portrayal of Hawai’i as a multicultural paradise. The narrative they argue supports an understanding of “the U.S. as a space of freedom” (2007, 130). Their approach articulates a process of reinscribing and providing access for US Americans to Hawai’i. This reading is similar to the one I will conduct but differs/defers in a few critical ways. Cheng’s reading foregrounds the alien and its conversion to citizenship. My reading focuses on who is doing the conversion—native bodies.

My reading of the film is Foucauldian in its genesis. It seeks to uncover how power makes things that do not exist into things that still do not exist (Foucault, 2004). It is fundamentally concerned with the way that what Judith Butler & Athena Athanasiou call, “regulatory fictions” produce “what counts as a livable body” (2012, loc. 1441 - 1475). Moreover, how do these fictions shape the practice of representation within animation especially given that one factor of such aspirational signs is that “no one can really embody them, despite the reigning urge to do so” (2012, loc. 1441 - 1475). The importance of the fantasy is thus aspirational, within a process of subjectivization that sets a goal for subjects to aspire towards.

Scholars exploring animation emphasize its function as a form of knowledge production is also important to consider. The process of creating animated characters “can cross any real

rules of the game in reality.... The art of animation and character design is the modern mechanism for mythology creation, which is an art-thinking mode based on imagination and fantasy” (Yang, 2014, 14). The mass production and distribution contributes to a “corporate pedagogy” that “lay a significant role in the symbolic and material milieu of contemporary society by shaping, and often limiting, perceptions of reality and constructing a normative ‘vision’ of the world” (Tavin, 2003). The animators possess a broad freedom in realizing this “normative vision” since various artists involved in making animated films have observed the ability to produce images that are “conceptual rather than imitative” (Kriesberg, 1974), only existing when projected since “there is no pre-existing reality, no pro-filmic event captured in its occurrence” (DelGaudio, 1997). Thus, animation serves as the perfect grounds to explore “Hawaii” a place that does not exist. The non-existence of a Hawaii and its merely tangential relationship to Hawai‘i mirrors the animated places conceptual and self-salient nature. These factors are essential to my reading of *Lilo & Stitch*.

The Native as Civilizing Agent

There have been many films in oeuvre of western cinema that seek to portray the importance of white “civilizers” for indigenous folk. Alternately, there have been films about White folk encountering redness to come away transformed. *Lilo & Stitch* is ultimately a tale about civilizing, but the agents of civilization provide a unique spin on the old tale. The film begins in the Galactic Federation at a court hearing, in a sleek space shuttle, with hyper futuristic technology. The message is clear: these aliens are civilized. However, the man on trial Dr. Jumba Jukiba has created a creature named Stitch nee Experiment 626, who is “the first of a new species... he is bulletproof, fireproof, and can think faster than supercomputer... and move objects 3000 times his size. His only instinct: to destroy everything he touches.” This description

renders Stitch a sort of futuristic Fu Man Chu, the Victorian Penny Dreadful character that serves as the foundation for Western anxieties, and often possessed superhuman abilities and intellect (Cho, 2011; Lovell, Julia). The message is clear Stitch represents a threat to civilization—he is not the savage on his way towards civilization, but the barbarian bent on its destruction (Foucault, 2003). Thus, he is sentenced to exile—aliens are beyond the inhumane earth punishments such as execution. Stitch, being as powerful as he is, escapes easily and winds up crash landing on earth. Here he winds up in the pound and then in the custody of two Hawaiian sisters Lilo and Nani, who believe he is a badly behaved dog.

In *Lilo & Stitch*'s Hawaii, the project of civilizing Hawaiians matches white fantasies about civilizing the savage. The goal was always to produce good Christians (Silva, 2004) and perfectly civilized subjects (Churchill, 245 - 250). Stitch serves as a test for the Native's level of civilization. Shortly after obtaining Stitch, Lilo draws up his badness meter, a visual representation of how "bad" Stitch is. Lilo derives this measurement based on Stitch stealing a tricycle, refusing to fetch, throwing the ball into a person's face, and smashing a shave ice on to the head of a dog. What makes each one of these actions bad? Or rather, given that "bad" implies a transgression of norms, what are the norms that Lilo has internalized? The act of stealing seems to violate a norm of property and private ownership. Transitioning Kanaka Maoli from a system of commonly held lands, the ahupua'a system, to a privatized system of property ownership was a primary concern for Westerners. Especially given that at the time of contact with Captain Cook, in 1778, "No concept similar to the fee simple absolute existed at this time and landholdings were considered revocable" (Levy, 1975, 849). The Great Mahele sought to end the old system in favor of private land ownership as was supported by Westerners. It was part of a broader European trend in the 19 century that remade indigenous societies in the image of the

West. The Hawaiian Kingdom believed private property would preserve its autonomy, by currying the favor of Western nations (Linnekin, 1983; Banner, 2005). Thus, Lilo's evaluation of Stitch as "bad" because of his act of theft demonstrates her assimilation to Western understandings of private property. The sanctity of property plays a central role in the western colonial intervention into Hawaii that by and large stemmed from a desire to obtain property and produce plantation commodities.

Stitch's refusal to fetch also serves as evidence of his "badness." There are two norms this seems to allude to: work and obedience. Early missionaries, the Congregationalists, essentialized "the Kanaka Maoli as backwards savages and intellectually lazy beings" (Silva, 2004, 30). Indeed, a nineteenth century "history" of Hawaii in trying to prove the benefits of Christianity observes that before conversion, "laziness was thought to be honorable" (Anderson, 1864, 75). Of course not all settlers were in agreement, Manley Hopkins observed in 1864 that preparing a "kalo field" for planting was in fact very hard labor, as was producing canoes. He notes that although "continuous labour were not necessary in the social condition... it would be an injustice to assume that therefore they cannot be formed." He concludes by adding that his "remarks are important in estimating the caliber of the Hawaiians, for in this bustling age little interest can be felt in a hopelessly lazy... people" (Hopkins, 1864, 363 – 364). It's notable that questions of work ethic even shaped missionary debates around surfing. Missionaries who condemned the activity tended to view it as "a waste of time" (Walker, 2011, Loc. 924). The one's who lauded it tended to emphasize its "manliness" and difficulty (Walker, 2011, Loc. 633 - 641). Thus, Lilo's evaluation of Stitch's "badness" embodies the same value system used to evaluate native bodies during the 19th century. Making it clear that Lilo has adopted the values imposed by the missionaries and planters.

The final two acts in the montage that forms the basis for Lilo's chart—throwing a ball in someone's face and smashing a snow cone on the head of a small dog—embody the same colonial anxiety. Portrayal of the war like, aggressive, and violent native undergird modern ex post facto justifications of genocide. The *Daily Mail* reported in 2013 on Comanche Indians butchering babies alive (Foreman, 2013), and *Science 2.0* reported that the most violent period preceded the appearance of westerners ("The Most Violent Era...", 2014). Of course, these modern reminders come from a long lineage of mythologizing about the depravity of Native peoples. The association of scalping with indigenous people of the America's is perhaps the most prominent example of this misinformation campaign, as the practice was created by Westerners (Churchill, 1997, 180 - 184). Imagined aggression and violence by the specifically uncivilized subject serves to justify genocide. It is coded by society as dangerous and, thus, must be eliminated.

Lilo's reading of Stitch as "bad" and the evidence used by Disney to support this assertion clearly draw on a well spring of cultural norms. These norms subtend the anxieties of the film's largely settler audience. At the same time, making Lilo, a red subject, perform the act of evaluation demonstrates the effectiveness of the civilizing project. The audience is structurally supposed to empathize with and root for Lilo. She's portrayed as quirky yet likable and her sadness has nothing to do with loss of heritage, but a lack of friends. This in turn allows for the film to make an enthymemic argument—Lilo is better off because of colonization. She likes the values and mirrors them to the point that she wants to transmit them to Stitch. The project of settler colonization has successfully incorporated redness into itself to the extent that Redness can now be the emissary of civilization to convert the new savages.

The Settler as Family

This moral economy of settlerism that seeks to demonstrate the desirability of the colonizers epistemology requires a mode of reproduction and assimilation more certain than the ideological apparatus. Rather, the desire to obtain land requires a physical presence and as such the biological form of reproduction serves to cement and perpetuate the existence of the settler. Dr. Jumba Jukiba and Dr. Pleakley—the bumbling aliens tasked with apprehending the rogue extraterrestrial life form, Stitch—often appear wearing Aloha shirts and Mu'mu's. This is because as Dr. Pleakley put it they need to “blend in,” with what he calls, “earth's primitive natives.” The method used to blend in becomes visually apparent. During one montage, the two bizarre extraterrestrial lifeforms attempt to blend in as tourists. They attend a luau, sit beneath grass umbrellas sipping brightly colored beverages. These disguises constitute their attempt to blend in and situate them visually as tourists within the context of Hawaii. It's notable that they match the stereotype of the tourist perfectly.

This subtle play seems to indicate that all tourists are aliens. While this may seem like a rather radical message, it's undercut by the progression of the sign within the context of the film. Though the alien tourists wreak havoc in Kauai including destroying Lilo and Nani's home. This destruction is carefully enfram'd in a moralistic narrative that subtends the central settler colonial fantasy: the fantasy of redress. In the end, Jumba and Pleakley help to rebuild their house. It is the coming together of the tourist and the red bodies that allows for the reconstruction of home.

Of course, this fantasy is hardly coincidental given the relationship between settlerism and home. Various scholars have observed that what distinguishes settler colonialism from regular colonialism is that the former functions by erasing indigenous bodies and replacing them with settlers (Glenn, 2015; Saranillio, 2015). Further, all forms of colonization involve at their

core a separation of the colonized persons from their ancestry, land, and world (Wa Thiongo; Yellow Bird, 2004). This process, both through the physical taking of land and psychic rupture of the self, renders a place that was formerly home—unhomely. Colonialism at its most basic is a desecration of the home that functions through a logic of separation. This fundamental rupture is an aporia in the West. Since the restoration of home requires uprooting settlers or time travel. What has been lost is the fundamental situatedness that defines identity.

The role of the aliens in relation to Hawai‘i and settler colonialism is specifically important. Cheng notes that the alien threat in *Lilo & Stitch* cannot be read outside of the context of Hawai‘i’s Asian population that for much of its history was viewed as threatening to specifically the United States (2007, 130). While Cheng is correct about the role of Asians as alien threat in the history of US-Hawaii relations, there’s another relationship that deserves mentioning: the alien opportunity.

Orientalism functions through both the phobic gaze towards the Orient and through the philia desire to consume it. Likewise, Asian American’s have both been a threat (to jobs, to culture, to national security) and an opportunity (in the form of cheap labor, good citizens, and justifiers of foreign military intervention)(Lee, 2015). In the context of US and settler colonial history, Hawaii provided the opportunity for Asian “aliens” to civilize Hawaiian savages. Hawaiian statehood was supported predominantly by Asians who sought to be Americans and participate in the white settler state. Saranillio notes,

What has been less visible to many, ... is how Asian projects for... inclusion into the United States have actually helped form political projects identities... at the expense of those Kānaka ... For instance, on April 9, 1893, a little over two months after the U.S.-military- backed overthrow, Japanese plantation laborers submitted a petition that... demanded their electoral participation in the new settler government, stating that they were the “physical and intellectual” equals of any of the other foreigners.”²¹ Similarly, in

1894, the Chinese in Hawai'i sent a petition, signed by hundreds of people, also seeking their right to participate in the new settler government (2015, 290 - 291).

Thus, alien and settler, in the context of Hawaii, form a unique intersection, where those categorically excluded as alien were able to assimilate to the status of settler. In effect, the alien is always in a process of becoming the settler, so long as they agree to be settlers for the US. Jumba and Pleakley's arc over the course of the film follows this trajectory from alien to tourist to civilizing American saviors. They arrive as a threat to the family unit of Lilo and Nani and pose a risk to the people of earth, because as Pleakley warns they could "cause mass mayhem and planetwide panic." As they don the traditional tourist garb, they perform as visitors to the alien. Before finally at the conclusion of the movie they are recruited by the CIA, through agent Cobra Bubbles to rebuild Lilo and Nani's home.

The ending scene involving the Hawaiians, Aliens, and United States Federal Government coming together to rebuild home reveals the embedded fantasy in Hawaii—one of restoration and redress within the system. Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández describe the fantasy of settler futurity, in which settlers and colonized people's find justice without requiring the end of settler colonialism (2013, 85 - 86). Or to put it in the language of this paper, it is the fantasy that a home for indigenous people can be rebuilt without the removal of settlers. *Lilo & Stitch* takes this fantasy one step further by making settlers necessary to the realization and restoration of indigenous home. Early on, the film ensures the viewer is aware that Lilo and Nani's family life isn't working. The two sisters fight, there's the constant presence of a social worker, and Lilo asks her sister, "we're a broken family aren't we?" The explicit subtext is that this is a broken home, a nonfunctional one that is not effective. Contrast this image at the beginning of the film to the family at the end of the film. Nani, Lilo, Stitch, David, Jumba, and Pleakley are seen as a

functional happy family unit taking vacations, cooperating to physically build a house, and generally more harmonious than the early dysfunction.

An entire paper could be written on Nani's transition over the course of the film from a strong, independent woman too busy for the advance of David to David's girlfriend by the end. Charting the family's level of function alongside the direction of their relationship would reveal a correlation within the film between two parents—heteronormative family—and function. And of course, this emphasis on heteronormative family structure intersects the settler at the point of futurity. Edelman (2004) argues that the future implies a demand for reproduction—i.e. the future is heteronormative. This is specifically important in the context of settler colonialism, since reproduction is inherently necessary to maintain the displacement of indigenous bodies. Essentially, Edelman's proposition is correct in so far as it is concerned with white children.

A tension also exists between the West and the other in relation to reproductivity. The fear of the "yellow peril" focused on demographic changes and anxiety about population growth in the East (Lee, 2015, 130 - 131). In the first half of the twentieth century, an entire literature devoted to fertility rates in the West and East developed to study these white anxieties (Connely, 2009, 841). Technologies proliferated with the goal of providing a way of controlling the reproductive capacity of populations marked as undesirable (Preciado, 2012). The western fixation points towards a tension between the promised place of whiteness (the future) and the space in which a war is waged for it (reproduction). Who controls the future is a question of who can and cannot reproduce. Thus, the problem of reproduction and assimilation were directly related. *Lilo & Stitch* reveals an insurance policy for the settler state that domesticates the radical potentiality of indigenous futurity, through bringing the Native into the fold of settler futurity through the family.

Family is the oldest trick in the Eurocentric, humanist book. Barthes reading of the photography exhibition entitled “The Great Family of Man” is illuminating. He argues that the title of the exhibition sought to produce a “pluralism, a type of unity” that reifies a “moralized and sentimentalised... human ‘community’” (Barthes, 2000). His reading is focused on the relationship of “great” and “man,” but what of the relationship between “great” and “family.” Ohana, the Hawaiian word for family, takes on a utilitarian bent within *Lilo & Stitch*. When Nani wants to return Stitch to the pound, Lilo invokes ohana and a lesson from their deceased father stating “ohana means family, family means nobody gets left behind.” This logical syllogism serves as the moral center of the film, but perhaps more telling is Nani’s response as she remarks, “I hate it when you use ohana against me.” This implies that ohana, the sign, is a tool that carries a specific utility. It enframes family as a weapon to exert leverage with over others to ensure their moral and ethical compliance. This understanding of “ohana” as a technology is rather Foucauldian, but alludes to one of the great moral tricks of the West. In the context of Barthes reading, perhaps, it is not man that is the mark of “adamism,” nor is it “great” that is the mark of morality, but rather “family” is the specific regulatory paradigm that assimilates beings into the human, while exerting specific moral force.

Put differently, the family and its continuity is inextricably linked from the project of settler colonialism. Given that settler colonialism relies on the constant presence of settler bodies, the family—specifically the heteronormative reproductive family—are necessary to the maintenance of the society. Only as long as families exist producing more settlers can the occupation of indigenous lands continue. The other purpose of the family is revealed in *Lilo & Stitch*. As Glenn (2015) argues one of the goals of settler colonial genocide was to assimilate redness. In the context of Hawaii as presented in *Lilo & Stitch*, ohana serves to civilize. Stitch at

the end of the film tells the Galactic Federation that “this is my family, it may be small and broken, but I found it on my own.” This moment between him and chairwoman implies a transition from their previous interaction in the film where Stitch was the Foucauldian barbarian that only sought to destroy civilization. The technology of ohana assimilates Stitch into the folds of civilization and makes him part of the same.

The Native family (Lilo’s) is broken before the aliens (settlers) become incorporated into it. In doing so, the Native’s liminal status is employed to render their family an interstitial space between settler and native. Through the introduction of the settler the Native family can now be a part of producing new settlers. At the same time, Jumba and Pleakley, who over the course of the film have been outsiders, can finally become part of the local community. Entry into the ohana legitimizes their presence in Hawaii and creates a place for them. This intermixing further serves the settler state through the process of deracialization. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui charts the history of the Hawaiin homelands act in relation to the notion of blood quantum, a western scientific measurement of how aboriginal a person is. The setting of high blood quantum threshold, one have, delegitimized the land claims of most Hawaiians and allowed for the state to view them as non-native (Kauanui, 2005, 94 - 95). The creation of mixed alien, settler, and native families is critical to deracializing the Natives claims. Since doing so renders the status of the indigenous interstitial between settler and native and allows for the questioning of their legitimacy as an indigenous person. Thus, the technology both civilizes the savage, but also justifies the settlers’ presence on Native lands.

Conclusion

The Hawaii in *Lilo & Stitch* is a fantasy of perfect Natives, who have been educated and civilized. The fantasy of colonization has always been as the US put it in their own words, “to

kill the Indian, and spare the man” (Quoted in Churchill, 1997, 246) Hawaii is a place where the destruction of the Native produces a world of happy civilized savages, piously devoted to the gospels of Americanization. They are so taken with West that they too can participate in the process of civilizing other “barbaric” populations. *Lilo & Stich*’s Hawaii reveals the settler fantasy of reciprocity and futurity through indigeneity. A sort of *ex-post-facto* justification that asserts the rightness of colonialism through the appeal to repetition, wherein it shows that not only the White West but also the non-White world would try to civilize the Other. It’s not guilty through normalization. At the same time, the Hawaii of *Lilo & Stich* is one where the Native body can be the new settlers, where settler futurity reproduces itself through the indigenous person.

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