

A Case Study of the Kaka'ako District in the Island of O'ahu: From a Consideration of Gramscian Notion of *Counter-Hegemony*

Yuki Takatori Tokai University

1. Introduction

In 1898, the Hawaiian kingdom under Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown and its territory annexed by the United States. Hawai'i eventually became the 50th state in the United States of America in 1959. After the annexation, both indigenous language and culture in Hawai'i were greatly affected: in addition to the Hawaiian language, English became one of the official languages there. Traditional Hawaiian culture declined slightly; the mainland American way of life was imposed onto the traditional Hawaiian way of life. Here, we can consider this situation as English dominance in Hawai'i. There have been dominant assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior since the domination has founded.

From the 1970s onward, however, a prominent social movement, the "Hawaiian Renaissance", emerged. The main purpose of the movement was to regain and revitalize traditional Hawaiian language and culture. The renaissance launched several initiatives in order to achieve this aim: supporting Hawaiian language immersion programs; traditional Polynesian Hokule'a voyaging; traditional products by Hawaiian craftsmen and artists; the revival of Hawaiian music and hula; and more (Kanahele, 1979). The movement is ongoing and is still in the process of developing.

In this study, the author especially focuses on one of many possible areas: the Kaka'ako district, where the movement has only recently begun. The area is located in the southeast part of the island of O'ahu and is near the Ward Centre and Ala Moana. The area was famous for its warehouses and was well known as a place for second-hand car dealerships. The area has of late begun to develop in a different direction: there have been many renovations including the construction of many condominiums, causing significant change to the aesthetic qualities of the area. Although the area is now under development, Kaka'ako was and is still considered a good place to focus study. Because of the nature of the locality, much research has been devoted to investigating marine activities, medicine, and history. The area has not been completely renovated, however, local people have been trying to keep its 'traditional identity' as much as possible. They have tried to preserve their cultural heritage and the cultural heritage of traditional Hawaiians in spite of this major development. In terms of the movement mentioned above, the area can be considered as one of the significant places of cultural revitalization. To name several examples, this area has seen the creation and promotion of several traditional events, including "Our Kaka'ako," "SALT at our Kaka'ako," "POW! WOW! Hawaii," and "Honolulu Night Market".

In a discussion of this 'Kaka'ako cultural revival', the author applies the theory of counter-hegemony, a notion developed by Gramscian theorists. The theory is defined as "the way people develop ideas and discourse to challenge dominant assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior" (Cox & Schilthuis, 2012, p. 1). The author visited and observed the area in March 2017 and March 2018. Building from many disparate observations, the author attempts to demonstrate how people at Kaka'ako are trying to preserve the cultural heritage of Hawai'i. From the viewpoint of counter-hegemony, the cultural revival movement at Kaka'ako can be seen as one of the most significant endeavors to achieve the goal of regaining and revitalizing traditional Hawaiian language and culture.

2. A Brief History of English Domination in Hawai 'i

In the history of Hawai'i, one of the biggest changes was the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778. Nature-

oriented lifestyles of the Native Hawaiians inevitably started to change into more modern and civilized western livelihood (Nakajima, 1993). Travelling to/from Hawai'i increased, and it caused some new diseases; the number of the Hawaiian language speakers decreased. Schütz (1994) mentioned that many European countries arrived in Hawaii for exploration, business, and religious belief. The Hawaiian language used to have only an oral form; it began to take form as a written language with the expansion of Christianity and the Bible started in 1820. American Protestant missionaries brought Christianity into Hawaii from New England who wanted to convert all Hawaiian people to change their religious beliefs. The missionaries developed an alphabet system in the Hawaiian language in accordance with the publishment of the Bible.

In 1887, King David Kalakaua was forced to promulgate the new constitution by American Caucasian people, and the Hawaiian Kingdom started to shrink. In 1893, the Hawaiian Kingdom under the Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown and its territory annexed by the United States; the royal power was forfeited and the Kingdom ended (Nakajima, 1993 and Yaguchi, 2002).

During the annexation process, both indigenous language and culture in Hawai'i were heavily affected. In addition to the Hawaiian language, English became one of the official languages there; Hawaiian was prohibited in a public space. The law, Act 57, sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai'i, officially prohibits the use of Hawaiian. Matsubara (2000) referred the law:

The English Language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this section shall not be recognized by the Department. (p. 51)

Reinecke (1969) summarized the historical process of the number of Hawaiian and English schools and students. Table 1 in the appendix demonstrates that Hawaiian language schools decrease year-by-year corresponding to the prosperity of English language schools during the mid-1800s to 1900. Not only this language policy, but we also shouldn't neglect the truth that parents of Hawaiian children eagerly let their child receive an English education for their future (Nakajima, 1993). Hawaiian-language newspapers also decreased and English-language newspaper increased to the local people. Native speakers of Hawaiian dramatically decreased in the late 1970s; 90% out of 2,000 people were over 70 years old *Kūpuna*, native elderly people in Hawai'i (Matsubara, 2004). Consequently, the status of English had risen and the status of Hawaiian downgraded; the speakers of the Hawaiian language decreased. Eventually, in 1959, Hawai'i became the 50th state in the United States of America. Even though very few Native Hawaiians have remained, a lot of social aspects were heavily changed into the *haole* —Caucasian—dominated society (Reinecke, 1969, Schütz, 1994).

Traditional Hawaiian language and culture faced with disappearance. These were almost dying, but not completely vanished. The number of a native speaker of Hawaiian was under 0.1% of the state-wide population, and the language has been largely displaced by English on the Hawaiian islands except Ni'ihau island (Lyovin, 1997). Traditional Hawaiian culture also declined slightly: hula and surfing were banned because these activities were considered as 'too sexual' activities for people who believe in Christianity. The mainland American way of life was imposed onto the traditional Hawaiian way of life.

3. A Brief Introduction of *Hawaiian Renaissance*

From the 1970s onward, a prominent social movement—the "Hawaiian Renaissance"—emerged. The main purpose of the movement was to regain and revitalize traditional Hawaiian language and culture. 'The darkest periods' of



[Figure 1: A wall-art of the monarchy of Hawai'i in front of Hawaiian Monarch, a condominium]

Hawai'i and 'the age of Americanization' has finished, and the era of 'De-Americanization' and 'Hawaianization' has started (Yamanaka, 1993, Nakajima, 1993, and Nettle, D. & Romaine, S., 2000).

The renaissance launched several initiatives in order to achieve this aim, supporting Hawaiian language immersion programs; traditional Polynesian Hokule'a voyaging; traditional products by Hawaiian craftsmen and artists; the revival of Hawaiian music; and, more (Kanahele, 1979). The movement is ongoing and is still in the process of developing. The author visited and observed the central area of O'ahu in March 2017. There are a number of attempts trying to regain cultural heritages of Hawai'i. For example, Figure 1 is a wall-art of the monarchy of the Hawaiian Kingdom painted in front of a condominium, Hawaiian Monarch. It represents seven kings and one queen: Kamehameha the 1st to the 5th, Lunalilo, Kalākaua, and Lili'uokalani. We are not sure who decorated the wall; however, this well-painted wall-art demonstrates a pride of the Hawaiian people and the deep connection between the Hawaiian royal heritage and the people.

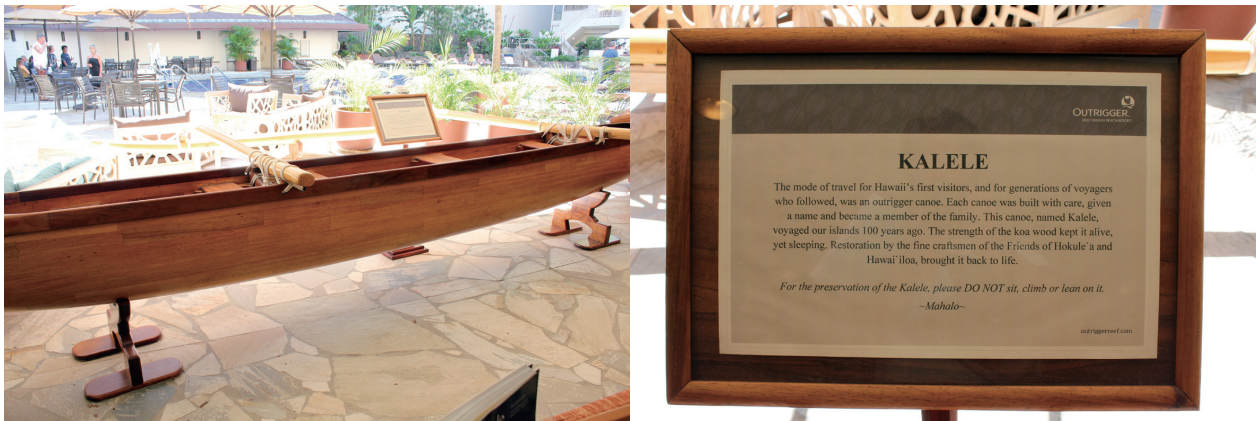
Figure 2 is a signboard standing at the front lobby of Outrigger Reef Waikiki Beach Resort. This signboard is for an exhibition of canoe voyaging: "O Ke Kai Series" meaning "Of the sea" in Hawaiian. This exhibition was from 9am to Noon in March 2017; this Series is the quarterly event that started 16 years ago. The main purpose of the event is that it "supports the continuing efforts of the friends of Hokule'a and Hawai'iloa to ensure the traditional Hawaiian canoe building and restoration skills are passed on to future generations" (Outrigger Hotels Hawaii, 2018). Since this educational Series have begun, Outrigger "has continued to share authentic Hawaiian culture with its guests through partnerships and programming". They not only continue to provide this experience, but also Outrigger Resorts "is mindful to be authentic ambassadors of aloha while also being sensitive to local cultures and customs". Local cultures and customs include a management and hospitality process called "Ke 'Ano Wa'a" or "The Outrigger Way", which was initially shaped more than 20 years ago by Dr. George Kanahele, the Hawaiian scholar (ThisWeek



[Figure 2: An exhibition of canoe voyaging at Outrigger Reef Waikiki Beach Resort]

Hawaii, 2018).

There is display of a canoe model named Kālele (Figure 3), and some wooden materials and tools (Figure 4) at the exhibition. The author asked the staff about the canoe, the materials and the tools. She responded that it is very important to use nature-grown materials to make canoes. Especially, koa wood, Hawaiian-originated wood, is very useful (A wood shown in the middle of Figure 4). Among other materials, people like to use koa as long as possible. It is not only very tough, but also the more you use it, the more it becomes beautiful. The ancient Hawaiians made large canoes from drift logs floated from the Northwest part of America; “*koa* was the wood from which they preferred to make their beautiful treasured canoes” (Krauss, 1993, p. 48). Canoe builders, *kahuna kālai wa’a*, used to be able to get those nature-grown materials in the Hawaiian Islands; it became very hard to find nowadays. Instead of them, glass fiber, carbon, or plastic is used as a material.



[Figure 3: A model of canoe, Kālele]



[Figure 4: Wooden materials and tools for canoes]

Cultural artifacts are displayed at the exhibition. Figure 5 includes (1) *lauhala*, the Hawaiian-originated leaves of the *hala* tree, weaving accessory (lau=leaf, hala= the name of tree), (2) *'ohe hano ihu* (The Hawaiian bamboo nose flute; 'ohe=bamboo, ihu=nose, hano=flute), (3) *olonā* fiber rope or cordage, (4) Hawaiian wood carving (upper left to right). All of them are Hawaiian cultural products, and they represent a traditional culture of Hawai'i¹⁾. Lauhala and *olonā* are Hawaiian native plants. People use them to make accessories, tools, or materials for various purposes.



[Figure 5: Cultural artifacts displayed at the exhibition]

Figure 6 shows an actual cultural experience at the exhibition.

The man sitting in the chair is playing *'ohe hano ihu*. He plays it with his nose, which is a notable feature of the instrument²⁾. Two people are sitting on the floor and preparing materials for this experience. The seat they are sitting on and the baskets in front of them are typical *lauhala* weaving products; the leaves on the weavings are *lauhala*. People never pull them off the tree, but they only collected fallen leaves. There is a spirit of aloha or a deep sense of compassion for nature in their mind.



[Figure 6: Cultural artifacts displayed at the exhibition]

4. The Theory of *Counter-Hegemony*

The theory of counter-hegemony is originally derived from the concept of hegemony, a notion developed by Italian political thinker Antonio Gramsci. Gramsci (1971) defined the concept of hegemony as “the ‘spontaneous’ consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group” (p. 12). His reference to ‘spontaneity’ constituted a very fundamental part of his concept of hegemony. Spontaneity is also important in terms especially of looking the concept from a role of subordinates. Subordinates’ role is not only a crucial part for acquiring hegemony. It is also significant in discussion of *a war of position*, which is an important concept for building the theory of counter-hegemony.

Cox (1983) explained Gramsci’s concept of a war of position: it “slowly builds up the strength of the social foundations of a new state” (p. 165), and only it can bring about structural changes. Ahmed (2016) mentioned, it “involves the slow development of an oppositional, revolutionary culture within the dominant culture” (p. 156). We need to have a certain people to lead in a war of position strategy; “the role of the party should be to lead, intensify and develop dialogue within the working class and between the working class and other subordinate classes which

could be brought into alliance with it" (Cox, 1983, p. 168). Subordinates or what Gramsci called 'the working class' has an important role in the process for achieving counter-hegemony: "in order to build its cultural influence or counter-hegemony among various classes and groups, a party needs to communicate with them in a way that is easily understandable to them" (Ahmed, 2016, p. 157). Here, we need to concern a role of subordinates or the working class because they should be involved with in order to successfully build counter-hegemony.

The theory of counter-hegemony has developed by Gramscian theorists. Pratt (2004) referred counter-hegemony in relation to a war of position: counter-hegemony "is generally used to describe the creation of an alternative hegemony on the terrain of civil society in preparation for a 'war of position'" (p. 332). Cohn (2012) mentioned, "Gramscian theorists encourage disadvantaged groups to develop a '*counterhegemony*' as a means of extricating themselves from subservience to hegemonic forces in the core" (p. 65). Ramesh (2017) summarized important points of the theory:

Counter hegemony names challenges to the elite hegemony and attempts at creating alternative historical and political discourses, where elite and ruling classes discourses are challenged and reframed within an alternative sociological and historical ideological framework centred on deliberative social forces. (p. 283)

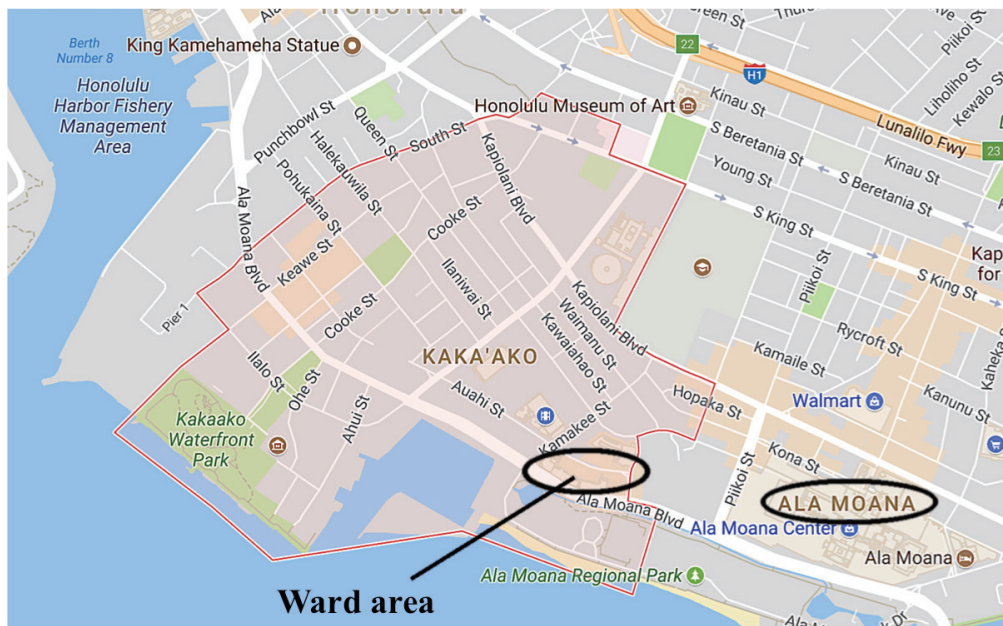
The concept of counter-hegemony is variously defined. Crehan (2002) mentioned that counter-hegemony is "capable of challenging in an effective way the dominant hegemony"; it "emerge[s] out of the lived reality of oppressed people's day-to-day lives" (p. 5); "an alternative ethical view of society that poses a challenge to the dominant bourgeois-led view" (Cohn, 2004, p. 131); it is "a kind of social reorganisation, where human beings are conceptualised primarily as social beings with complex needs, which require careful social policy programming and state intervention (Ramesh, 2017, p. 283). Cox and Schilthuis (2012) succinctly defined, "the way people develop ideas and discourse to challenge dominant assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior" (p. 1). In this study, we consider counter-hegemony as a critique standpoint to existing hegemonic power or dismantle hegemonic power by opposing status quo and the legitimacy in political situation with a certain number of people.

5. A Brief Introduction of Kaka 'ako

5.1. Historical background

The area is located in the southeast part of the island of O'ahu and is near the Ward area (including the Ward Centre) and Ala Moana (Figure 7). The area was famous for its warehouses and was well known as a place for second-hand car dealerships. Because of the locality, much research (99 % of research) has been devoted to investigating marine activities, medicine, and its history.

Kaka'ako used to be an area comprised of fishing villages, fishponds and salt ponds in ancient times. Pa'akai, salt, was considered as a very important thing like gold and Kaka'ako's salt ponds were of major importance to the area to Native Hawaiians. Residential construction began and diverse immigrant "camps" grew in the 1800s. Industrial roots at Kaka'ako began with the foundation a metal foundry and machine shop, namely the Honolulu Iron Works. Along with the residential construction, small stores, churches, schools (include Pohukaina School next to Mother Waldron Park), and parks were built. At that time, "Kaka'ako grew and became a community built on a blue-collar work ethic, social activism and a strong sense of family". The area changed from the residential area to a commercial district in the mid-1900s. Residents were displaced by small businesses and entrepreneurship which were grew as wholesaling, warehousing and other industrial businesses (Salt At Our Kaka'ako, 2018a). Therefore, "Kaka'ako's history is rooted in industry, entrepreneurship and cultural diversity" (Our Kaka'ako, 2018a). Figure 8 shows that there are still a certain number of industrial businesses, representatively, car repair services and automotive services, and some warehouses in this district.



[Figure 7: A map of the Kaka'ako district, the Ward area and Ala Moana]



[Figure 8: Car repair service and automotive service at the Kaka'ako district]

5.2. Redevelopment of the Ward area and renovation of the Kaka'ako district

The Ward area (and the Ward Centre) has of late begun to develop in a different direction: there have been many renovations including the construction of many condominiums, causing significant change to the aesthetic qualities of the area. Figure 9 shows that the Ward area is developing with high buildings and condominiums; even more will come in the near future.

There are some portraits under the building of the right picture in Figure 9. Figure 10 shows some photographs on the wall taken by Lenny Kāholo, Hawai'i based photographer. In the photographs, people are standing by the beach at Ala Moana Beach Park: the woman in the left is standing alone, and the woman in the right is standing and holding her baby. Kāholo took more photographs and put them on the wall just like the pictures in Figure 10. There is also a self-portrait of him as you see in Figure 11; it introduces his backgrounds and includes his explanations on the photographs. He explains these portraits as follows: "This series of portraits explores the reciprocal relationship that as people and place interact. ... these photographs illustrate our inseparable ties to the natural world and remind us of our responsibility to balance environmental sustainability and development". With his thoughts and photographs, we could see that there is a spirit of aloha for nature in people's mind. Not only the development and progression are important, but sustainability and connections with nature are also significant for Hawaiin people.

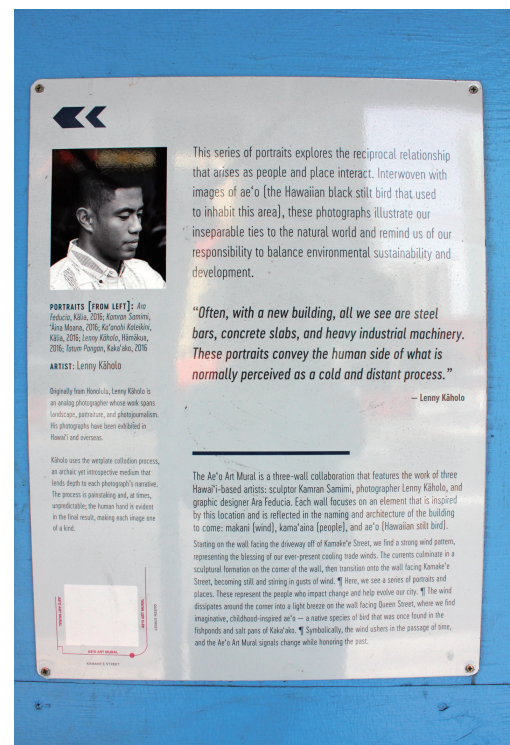


[Figure 9: Renovations of the Ward area]



[Figure 10: Photographs taken by Lenny Kāhola]

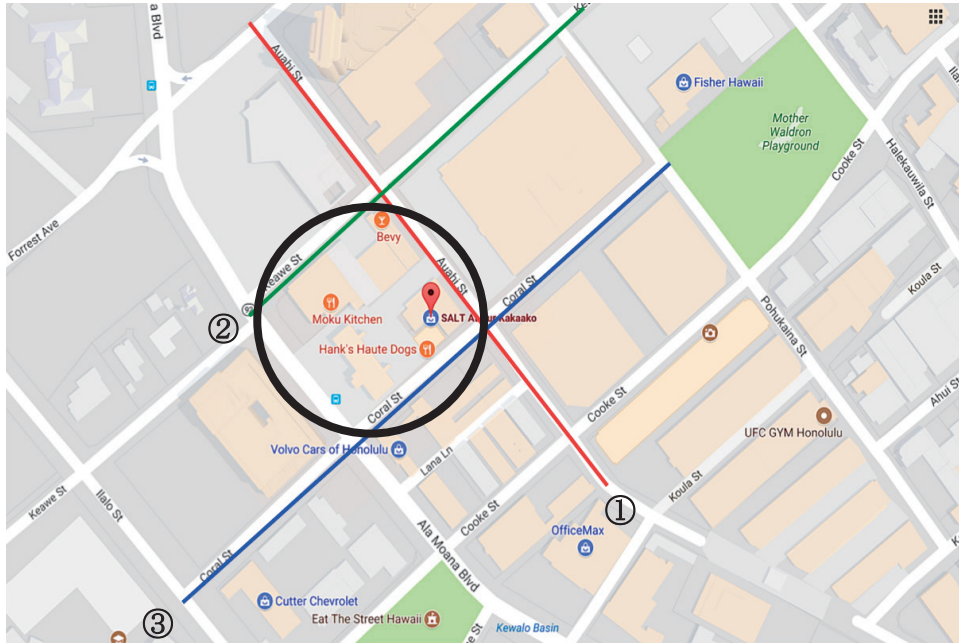
In the present, the evolution of Kaka’ako continues. A dynamic community is flourishing on the three main street, Auahi street, Keawe street, and Coral street while keeping the spirit of hard working and entrepreneur. At Our Kaka’ako, the businesses, restaurants, incubators, and gathering places are providing “a catalyst for exciting new ideas and innovations, rooted in historical values but interpreted in a progressive way. Our Kaka’ako continues to honor the spirit of the past while looking forward to the future” (Our Kaka’ako, 2018a). Salt At Our Kaka’ako (2018b) described this situation in a similar way: “Rooted in Hawaiian cultural values, Our Kaka’ako is built on empowering creativity, cultivating innovation and building a truly unique, local community”. Although the Ward area is developing again and the Kaka’ako district is renovating, we have the people with the soul of sustainability of the places and the spirit of the past.



[Figure 11: A self-portrait of Lenny Kāhola]

6. A Case Study of the Kaka 'ako District

In terms of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement mentioned above, the Kaka'ako district can be considered as one of the significant places of cultural revitalization. To name several examples, this area has seen the creation and promotion of several traditional events, including “Our Kaka'ako”, “SALT at Our Kaka'ako”, “POW! WOW! Hawaii”, and “Honolulu Night Market”.



[Figure 12: A detailed map of the Kaka'ako district]

Figure 12 shows a detailed map of the Kaka'ako district: the first line is Auahi street; the second line is Keawe street; the third line is Coral street. The focused area is circled in the figure in which several traditional events are held. Among them, we focus on Our Kaka'ako and SALT at Our Kaka'ako projects.

Our Kaka'ako project sets three slogans. Although they are long ‘proclamations’, it is worthwhile to mention. We see their visions and purposes through them (all slogans are retrieved from Our Kaka'ako, 2018b, and emphasizes are added by the author):

1. Our Kaka'ako is a community

Our Kaka'ako encompasses nine city blocks in the heart of Kaka'ako centered around the arts, culture and creative hub on Auahi, Keawe and Coral streets. It's an emerging epicenter for Hawai'i's urban-island culture that is an incubator for a variety of artists, chefs, influencers and entrepreneurs. Rooted in Hawaiian cultural values, Our Kaka'ako is built on empowering creativity, cultivating innovation and building a truly unique, local community.

2. Our Kaka'ako is a legacy

Our Kaka'ako is a project by Kamehameha Schools. Kamehameha Schools was founded through the will of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the last direct descendant of King Kamehameha I. The Schools' mission is to create educational opportunities to improve the well being of Native Hawaiians. Through her legacy, Kamehameha Schools has been endowed with over 363,000 acres of land statewide, 98% of which is in agriculture and conservation. Today, these commercial

assets almost entirely fund the Schools' statewide educational system serving over 47,000 learners. Kamehameha Schools is committed to the smart, progressive and culturally appropriate stewardship of the lands. Our Kaka'ako is a part of that commitment. Building a thriving neighborhood fostering connections and rooted in education, authenticity and creativity. Kamehameha's goal is to build a thriving, urban neighborhood that is rooted in authenticity, creativity, and cultural responsibility. As with all of our commercial projects, it must also effectively support the Kamehameha Schools mission of furthering the education of Hawaiian children.

3. Our Kaka'ako is a vision

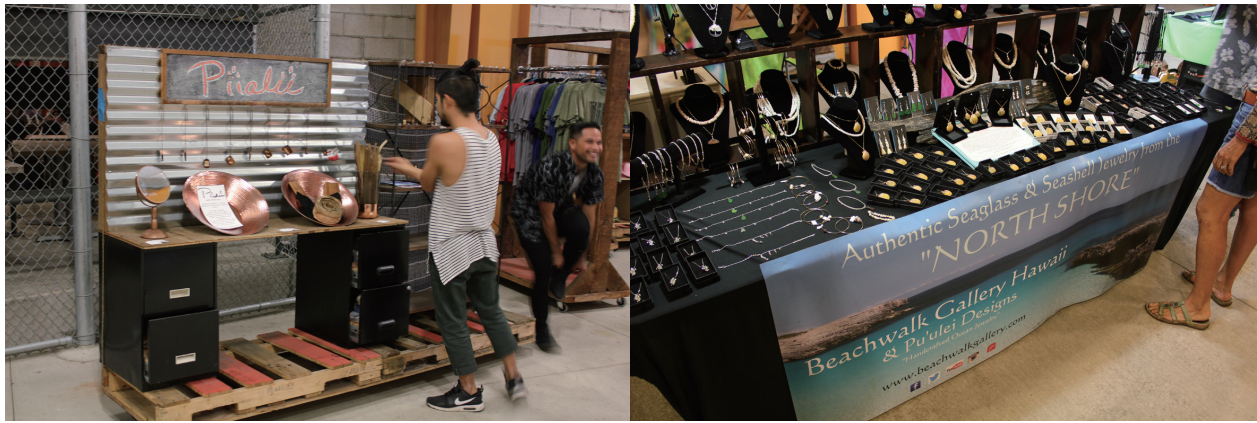
Already a dynamic setting for new ideas and forward thinking, Our Kaka'ako will continue to evolve over time as redevelopment continues to renew the community. Walkable, sustainable, people-friendly neighborhoods. Open-air gathering places to socialize and share ideas. Homes for a diversity of O'ahu residents and families of various income levels. All rooted in the authentic and progressive spirit found in Our Kaka'ako today. So, come visit and take part in the revitalization of a special place. Watch it change. Watch it evolve. Watch it develop into one of Hawai'i's most unique and talked about neighborhoods. Our Kaka'ako is your Kaka'ako.

The other thing, although cannot be separated, is that SALT at Our Kaka'ako project ("SALT"). SALT is a dynamic city block designed for exploration and engagement, and it has a space for local culture, food, shopping and innovative events; it is "Honolulu's epicenter". The inspiration of the design of SALT is from "Kaka'ako's history and re-imagined for Honolulu's future". Not only SALT offers the space for people to gather, but it also supports Kamehameha Schools' mission of furthering the education of Hawaiian children (Salt At Our Kaka'ako, 2018c). As we mentioned, people not only have the soul of sustainability and the spirit of the past, but also they are providing education and looking for the future.

Several shops open at monthly Pa'akai Marketplace, "the cultural showcase", which brings artists, crafters, cultural practitioners, and performers of Hawai'i together and celebrates Native Hawaiian culture. This is a collaboration event with PAI Foundation; the aim of the foundation is "to preserve and perpetuate Hawaiian cultural traditions for future generations". Local people sell Hawaiian cultural merchandises; we will see some of them (Salt At Our Kaka'ako, 2018d).

Pi'iali'i, the left side of Figure 13, sells original artifacts "inspired by the intersections of past, present and future". By integrating different materials, Hawaiian koa wood, copper, brass, and pigskin suede, "the Pi'iali'i collection continues to push the boundaries of cultural innovation through its designs". They also bridge the traditions of lauhala weaving and contemporary Hawaiian fashion featuring all original modern and traditional Hawaiian lauhala jewelry and accessories handcrafted by Pi'iali'i Lawson, a practitioner and teacher of Hawaiian lauhala weaving (retrieved from Pi'iali'i homepage)³⁾.

Noa Noa, a merchant shown in Figure 14, handles traditional Hawaiian products: the store "presents a profusion of patterns and colors in traditional Hawaiian and Pacific island tapa and ethnic designs from around the world" (retrieved from Noanoa). Noa Noa produces aloha shirt, mu'u mu'u dresses, bags, accessories and more. Their productions not only include Hawaiian patterns, but also Polynesian and Pacific patterns as well. The author talked to the shopper and asked about features of their products, especially accessories with some flowers and plants inside (shown in the right side of Figure 14). She replied that one of the most important things is to use native Hawaiian materials (in this case, native flowers and plants grown in Hawai'i), so that people can feel and know traditional heritages of Hawai'i through these accessories. The author actually bought one of them, and a



[Figure 13: Cultural merchandises at SALT]



[Figure 14: NOA NOA, a traditional Hawaiian shop, at SALT]

small piece of paper with some explanations of the flowers came with it. This is one of the ways to let people know about nature in Hawai'i and a heritage of Hawai'i.

The author talked to two men at the shop, *Makawalu*, shown in Figure 15. They responded that we make these potteries made from Hawaiian mud. The author asked the reason for using the mud; they said that we make the potteries from the mud because we could feel some sort of Hawaiian spirit here. The man on the right is Jonathan Ah Sing, a Kamehameha School senior. He “discovered a passion for clay, and founded Makawalu Ceramics to take his ideas further (Tanigawa, 2017)”. He mentioned a deep sense of emotion in his interview (some translations for Hawaiian words and emphasizes are added by the author):

It's been a growing passion intertwining culture, clay and just mana-ful ⁴⁾ creations. That's what we're about. Proliferating Native Hawaiian art, sharing it with others, and just watching it evolve for the future generations. That's what we're all about. ... Our kūpuna ⁵⁾ tell us stories, right? We grew up hearing their stories, their mo'olelo ⁶⁾. But when we become kūpuna, what are the stories our keiki ⁷⁾ going to give on? So it's our responsibility. A living breathing, evolving culture will constantly be creating new mo'olelo, new stories to tell (Tanigawa, 2017).

He pointed out that Hawaiian people have a responsibility to educate keiki, the next generations, through an old mo'olelo and a new mo'olelo, and traditional Hawaiian cultural creations. They keep challenging to create a new story while they inherit and transmit stories from their kūpuna. He is not only trying to preserve art pieces of Native Hawaiians, but also to look for children to be interested in what Native Hawaiians have done and what people are doing now.



[Figure 15: The shoppers of *Makawalu*, a handmade pottery shop, at SALT]

7. Discussion

Under the historical influence of the United States, Hawaiian language, culture, and even thought processes have all changed. The way Native Hawaiian people live, think, and act was inevitably changed by the huge influence from the United States. American assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior deeply penetrate traditional society. English as one of the official languages is not only one of the biggest changes in Hawai'i, but we also should not neglect cultural impacts on Hawai'i

Because Hawai'i became the 50th state of the United States, we cannot deny the truth that there are a certain number of American cultures there. People believe in different religion, Christianity; people eat at McDonald's, Burger King, Subway, Starbucks, and more fast food restaurants; people use an iPhone and MacBook as a communication tool; people go to Walmart, Longs Drugs, Target, Whole Foods Market, and more supermarkets; people enjoy shopping at Macy's, Nordstrom, Bloomingdale's, Saks Fifth Avenue, and more department stores. All of them came from the mainland, the United States, and they are everywhere in Hawai'i. Although they are for the tourism industry in some ways, people in Hawai'i consume cultures of the mainland. Figure 16 exemplifies that companies from the United States are merged into Hawaiian society by adapting and blending a portion of Hawaiian culture and language. Target supermarket is on the left side, and Auntie Anne's Pretzel is on the right side. Target puts a linguistic sign "ALOHA" with some motifs of Hawaiian flowers in front of the store. Similarly, Auntie Anne's displays the poster with "ALOHA" and surfboard on the left along with their signature pretzel.

Even in the historic town, Hale'iwa, we have McDonald's (on the left) and Starbucks (on the right) (Figure 17). McDonald's in Hale'iwa is different from what we usually imagine. The exterior of the store seems to be moderated and adapted to the atmosphere of the town. Although we do not have images, they have Hawaiian local menus: a Portuguese sausage, eggs, and rice platter; a SPAM, eggs and rice platter; and a local deluxe breakfast platter that includes Portuguese sausage and SPAM with eggs and rice (KHON, 2017). The author took these pictures last March, and Starbucks are newly opened. Some people were sitting outside and enjoyed coffee there.



[Figure 16: American companies at Ala Moana Center]



[Figure 17: Fast food restaurants at Hale 'iwa, the historic town]

People may feel a sense of affinity when they have some familiarity or closeness; so do Hawaiian people. Hawaiian people might feel comfortable when they have some sort of 'Hawaiian smells'. American companies try to and make Hawaiians to be accustomed to their culture; it is better than nothing. In this way, American capital companies have successfully penetrated into Hawaiian society, and Hawaiian people may have lost their tradition and heritage.

However, people are eager to preserve traditional Hawaiian language and culture in various ways with the Hawaiian Renaissance movement. One of the examples of the movement is seen at the Kaka'ako district. People are trying to show their aspiration for keeping the traditional heritage of Hawai'i, and many people are involved with. From a consideration of counter-hegemony, we regard the movement at Kaka'ako as a 'counteractivity' for American domination. As Carroll (2007) said, "For counter-hegemonic groups, the social relations that might sustain an alternative way of life are immanent, emergent, or need to be invented" (p. 54). The case study demonstrated that people in this area gather and try "to challenge dominant assumptions, beliefs, and established patterns of behavior" (Cox & Schilthuis, 2012, p. 1).

Counter-hegemony demands "some notion of a leading and directing role which seeks to transform not just anything, but the most important social structures and relations. Hence the transformational model of social activity must be linked to some kind of [counter-]hegemonic project. It requires a strategic element that gives it purpose and direction" (Joseph, 2002, 214). We consider that the whole projects at Kaka'ako are one of the counter-hegemonic projects in Hawai'i, and people involved with are a counter-hegemonic group. They are standing critically against hegemonic power of America, and they are trying to dismantle it. They are longing to re-establish their pride as Hawaiians, while the United States is linguistically (English as an official language) and culturally

(American ways of living) dominant in Hawaiian society.

One of the most prominent things is that people are using a variety of social networking services as an information tool or a communication device: facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and so on. All of the shops above have at least one of them; thanks to advanced technology, people are now able to access various sources if they are interested in the movement. The information revolution gives us an opportunity of costless communication regardless of a distance. It also provides the production of alternative media that has become a key role of counter-hegemony (Hackett and Carroll, 2006). Utilizing media devices is “the overwhelming importance to counter-hegemony of reclaiming or creating the means and forms of communication necessary for subaltern groups to find their voices and to organize both locally and globally” (Carroll, 2006, p. 27). We think that cutting-edge technology is one of the biggest factors for people to get together so easily and make the movement wider and wider both locally and globally.

8. Concluding Remarks and Future Research

Under the historical influence of the United States, Hawaiian language, culture, and even thought processes have all changed. American assumptions, beliefs and established patterns of behavior deeply penetrate traditional society. Hawai‘i has experienced or is experiencing not only linguistic changes, but also cultural changes: English became one of the official languages, and there are a number of companies from the United States. However, there is hope to save traditional Hawaiian language and culture, because of the Hawaiian Renaissance as seen at Kaka‘ako. People gather for some projects: “Our Kaka‘ako”, “SALT at Our Kaka‘ako”, “POW! WOW! Hawaii”, and “Honolulu Night Market”.

From observations at the Kaka‘ako district, the author demonstrates how people there are trying to preserve the cultural heritage of Hawai‘i. They are not only trying to keep their heritages, but they are also challenging to educate future generations through various activities. From the viewpoint of counter-hegemony, the cultural revival movement at Kaka‘ako can be seen as one of the most significant endeavors to achieve the goal of resurgence, regaining, and revitalizing traditional Hawaiian language and culture.

For future research, we would acquire a holistic understanding of linguistic revitalization and cultural revitalization in Hawai‘i and discuss the research theme. Even though the linguistic perspective is not covered in this study, the author will focus on the linguistic perspective and the cultural perspective. For the former, the author continues a qualitative interview research with students who take Hawaiian language lectures at University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa; for the latter, the author continues an observation research in town and might have a qualitative interview research with people who actually are participating the current revitalization movement.

Appendix

Table 1. The historical process of the number of Hawaiian and English schools and students (Data is from Reinecke, 1969)

Year	1848	1855	1868	1878	1880	1882	1884	1886	1888	1890	1892	1894	1895	1897	1902
Total Number of Schools	631	386	266	222	210	201	200	172	179	178	168	176	187	192	203
Total Number of Students	19,844	11,226	8,404	6,991	7,164	8,046	8,723	9,016	8,770	10,006	10,712	11,307	12,616	14,552	18,382
Number of Hawaiian Language Schools	624	363	221	170	150	134	114	77	63	36	28	18	3	1	0
Number of Students of Hawaiian Language Schools	19,644	10,076	6,323	4,344	4,078	3,528	2,841	2,018	1,370	768	552	320	59	26	0
Percentages	99.0	89.7	75.2	62.1	57.0	43.8	32.6	22.4	15.7	7.7	5.2	2.8	0.5	0.2	0.0
Number of English Language Schools	7	23	45	52	60	67	86	95	116	142	140	158	184	191	203
Number of Students of English Language Schools	200	1,150	2,081	2,647	3,086	4,518	5,882	6,998	7,400	9,238	10,160	10,987	12,557	14,996	18,382
Percentages	1.1	10.3	24.8	37.9	43.0	56.2	67.4	77.6	84.3	92.3	94.8	97.2	99.5	99.8	100.0

Notes

- 1) See Krauss (1974) as a reference.
- 2) About 'ohe hano ihu, see Kanahele (1979), Moyle (1990), Nishikawa (2016), and Roberts (1926).
- 3) The right side of Figure 12 is the shop called *Beachwalk Gallery Hawaii*. As the name of the shop indicates, they mainly sell shells' accessories. See <http://www.beachwalkgallery.com/> as a reference.
- 4) "mana" means "Supernatural or divine power, mana, miraculous power" (Pukui and Elbert, 1986, p. 235).
- 5) "kūpuna" is "Plural of *kupuna*" and *kupuna* means "Grandparent, ancestor, relative or close friend of the grandparent's generation, grandaunt, granduncle", Ibid., p. 186.
- 6) "mo'olelo" means "Story, tale, myth, history, tradition, literature, legend, journal, log, yarn, fable, essay, chronicle, record, article", Ibid., p. 254.
- 7) "keiki" means "child, offspring, descendant, progeny, boy, youngster, son, lad, nephew, son of a dear friend", Ibid., p. 142.

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