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From cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation – Case study of a tiki bar in Norway

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This work is dedicated to all Oceanian peoples, and all Oceanian culture advocates doing an amazing job on social media platforms and by other cultural means to represent their cultures. As a white Caledonian I bear a particular thought for the Oceanian peoples of New Caledonia, the multiethnicity you allowed me to evolve in is one of my greatest privileges. In a context of political division in New Caledonia/Kanaky I dedicate this work to Kanak people, to my cousins Elryck Bwëé and Ambre whom growing up, side by side are the pure representation of what I hope for the future of New Caledonia/Kanaky: Kanak people taking their space, heard, cherished, and supported by Caledonians of all ethnicities.

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Abstract

As presented by UNESCO (2021) “the protection of culture is not only a cultural issue; it has become a security imperative”. This thesis by following the UNESCO recommendation, refers to the fields of culture, cultural representations, critical studies through the theory of decolonization of knowledge. Using concepts of cultural appropriation, cultural appreciation, escapism, and colonial nostalgia this thesis analyzes the subjectivity of such concepts through the interviews of the owners of a tiki bar in Norway. The goal of this thesis is to analyze what everyday practices the bar owners identify as efforts towards cultural appreciation, which could therefore be looked upon as everyday peace practices and peace from below actions. The following aim of the thesis after this identification is the critical analysis of them, applying decolonization lenses to the owners’ actions and efforts of education, therefore analyzing in a broader sense if a shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation is at all possible in tiki bars.

Key words: tiki bars; tiki culture; cultural appropriation; cultural appreciation; colonial nostalgia; Polynesian cultures; Oceanian cultures; decolonization; peace from below; everyday peace practices

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1. Aim of the study and motivation

I have chosen to focus on the research fields of cultural appropriation, cultural appreciation, and decolonizing culture, using peace from below approaches in peace and conflict studies. It is a topic that I became interested in as I grew up in New Caledonia, as a descendant of white colonial convicts on one side of my family and as the first generation born in New Caledonia on the other side, but I had the luck to grow up surrounded by Kanak culture. I grew up thinking that this culture was as much mine as it was the one of my Kanak relatives, not realizing as a child my privilege of being a white Neo-Caledonian in a territory still experiencing the structural violence of colonization. Growing up in New Caledonia, I was lucky to become familiar with different Oceanian culture such as Kanak culture, Ni-Vanuatense, Tahitian or Wallisian.

Moreover, since I arrived in Norway, through work opportunities I met the owners of a tiki Bar, a bar which opened in October 2021. One of the first discussions I had with the owners was around their acknowledgement of the challenge of cultural appropriation with tiki bars, the amount of self education they did and are still doing to try and shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation. While discussing with them it was one of the first time that I met people with no precedent education on Oceania being able to differentiate the three main Oceanian regions, and to acknowledge that Polynesian cultures do not stop at what Americans popularized from Hawaiï, this observation on their knowledge showed me the success to a certain extent of their self education on Polynesian cultures, with the goal of opening a tiki bar, while acknowledging the cultural appropriation challenges.

By devoting my thesis to the possibility of shifting from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation, using the case study of a Tiki bar I hope to participate in the academic efforts focusing on presenting the possible solution of cultural appropriation as cultural appreciation: “when [we] think about cultural appreciation, we [must be] concerned with how much recognition should be attributed to a culture and whether we are celebrating a culture or deepening a cultural stereotype [or even if we are exploiting it].” (Han, 2019). As well as showing that “the protection of culture is not only a cultural issue; it has become a security

imperative” (UNESCO, 2021) which can be tackled from actions taken by non-state actors like in the context of tiki bars, the Pasifika project “[providing] a much-needed platform for Indigenous voices to guide and contribute to conversations within the trade regarding Pacific cultures and appropriation. [...] Pasifika project [also advocates] and seeks to raise awareness of important issues impacting the Pacific Islands and their people” (Pasifika project, consulted in 2021).

1.2. Problem statement

After their revival in the early 2000s, in today’s society that some people qualify as “woke” tiki bars are proving to be more and more controversial. Does it mean that tiki bars were not problematic in the past? No, but it means that in an era where people are more aware of cultural appropriation, where social media influencers of minority communities are being more vocal about the systemic racism and aftereffects of colonization, the concept of tiki bars deserves to be analyzed with a decolonizing approach. Does it mean tiki bars should simply not exist anymore? As seen in many less conflictual situations such Manichaeism is rarely productive and can even prove to be totally counter-productive putting the two sides on a total opposition therefore rupturing any hope for communication and improvement of the situation. This thesis therefore wonders if there is a way to use the space provided by tiki bars to use the cultural appropriation, by shifting it to cultural appreciation in order to educate, represent properly and raise awareness on the cultures that are used in tiki bars.

1.3. Research objectives

This research has three main objectives which are all organized around the case study of one particular tiki bar. The goal of this thesis is not to analyze how the Oceanian cultures can decolonize tiki bars as these practices are already happening, being studied upon, and it is not my place as an outsider of these cultures to research everyday practices they could do to decolonize tiki bars. Moreover, these practices are already existent and being more and more important on social medias. The main objective of this research is therefore to analyze how the issues raised by Pacific islanders are received by the bar owners of the case study, if they had access or any contact with the decolonized sources around tiki bars, how receptive they

are and what everyday peace practices they are putting in place (if any) to tackle the cultural appropriation of their tiki bar. This main goal was divided into three objectives:

- Analyze the evolution of knowledge and awareness on Polynesian cultures of the bar owners, of customers with knowledge of Polynesian cultures, of customers without knowledge of Polynesian cultures.
- Analyze through their experience the possibility to move from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation.
- Analyze the possibility to make a tiki bar a place of education and prevention on Polynesian cultures.

1.4. Research questions

The research objectives will be researched on by the thesis trying to answer the following research questions:

- Is a shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation possible?
- How did the owners educate themselves, and do they keep educating themselves on Polynesian cultures?
- Can Polynesian cultures benefit from tiki bars?

1.5. Outline for thesis

This thesis contains six chapters:

Chapter one lays the original aim and motivation of the master's thesis. It presents the problem statement as well as the objectives and the research questions used to frame the study.

Chapter two provides a historical and contextual background of tiki bars, why they are so popular and known even outside of the US. This chapter also presents the literature review around the critics that were made and are still made around "tiki culture" and its illustration into western capitalism.

Chapter three gives the theoretical framework used to explain how the identification and analyze of concepts were made in this research and how the controversy of tiki bars serves as an example of the need of decolonization, and its realization through everyday peace practices. This chapter also defines the two main concept of this thesis which are cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation.

Chapter four explains how the research is designed, it portrays the methods that were chosen for data collection, and data analysis and also explores the limitations of the research.

Chapter five identifies the concepts from the data and analyzes them in order to answer the presented research questions. It puts together all the past chapters and applies them to the collected data.

Chapter six concludes this research by summarizing the key findings, the answers to the research question and briefly opens the subject to what should be seen as possible future research.

Chapter 2 – Historical and contextual background

This section of the thesis aims to provide background information on the creation of tiki bars, their geographical origin, the historical context in which they were first created; to briefly present the two men still seen as the founding fathers of the ‘tiki culture’; as well as present the function of tiki bars as fulfilment of the consumers’ desire of escapism, and the role of tiki bars for the professionals of the bar industry. A better understanding of what the subculture that ‘tiki culture’ is will allow to comprehend and better grasp the extent of characteristics making tiki bars attractive for bar owners to open, and for certain consumers to become ‘tiki enthusiasts.’

Another section of this chapter will highlight that the controversy around tiki bars has already been touched multiple times and is still a very contemporary subject, specifically in the US. A

subject that is being approached as containing problematic characteristics, by scholars, hospitality industry professionals, students and also used to be advocates of the 'tiki culture'.

2.1. What are tiki bars?

2.1.1. A subjective definition for a precise collective visual

Paola Mardo (2017) defines tiki bars as an American pop culture phenomenon taking its history in World War II imaginations and Los Angeles history, popularized by Hollywood.

Carroll and Wheaton (2019) add that tiki bar is a concept that can be a bar or bar-restaurant serving extravagant rum-based drinks in a décor that conjures up a strong visual of tropical beaches and islands, especially those reflecting Polynesian cultures all while serving Asian fusion food items. When reading multiple authors, it becomes visible that tiki bars can be using pretty much any décor elements as long as it gives an atmosphere of being on a tropical, preferably Polynesian island. As addressed by Carroll and Wheaton (2019) what makes a tiki bar "authentic" is subjective of the consumers and yet in the subjectivity of the concept there is a collective idea, a collective visual that is imagined when we mention tiki bars, they quote a Wikipedia entry of 2017 that expects a typical tiki bar décor to contain those items: "'tiki god' masks and carvings, grass cloth, tapa cloth and tropical fabrics, torches, woven fish traps, and glass floats, bamboo, plants, lava stone, hula girl, palm tree motifs, tropical murals and other South Pacific-themed decorations.". The tiki bar concept though did not stop at themed immersive bars that you can find in luxurious hotels or in themed amusement parks, with their popularity, as shown by Mardo (2017), getting bigger through their representations in Hollywood movies, or being frequented by celebrities and higher economic class Americans, tiki bars started finding their ways in American houses poolside backyards, or basements. It seems like in any sphere of western societies tiki bars can be recognized by their tropical vibe, heavy on the rum fruity cocktails, fake or real Oceanian artifacts and a general sensation of sunny warm exotic countries atmosphere.

2.1.2. Two proclaimed and respected founding fathers

Any author writing on tiki bars is able to trace back the history of the concept to the early 1930s, and more specifically "the genesis of the tiki craze can be pinpointed precisely to 1934, when Ernest Beaumont Gantt opened the doors to Don's Beachcomber Café [...] in Los Angeles" (Frechette, 2020). Carroll and Wheaton (2019) do mention that tropical themed

nightclubs and venues already existed in the US at that time as according to them “affluent Americans began vacationing via ship around 1915 to Hawaiian and South Seas destinations” and according to Mak (2015)’s research tourism in Hawaii can be traced further back in history, “mass tourism came to Hawaii after the 1950s [...] its humble origin began decades earlier, in the 1870s” as “in 1888 King Kalakaua granted a royal charter to publish Paradise of the Pacific newspaper/magazine to promote Hawaii”. These elements show that the need for escapism, exotism, and the fantasized Hawaii already existed in the US, and research on the link between the evolution of tiki bars and the history of tourism in Hawaii can certainly be deepened. It is therefore possible to imagine that Ernest Beaumont Gantt, also known as Don Beach, through his travels, social networks, and jobs, potentially involved in the smuggling of alcohol during the Prohibition era discovered a golden opportunity following the repeal of the Prohibition. Carroll and Wheaton (2019) mention that the main difference between Don the Beachcomber’s Café and other tropical themed venues were his featured rum drinks, presenting new cocktails and new ways to drink alcohol after Prohibition era cocktails that were classics of rather few ingredients, Don Beach introduced strong long drinks, with extravagant names, new exotic juices, and syrups as well as exotic presentations, such as using coconut shells for glasses. If Don Beach brought the new drinks as well as some new depth to the décor with more carvings supposedly coming from his travels in the “South Seas”, Victor Bergeron opened another institution which later became a landmark of American ‘tiki culture’, after visiting Don the Beachcomber’s Café and others, which he named Trader Vic’s. Trader Vic’s will add to the tropical theme hospitality industry, the focus on “Polynesian food”. The term is here put in quotes as, as presented by Carroll and Wheaton (2019) the authenticity of tiki bars is more than questionable, bartenders of Polynesian origins are nowadays fighting against the “use of Polynesian culture to create a false sense of what Polynesia is” (Ari Daskaukas as quoted by Hatchett, 2020). The need for this re-existence of indigenous Polynesian in the tiki bar world comes from the damages made to Polynesian cultures, and other Oceanian cultures by their use in tiki bars. Indeed, one of Trader Vic’s selling argument taking place on the menu of his restaurants was that they were offering “truly Polynesian” food, yet with an introductory note from Victor Bergeron himself stating that what was to be found on the menu were not “primitive food from these places, which one would find ‘unacceptable’ but rather his interpretations of original recipes”, the menu description went further with Bergeron crediting the influence of French cuisine on Tahitian

food and the Oriental and American influence on Hawaiian food (Carroll and Wheaton, 2019). If there was some rivalry between Don Beach and Victor Bergeron about who created some of the soon to be pillars of 'tiki culture' like the Mai Tai, or who was the closest to "real Polynesian experience", they are both represented by many authors and professionals as whimsical storytellers, to the point of questioning if Don Beach even really lived in Oceania or the ongoing tale of Bergeron opening a tiki bar using Oceanian artifacts when he never even visited the Blue Pacific region once. But one thing that is definitely not questioned about these two characters is that they are the two founding fathers of what is known today as tiki bars and 'tiki culture' and they changed many things in the hospitality industry with their establishments.

2.1.3. An influence on the bartending world

The professional bartending world can be considered a subculture of its own, start working in a bar that has desires of being a cocktail bar and you will enter a world of strong personalities, egos, creative minds, devotees, and businessmen. You will also of course find employees just looking for a way to find financial stability, but it is question here of careerist bartenders, the ones for whom bartending becomes a part of their identity. These bartenders or mixologists will have favorite liquor, favorite cocktails, they like some genres of bars more than others and they look for the next fashionable trend about to come in the bartending world. Such strong bartending world identity probably built itself through the complex history of cocktails, majority of the cocktails we know today find their origins in the Prohibition era, and being a bartender kept something glamorous: working the night, selling cocktails that create an immediate reaction and short reward process to your work, entertaining guests, you can be part of a subculture existing in a definite space, and depending where you work you can create your own cocktails or even community with the usual customers coming to your bar. That is where tiki bars found all their importance in the bar industry history. The bartending world, as much as it pushes a certain freedom potentially found in entertainment and night life, comes with its own set of rules. Whether it is rules on how to serve alcohol, necessary licenses, hygiene norms; classic cocktails also have their rules, and one common challenge for bartenders is to satisfy a connoisseur customer on a classic cocktail. Don Beach, with his cocktails arrived with a freedom of what to put in a shaker, a change that was quickly adopted and followed. Chloé Frechette (2020), Carroll and Wheaton (2019) bring more details about

what exactly was brought by Don Beach in the craft of cocktail making, the use of new syrups, blending different types of rum in the same drink, building a strong marketing image with the use of Don's mix, Don's spices or Don's dashes giving an extra freedom of creativity in batching different ingredients. Indeed, tiki cocktails are known for containing a long list of ingredients, batching them allowing a certain speed of production and also to keep the specifics of the drinks a mystery so that consumers would find the "real taste of Don's Zombie cocktail" only at Don the Beachcomber's Café. Frechette (2020) goes further when talking about the latest wave of cocktail making, if majority of bartenders first were into neo-speakeasy, taking tiki bar cocktail as non-serious carryall type of drinks, today's concerns of authenticity, fresh ingredients, freshly pressed juices, homemade syrups, and bitters take their roots in Don Beach's way to approach cocktail making. Therefore, the 'tiki culture' is not just about the décor, the escapism found their enthusiasts in mainly the consumers but is also deeply rooted in the professional bartending space, to the point of some liquor brands using the use of their product in tiki cocktails as a marketing strategy, even creating their own branded tiki mugs.

Since then, tiki bars had a long history of evolution, popularity and controversy, exportation outside of the US, a focus on tropical bars deleting the 'tiki', the creation of a strong subculture of 'tiki enthusiasts', therefore tiki bars can be studied through many lenses, cultural studies, business and consumer market studies, indigenous studies, history etc. But it appears, through the work of all contemporary authors, impossible not to consider the multidisciplinary characteristic of any studies around tiki bars as they found their birth in colonial history of Oceania mainly, and other colonized territories.

2.2. Are tiki bars escapism or colonial nostalgia

2.2.1. Escapism in tiki bars

"Escapism, n. the tendency to seek distraction from reality by engaging in entertainment or fantasy". (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2011). Escapism is the first marketing strategy and argument for tiki bars to exist, presented as a concept hurting no one but promoting a safe escapist space for consumers to take a break from their daily life. The escapism is one of the main arguments why tiki bars are mainly found in western cities or in very touristic spaces such as hotels, hotel complexes, theme parks. In the context of hotels, we can imagine that

the use of tiki bars participates in the general escapist effort proposed by the hotels where even daily life chores are taken care of by the staff, in the case of amusement parks a lot of them have different themed areas or sceneries or propose housing in themed hotels to push the escapism further. In the context of big cities, the establishment of tiki bars in the name of escapism can also explain itself to exchange concrete, high tempo in the streets, non-tropical weathers for a break of daily life in a décor that is collectively associated by western societies to holidays on the beach or exciting exotic life. This escapism can also be interesting for tourists in such big cities who can be receptive to such contrast. The studied tiki bar in this thesis illustrates this concept as on their promotion posts on social media are used multiple terms relating to escapism such as: “Tropical heaven, exotic after-party, tropical oasis, sipping paradise”, to define the bar, its atmosphere, or the drinks they sell, in an area that rarely knows temperature above 25 Celsius degrees, and has long snowy winters.

But if escapism is used as the main argument from bar owners and tiki enthusiasts to justify the good-hearted side of tiki bars and their use of Polynesian cultures and other colonized cultures elements, therefore presented as a way to “honor” them, consider them “more colorful and fun” than western cultures, there is a major questioning of how much this desire of escapism is tainted by colonial nostalgia.

2.2.2. What is colonial nostalgia?

Lorcin (2013) makes a distinction between imperial nostalgia, associated with the loss of empire, the decline of national grandeur which therefore touches more the political class of western societies, and colonial nostalgia concerning more the individual, their loss of sociocultural standing, socioeconomic deprivations and more precisely the colonial lifestyle. She also differentiates it from neocolonialism that implies long term economic or political inference. In the case of colonial nostalgia, the focus is on practices and activities that are relatively short-lived, usually following a change. Lorcin (2013) pushes the idea that colonial nostalgia associated with other territories will weaken overtime and will eventually be part of the past and colonial history when the colonial actors and their descendants disappear or cease to relate to their colonial heritage in a meaningful way, therefore analyzing the social and cultural background of ‘tiki enthusiasts’ could be relevant to studies on tiki fad and social category tiki bars created (Carroll and Wheaton, 2019).

In their article, in the section named “Why did the tiki bar beget a social category?” Carroll and Wheaton (2019) identified three motivations for people to go to a tiki bar, motivations that in this thesis can also be applied to the motivations to open a tiki bar:

- Escapism, tiki bars provide a venue where people expect to relax and “enjoy themselves in a rum-soaked fantasy” as briefly presented earlier in this section.
- Fashionable character of cocktail bars and working in them, bartenders working in tiki bars are trendsetting at the forefront of the craft cocktail movement, participating in cocktail competitions possibly influenced by the “legacy of tiki cocktails inventing new liberations in postmodern tiki revival”; a legacy which was briefly explained in the precedent section.
- Americana. “These bars appeal to foreign patrons [fascinated with the American cultural past] wishing to immerse themselves temporarily in part of American culture, an appreciation and celebration of the fanciful quirkiness of America in the 1950s and 1960s. The tiki bar attracts individuals who see it as a great ironic parody of the way life once was. Nostalgic yearnings constitute one way in which the collective identity of a people is developed and retained.”

It is this last point made by Carroll and Wheaton (2019) that can be linked to Lorcin’s definition of colonial nostalgia (2013) and explain the enthusiasm around tiki bars as well as the type of prints the colonial history and system would leave on Polynesian and other Oceanian cultures by their use in “tiki culture”. It was discussed earlier in this section that first tropical themed nightclubs in the US were contemporary to Hawaiian tourism and the colonial nature of tourism is not new to academic research, as presented by Braz (2018) if “foreign travel necessarily reflect a certain openness to the world [...] it is an activity marked by such social and economic disparities that equitable exchanges seem unlikely”. But it is question here of colonial nostalgia which Lorcin (2013) describes as being “associated at its most intense immediately following decolonization”, the nostalgia of colonial lifestyle explained by Lorcin can be paired to Carroll and Wheaton (2019) claim that “Tiki really took off after WWII when nostalgic vets returned from the South Pacific”. This scenario illustrates the direct colonial nostalgia lived by individuals, here soldiers, who were in the South Pacific, in a power relation with native people from the territories there were sent too, sometimes feeling like the bringers of civilization or new way of life. In New Caledonia/Kanaky you can still hear elderly people say “au temps des américains” (in American time), when soldiers brought with them

new products like chewing gum, Jeeps, new music, hospitals one of them which closed only in 2018, or even mapped the names of districts of the capital city with English military terms instead of French or Kanak names of districts, such as: Receiving, where soldiers used to eat and rest or the Motor Pool district, which used to be a technical mechanic zone for military vehicles to be maintained and repaired. In South Pacific territories during World War II American soldiers were presented as saviors, heroes, continuing the spread of the American dream, and American soft power ideas. In the context of this thesis, we can be led to think that such reception or interpreted reception of American presence in the South Pacific participated in shaping the grounds for colonial nostalgia lived by these individuals and the people they recounted their life in Oceania to, when decolonization processes started multiplying themselves in the world.

If people of the dominant culture in colonized territories of Oceania shaped the stereotypes and ideas of the South Pacific when going back to the US or Europe through their stories or what they brought back from their travel or life in the Pacific, media means, art and culture also had their impact on representing how colonial life was in these territories or how natives were. Gauguin's paintings are a prime example of the kind of stereotypes that could be created and spread through art medias; the controversy around his work and his sexual fantasies and behavior towards Polynesian women is not excused anymore, a serious questioning on how much his paintings influenced the sexual objectification of Oceanian women, and more specifically Polynesian women can be discussed. The way how Polynesian islands and Polynesian peoples' behaviours were fantasized and imagined were even represented on menus of tiki bars and restaurants, cf following image: cover of Trader Vic's menu from the Plaza, 1968.



Stuart Hall (2007) in his book on cultural representation, which Gauguin's paintings acted as, mentions fantasy and fetishism as categories of stereotyping "the other". Lorcin (2013) also names that "films are a privileged genre for the depiction of colonial nostalgia, even when they problematize the colonial moment by including conflict-ridden situations whether these are revolts and their aftermath or the tensions and racism of everyday life", in the case of

Hawaii and the US relationship a lot of tv series or movies take place in Hawaii, with main characters being white Americans living in Hawaii, having the role of heroes, sometimes helped by secondary indigenous characters. In the case of Hawaii Five-O which aired from 1968 to 1980, it was the main representation of Hawaii and Hawaiian natives the population in the US had, nine years after Hawaii became a state. In the introduction of Hawaii Five-O the first plan is on a wave, the following plans are mainly showing Hawaiian touristic shores, after introducing the main character, a white detective captain in a suit, are multiple plans depicting Hawaiian natives, with the sea in their background, a close up on the hips of a hula dancer in traditional clothing, the opener finishing on multiple plans featuring the sea, surf boards, surfers and Hawaiian fire dancers. Therefore, even in the case of a crime tv show the desire for escapism is present and it can be argued that the depiction of Hawaiian natives in the opener is rather primitive, only picturing indigenous Hawaiians in traditional clothing during dances; illustrating what can be received as a hierarchization between the former US navy officer appointed police detective to save Hawaii from organized crime, and its population that needs saving. Such tv shows had and still have an impact on how Polynesian cultures, and in this case Hawaiian culture was portrayed and included as being part of American culture rather than its own. If the images used had their importance, so did the soundtrack. Indeed, the famous Hawaii Five-O theme is internationally known and more specifically its version from the Ventures which is one the most iconic surf rock band. This type of music, as stated in its name found its origin in the surf culture of Southern California in the late 1950s, era in which, as stated earlier in this chapter, mass tourism in Hawaii expanded bringing the surf practices back to the US, tiki bars and restaurants also were at their peak of popularity. Therefore, somewhat naturally surf rock music became associated with Hawaii, Americans' lives in Hawaii, and the exoticism of life in the South Pacific. All of these practices around art, music, surf, movies can be considered more than just colonial nostalgia and rather a product of neocolonialism in Hawaii by the US, but contemporary reboots of such tv series, and celebrations of this era as well as contemporary surf bands playing on stage while wearing Hawaiian shirts can be applied to Lorcin's definition of colonial nostalgia of "the [quirky America of the 1950s, 1960s]" (Carroll and Wheaton, 2019). This link to colonial nostalgia and the arts or in the case of tiki bars, the entertainment and bar/food industry can all be linked as well to tourism and therefore biased depiction of the colonized territories, their native peoples, and the relationship between the colonizer and the

colonized. This biased view from colonizing cultures while on tourist expedition and its inherent link to nostalgia was approached by Bandyopadhyay (2012), linking colonial nostalgia to escapism and relaxation as in their words “Nostalgia is a comfort blanket that shelters us from the cold realities of the past” this image illustrates Lorcin’s (2013) last example of physical manifestation of colonial nostalgia as she presents the bias of colonial nostalgia, through the representation by the colonizer of the relationship with the colonized “into images of good-natured cooperation, erasing any tensions and conflicts that may have existed”. This denial of the wrongdoings of colonial history on colonized populations definitely illustrates itself in Quijano (2007) concept of coloniality, when the colonizer or dominant culture erase the existence of the colonized, rendering them invisible, taking away their narrative. An example of such coloniality in tiki bars, was quoted by Birsdall (2019) when citing Martin Cate, owner of a popular American tiki bar Smuggler’s cove and author of an important book on tiki bars and “tiki culture”. Birsdall (2019) quoting Cate “Cate resists charges of colonialism. ‘Tiki doesn’t erase Polynesian culture, he says, it celebrates it. In Hawaii, 19th century missionaries had all but obliterated indigenous culture, its gods and spiritual practices, and it was men like Donn Beach who helped spark a cultural revival’”. Such discourse, is a colonial nostalgia discourse, putting the founding fathers of tiki bars on a pedestal but most importantly such discourse is negating the agency of colonized people in this case here of Hawaiian people, putting men like Donn Beach, actors of cultural appropriation in a role of white civilized savior without whom Polynesian cultures would have completely disappeared. McMullin (2013) has an answer to such colonial discourse: “The narratives and objects about the Pacific Islands were in fact about the West itself. Western hegemony was no longer just active, it was foundational, it was the world in this belief system, in the aesthetics that reflected such belief and such an economy. The idea of a heroic West became naturalized like the western passage of the sun, after the historical wave that once bore it forward had passed. But in this post-racial, post-cultural world, the Pacific Islands remain colonized to a large extent, beach destinations for global tourists, highly militarized in covert ways, while tiki kitsch is a sign of the invisibility of its people”.

If tiki bars are presented as harmless themed bars satisfying the desire of escapism of its consumers, the reality is that they illustrate a perfect manifestation of colonial nostalgia, denying the colonialism of tiki bars and “tiki culture” as well as its cultural appropriation of South Pacific cultures is denying the colonial history of Oceania, erasing the voices and

protests of Oceanian peoples, rendering nonwestern population invisible in the narratives of their own history.

2.3. Advocates of 'tiki culture' and tiki bars challenges

Tiki bars and “tiki culture” as foreseen by Carroll and Wheaton (2019) are facing “criticism of tiki bar concept comes from those who raise issues of cultural appropriation and degradation”. There is no questioning that tiki bars exist through the exploitation of the aesthetic of Polynesian and other Oceanian cultures, and that is where the main challenges and arguments in favor are. Tiki bars are about the aesthetic of Polynesian cultures, of “South seas” and nothing more, nothing deeper, nothing more authentic than the atmosphere brought by the décor, the music, and the exotic cocktails. It is these two sides of the same coin that will be explained more thoroughly in the next chapter about the theoretical framework used in this thesis. Indeed, these two sides oppose on one main idea if you look at the challenges through coloniality or decoloniality. The common denominator of tiki advocates is their own coloniality, the colonial bias they have when they counter the arguments of cultural appropriation, exploitation, hierarchization, degradation of cultures. Their own inner coloniality of course illustrates the concept of colonial nostalgia as presented by Lorcin (2013) and presented in the precedent section. One of the arguments heard a lot from tiki advocates is the justification of cultural appropriation by the celebration of admired foreign cultures. If Cate as quoted before in this chapter (Birsdall, 2019) says that “tiki celebrates [and] doesn't erase Polynesian culture” some tiki advocates went even further in the idea of celebration and distancing tiki culture from Polynesian cultures. Paola Mardo (2017) interviewed Sven Kirsten, author of multiple books around tiki culture like: *The Book of tiki: the cult of Polynesian pop in fifties America* 2000; *Tiki pop* 2019; *The art of tiki* 2022. If these books are a major source of information on the 'tiki culture' in the US, its history, how it developed, slowly died out and is coming back, these books are also participating in the narrative negating the impact on indigenous cultures that got exploited, appropriated and damaged by the American fad of 'tiki culture'. When asked by Mardo (2017) what would be his answer to people who find tiki bars and tiki culture offensive, Kirsten argues against the idea of problematic cultural appropriation pushing the idea that “anything that is a pop culture version of an authentic culture made for entertainment and for recreation is bound

not to be authentic. It was never intended to be an insult. It was created out of a love for that culture and a fascination with that culture.” “Sven says most Pacific Islanders didn’t have a problem with this stuff when Tiki bars were starting out” (Mardo, 2017). This last argument presented as how tiki bars must have benefited Oceanian people is used with the argument of tourism, of the creation of employment and tiki bars’ escapism basically marketing the culture for Oceanian people to financially benefit from: Martin Cate quoted by Birsdall (2019) “[Donn] Beach moved to Hawaii to open a branch of Don the beachcomber after World War II, and eventually launched the International Market Place, an outdoor shopping mall in Waikiki, where artisans from different Pacific islands made traditional crafts to hawk tourists”. Such arguments once again negate the narrative of the colonized culture, speaking in their name, taking away their agency and their choice on if and how to represent themselves internationally as well as the participation in the use of their cultures in a capitalism they did not chose. Mardo (2017) says it “But did they really have a choice?”, Teves quoted by Birsdall (2019) says it “it is a question of survival. There is much more vocal unwillingness to consent to colonialism and misrepresentation, but we also must labor in the tourism industry”; “a Hawaiian curator at the Smithsonian who see tiki bars as commodifying Hawaiian culture [...] leaving him feeling invalidated as a Hawaiian. [...] is quoted saying, “Really at the root of it, it’s exploitation. It’s ignoring the real lives, the real culture, and the real problem that we do face.” Therefore, as presented by McMullin (2013) earlier, ‘tiki culture’ and tiki bars are not about the admiration or celebration of Polynesian cultures and Polynesian people, it is all about the west, what western societies consider escapism, a break from their daily life, expecting life in the Pacific to be nothing but quieter, relaxed, vacation-like life. If on one hand ‘tiki culture’ and tiki bars are misrepresenting the cultures of the Pacific, condescending the importance of their rituals, symbols, and customs by just taking the aesthetic displacing the traditional use and sacred value of some objects, words or rituals; it also goes further in negating the lives and challenges face by Oceanian populations after their colonial history as no one can possibly know hardships when living in paradise. The arguments of the tiki advocates all take root in their own coloniality, therefore as presented by Mignolo and Walsh (2018) and more thorough explained in the next chapter, the way for such arguments and narratives to evolve are the efforts people can make to decolonize their knowledge. One example of such an evolution that can be given is of the used to be tiki blogger Humuhumu. Indeed, when quoted in Carroll and Wheaton 2019’s article she defended the ‘tiki culture’

and tiki bars “crediting them for raising awareness of Polynesian culture and its abuses by the West. [Using] her own experience to justify the claim: I did not truly understand how my perception of Oceanic culture had been twisted until I delved into tiki” further noting that “few take seriously anyone tiki claims of nominal authenticity [and that] consumers are capable of subtle and complex interpretations of tiki representations”. In 2022, Humuhumu changed her discourse, she started decolonizing the lenses through which she was looking at ‘tiki culture’, she passed over her colonial nostalgia linked to her enthusiasm towards tiki bars, and she closed her twenty years old blog named Critiki, a still existing webpage on which she is inviting the audience to make efforts in the decolonization of their own knowledge and approach to tiki bars. She counters her own argument of consumer being able to grasp the non-authenticity of tiki bars: “Because I have spent literal decades studying mainland-flavored faux-Polynesian theming, and the historic context it came from, I am roughly able to tease out what is real and what is fake. That level of discernment is simply not accessible to a casual audience. Many years of conversations with people have made that clear to me, and any assertion that the general public can tell the fake from the real is obtuse.” By this statement she is acknowledging the colonialism of tiki bars and the impact misrepresentations can have when they are the only representations of Oceanian cultures consumers of tiki bars have; but she went even further by recognizing her own role in the silencing of Oceanian people: “The Hawaiian culture is just one in a literal ocean full of misunderstood Pacific cultures. It is difficult for these cultures – and when we say culture, let’s be clear, we’re talking about people – to be visible, and honored, over the loud noise and suffocating weight of the other cultures they are forced to share space with, both in the islands and here on the mainland. Critiki has played a role in taking up some of that space and making it harder – not easier – for people to understand the cultures of the Pacific. I regret that. [...] I have loved Critiki. I have loved immersing myself in history through it. I have loved getting to know the world a bit better through it. I have loved the many, many relationships I have made thanks to Critiki. And I can hold all that love, along with the reality that it is time for Critiki to go.” The case of the blogger Humuhumu shows how contemporary the discussion around the problematic aspects of tiki bars is, how necessary the work of association such as Pasifika project is, giving their voice and agency back to Polynesian people and more broadly Oceanian people on the narratives on their own cultures, specifically in tiki bars. It is through discussion, research, education, and decolonization of knowledge only that Oceanian peoples will be re-

humanized, will be heard, will represent themselves and will therefore exist fully in the eyes of other cultures as they want to. But such discussion and cultural exchange can also only exist with western societies recognizing their own colonial bias and open themselves to decolonized knowledge that might most certainly have a different structure or approach than the one that was imposed by dominant cultures.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical, conceptual framework

In the precedent chapter was mentioned the history of Tiki bars and ‘Tiki culture’ and their link to the US as it is where they were invented. The article of Glenn Carroll and Dennis Ray Wheaton (2018) was of great use to introduce the concept of escapism, the social history of tiki bars, their impact on the bar and restaurant industry, their inherent link to American dining history by questioning the existence of some or other authenticity of such places. It is though important to note that in the key words of their article are escapism, themed immersive space, authenticity, and social category. Those keywords are applied in a context of the US customers dining experience only, and it is also important to note that their joined research on authenticity was framed around the American dining experience, therefore meaning that they were not looking at it through peace and conflict studies lenses. Indeed, their goal was to analyze tiki bars when received by consumers, and more specifically US consumers; for this reason, one of their research questions was: “as consumer tastes grew more sophisticated and cosmopolitan in the developing US market, did the tiki bar evolve from what had been originally seen as an earnest representation of Polynesia to its current, almost joke-like status?”. Even if they focus on the consumers’ view of tiki bars they already, in their research question, touch what post-colonial researchers would identify as problematic which is the misrepresentation by a dominant culture of another; and they do mention themselves at the end of their article that “criticism of tiki bar concept comes from those who raise issues of cultural appropriation and degradation”. Their introduction of criticism of tiki bars and the controversy that they bring, while excluding this from their research perfectly illustrates the choice of the theoretical framework of this master’s thesis. Indeed, this thesis assumes that cultural appropriation is deep-rooted in the very concept of

tiki bars, as it is everyday actions of the founders and actors of 'tiki culture' that can be analyzed as being cultural appropriation.

This chapter will therefore look upon different concepts, the concepts of cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation have to be explained, and this through the theory of the decolonization of knowledge. Moreover, as this thesis places cultural appreciation as a possible way to tackle the problematic aspects of cultural appropriation, it looks at the fulfillment of cultural appreciation through everyday peace actions in a theory where the peace comes from below.

3.1 Decolonization of knowledge

Once noticing the Polynesian origins of Tiki, while 'tiki culture' from tiki bars is accepted as a social category of the American dining pop culture (Carroll & Wheaton, 2018), in the field of peace and conflict studies it is impossible not to apply post-colonial studies and decolonization approach to any research around tiki bars. Therefore, the theoretical framework that will enclose this research is the decolonization of knowledge. As it will be developed further down in this chapter the concept of cultural appropriation in itself brings the reflection in the field of decolonization theories, as it – in a general way – translates itself in society by a dominant culture using, stereotyping, and exploiting the cultures of minorities that often have been discriminated for displaying elements of their cultures that are though accepted when used by a dominant culture. The UNESCO in its 2021 report on how to overcome barriers to peace through culture asserts the link between cultural appropriation and decolonization theories by reminding the readers: "in a global landscape marked by the urgency of climate change, countries and communities are urged to recognize their interdependence and the critical importance of protecting cultural rights, notably for indigenous peoples [as culture is] integral to indigenous peoples' identity, traditional knowledge, and connection with the natural environment." Moreover, the UNESCO in this report expresses the deficit recognized by the Human Rights Council to develop and enforce cultural rights as a category of human rights. A human right facing threats such as cultural appropriation, the fog around intellectual property rights and other challenges amplified by digital transformation; asking questions of appropriate remuneration or economic benefits

for custodian communities, the respect of cultural diversity, racial discrimination and social injustices that have been left as a heritage of colonial history and the long-lasting effects the colonial past had on peoples' identities, inclusions, and opportunities. All of these issues around culture identified by UNESCO can be analyzed through the scope of decolonization and also justifies the choice of this thesis to hope for cultural appreciation, paired with decolonization of knowledge, to act as a hindrance to cultural appropriation practices. This choice mirrors the UNESCO 2021 recommendations that "culture should be harnessed as a crucial component of conflict prevention, building on its 'soft power' to address [...] root causes of a world marked by tensions." The UNESCO reports go further by enouncing that for the "soft power" of cultures to be effective, first, the appropriation of the memory of the past and the impacts of colonialism must also be addressed. This appropriation of the past concept goes with the decolonization of knowledge theories that criticize the Eurocentric way of addressing history and social sciences (Mignolo & Walsh 2018). The authors therefore follow the efforts mentioned by UNESCO centered around the diversity of local histories that have been disrupted by North Atlantic global expansions (Mignolo & Walsh, 2018). This western influence on the knowledge of the Pacific and more specifically in the case here of Polynesians has been touched by many authors, of many fields. Whether it is authors like Antony Alper (1987) who worked on criticizing the focus from western history researchers on physical archeology collections, creating a knowledge of the history of the studied subject "conceived by European and American minds after a century of cultural demolition [and] based by choice on what was thrown away, mislaid, lost or placed in graves"; researches and history reports that are also influenced by the Christianization of colonies when "the missionaries avoided certain topics from embarrassment, and sometimes even cut bits off the human figures they sent to London, lest the ladies blush.". It is thanks to native Oceanians and some non-Oceanian researchers from the area willing to give their voices back to these colonized populations that unprecise information or misinformation such as "Tiki is a Māori term that refers to a wood or stone image of a professed Polynesian supernatural power" (Carroll, Wheaton, 2019) or "Tikis, these totemic figures from islands across the South Pacific represented different legends and tales to many Polynesian cultures" (Cate M., & Cate R., 2016) can be corrected by a work like Antony Alper's which role's is "putting flesh back on the bones to which archeology has given new meaning" by forcing the readers "to try to understand the nature of Polynesian spirit, and of mythology itself", also showing to Islanders

that they can stand together through their shared traditions, or languages, that analyzed through their oral myths all find their roots in a lost Havaiki and a same heritage of myth, this same heritage was also mentioned by Friedman (1998) who quoted Hau'ofa (1994) opposing the Western understanding of Pacific civilization as isolated islands separated by vast bodies of ocean while he refers to the 'Blue Pacific' as "Our sea of Islands", where the Ocean is not a separator but what connects all the Oceanian natives and their relations to the sea and navigation. Alper's work helps to rehumanize by reporting in his book the oral traditions and beliefs as given to him by Polynesian people of different islands, therefore putting the word Tiki not as exclusively Māori, as he reports the story of Tiki the first man from the Mangareva Island of Gambier Islands in French Polynesia, and yet in other territories of French Polynesia Tiki the first man becomes Tī'i. This example shows what the theory of the decolonization of knowledge criticize, which is that Western researchers who are dominant will never fully grasp the nuances and life experiences of the natives living it, therefore it is critical for natives to decolonize the knowledge of their own culture which have been dehumanized by the coloniality of power, knowledge, being and nature, therefore not considering the existence-based struggles of peoples historically subalternised by race, gender, and geopolitical location (Walsh, 2020). Walsh (2020) also mentions that for decoloniality of knowledge to happen it is existence-based practices and logics that will permit a re-humanisation and re-existence of the subalternised cultures, a clear example of such practices happening in Tiki bars would be the Pasifika project which illustrate themselves in Walsh and Mignolo's (2018) invitation to decolonial projects (cultural appropriation in tiki bars), to be presented by their own leaders (Mariah Kunkel: of CHamoru and African-American descent, and Samuel Jimenez: Samoan and Mexican-American), in their own specific local histories (support and promotion of people of Oceanic descent in the hospitality and spirit industry), and specific decolonial projects (like "providing a much-needed platform for Indigenous voices to guide and contribute to conversations within the trade regarding Pacific cultures and appropriation"). The Pasifika project also embodies itself in Katerina Teaiwa (2020) research to link anti-colonial struggles in the past and present to indigenous movements across Aotearoa (New Zealand), Australia, or the United States; by fighting the stereotyping of Polynesian cultures, the hierarchization between Western beliefs and Polynesian beliefs, for example, by treating "Tiki" as a gimmick and therefore giving a higher moral value to the Bible than to Indigenous oral traditions; Teaiwa (2020) herself places "Pan-Pacific resistance to Euro-American imperia and neo-

colonial forces [...] in Mignolo and Walsh's descriptions of decoloniality beginning with actions, values, stories and relations grounded in kinships, landscapes, seascapes and skiescapes." If Teaiwa gives the example of Oceanian movements fighting against climate change crisis effects in the Pacific, this need for decolonization can be applied to Tiki bars, the need for re-existence by giving its meaning back to Polynesian cultures that are "belittled [...] taking away [Oceanian peoples' cultures] and freedom" (Hau'ofa, 1993, as quoted by Teaiwa 2020), therefore indigenous people are "redefining and resignifying [their] life in conditions of dignity" and them taking this power back in 'Tiki bars' by promoting their history and educating about the cultural appropriation of their cultures in these bars all identify in the theory of the decolonization of knowledge. One of the collateral goals of this master's thesis is to participate in the promotion of the work of the Pasifika project and Oceanian communities as "many native Pacific Islanders, [...] are engaged in reclaiming lands, cultural knowledge and political sovereignty [in] doing so they have also engaged in representing themselves, both for themselves and for the general public." (Friedman, 1998) therefore, if people want to open a Tiki bar today they have access to more and more of decolonized information and projects from the peoples custodian of the cultures that are being appropriated, in order to make efforts towards cultural appreciation, and to maybe even participate in using their bars as a way to promote the used cultures and decolonize the stereotypes the West created about them.

3.2.1. Cultural appropriation

The link between cultural appropriation and coloniality is undeniable as the term of cultural appropriation made its appearance within the academic research on coloniality following the first movement of countries getting independent from their colonial ties to old European empires. The analysis of the relations between the West and the rest of the world has since then been on the forefront of peace and conflict studies or international relations studies. The social hierarchization of nations, the white west seeing the colonized indigenous people as a white burden to guide through the path to civilization (Quijano, 2007) are terms that are not new outside of the academic world, and yet cultural appropriation practices are still physical manifestations of the historical colonial past the international organization of the world kept. Han (2019) defines cultural appropriation as an unavoidable action even more

considering that people are often attracted to different cultures and cultural products by a perception of novelty and exoticism, which can therefore also be linked to the concept of escapism in Tiki bars that was mentioned in the precedent chapter. If the definition of cultural appropriation is quite subjective and therefore fluctuating from one individual or one community to another, authors and people tend to reach a consensus around the main issues of cultural appropriation and what makes it a challenge to peace. Han (2019) mentions that cultural appropriation takes place when a dominant culture use objects from another culture without thorough research, remaining ignorant of the cultural context; and that when one culture represents another, even more through material culture and symbols that the meaning is not fully understood, stereotypes can easily occur and have a destroying effect on minoritized cultures. She also touches the link made by Quijano (2007) between coloniality of power based on European capitalism's 'racial' social classification and cultural appropriation as a tangled representation of political, economic, globalized, and cultural hegemony. And yet if she does address the possible argument of people defending themselves from appropriation practices, by reminding that if culture is constantly changing, cultural objects, material culture should not be made fun of, joked about or treated with contempt, therefore using Tiki representations as a gimmick to sell alcohol in a fun colorful mug, taking away the cultural representation and meaning of Tiki in Polynesian cultures is a definite manifestation of cultural appropriation. Another author who presented cultural appropriation as a manifestation of coloniality is Stuart Hall (2007) when indicating that cultural representation is a source of the production of social knowledge, built mainly from a common language that in certain historical contexts was used by people who had more power than others, this concept shows itself as the foundation of cultural appropriation in a colonized world. Stuart Hall and Henrietta Lidchi (2007) both mention the relation of power existing between the culture that is presented and the culture presenting it. Lidchi (2007) highlighted issues that can be link to cultural appropriation in the example of exhibitions in museums, therefore confirming Han's (2019) argument that 'other cultures' are given meaning by the discourse, the practices of exhibition (museums, social media, tiki bars) therefore inscribing them in relations of power. Lidchi (2007) uses the words colonial appropriation, that the very practices of collecting and exhibiting someone else's culture constitute; and this colonial appropriation can itself create a "new material culture", one that is collected, constructed, interpreted and exhibited by the west, and as history showed to the point of de-humanizing the colonized

peoples and exploiting them in colonial live exhibitions, treating therefore even the colonized as a material culture of the colonial power. This whole question of power of politics in the practices of collecting and exhibiting can be applied to the very nickname of the man seen as the founding father of American 'Tiki culture', Donn the Beachcomber, which was the name of his bar, recognized as the first Tiki bar, and became his own nickname. The definition of a beachcomber is a person who walks along a beach looking for items to collect or use; therefore putting in the forefront his own colonial appropriation of collecting and later exhibiting Polynesian objects he collected in the bar he opened; his display of others (Polynesian people mainly and probably other Oceanian ethnicities) came with its share of stereotyping and creation of a body of knowledge of the region through his collecting and exhibiting practices.

Hall (2007) and Rodgers (2006) are both discussing the different areas cultural appropriation can stain when happening. If Rodgers in his article focuses on cultural appropriation as a concept in critical studies that is undertheorized, trying therefore to deepen its academic meaning and use by categorizing four different types of cultural appropriation; Hall identified four different categories of stereotyping cultural representations. When considering the decolonization theory and one of the critics being that individuals that are not part of one culture will never fully grasp the nuances and depth of 'another culture' we can remind here Han (2019) that when one culture represents another, stereotyping takes place, and according to Rodgers cultural appropriation is inescapable when cultures come in contact, therefore taking a small shortcut we can say that stereotyping is inescapable when cultures come in contact. A stereotype being a widely spread and fixed oversimplified image or idea of a specific subject we can say that every idea of knowledge we have of cultures we are not familiar with and do not detain thorough knowledge off are stereotypes. This link between cultural representation and stereotypes seems obvious, and stereotypes are often seen as one of the result or manifestation of cultural appropriation; we can see between the four different categories of stereotypes (Hall, 2007) and the four different categories of cultural appropriation (Rodgers, 2006) that the two concepts are inherent to one another, both inescapable to cultural politics. It is therefore possible to place Hall's use of stereotypes to construct 'otherness' and exclusion as well as the when the obsession on 'otherness' transforms into fetishism, to Rodgers' category of cultural appropriation as cultural dominance, the concept in which a dominant culture imposes the uses of elements of its

culture by subordinated cultures; a context in which stereotyping becomes a political tool to assert dominance and hierarchization between cultures. Under Rodgers' category of cultural exploitation, we can place Hall's categories of fantasy and the link between stereotyping and power, a context in which a subordinated culture can be stereotyped, represented in a way that economic exploitation can happen, as selling fantasized differences is easier than selling a 'morally inferior other'.

In the context of this thesis the four categories of cultural appropriation by Rodgers (2006) are an important tool to understand the possible difference and way to tackle cultural appropriation with cultural appreciation. When using the categories from Rodgers to understand better cultural appropriation, what is called "American 'tiki culture'" most definitely can be considered transculturation: as it is the process of creation of cultural elements from and by multiple different cultures to the extent that identifying one single culture from which it originated is problematic, in tiki bars a lot of different Polynesian cultures are appropriated for decoration, rums from the Caribbean are used in drinks, food from multiple Asian cultures are sold, surf music from Southern California surf culture is often in the background, and other components that together compose the 'tiki culture' designed around exoticism, escapism, a need for new, different and "sunny tropical" feeling.

If Rodgers pushes the concept of transculturation as the main category of cultural appropriation that is manifesting itself nowadays, he also considers in the broad definition of cultural appropriation, appreciation as a category of appropriation that in the ideal way would go under his category of cultural exchange.

3.2.2 Cultural appreciation

Cultural appreciation is a not so common term just yet. Sometimes used as an excuse by people to justify their cultural appropriative actions as being a way to appreciate a culture, the difference between appropriation and appreciation stands on a very thin line. As mentioned earlier for Rodgers appreciation is a way of appropriating in the broad definition of the case. Though all authors seem to agree on main points that appreciation is, it is a matter of interpretation and judgment (Hall, 2007); it invites for the reciprocal exchange of cultural matter between cultures with roughly equal level of power, it is an implied baseline, a non-existent ideal (Rodgers, 2006); it needs cultural exchange and mutual respect as preconditions to occur. Indeed, Han (2019) quotes the Oxford dictionary definition of appreciation:

“recognition and enjoyment of the good qualities of someone or something” but if we apply this broad definition to cultural appropriation practices any of them can be defended as being appreciation if I justify my appropriative actions as being made because I personally appreciate a culture. This shows the depth of subjectivity of the concept therefore this thesis wants to consider cultural appreciation at the opposite point of cultural appropriation if the two of them were to be put on a spectrum when the representation of another culture takes place. Therefore cultural appreciation can be seen here as the application of the decolonization of knowledge theory to cultural appropriation, the responsibility to educate oneself in depth about the culture that is appropriated, the constant questioning of oneself appropriating actions, the quest towards the decolonization of oneself knowledge, the goal of cultural exchange and learning from people of the appropriated culture, the respect and awareness around meaning, traditions and the boundaries of what can be shared. For example wanting a Māori tattoo can be cultural appreciation, if you pay a Māori tattoo artist, educate yourself on meaning of Māori tattoos, understand the difference on meaning of said tattoos when it is on someone Māori or not, respect that as a non-Māori there are places and symbols you cannot get tattooed no matter how much you like the aesthetic or appreciate the culture, as by the very act on being tattooed on a non-Māori person they would lose their meaning. It is also important to understand that these boundaries of respect, what can and cannot be done are to be given by the custodian people of the appropriated culture, and an effort of intellectual property and proper remuneration of the appropriated culture should be aimed.

3.3. Peace from below and everyday peace actions

Decolonization can be summed up as being the process of dismantling colonial practices that had and still have an influence on education and the structure of society, we can imagine that one way of tackling coloniality and cultural appropriation as a manifestation of a coloniality is through everyday practices that individuals realize in an effort to decolonize their own practices.

The whole concept of peace from below can be seen through the decolonization of knowledge point of view as it is also a critic of western influence this time on peacebuilding matters. Criticizing the top-down approaches of peace and conflict studies and trying to give back its

meaning and place to bottom-up practices, giving the agency back to individuals, localities and communities to deal on their terms with the issues they are facing; therefore peace from below and everyday peace actions illustrate themselves in what Walsh (2020) calls the need of re-humanization and re-existence based practices to contribute to the recognition and making of different social worlds. The application of everyday peace practices theory in this thesis justifies itself by the thesis looking at bars as a community life location, part of the social life culture of western countries, therefore it follows MacGinty and Firchow (2016) definition that everyday peace is context specific and involves the individuals and communities as they navigate their way through life. Therefore, the everyday peace actions taken by bar owners in a particular city in the United States can be very different from the way cultural appropriation would be tackled in favor of cultural appreciation in the studied tiki bar in Norway. The authors mention that 'stories' are told differently, and it can be considered in this thesis that the difference in history of colonial ties between the US and the South Pacific and Norway and the South Pacific, as well as the US being the birthing place of 'tiki culture', would more than possibly influence the distinctions between the way US bar owners and Norway bar owners would approach the cultural appropriation issue. In 2014 MacGinty insists in his article about the innovative, creative, improvisational, and subjective nature of everyday peace. Indeed, if MacGinty (2014) pushes the optimism that this thesis shares about the potential of everyday peace practices to contribute to peace formation or the pooling of micro-solidarities that can support peace initiatives, it is important to be aware of the limits of this kind of peace, that solely depends on the agency of individuals and small groups, it is also important to remember that they are very precise in nature and definite to certain localities, therefore meaning that everyday peace actions to move from appropriation to appreciation might be observed in the studied bar but might not be able to be applied in another bar, moreover they can be insincere and used as an argument to detach the narrative from cultural appropriation when the issue is not actually being tackled with intent. But if we look at the bar industry as one community, groups like the Pasifika project detain agency and are themselves participating in everyday peace towards tackling cultural appropriation in tiki bars. These characteristics of subjectivity are listed by MacGinty as the three premises of everyday peace:

- Fluidity in the social world, which translate itself through the malleability of individuals, collectives, ideas, and practices.

- Heterogeneity as localities and communities are composed of individuals bringing their own uniqueness of beliefs, roles, attitudes...
- Environmental factors providing opportunities or obstacles.

This thesis looks at the subject through the scope of decolonization of knowledge theory, hoping that the challenges to peace brought by cultural appropriation and stereotyping of Polynesian cultures in tiki bars can be discussed and eventually tackled, through everyday peace actions made by the bar owners and other actors of the bar industry to detach tiki bars from cultural appropriation and move towards cultural appreciation, by showing the subjectivity and specificity of the decolonizing work needed. If the thesis does not have the pretention to say that the example of what can be improved and changed in one bar can be applied to all, it wants to show that the reflection, questioning and efforts in general can indeed be done and aimed by all actors in the hospitality industry making money off of a minority culture.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

This research's intent is to interrogate the possibility of a selected Tiki bar to shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation – after its owners stated their awareness of cultural appropriation and their desire to detach from it – using the following research questions:

- Is a shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation possible?
- How did the owners educate themselves, and do they keep educating themselves on Polynesian cultures?
- Can Polynesian cultures benefit from Tiki bars?

This chapter aims to describe the different methodologies used to gather data, and later analyze them. Therefore, it will discuss the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews and which documents were chosen to deepen the interpretation and understanding of the interviews. After disclosing the data collection methodologies, the chapter will explain the

relevancy of the choice of thematic analyzing through the grounded theory and sensitizing concepts; to analyze the gathered data.

4.1. Research design

The aim of this master's thesis is to examine the achievability of cultural appreciation in the world of Tiki bars when association like the Pasifika project are working actively on "[dismantling] narratives suggesting that [...] Tiki imagery is a farcical hodgepodge of island cultures that isn't intended to represent Polynesian culture, [and] that Tiki is appreciation rather than appropriation." (Hatchett, 2020). This thesis is certainly not trying to oppose the efforts of the Pasifika project but rather wants to highlight them by questioning, with the case study of one recently opened Tiki bar, if the efforts that Tiki bar owners are making to detach from cultural appropriation are enough for them to say that they are closer to cultural appreciation. The purpose of this research is therefore rather exploratory and calls for a qualitative research design that uses mainly inductive analysis – meaning that patterns, themes, and categories of analysis come from the data (Bowen, 2006). To be even more precise about the research design of this thesis, it is possible to say that the structure of the research follows the grounded theory approach based on sensitizing concepts as presented by Bowen (2006). Indeed, the methods of the grounded theory calling for interplay between data collection and analysis to produce sensitizing concepts, which will then participate, through thematic analysis in the identification of characteristics of cultural appreciation, are the methods which will be used here. In the case of this research, thematic analysis will be conducted on multiple set of interviews, with the goal to identify common threads that can become sensitizing concepts. The very nature of these concepts makes them more guidelines for the research, which are then able to evolve, change and develop. Those concepts, just like in the example of Bowen (2006) will be for the most part from interviewing bar owners and customers on their understanding of cultural appropriation, and through reviewing documents on cultural appropriation, tiki bars, and Polynesian cultures. Through the identification of sensitizing concepts, this thesis will try to form a set of characteristics, for Tiki bars using Polynesian aesthetics, to question their own coloniality in order to approach intentionally, sincerely, and actively cultural appreciation, in a real effort of appreciation rather than just distancing themselves from appropriation. This also joins the grounded

theory based on sensitizing concepts, that Bowen (2006) defines as being able to be tested, improved, and refined in an effort for these concepts to give way to themes, and further down the road a possible theoretical frame on how to decolonize a Tiki bar while keeping the Polynesian aesthetic, therefore opening this discussion and possibility of meaningful appreciation. All of this in an academical effort to follow Domahidy (2003) as quoted by Bowen (2006) “Theory is powerful because it organizes what professional pay attention to and how they pay attention. It shapes beliefs that in turn shape action”.

If a set of characteristics on how Tiki bars can shift from appropriation to appreciation is the goal to be built inductively after data analysis; it is though important to state here that the research project does have one deductive characteristic which was seen in the precedent chapter with the theoretical framework of the research that was pre-selected; following the very definite and narrow nature of the research’s subject. This thesis has a deductive and inductive interplay between the theoretical framework and the data collection, as in the case of the decolonization of knowledge theory it is very hard or even impossible to look at cultural appropriation without the lenses of decolonization theories. Furthermore, in the case of the peace from below approach with everyday peace practices, this choice came from the research questions being based around the bar owners and their possible impact on Polynesian cultures. The subjectivity of the interviewees as individuals and their actions and beliefs taking place in their everyday life, as well as the research taking place in a specific bar which also is a daily life location of social interactions all led me to the choice of everyday peace practices approach and the methods that seemed the most suited.

4.2. Data collection methods

The subject of this research built itself following multiple conversations with the bar owners therefore imposing the starting point of the data collection as interviews with said owners. But the questions of cultural appropriation being closely linked to the decolonization of knowledge theory these interviews quickly presented themselves as not sufficient for a thorough analysis of the achievability of cultural appreciation in this context. Therefore, the methodology of this master’s thesis is formulated around two data collection methods. The

first one being semi-structured interviews, and the second one being an analysis of diverse documents as “combining sources is important to ensure that different aspects of the same phenomenon are covered, thereby improving construct validity [in an effort of] triangulation of information.” Höglund and Öberg (2011).

The choice of interviewing the bar owners of the studied Tiki bar was made even before the exact subject title was decided on. Indeed, the curiosity around the question of cultural appropriation in Tiki bars mainly came to me after multiple conversations with the bar owners, even before their Tiki bar was open. Furthermore, through past experiences in bartending training and my workplace, I discovered the strong sense of community in the bar industry. A community that seems to be international and not know geographical borders. It's this strong feeling of belonging, visible in many bar industry workers, the existence of sub-cultures and genres in bars and the social movements history of bars that lead me to think that some of the decisions and actions taken in the bar industry may present themselves as everyday peace indicators as presented by Mac Ginty (2011). Though if Mac Ginty (2011) mentions that those indicators propose an activist form of research that has the potential to empower communities, it is in the context here not a question of empowering the bar industry community or even less the “Tiki culture” community, but rather to highlight their responsibility in taking part in cultural appropriation of Polynesian cultures, or even in a broader way of Oceanian cultures. Putting the bar owners at the core of the research joins the academical effort to make the everyday peace indicators dependent on the consent of the researched, putting the participants as both stakeholders in the community and in the research process. (Mac Ginty, 2011)

After discussing openly with the bar owners on their efforts to tackle cultural appropriation in their tiki bar, and after identifying how guidelines of development of everyday peace indicators listed by Mac Ginty (2011) can apply in this research, it became very obvious that the bar owners should not be the only one interviewed, but people who visited the bar might be able to observe at their level the said efforts, but this choice will be developed more thoroughly further down this chapter.

If Höglund and Öberg (2011) were already precedingly mentioning the necessity to use different types of sources to provide different information through different methods, as

descriptions of reality and events are almost always contested or biased, they are not the only ones. Indeed, Brounéus (2011) stressed that a single in-depth interview study conducted at one point in time cannot in and by itself explain or generalize for other cases. Therefore, it is important to stress enough that this research is studying one particular bar owners' efforts as they stated it themselves, using it as a case study to identify what may be good or what may be lacking to actively participate in appreciation rather than appropriation. But in order to identify characteristics of appreciation and appropriation it is necessary to analyze different types of existing documents on the matter, or historical examples of Polynesian cultural appropriation and existing decolonial projects response to it (Mignolo and Walsh, 2018); just as much as it is necessary to analyze the documents used by the bar owners to educate themselves on cultural appropriation, Polynesian cultures or Tiki bars, in order to identify the type of knowledge they acquired during their educative efforts, and if the knowledge they started with is not already participating in cultural appropriation issues. Therefore, if the owners through their self-education "assumed [...] a decolonial attitude [...] and a stance that challenged coloniality's assumption" (Walsh, 2020).

4.3. Data collection: Interviewing process

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the choice of interviews as the main method for this research erected from open discussions, I had on a personal level with the bar owners of the studied Tiki bar, who clearly mentioned to me that by opening a Tiki bar they knew they might face backlash because of the cultural appropriation they might participate in. Talking about possible backlash, the risk of bad advertising, and the efforts they would have to do for the public and therefore potential customers made me realize that a definite other set of interviews should happen for this research. I needed in the forefront of my research to interview the bar owners, but it appeared to me while preparing my interview guides for the bar owners that I should also interview the audience they seemed to be doing the cultural appropriation tackling efforts for, their customers.

If the research sort of started even before the Tiki bar was opened, as my discussions with the bar owners are what sparked my interest in the matter, it would have not been possible

for me to interview potential customers in the streets and expect them to identify cultural appropriation or appreciation and efforts made by the owners in the bar they did not even set foot in. Just as it would have been quite presumptuous to expect anyone in town to be able to precisely identify a Tiki bar, and the whole sub-culture, history and issues that exist behind it. If they are popular in countries with colonial histories in the Pacific and among the bar industry, it cannot be expected of people of a specific city in Norway, even though one might say that a good number of Norwegians heard about Thor Heyerdahl's Kon-Tiki expedition, and therefore heard the word Tiki before.

Doing my master's research in Norway and having selected interviewing process as the main selection data, meant following the Norwegian legal framework NSD to protect human research subjects, submitting the research project through an ethical review (Höglund and Öberg, 2011). This legal process is mandatory and can ensure as mentioned by Brounéus (2011) to "[create] a comfortable and encouraging atmosphere in which the interviewee feels respected and safe [which] is important both for obtaining useful information and for conducting ethical research."

The interviewees were all asked after visiting the Tiki bar if they would be willing to participate in a semi-structured interview to talk about their visit and impressions of the bar as well as their understanding of cultural appropriation. Months after being asked the first time, for example some of the last first visits being from September 2022, the interviewees were asked again if they would accept to participate in an interview in February 2023, and were given an approved by NSD letter of information and consent before participating in the interviews. (See appendix A)

The only private information collected from the participants were in the case of the bar owners, their professional positions, approximate opening date of their bar, country in which it is located; and as well which countries they identify as being from, the last one of this personal data also being relevant for the customers interviewed. This information was gathered in order to identify the bar owners as such, and to analyze a possible difference of understanding of cultural appropriation manifestations in a Tiki bar as specific cultural, social, political, and other contexts will influence an individual's interpretation (Dulić, 2011). A constant questioning happening in the background of this research, whether it was during the

data collection, the analyzing or the writing process was to consider how the research is done and the possible consequences the research may bring (Brounéus, 2011), as the point of this research is not to demonize business owners, and make a business lose money, but to evaluate their own, at the individual level understanding of cultural appropriation, the education or lack thereof they have on it, and in which way they might improve if they want and if first and foremost they understand the responsibility they have towards Polynesian and other Oceanian cultures. This importance of not pointing fingers but open a discussion for them to express their personal experience, and question their education pushed me to consider giving them a certain anonymity. Indeed, opening a Tiki bar in the 21st century already puts them in the spotlight of cultural appropriation, with many questions arising around the existence of Tiki bars and “Tiki culture”. Being aware and yet willing to put themselves in a situation that could be uncomfortable for the sake of this research, it was important to make the participants understand to which extent they could be identifiable, the letter of information and consent stating it. Therefore, the collected data was coded in order for me only to identify the different interviewees by their code names. After the publication of this research, all interviews’ transcripts will be destroyed, all audio recordings of the interviews will be destroyed.

4.3.1. Bar owners

I interviewed two of the bar owners, whom are part of a company that counts more shareholders than two. Yet, I only chose to interview these two as they were the ones, I had multiple conversations around cultural appropriation and the ‘Blue Pacific’ (Teaiwa, 2020) region in general. They are indeed the ones that approached me to talk about the region and later about cultural appropriation when they got to know I was from New Caledonia. At the time, while talking to them it was already noteworthy for me that some Europeans who never went in Oceania, were actually able to identify the different regions of Melanesia, Micronesia, and Polynesia, and that they were aware that Polynesia did not limit itself to Hawaii. Of course, for people from the Pacific this base of knowledge would seem paltry, and yet after living and studying in Western countries with no historical colonial ties to the Pacific it was the first time in my experience that someone, who did not study on the region, did not travel to the region, and just had common European familiarity or lack thereof of Pacific peoples cultures was able to differentiate between some Oceanian cultures.

Following these discussions, I got curious on how much they actually knew, why did they decide to open a Tiki bar so far up north; and they got curious themselves, where exactly am I from, how would I receive the aesthetic of the bar. These normal exchanges between people getting to know each other, through conversations and time lead to bigger questions, around cultural appropriation, colonization in the 'Blue Pacific' and the effects it still has; questions and conversations that were more present before the opening of the bar, when there was still a behind the curtains wonder on how the bar would be received by the public.

With the opening of the bar, the first customers, the first menus, the training of bartenders, the decoration, the choice of music, and snacks, of mugs it became clearer that all of these details, all of these decisions, as talked about with the bar owners could translate themselves in issues or not concerning cultural appropriation. If the idea of my research's subject was constructed not long before the opening of the bar it was though clear that if all these decisions and details could illustrate themselves as Indicators+ of everyday peace (Mac Ginty, 2011), it also meant that they could follow one of the guidelines listed by the author which is that those indicators are "reflexive and open to change".

This particular guideline is one that lead my choice to wait longer, for the bar to have time to evolve, change, and for customers to come by and maybe themselves shape the efforts and everyday peace decisions made by the owners, which is the main reason why interviews were realized more than a year after the opening of the bar. As "everyday peace is context specific and involves the observations and decisions made by individuals and communities as they navigate their way through life", it appeared necessary to let the new bar become part of the professional life of the bar owners, and of the environment of the customers. (Mac Ginty, Firchow, 2016)

4.3.2. Customers

As stated earlier what appeared to be the main constituent of the cultural appropriation tackling efforts of the bar owners was the query: How is the bar going to be received by the public? This question therefore putting the customers also close to the core of the research as they are the motivation for the bar owners to educate themselves and work towards cultural appreciation. Moreover, whether it's in an effort of triangulation of information or because bias when discussing the decisions of business owners is obviously present, Höglund

and Öberg (2011) do mention the importance of interviewing first-hand observers just as much as the actors; so that different narratives normalized in different circumstances, are put together to relate with one another. (Mac Ginty, Firchow, 2016)

To analyze the reception of the Tiki bar as cultural appropriative or not, and the awareness or not of the owners' efforts I decided to interview two different pools of customers, of 3 each, meaning that 6 people who visited the bar were interviewed.

The two pools of interviewees had the same questions (appendix B) to be able to really oppose the familiarity to Polynesian and Oceanian cultures and how this might shape the reception of the bar as culturally appropriative or appreciative.

The first pool of interviewed people who visited the bar were all Europeans in their twenties, with no prior knowledge or contact with Polynesian people or any other Oceanian ethnicity. These interviewees never went to Oceania, and never met anyone from the region before me. I was interested interviewing them in order to see the possible impact the bar had on their knowledge of Polynesian cultures or Tiki bars, and to see if they could identify and place the studied bar on a spectrum from appropriation to appreciation with the amount they knew about Polynesian cultures, and if they would therefore see the bar as being problematic to these cultures.

In the case of the second pool of interviewees the aim was the same but adding to the characteristics of the customers that those people were tourists visiting the bar who, if they are not of Oceanian ethnicity they were born or lived majority of their lives in a 'Blue Pacific' territory. The point with them was to identify how familiar they were with Polynesian cultures, which difference it made with their reception of the bar and all its components and if they felt like this bar could share culture they know, to people who are unfamiliar with them.

These customers who visited the bar were interviewed in order to collect data that could lead to the analysis of how the decisions and efforts made by the bar owners could actually have an everyday peace indicator nature.

4.4. Data collection: Data corpus

The main argument as of which another data collection method is document analysis was to be able to analyze which sources the bar owners used to educate themselves on Polynesian cultures, Tiki bars and cultural appropriation, to understand better the extent of their knowledge and the motivation behind. In this sub-section I parted the documents I analyzed in two groups. The first group being the documents used by the bar owners to educate themselves, or in a further measure give some knowledge to their staff members. The second group of documents are here to highlight the types of damages that cultural appropriation made to Polynesian cultures and also showcase that it is more than possible to find decolonial projects made by the concerned ethnicities who put their words on the issues and are giving insights of their experiences and their fight.

The first group of documents contains:

Bartending books, present in the bookshelves of the bar, to be accessed and read by the staff members, in a first intention to present classic tiki cocktails and possibilities for the staff member to develop their creativity and skills in cocktails that corresponds to what Tiki bars present, and also permitting a good customer service to Tiki enthusiasts who are often looking for classic Tiki cocktails, these books also contains an introduction to the world of Tiki bars and sometimes Polynesian cultures and it is these parts of the books that the collection data limits itself to. In order to collect and identify how books written by and for the bar industry can have an impact on cultural appropriation in Tiki bars:

- Berry, B. (2014). *Beach Bum Berry's Potions of the Caribbean: 500 years of Tropical Drinks and the People Behind them.*
- Berry, B. (2017). *Beach Bum Berry's Sippin' Safari: In Search of the Great "lost" Tropical Drink Recipes... and the People Behind them.*
- Cate, M., & Cate, R. (2016). *Smuggler's Cove: Exotic Cocktail, Rum, and the Cult of Tiki.* Ten Speed Press.
- Spotify podcast: Bartender at large (2017, July 31), *A conversation with Tiki Legend Martin Cate*

- German Hubertus circle's tiki working group; *GERMAN TIKI – Aloha, cheers and prost. Exploring a world of german taste and flavours.*

In this first groups there will also be the documents that the owners sent to me as the main ones they could remember using to educate themselves on Tiki bars, Polynesian cultures, and cultural appropriation. Collecting data from these sources will give access to this research to analyze how the choice of sources shapes the knowledge of the bar owners, and to which extent they followed a thorough reading of some of the sources and the possible impact these ones had on their awareness and efforts facing cultural appropriation:

- Birsdall, J. (2019, December 2). Tiki bars are built on cultural appropriation and colonial nostalgia. Where's the reckoning?
- Mayo, G. (2021, July 17). Racism 101 Asked and Answered: Mugs, Cocktails and Statues – Is Tiki a Form of Cultural Appropriation?
- Staff, P. (2020, August 13). The Problem with Tiki.

The second identified group of documents which will be analyzed to support the findings of the interviews, aims to put the interviews and the owners' decisions in relation with what is already known on cultural appropriation in Tiki bars and more precisely the cultural appropriation touching Polynesian cultures. One particular group of documents imposed itself to me as a striking visual that I felt had to be included in the research as one of the most characteristic cultural appropriations of Polynesian cultures is the oversexualization of Polynesian women in history, an image that is still very popular. I was familiar with the painter Gauguin, famously known for his paintings of half-naked women from French Polynesia. While searching some possible critics of his work through the decolonization of theory lenses the Annenberg learner's website through their class: *Art through time: A global view*. Made me discover an artist who could be presented as giving a decolonial attitude (Walsh, 2020) in response to works like Gauguin's. Through this website and their work on art I thought interesting to analyze two pieces of art in opposition, while both representing the very popular image of sexualized "hula dancer/Polynesian women" visible in many Tiki bars.



Paul Gauguin, 1896, *Te Arii Vahine (The King's wife)*



Yuki Kihara, 2004-2005 *Fa'afafine – In the Manner of a Woman*, Milford Galleries
Queenstown. (n.d.)

In 2020 Shigeyuki Kihara gives an interview about what was the impetus behind her triptych, the analysis of the interview as well as the triptych will be used to understand better the extent of the responsibility the bar owners have towards Polynesian cultures in term of cultural appropriation and highlight the existence of decolonial projects from Polynesian people, following Walsh's (2020) arguments of re-humanization and re-existing.

The last group of documents that data will be collected from, also follows Walsh and Mignolo (2018) takes on decoloniality, by highlighting the agency of people suffering a certain type of

coloniality adopting a decolonial attitude based on their experiences. It is indeed impossible to talk about cultural appropriation of Polynesian cultures in Tiki bars without mentioning the Pasifika project. The Pasifika project is an “on point” representation of what both Walsh and Teaiwa (2020) meant when mentioning existence-based practices and that one of the issues binding the vast ocean that the Pacific is “the safeguarding and protection of cultural and environmental heritage”. I must admit that I took the Pasifika project website as a golden mine to find documents, whether they were written for bartenders, for researchers, for Oceanian people, this website and this project presented itself as an incredible library to understand better the Polynesian views on Tiki bars. The analysis of the structure of the website seemed to me as important as the analysis of some of the documents they listed as references. Because of time constraint and to try as much as possible to stay on a narrow subject, some of their references were used for the theoretical framework and I picked two documents to analyze. To choose which documents to analyze I focused on the ones focusing on Tiki bars that were not the ones cited by the bar owners:

- McMullin, D. T. (2016). “Tiki Manifesto” poem from book “Coconut Milk” (Published by University of Arizona Press, Sun Track series of native writers, Editor Craig Santos Perez, September 2013)
- McMullin Daniel, 2013, *Tiki Kitsch, American Appropriation, and the Disappearance of the Pacific Islander Body*, LUX: A journal of Transdisciplinary Writing and Research from Claremont Graduate University

4.5. Data analysis methods

The main analysis method that was used for this research was thematic analysis (Bowen 2006); which was then reinforced with the use of document analysis, always in an effort to participate in thematic analysis. Indeed, while reading and doing the transcription of interviews, common themes were indicated by the interviewees. Those themes were first identified and later organized in a table, after being handpicked from the interviews. It was important for me to limit myself to the themes I could identify in the interviews and then try to find these themes in the documents used to support what was identified, and not the other

way around. As the research is based around the bar owners and their personal experience and efforts as individuals. The goal of using thematic analysis by relating common threads from the interviews was to identify what seems obvious to people when we open the discussion around cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation. Indeed, using the interviews as the main focus pushed the research to inscribe itself in the everyday peace approach, which aims to attract attention on accessibility. The point was not to find academical writings to be pushed on the owners' efforts and decisions, but to use bottom-up approaches as a focal point, therefore it was necessary to limit the additional information collected from the documents to be directly related to the bar owners' actions' everyday peace aspects.

The document analysis method aimed to link themes approached to interviewees, to issues that were already being discussed in the world of Tiki bars or by Polynesian people. The goal was to analyze where the bar owners, even if willing to do efforts to tackle cultural appropriation might still be closer to cultural appropriation than appreciation. This was to be able to identify and formulate better some of the characteristics that might differ appropriation to appreciation in Tiki bars. As, if it is important that the actors identify it themselves, interactions with humans as research subjects have an influence on the information gathering process itself (Höglund and Öberg, 2011). It is therefore necessary to analyze other documents. Moreover, as mentioned by Mac Ginty as well "it is an inherent part of human interaction to [present a] 'positive face', or the desire to gain acceptance and approval from others". So, in a context where the bar owners first motivation is the customers' receptiveness to their business it appeared even more necessary to do an interplay between the documents and the interviews, processing the documents through the same thematic mentioned by the owners, to be able to analyze the extent of their efforts towards appreciation. Another characteristic to keep in mind during the analysis of the documents used by the owners to educate themselves is the link made by Stuart Hall (2007) between representation, meaning and language, indeed he states that representation is the productions of meaning through language. Therefore, the analysis of the documents used by the owners will aims to highlight the role of language used by the bar industry, more precisely the language used to represent the 'tiki culture' and give a bar industry constructed meaning

of the word Tiki, in opposition to its original meaning in some Polynesian languages and societies.

4.6. Limitations and challenges

Multiple limits and challenges presented themselves to me when doing this research, but they were all taking their roots in the same personal challenge I was experiencing which was my legitimacy to write on the subject of research. If my subjectivity might be even more important as I am from the region of the 'Blue Pacific' and I am familiar with some of the cultures that are being appropriated, they are not mine. Which is why one of my biggest challenges was to remember to write in a way that would not seem as taking the agency away from Oceanian cultures all while having to work on not letting my emotional subjectivity take over when studying unfairness made to cultures I grew up with, cultures that are the ones of friends and family members.

My proximity to all the interviewees, through work connections, personal connections was also a challenge, as they were all aware of my personal attach to Oceania, and majority of the interviewees were people that we talked beforehand, outside of the research, about Oceania but more precisely New Caledonia. Therefore, it was important for me to put a frame to interviews even though semi-structured in order to limit the influence my past interactions with the interviewees could have. It was an important mental and preparation work to arrive to the interviews with questions that would really target the interviewees' individual experiences, sometimes plunging them in a lot of introspection.

Another challenge I faced through this research was to put a limit to what I was studying. Cultural appropriation in Tiki bars is proving itself so broad, and being approached more and more, whether it's through organization like Pasifika project or even through social medias. And social medias being very clever, when I started my research, my feed got drowned in pages of Polynesian advocates for their cultures, making the self-limitation even harder.

I can summarize my challenges back to my feeling of lack of legitimacy, and to the fact that, if I am glad this subject inspires me, such proximity made it often harder to tackle my own subjectivity.

Chapter 5 – Key findings and analysis

The goal of the last chapter of this thesis is to answer the three research questions around which the subject is framed. This research hopes to do so by first analyzing the particular context of the case study, through the exploration of the interviews of the bar owners of the studied tiki bar in northern Norway. As the methodology of this research is based around the grounded theory approach, the key findings and analysis chapter is written around the identification, from the owners' interviews, of distinct concepts, which are then distributed between the three research questions. The identified concepts all come from the direct words of the owners of the studied tiki bar, limiting the research to the discussion had with them. It is important to state that the analysis and identification of the concepts made in this chapter are particular to the studied tiki bar, and fully dependent on the individual experiences of the bar owners, with the background reality that their personality, life experience, socioeconomic and psychosocial situations all have an influence on their views around cultural appropriation in tiki bars, their understanding, as well as their degree of involvement to tackle or not tiki bars' cultural appropriation.

This chapter will therefore be divided into three sections:

- 1) Is a shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation possible?
- 2) How did the owners educate themselves and do they keep educating themselves on Polynesian cultures?
- 3) Can Polynesian cultures benefit from tiki bars?

The first section aims to identify the owners' knowledge and beliefs on cultural appropriation as well as their awareness of the responsibility they carry as actors of cultural appropriation in tiki bars. Furthermore, as they both consider their bar closer to appreciation than appropriation with visible efforts for the consumers, this section will be deepened with the analysis of interviews from the studied tiki bar customers and how they received said efforts.

The second section wants to discuss how the owners' subjective view around cultural appropriation, visible in other bar industry professionals and "tiki advocates" built itself while they state themselves having gone through intensive research and educating themselves on cultural appropriation in tiki bars and Polynesian cultures. This section therefore calls for the analysis of the sources used by the owners to educate themselves on the matter.

The last section of this chapter, based on last research question of this thesis aims to bring the first research question, which was oriented on the specific case study, on a broader level of the capacity of tiki bars to act as possible means of communication, prevention, and support to Polynesian cultures. The section will of course once again be mainly organized around the owners' point of view around the question, but the aim of this section is to complete their answers and action plans to support Polynesian cultures, by showcasing already existing articles, research, or other indigenous decolonization practices addressing the damages made to Polynesian cultures and more generally Oceanian cultures through colonial appropriation. By analyzing these documents, this research aims to bring to view the extent of the responsibility of tiki bar owners towards Polynesian and other Oceanian cultures, and that if in theory tiki bars could be a great discussion platform to give their visibility back to the appropriated cultures, it is not a work to be done in a superficial way, nor an argument to justify the appropriation of such cultures as it was done in the past and is still being done.

In order to avoid confusion and be able to keep the individuality of both owners' questions they will be referred to as O1 and O2 in this section. When the individuality of the answers from the customers will be relevant rather than the general idea, they will be referred to as EC1, EC2 and EC3 for the customers coming from and living in Europe without prior contact to Polynesian cultures, and C1, C2 and C3 for the customers from the South Pacific currently living there.

5.1. Is a shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation possible?

In order to answer to this question, it is important first to remind ourselves that definitions of cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation are totally subjective of the person defining them and also the context in which it is used. If the concept of cultural appropriation made its way in the academic world through post-colonial studies, it has since then had many

evolutive definitions negative or even positive, sub categories, been used as a political tool, a marketing tool... Cultural appropriation can be seen as a fully constructivist term modifying itself depending of the context it is used in. Cultural appreciation can be defined as seen just as another subcategory of cultural appropriation, just like presented by Rodgers (2006) cultural appreciation could be seen as the healthiest form a cultural appropriation existing: cultural exchange, a particular setting that can only happen when two cultures with roughly equal level of power invites to reciprocal exchange, with mutual respect, taking away the power dynamics serving as the baseline of cultural appropriation. Therefore, cultural appreciation can be seen as an unachievable ideal, but a guideline tiki bar owners can aim for. In other words, a pure and exact realization of cultural appreciation is not possible from people beyond the appropriated culture who are not dedicating their time to research on the appropriated culture or are not helped or in contact with people from the culture. But it is fair to say that tentative to attain cultural appreciation in a proper way and not as an excuse to appropriation can inscribe itself in peace practices to support, tackle misrepresentation and exploitation of cultures.

In the way the interviews questions were asked, as well as the research question was built, the terms of cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation find themselves on the opposite sides of a same spectrum of the representation of a culture by someone who is not from said culture. In this section were identified three different concepts from the bar owners' interviews, their definition of cultural appropriation, their definition of cultural appreciation and the justification of cultural appropriation or the unaware cultural appropriation for the need and love of escapism.

5.1.1. Appropriation for the sake of tropical relaxation

In the second chapter of this thesis was addressed and explained the role of escapism in tiki bars. It is presenting itself as the most inherent concept in tiki bars, as without the desire to fulfill escapism, tiki bars would simply have not existed as the western invention they are. The philosophical concept of escapism, in the context of tiki bars is often seen by tiki advocates as a right for mental health to escape daily life, as the harmless justification to defend tiki bars from any colonialism, or the commonly made link between tiki bars and their impact on the development of tourism or local businesses in touristic places that territories like Hawaii or Tahiti can represent. But this link between escapism, tourism and tiki bars, if used by tiki

advocates as the answer to critics raising questions around cultural appropriation, is the same concept of escapism that is used by critics of the tiki concept or even more generally of mass tourism, as in order to build the perfect touristic destination image, cultures are appropriated, damaged, silenced or rendered invisible so that none of the issues faced by native populations of touristic destinations are visible to the tourists who come to relax and enjoy “paradise”. This concept of escapism linked to tourism, relaxation and in the context of the interviews of the studied tiki bar to holidays somewhere tropical, with warm weather, sunny beaches and blue lagoons could be identified in all the interviews made with the bar owners and the customers, except for the customers who live in Oceania and for whom therefore Pacific islands daily life is their norm.

When the owners were asked “How did you hear of Polynesian cultures the first time, how were you imagining/defining them?” both of them identified their first knowledge of Polynesian cultures through American movies, TV series, cartoons. But the link between tiki bars and Polynesian cultures was not done yet. If interviewee EC1 stated that her first knowledge of Polynesian cultures was through documentaries on Māori tattoos in New Zealand, giving her another approach on Polynesian cultures, the other EC interviewees with no contact with Polynesian cultures also identified their first knowledge of Polynesia through American audiovisual productions or touristic ads and social media posts of dreamed holidays destinations the South Pacific represents. O1’s part of answer to how he was imagining Polynesian cultures through his first Hollywood knowledge relevant to escapism was: “I didn’t really grasp the full concept of it [Polynesian cultures], but I saw a culture that was different from mine, I envisioned this tropical, warm, incredibly beautiful place that seemed like a very nice place to visit.” O2 who also identified her first experience of Polynesian cultures through American movies, made the escapism link directly to tiki bars when mentioning her first experience in a tiki bar in Oslo: “In the first year of working in bars I found out that there are different themed bars in the world. It ended up with me visiting a tiki bar in Oslo and I fell in love with everything around the cultural appropriation to say so, the drinks, the atmosphere, the colors, the décor and just the concept of it generally, the total relaxation, like separated from daily life.” Through the interviews both owners showed their awareness of escapism in tiki bars and more importantly the link between escapism and cultural appropriation, as indeed O1 stated, reinforcing the last statement from O2 “tiki bars in general were such as just being opened up by a bunch of white dudes that really loved being there [the South

Pacific] and they brought their own twist on it. So, the idea behind tiki bars is essentially escaping from what their [the founding fathers of tiki bars/ “bunch of white dudes”] norm is, but the problem with that, it is also based around colonialism and how American soldiers would go there and experience the culture and take what they liked about that home, but they never actually grasped the full context of it [Polynesian cultures]. For example, in the 1960s when they were talking about how amazing everything is over there, that it’s beautiful islands, and they were testing nuclear weapons... on those islands.”

The role of escapism in tiki bars as one of the core concept appeared on its own through the discussion, from the very first question of the owners’ interviews they both used terms referring to escapism, that first in the case of O1 was about his own desire of escapism without straight away making the link between tiki bars and escapism which arrived later in the interview when talking about cultural appropriation.

In the following table will be shown that customers also used terms referring to escapism, this will allow a possible further identification of the subconscious link between escapism and tiki bars made by people from western societies in general.

(Refer to Appendix B for the questions corresponding to the interviewees’ answers.)

	EC1	EC2	EC3
Q1	Lilo & Stitch, documentary about Māori facial tattoos	An influencer posted her dream destination; holiday destination; far away from [Europe]; touristic place; hotel rooms on the sea	Disney movies
Q2	Girls in hula skirts and coconut bras, colorful and fruity drinks; for tourists basically; Islandey fruity stuff; with the most exotic fruits we can think off; Hawaii 5.0 and it is about hot girls wearing next to nothing and fruity drinks	At the time that bar was very new, colorful, and different	
Q3		They were looking for “aloha crew”; I had this image of very bright inside, a lot of wood, bamboo sticks	Guessing from the outside and logo it was something tropical and stereotype of your classic vacation at the sea with tropical drinks

Q5		[people] come because this bar is not as bland as everything else that they saw; it serves you something different; it is nicer to sit in something that is warm and cozy	
Q7		If you put many things on the walls, it's not clear to identify the pieces and then it looks like a gift shop that I imagine you could find in places dedicated to tourists in Polynesia. I think the concept is used because it is colorful, it suits the entertainment field and it's very exotic.	

	C1	C2	C3
Q2	Some artifacts looked more like coming from gift shops	Bars on the beach or next to swimming pools with little straw huts; close to the beach or on the beach; in luxury hotels and something you would definitely not find in middle class districts, for me it's more a rich people's thing and mainly in big luxury hotels or Beachcomber resorts	A type of bar you can find in touristic places mainly; fake Hawaiian very Americanized representation with an aesthetic of the Tikis that are very touristic; a goal of exotism, tourists desire of a getaway, going in a place away from what they know and experience in their daily life while at the same stay on stereotypes that they created and that they can process as elements of these cultures that make them feel on vacation
Q3			Elements that maybe look exotic for Europeans, but they are not actually from Oceania
Q6		The idea of opening a bar in [Northern Norway touristic destination] is not stupid because you don't expect it, and decoration is nice and out of there; it's a bar with exotic decoration; it's decoration that works	
Q7	Considering where it [the studied bar] is geographically I think it's	It looks more like the décor of an American TV series like Magnum; it's the same for ice	Places as this tiki bar, entertainment places, people are in a more relaxed setting so

	more a relaxing place for people than a place for them to spread a message or knowledge	bars where you have to wear a suit, it's just to say it's a different and nice setting; an exotic atmosphere; it looks like a messy gift shop from American TV	they could be more receptive to new knowledge or prevention
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As visible in the prior tables, all customers interviewed identified tiki bars, and more precisely the studied tiki bar as a place of escape of daily life, for tourists or in touristic settings, an easily identifiable “tropical, exotic, vacation atmosphere” rather than anything referring to any particular culture or highlighting any culture. The identification of the escapism concept by all the interviewees without using this word or hearing it during the interviewing process can be paired with the fact that all interviewees from the three different pools, except interviewee EC2, all mentioned at one point of the interview the link between tiki bars and American TV, cinema industry or even music industry. This common weight given to US culture on the influence it has on the construction of people’s ideas, or stereotypes about Polynesian cultures, South Pacific territories, life in the Pacific and their representation in tiki bars which can be seen as being there to give a taste of such relaxing or exciting different life in a tropical paradise fully applies to Lorcin (2013) concept of colonial nostalgia which was explained more thoroughly in the second chapter of this thesis. Therefore, cultural appropriation for the sake of escapism is the core of the concept of tiki bars, and in the case of this research it is understood and assumed by all interviewees, whether they have prior knowledge of Oceanian cultures or not; tiki bars are themed bars to take people out of their reality. Then why are the critics of the concept talking about cultural appropriation and the damages it is making, when the very goal of tiki bars is to make people dream, relax, and entertain them?

5.1.2. What is cultural appropriation?

This section’s goal is not to redefine in general what cultural appropriation is, as it was defined and placed in post-colonial studies in the third chapter of this thesis. This section wants to highlight what the owners of the studied tiki bar consider cultural appropriation, how they define it personally; the point is at well to showcase how subjective, and individual is the definition of cultural appropriation even if the broad concept seems to be shared, as well as showcasing how cultural appropriation actions can be placed as everyday actions. For them

to become what MacGinty (2014) presented as everyday peace practices contributing to peace formation or the pooling of micro-solidarities, it needs to be understood as context specific, involving the individuals and communities as they navigate their way through life. The actual tackling of cultural appropriation through everyday peace practices will be more addressed in the following section on cultural appreciation as this thesis considers cultural appreciation the guideline to tackle cultural appropriation in tiki bars, but in order to identify which everyday peace practices can become cultural appreciation, it is necessary to understand what is thought of as manifestations of cultural appropriation by the bar owners. Just like in the precedent chapter, there will be a table of what the customers who visited the tiki bar consider cultural appropriation in general, highlighting the subjectivity of the definition.

- O1, 29 years old:
 - Answer to Q3: “I did know what cultural appropriation was and I have a background in sociology as well, so we learned a lot about cultural appropriation in that regard.”
 - Answer to Q4: “My definition of cultural appropriation is taking something from a culture or a community without actually giving anything back and just changing it into a bastardized version of its original self. That’s actually something that has happened a lot, especially in America and all over the world with tiki bars in general; people don’t understand that this is actually a culture, they see it just as the funny faces on the walls, fun-colored mugs they don’t realize that it is actually religious and culture iconography that comes from the islands. [...] We have in a sense tried to make it, I don’t want to say authentic that’s probably not the right word to use but as culturally acceptant of what a tiki bar should be so a lot of the stuff in our interior is actually stuff that is hand carved on the islands or that were brought from the area.”
 - Answer to Q7: “It is a bit of a side note but I think it’s quite ridiculous, after the murder of George Floyd in 2020, a lot of counter protesters were guys wearing tiki shirts and then tiki enthusiasts white people were offended because those extremists were appropriating their culture, they felt that they were put in the wrong way because they were now associated with counter protests of the

racial profiling by the police but they are not getting the irony that they are themselves appropriating another culture.”

- Answer to Q8: “It can also have a negative impact if it is not done the right way. Because we’ve seen it over the past seventy years, how people are opening bars without actually understanding that there is a culture behind. [...] It’s just important to remember that a lot of original tiki, when it came to the original tiki bars, they drew flavors, food, drinks, stuff that is not even based in the Polynesian islands, like Caribbean rums, Chinese food, yeah sure it is exotic to you but it is not tiki.”
- O2, 39 years old:
 - Answer to Q3: “For me personally, cultural appropriation is when you adopt something without knowing about it and it kind of becomes a mockery at some point. But I do also believe in cultural celebration like you can be interested in some cultures that you were not born in or raised in and with a little bit of research and honesty, good intentions, I don’t think it’s a bad thing. But I also know that there are a lot of tiki bars in the world, most of them actually that... Tiki bars are cultural appropriation it does not necessarily have to be a bad thing, but a lot of tiki bars do it in a very bad way and in a very disrespectful way, because they don’t do their research before opening or they don’t use time and resources to set all the decoration particularly and all the vibe and they don’t adopt the culture properly they adopt only the caricature of the culture. Another point that I want to make about that one, is that I’ve actually not only when it comes to tiki bar but generally just had a discussion with a friend part of a band where they dress as Mariachis to play music, Mexican inspired, they’ve actually done some kind of interviews, they asked random Norwegian people what do they think about their costumes and about their music, 90% of Norwegians said it’s cultural appropriation and disrespectful, in the mean time they asked Mexican people what they think and they all loved it very much.”
 - Answer to Q4: “One of the things I was very decided on before we started building the bar is acquiring most of the decoration, from Hawaii for example, so a lot of the woodwork in the bar is from there, to use people that are

actually part of these cultures, and I wanted to buy and use their services. Just as I made sure that other artifacts are coming, if from US, people providing it have a long history with proper tiki bars and decoration to say so. And also of course researched a bit on Tiki mugs, which ones are too tacky or disrespectful in a way, so I wanted to delete those ones from our collection.”

- Answer to Q7: “Trying to educate the people around the culture in itself and specifically on tiki bars, because we are not talking about Polynesian cultures generally, but about this particular bar culture.”
- Answer to Q8: “Absolutely, like I said there are a lot of tiki bars unfortunately in the world that are mockery to tiki bars itself and to the culture. I feel like the guy who invented tiki bars Don the Beachcomber he meant well, he just borrowed elements from the culture that he visited, or he basically lived in. [...] He brought artifacts that were handmade, decorations were handmade, and he opened his first tiki bar in LA, from then tiki bars became a mockery, but with the revival of bars generally, the quality and class, tiki bars are also getting a boost. Having a proper tiki bar so far up north, it kind of raises not awareness, but people who only visited bad tiki bars they can see that there is a difference between wallpaper with naked hula girls and the actual thing, I hope the word spreads and it raises some kind of competition between tiki bars to be more and more authentic if you can call it authentic.”

When analyzing the owners’ interviews, it became very clear that they seem to have a common basic general definition of cultural appropriation. They also both use the term “tiki” to refer to tiki bars, the tiki concept or even “tiki culture” instead of a term that is Polynesian, but when talking about cultural appropriation in tiki bars they do not refer to the same cultures being appropriated. They are both participating in active cultural appropriation when using the term tiki as referring to tiki bar concept, tiki bars and “tiki culture”, as presented in chapter 4 through Stuart Hall’s (2007) theory that “representation is the productions of meaning through language”. Therefore, the very use, or continuity of use of the word tiki to refer to the bar culture of this tropical themed bars is participating in the “mockery” and the “bastardizing” both owners refer in their answers on cultural appropriation, as this evolution of meaning of the term tiki took away its original sacred Polynesian meaning. And if it is true that languages evolve and borrow from other languages, here we are facing what many post-

colonial studies researchers like Mignolo (2018), Walsh (2020), Quijano (2007), Rodgers (2006) or Teaiwa (2020) are showcasing as problematic when it happens in a context of relation of power between a dominant culture and colonized cultures that got silenced through this appropriation. They therefore both show through their interviews an inner colonized vision and approach to tiki bars, it must be noted though that there is a difference of the degree of effort of decolonization of knowledge between both owners. Indeed, when talking about the cultures being appropriated O1 means the Polynesian cultures are being damaged, taken advantage of, the ones that need recognition, a stimulation of showing their art, understanding better their culture and its deeper meaning and the actual victims of cultural appropriation in tiki bars, therefore showing a better understanding of cultural appropriation as defined by post-colonial researchers, even though he feels like his efforts are following that path, they are more following O2's understanding. In the case of O2, she does feel like making an effort to buy decoration from Hawaii and other Polynesian islands is a good way to tackle cultural appropriation by in a way making people living on these islands participate in the decoration of the tiki bar; but when talking about cultural appropriation of tiki bars, she is not meaning the appropriation of Polynesian cultures or other Oceanian cultures, but the damages that were made to the "tiki culture" bar culture. When mentioning disrespect she does mainly mean that the use of imagery of half-naked hula girls is not appropriate, disrespectful, sexist and racist, but she mainly sees the damages the use of such imagery would do to "tiki culture" rather than Polynesian women; participating in degrading the image of tiki bars and reinforcing the critics around their tackiness and lack of authenticity, as in her case, the use of "hula girls" imagery in tiki bars is not problematic as long as they are not naked, the following photo was taken from the studied tiki bar and is part of the permanent decoration, on the bar; it is one of the central elements customers see when coming to the bar to order.



This lamp and imagery of a native Polynesian woman is considered by the owners to be cultural appreciation and not cultural appropriation probably as it can be seen as a pretty object, flattering, reinforcing the feeling of escapism and participating in the construction of a destination image of Polynesian islands. Yet many critics of Gauguin's paintings or works like Patty O'Brien's book *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (2006) talk about the representation, fantasizing and fetishism of colonized women's bodies and in this context Polynesian women, and the role this sexualization of colonized people played in colonization, still existing stereotypes and contemporary challenges Oceanian women face following the sexualization, de-humanization and marketing of their bodies by colonizers. Therefore, any representation of Polynesian women designed by a colonizing culture or more generally from someone outside of the represented culture can be seen as hurtful cultural appropriation, damaging the appropriated culture. If the full understanding of why any use of imagery of "hula girls" actively participates in cultural appropriation is not grasped by the bar owners, it appeared that a certain type of imagery only is considered not tacky, somewhat classy, and therefore accepted in the studied tiki bar. Indeed, while writing the thesis, another one of the studied bar's owners, outside of the two that were interviewed for this research

bought and exposed a new “hula girls” decoration. The general reaction in the company, from staff members, and other owners were negative as everyone thought of it as a bad taste joke. It is interesting though to note that these two negatively received “hula girls” (cf following photo) were bought with a genuine want to participate in decoration from the other owner, who felt they were “tiki”.



These two figures were by a common decision of the people who work behind the bar (staff members and O1), hidden from customers’ sight, as comparatively to the lamp they are considered tacky, sexist, racist and offensive.

In the second part of this section will be quoted the definition of cultural appropriation from the customers who visited the studied tiki bar, it is in this part that the mention of the age will be relevant. Indeed, in the interviews that were made in the case of this research it seems noticeable that people under 30, all important users of social media platforms have a more negative definition of cultural appropriation, link it clearly as actions made by a dominant/colonizing culture on a colonized culture and are able to design clear differences between what they consider cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation. While analyzing and noting this age characteristic of the interviewees having a somewhat common distinction between cultural appropriation and appreciation, I realized quite late that all of these

interviewees O1 included have a university degree in social sciences (sociology, languages, political science, literature, and arts), therefore their university education possibly had an impact on their answers.

The question to the customers was: Q4. Are you familiar with the term cultural appropriation? How does it define itself for you?

EC1, 29 years old	“I think it is very difficult to define cultural appropriation, but to sum up I would say that cultural appropriation is using attributes of a culture that is not yours in a way that either doesn’t respect the culture, uses stereotypes of the culture or actively mocks that culture, and especially if what is taken are closed practices for people who are only within that culture, or if you make money of it, it gets even more ethically wrong.”
EC2, 29 years old	“For me it has this negative overtone that it’s a bit like trespassing and you’re going somewhere you’re not really invited, or you’re just taking something that you didn’t ask for permission. It doesn’t matter to what it relates if it’s a culture or I don’t know but for me it is that you just take something that has been created and you use it for your own purpose, but you copy paste too much so it cannot be said it was inspired by. It’s taken and used for your own purpose, because it exists and it’s not illegal to take it, but you copy paste it so much it loses its meaning. If you want to use what you’re taking with the same purpose and meaning I don’t think we would use the word appropriation anymore. I think linguistically speaking, I would give it a minus, it has a negative overtone, and it cannot be used in a positive sense.”
EC3, 23 years old	“I guess that cultural appropriation is when you take something from another culture that maybe has been discriminated and you make fun in a very bad way, and that as a western white person I go fetch it from another culture and when I bring it back all of a sudden it becomes cool and acceptable while it was not when it was displayed by people from the said culture.”
C1, 55 years old	“I heard of cultural appropriation as there currently are sovereignty questions in New Caledonia and it’s been talked about. But the definition as I see it, I am Caledonian, French, I’m Caledonian first even if I have the French nationality, and I know and respect Kanak culture, but it is not mine and I did not appropriate it. For me to appropriate something, something is not yours, you like it, and you take it for yourself but by doing so you want to show others what is the new culture you’re appropriating. I see appropriation as really taking another culture for yourself and being almost obsessed with this culture. I would feel like I am stealing something. For me cultural appropriation is for example speaking instead of a Polynesian on matters that they only would have legitimacy to talk about, but you would say ‘Me, I have legitimacy on said matters, and I consider myself Polynesian because their cultures are now mine as I appropriated it’”.
C2, 57 years old	“The appropriation of a culture that is not yours, for commercial purposes or other... I don’t really see or have a clear idea. In the country we are from there is a lot of multiethnicity by penal immigration, economic immigration, Caledonian culture is a mix of all of them so maybe that is appropriation in the terms that

	<p>Caledonian people eat, all ethnicities confounded, Kanak food, Tahitian food, French food, Vietnamese food, Indonesian food... Where I would see maybe that Caledonian appropriated Tahitian culture it's on their party culture, music, shirts, it was part of white Caledonians social life, and they took it from Tahitians but started taking it as their own way to party as well, so maybe then. Now it's less the case with globalization and internet. [...] For me there are two types of appropriation, you have the long-term ones that you discover, you like, you practice, and it becomes naturally part of your culture, which for us Caledonians is easier because we are a country of multiethnicity, so it ends up more naturally. The second type is not natural, a showoff, a little obsession of the moment that loses meaning."</p>
<p>C3, 21 years old</p>	<p>"I heard the term; I think from social medias which are platforms where you can quickly talk and denounce cultural appropriation and sometimes it's legitimate sometimes it might be excessive. The fact that I come from a country which today's society is based on a multiethnicity I think there is a desire from me and my entourage to respect the others culture, get interested without appropriating which for me is a bit disrespecting the culture in the sense that you want to give to yourself traditional attributes of a culture without educating yourself on the meaning of this objects or symbols, and while being unconscious of what as a white person taking possession and using these traditional symbols badly can do."</p>

Even if some of the under 30 years old interviewees did not distinctly use the term "white people" to characterize the general group actively participating in cultural appropriation in these precedent quotes; through more subtle analysis and by taking a general look at the interviews, by merging their answers, they do have a common, fully conscious, or not, understanding of cultural appropriation happening in power relations context. Interviewees O2, C1 and C2 do also consider indeed, that the term appropriation carries a negative tone, even if in the case of O2 it is very quickly attenuated by what she calls "cultural celebration" and would therefore limit appropriation in tiki bars to the last image shown in this section, or to people putting inflatable flamingos as decoration, therefore using tiki mugs, tiki iconography and flattering hula girls imagery would for her qualify as cultural appreciation or "cultural celebration". This is where conversation on the damages of the use of such iconography needs to be opened, what damages were made to Polynesian women by the sexualization and marketing of their bodies that is seen as a celebration by tiki enthusiasts? I grew up in New Caledonia and going to the beach as a kid I remember Oceanian girls not wearing bikinis, or even one-piece swimming suits, for the majority they were going swimming all dressed up. You would see white Caledonians in swimming suits or tourists even walking into restaurants in wet swimming suits. And if missionaries dress became for many

Oceanian women an identity clothing that they design, made more colorful, sometimes decorated with Oceanian identity symbols; the white feminist discourse of body positivity cannot simply be pushed and applied to all Oceanian women that might have a biased view of their own body because of how it was represented by Hollywood, tiki bars, touristic destinations ads. Bodies that are also facing a harsh reality of health issues that can also be researched as long-term effects of colonization. When we talk in this thesis of cultural appropriation of tiki bars, we talk about this link and responsibility we all have of propagating such images, that can be seen as everyday practices having an effect on Oceanian populations, populations living in “Paradise” who are facing their own silenced challenges because of a colonial past. It is not question here of saying that all Oceanian women are ashamed of their bodies, but it is relevant to notice that the difference in body displaying at the beach and the choice of clothes between white and Oceanian women in the South Pacific might have roots in the colonial history of these territories, and the sexualization of Oceanian bodies.

C1 and C2 both started their definition of cultural appropriation with the literal definition of the verb: to appropriate. So, the general idea of taking something that is not yours, with goal of using it for your own purpose, usually financial purpose. Their definition of cultural appropriation was therefore like O2 less inscribed in the academic definition of the term but is seen as an action that can be done by any ethnicity. What seemed very interesting as raising another concept around tiki bars which was presented earlier in this thesis was the dimension of obsession. This thesis indeed, mentioned Stuart Hall (2007) definition of fantasizing, and fetishism of the other’s culture, something that in the concept of tiki bars was linked by Carroll and Wheaton (2019) more to an obsession of Americana culture and colonial nostalgia, than to actual Polynesian cultures. I do not think that this concept applies to O1 who is more interested in the concept of tiki bars by the cocktail crafting experience it gives and seems more aware of the damaging side effects even the tiniest acts of cultural appropriation can do, as for example EC2 shared with me an anecdote of O2 wanting to order hula dancers from Oslo for the opening of the studied tiki bar, and O1 refusing, feeling like this was pushing too far the limit of cultural appropriation he accepted as inevitable. In the case of O2, she did mention in the precedingly quoted answers: “I made sure that other artifacts are coming, if from US, people providing it have a long history with proper tiki bars and decoration to say so”; “Trying to educate the people around the culture in itself and specifically on tiki bars,

because we are not talking about Polynesian cultures generally, but about this particular bar culture.”; “Absolutely, like I said there are a lot of tiki bars unfortunately in the world that are mockery to tiki bars itself and to the culture.” These quotes perfectly illustrate Lorcin (2013) explanation of the concept of colonial nostalgia, O2 has a desire to perpetuate the tiki bar concept of the 50s to the 70s, to live in a fantasy of the US’s golden age. Therefore, her personal efforts to tackle cultural appropriation and move towards cultural appreciation are not oriented towards Polynesian cultures or Oceanian cultures in general. I do believe that O1’s individual efforts are towards Polynesian people, with somewhere a desire of understanding the region and its history better, but his efforts are paired in a business context with O2’s understanding and individual efforts that are made first for the bar to be well received by customers, not Polynesian people, and to honor the “tiki culture” not Polynesian cultures. Therefore, in the context of owning a business, O2 being a majority shareholder and with more experience in the bar industry her way of addressing cultural appropriation in their bar seems more prominent than O1’s understanding and desire of tackling cultural appropriation.

5.1.3. What is cultural appreciation?

In this last sub-section of the first research question answer will be addressed the difference made by the interviewees between appropriation and appreciation. This difference was already briefly mentioned in the last section, but here the thesis wants to highlight what the owners feel they are doing to be closer to appreciation, what the customers feel like they could be doing to be closer to appreciation as well as present a sample of different elements in the bar that can be considered appropriation or appreciation. The idea of this section is to show in what concrete ways the bar owners could do more efforts towards appreciation. Re-defining the term is not necessary as it was done in the third chapter of the thesis. The point of this section is to see in which ways the owners did decolonize their knowledge when building their tiki bar, where they can do better and where customers feel like they can do better.

The owners had to answer to cultural appreciation and support, prevention on Polynesian cultures questions.

O1’s answer Q6: “It’s essentially what I would like to consider the opposite of appropriation, when you take something from a culture because you actually really enjoy what it is.

Follow up question to O1: If you take a spectrum with appropriation and appreciation, what can you do in the bar to be closer to appreciation?

“A good example is something that you actually brought up to me that I did not get my hands in yet but actually teaching the staff more about the culture and it is important that not just the owners know about the history but that everybody [working] can answer questions so that people who are the faces of the company can answer when people come and ask ‘what is tiki?’ it is not enough to just go ‘ah it’s Polynesia’, like what is that?”

O1’s answer Q7: “I think the best way is just to gain more knowledge and it is actually why I am very glad that we are doing this, in the past few days I have been thinking about what I should say so I actually wanted to read up on it and I have read a lot of articles about the problems with tiki now. [...] I think we are on a good path but it can be done better, this is why it is so important that we actually have this conversation, you’ve challenged me several times, deliberately asking me questions that you knew would put me on the spot, sure it is uncomfortable, and it sucks but it is really important because it pushes me to learn this stuff, it is important. We are profiting of a culture, islands that might not exist in the next fifty to a hundred years so we better do our job to try and help preserve them as much as we can.”

O2’s answer to Q6: “I haven’t really heard it. It’s kind of what I said in the beginning (cultural celebration mentioned in her answer to cultural appropriation question) it’s a difference between mockery and appreciating a culture that you’re not a part of but being passionate about it and wanting to learn about it, or even trying to improve your own culture with elements of another culture, it just makes people colorful and your life more interesting.”

It is visible here in both the owners answers that the difference between participating in cultural appropriation and appreciation lays in everyday practices realized by individuals, and the definition just like for appropriation is very flexible following the subjectivity of the individual. In the case of O1, there is a beginning of conversation that could lead to understanding the need of decolonizing one’s knowledge, in the case of O2 as seen in the precedent section she does not consider cultural appropriation or appreciation in relation with the appropriated cultures but on a very personal level of one’s interest, “passion” or as discussed “obsession” for another culture. Her definition and understanding of cultural appreciation illustrate what tiki critics or even some of the interviewed customers see as an excuse to justify cultural appropriation and its damages. O1’s vision of cultural appreciation

seems closer to what Rodgers (2006) depicts as cultural exchange, an ideal towards sharing cultures of relatively equal level of power, of when Han (2019) quotes the definition of appreciation and reminds the readers that such broad definition is not enough as appropriative actions can then be justified under the umbrella of appreciation. Appreciation can therefore only exist when there is an effort of the individuals to decolonize their knowledge, research on what people from the appropriated cultures say, respect and accept the boundaries they set. All of the customers interviewed had a somewhat common definition that appreciation in a certain aspect can be seen as the opposite of appropriation, but the line is very thin, and appreciation can very easily just become a justification for appropriative actions without any efforts to tackle appropriation. Both owners mentioned their ways to be closer to appreciation by educating themselves to be able to answer possible questions and buying decoration from Hawaii mainly or if from the US from companies with historical ties to proper real tiki bars. This last practice came from O2 who as mentioned before wants to appreciate “tiki culture” not really Polynesian cultures. When mentioning US companies, she refers to one particular big size tiki sculpture which was bought from Oceanic arts in Whittier, California, and was put on social media as a great addition to the décor as this company is considered a pillar in “tiki culture” and Polynesian pop art. When you open the website, you are welcomed with a tiki bar Hawaiian ballad, kitschy colors and gif mixing all kinds of symbols of exotism, but what was interesting to note for this thesis, is that O2 mentioned the importance for her to buy decoration coming from companies who worked in history with proper known tiki bars. Oceanic arts, on their website refer to themselves as “World’s leading supplier & tropical and Polynesian Décor” from 1956 to 2021. On their page dedicated to their “gallery of some of the tropical décor projects we’ve done for our clients” and their clients’ history they list: Disneyland, Disney Worldwide Services, Walt Disney World, Walt Disney Productions, Walt Disney Imagineering, Trader Sam’s – Downtown Disney, Trader Vic’s restaurants, Don the Beachcomber’s, and other, majority of which are big chain hotels or cruise ships. If I suppose that the “proper tiki bars” referred to by O2 were most probably Trader Vic’s and Don the Beachcomber, as like presented in the second chapter of this thesis they were the first to be considered tiki bars and foundation of “tiki culture”, the fact that they are listed after themed parks, and with hotels, or cruise ships show the escapism core concept of tiki bars and the entertainment, fake dimension of this representations of Polynesian cultures, as these bars and venues are more “tikis than they are Polynesian” and

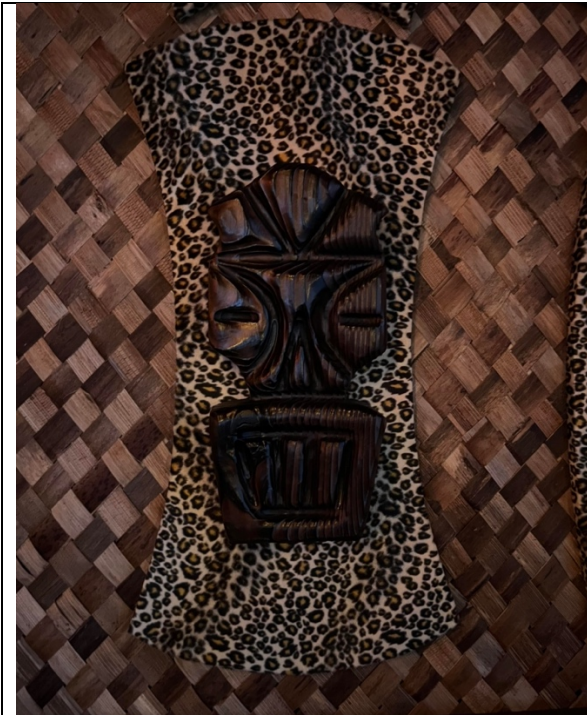
this distinction of the two terms as two different cultures is what is problematic in cultural appropriation as it is deleting the very existence of Polynesian people in “tiki culture”, a culture that was taken, changed, desacralized from Polynesian cultures, but also touched other Oceanian cultures. All these appropriative actions yet are defended by an admiration of Polynesian cultures, recognizing them as more fun and colorful than western societies cultures, therefore they are celebrated. But if O2 considered appreciating “tiki culture” enough to distance the studied tiki bar from cultural appropriation, it is not how it was received by the interviewed customers. Once again, it is important to note that in this research because of time constraints and contact with customers, the customers interviewed are not just random guests who came to visit the bar once. For the pool of customers coming and living in the South Pacific, no appreciation is happening in the studied tiki bar as it is now as there is no culture visible. When answering the Q6 for customers C1 even answered that she could not place the studied tiki bar on a spectrum opposing appropriation and appreciation “I don’t even see appropriation as there are too many disparities in artifacts in the bar, too many pieces are overdone and not authentic, some are very beautiful and good ones, but for me it’s not appropriation as it goes too many ways and there were too many disparities and in the end not much of good ones focused on culture pieces. Were they in appreciation... for me there is a visible lack of knowledge, because of these disparities. I can’t put the bar on this spectrum, neither on one side or the other and the main cause of that being lack of knowledge, too much mixing up different cultures in what we could see in the bar.” C2 with his understanding of the definition of cultural appropriation similar to C1 that is not the social sciences one also agreed on wondering if cultural appropriation can be said happening there. “I don’t know if you can say that they do cultural appropriation, they have a theme that is attractive to customers. Indeed, we can take it as cultural appropriation to make money on it. I did not feel like there is a knowledge of culture or research to develop the knowledge of Polynesian cultures. They stopped at tiki bar, they made a tiki bar because it works, and they can find decoration for it. If another theme was working, they would have done the other theme. The way I see this bar it was purely made for commercial purposes, and I don’t think they have the pretention to anything else, like the development to the knowledge and introduction to other cultures, at least I hope not. I don’t think they went to look for a culture... just for decoration. You don’t even have Polynesian music. I don’t think cultures got anything out of that, I don’t think they questioned themselves on that even once,

probably if they found African type of sculptures that fitted the décor, they would have used them. So, they call it tiki bar but it's more a bar with exotic decoration. [...] It looks more like the decor of an American TV series like magnum, but it's just a bar with a decoration, and the next day you'll go to another bar with another theme." What is interesting in the answers from C1 and C2 who do not have the post-colonial studies definition of cultural appropriation it is that the studied tiki bar is so much of a mix of artifacts from different cultures that it cannot be cultural appropriation as for them no culture can be identified. When they mean that there is no focus on a particular culture, they do mean that some artifacts are not even from Oceania at all, but they also do make the difference, from the knowledge of the environment they live in, between different Polynesian cultures. Therefore, even if it was just a mix of artifacts from Polynesian cultures only, they would still probably not consider it cultural appropriation as they define it as not one particular culture would be identifiable. In the way this thesis defines cultural appropriation, the arguments brought by C1 and C2 place the studied tiki bar on the ground 0 of cultural appropriation on a spectrum where 0 is cultural appropriation and 10 is appreciation.

All the other customers interviewed placed the studied bar closer to appropriation than appreciation, if C3 and EC1 both recognized they feel like more attention to decoration and having some real artifacts was put in the bar that what they would expect from a tiki bar; and was weighing on the appreciation side; they also mention that many artifacts or actions they noted were being counterproductive for the appreciation efforts. Some of these actions were the choice of putting surf music by American artists, some names of cocktails mixing the different cultures present in Oceania, some artifacts looking fake or like from a gift shop, hula dancers' imagery. C3 noted a decrease of importance given to details between her two visits in the bar separated by multiple months, she felt like in the beginning the bar was more careful around cultural appropriation, and now that it is part of the environment and that it was well received by customers there is not much attention given to details to be closer to cultural appreciation anymore. EC2 and EC3 both had a harsher placement of the tiki bar, they placed the studied tiki bar on the ground 0 of appropriation, EC3 says "In my opinion if you are appreciating a culture, you would for example give an explanation to your guests on for example what the mugs represent and mean. You would introduce guests a bit more that the concept is taken from Polynesian cultures, it could be as easy as the drinks' names or something on the menu like a little text. At this point it's just sweet drinks that people like."

EC2 is less hopeful on any possibility for tiki bars to be more appreciative than appropriative: “I would place them on the ground 0 of appropriation, because it doesn’t really matter as well what the owners or those who gave the idea think, the overall effect is what matters, and this last one is that it’s just overstuffed with things that derive from this culture, but they don’t say anything about it and no one who visits the bar knows about them. You can get more educated on it of course, but you will never be as close as those who experience that, your opinions will never be that accurate, it’s not possible. It’s just a bunch of people from different reality, decided they are obsessed at the moment with that, and they do it, but no matter how hard they try they will never be as good as if it was done by people of these cultures or place sharing cultures they know deeply. It’s different to be a fan and educate yourself than experience it. That’s why taking this criterion I think this bar is closer to appropriation.”

These interviews show that agreeing on what is appropriation or what is appreciation will always know critics, some people thinking it is never enough, but the one common denominator for all these guests to agree on what is appreciation is the possibility to learn, and have a cultural exchange (Rodgers, 2006) that can at least spark some curiosity in customers, who if they decide they want to know more will then do research on their own. All interviewed customers noted the lack of any information linking the bar to Polynesian cultures, many said that under some of the real artifacts just a short sentence identifying what is it and from which culture would participate in appreciation. Some suggested the realization of events highlighting one particular Polynesian culture per event, some suggested just a small introductive text on the menus, the silent projections on small screens of traditional dances, the use of music from Polynesian artists that do not have to be traditional Polynesian music that could eventually lead customers to grow tired of, but there are many Polynesian musicians, or more broadly Oceanian musicians producing different genres of music which could suit a bar. Those would all be everyday peace practices to push the protection and support of Polynesian cultures by showcasing them more and giving them back a place that customers can later decide on their own to explore more or not, therefore opening conversation around decolonizing tiki bars and giving their space back to Polynesian voices. Following this discussion will be presented multiple photos of elements that are found in the studied tiki bar, some that are closer to cultural appropriation and why, and some that are closer to appreciation.



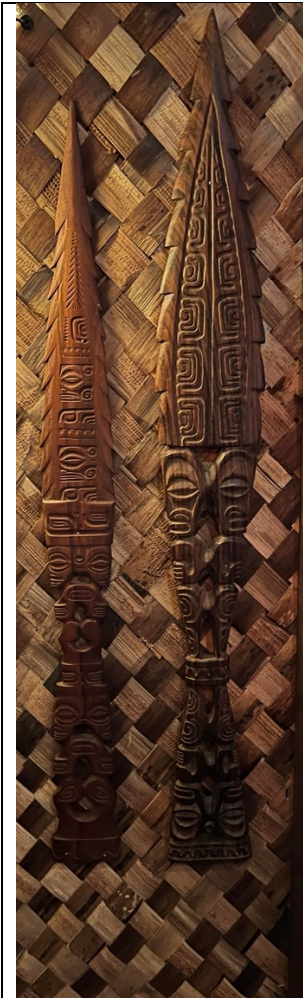
Appropriation:

One piece part of four pieces set of fake tiki-like heads placed on the shape of what looks like shields covered in cheetah prints. O2 justified their presence by “tiki culture” movement created a new genre of Pop art, Polynesian pop art and is therefore honoring this art movement and “tiki culture”. There are not cheetahs in the South Pacific, this “tiki head” is probably a nod to the famous Zombie classic tiki cocktail.



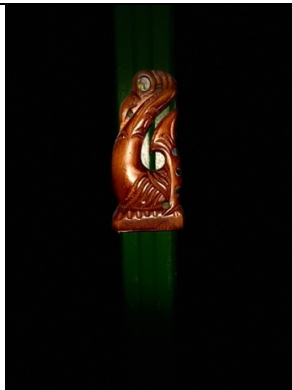
Appropriation:

These two tikis have their replicas of different sizes and different colors in the bar, they are filling the walls, as tiki bars are seen as needing a lot of decoration and need to be overstuffed, O2 considers the studied tiki bar not even half decorated. They are the ones participating in the general feeling from interviewed customers of being in a gift shop, with unauthentic pieces.



Appreciation:

Wall decorations from Marquesas islands. The Marquesan sculpture style is recognizable, it would be interesting for the bar owners to even just put a tiny inscription under the sculptures where it is just written “Marquesas islands”, that would highlight and take Marquesan people out of the colonial invisibility they are in tiki bars. Majority people in western societies do not even know about the existence of Marquesas islands and limit Polynesia to Hawaii and sometimes Tahiti. This could also promote social media pages of Marquesan artists such as: cannibal.art.marquesas on Instagram who creates and sells such artifacts.



Appreciation:

Manaia sculpture. The inscription, roughly translated from Afrikaans state: “The bird, man, fish. Myths use the figure to protect you from devil spirits” and also places the authenticity of the piece coming from Māori people in New Zealand. This piece which can also be thought as authentic could benefit from having the under inscription visible for the customers.



Appropriation:

Tiki mugs that are seen by people outside of Polynesian cultures as fun, colorful, different, interesting, gimmicky, a marketing object. Objects that are participating in the hierarchization of cultures and beliefs that are considered civilized or not. Such mugs are desacralizing tikis and their place in Polynesian cultures, limiting them to funny faces not to be taken seriously.



Appreciation:

These mugs would propose still fun mugs for customers to drinks in that are different from normal glassware and proposing a tropical escapism without hurting the meaning of sacred cultural symbols.

This last example of tiki mugs that are actually not representing any tiki could follow the efforts that some tiki bars, did to tackle cultural appropriation by first not naming themselves tiki bars anymore but tropical bars. Tropical bars are seen by both owners as the lazy way out of cultural appropriation and as a way not to be bothered to make efforts. This statement is true only if the tropical bars still use Polynesian aesthetic, then it is about just taking the problematic term of tiki away from their name hoping not to be labelled as a tiki bar. But a

tropical bar who does not use any Polynesian aesthetic will by definition not be culturally appropriative as long as it is not touching any cultures and stays in a tropical atmosphere and vibe, just like the Disneyland Rainforest Café does not have to be culturally appropriative if it uses as décor only forest, animals, and no cultures, the escapism will still be realized, without exploiting any culture. In a case where people want to be culturally appreciative and still use Polynesian aesthetic, they would need to pay particular attention to the artifacts they use, be sure they are all authentic, the best would be if they are ordered from indigenous people, were not using sacred iconography, nor hula dancers, or any use that would put the artifacts in a position it is losing its meaning, therefore buying decorative art that are defined as such by indigenous artists would be the best way to keep on using Polynesian aesthetic, and even better when paired with an indication for customers of where it is from. Therefore as a short answer to that research question, I believe that moving tiki bars from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation is possible but only if tiki bar owners are willing to the efforts for the Oceanian people that are being exploited, silenced and de-humanized by the concept, and if they are willing to receive, read about and discuss around the critic of tiki bars with the people from the exploited cultures. Cultural appreciation will always be tainted by appropriation, but if guided by Polynesian and Oceanian cultures taking into hands their own representations, there might be a way for tiki bar owners to transition to an accurate representation leading to prevention and cultural exchange, accepting that this work for peace has to come from below, from the exploited and at stake populations.

5.2. How did the owners educate themselves & do they keep on educating themselves on Polynesian cultures?

In this section of the analysis the goal is to use this research question to understand what some obstacles to the bar owners' efforts towards cultural appreciation can be. Indeed, as presented in the precedent section the bar owners of the studied tiki bar stated themselves having done research to understand and tackle in a better way the cultural appropriation in tiki bars. The two sections following the first research questions will be smaller as they aim to complete the first research question by opening the discussion on other possible research subjects that could be done around tiki bars. Indeed, full research could be done on the level of coloniality present in the sources on tiki bars that are the main ones used by tiki bar owners

to learn about the concept before opening a bar, and the impact such sources have. The aim of this section is to introduce the omnipresence of coloniality in tiki bars books and sources and therefore introduce the last section and the necessity of works such as the Pasifika project to decolonize the knowledge around tiki bars.

5.2.1. The link between tiki bars and Polynesian cultures

As seen in the precedent section both owners' first contact with Polynesian cultures was through American movies or TV series and they understood only later in life what they saw in the movies and TV series were in fact somewhat linked to Polynesian cultures. In their case, this also means that they realized quite late that tiki bars were linked to Polynesian cultures. In the case of O1 he mentioned that his first experience with tiki bars was in Iceland in 2016, when he went to a tiki bar called bar Ananas, he thought it was just some tropical bar. In his case it is later, when he started working in cocktail bars that he discovered where different types of cocktails were coming from and therefore discovered the existence of "tiki bars and tiki cocktails" but at the time he said he still understood tiki as only meaning tropical. His understanding of tiki as a synonym for tropical is one of the issues that is raised by tiki critics, as they demonstrate that majority of people experiencing tiki bars will have this same understanding of it as tropical and will never fully grasp where it is from, either by lack of curiosity, lack of sense of responsibility or simply because people usually do not go to bars to get educated, but rather to relax and entertain themselves.

In the case of O2 the discovery of tiki bars and their link to Polynesian cultures was quite similar, she mentions discovering that bars could have themes when she started working in a bar which was a dive bar at the time which built through time an underground music community. Later she visited a tiki bar in Oslo, and she says she fell in love with everything around the cultural appropriation "the drinks, the atmosphere, the decoration, the music" she characterizes this bar as "probably one of the most beautiful and meaningful one in terms of decoration and what a tiki bar should be in the world". In her case she gave meaningfulness to the tiki bar in Oslo by the tribute it is presenting to Thor Heyerdahl as the leading explorer of the Kon-Tiki expedition, once again, not a tribute directly made to Polynesian cultures.

It can still be noted that for both owners it is the actual action of opening of tiki bars that lead them to get to know more about the link between tiki bars and Polynesian cultures. For O2 it is possible to say that her discovery of happened a bit earlier following her visit to the tiki bar

in Oslo which like for many tiki enthusiasts ended up with a certain fascination, obsession and sense of community. What is interesting to note here is that through the analysis of the documents they used to educate themselves on tiki bars, where they are from, and what they do represent the owners feel like they understand better that tiki is not just tropical, but then what is it? O2 did say during the interview that before reading on “tiki culture” she thought tiki bar concepts come from Hawaii and she understood that they do not, “they actually come from the US”. But by analyzing the fact that she linked herself tiki bars to Hawaii, thanks to the movies and TV series she got to discover an Americanized Hawaii from, which means that there was confusion in her own knowledge, as the tiki bar concept she imagined coming from Hawaii, was built in her thoughts from American culture she got to know Hawaii through. Therefore, we can even wonder if a link to real Polynesian cultures was ever made, even though Tiki is a Polynesian word, that can be found in different Polynesian cultures with slight variations; one could even argue that Tiki term and similar stories can be found in other Oceanian cultures than Polynesian. Both owners got to know through their readings that the aesthetic of tiki bars was somewhat taken from the South Pacific, from craft cocktail making books and books on “tiki culture” they read and are giving free access to their staff in their bar. And one can argue that the only reason Polynesia is even mentioned in tiki concept by the actors of the movement is through the link with escapism and mass tourism in Hawaii, creating a shortcut for many if not majority of the consumers of tiki bars who will therefore only link Polynesia and Hawaii to what they see in tiki bars and American representations. Both owners stated their awareness of the link between tiki bars and Polynesian cultures started when they did research before opening their bar. This section analyzes the sources the owners identified as their main one to educate themselves on “tiki culture” and Polynesian cultures; in order to understand the degree of education that was realized by the bar owners as well as the influence of their sources on their views and understanding of cultural appropriation of Polynesian cultures.

The first one this thesis wants to mention is a quick introduction to reaffirm Hall (2007) point on the construction of cultural representation from language, this book is *titled GERMAN TIKI – Aloha, cheers and prost*; published by the German Hubertus circle’s tiki working group for bartenders joining the Hubertus circle. As mentioned precedingly, some liquor brands, like Jägermeister in this case, used tiki cocktails as a way to expand their market and take more space in the craft cocktail community space. What is relevant to this thesis is the very use of

“German tiki” and why such use of language is actively participating in cultural appropriation, the term Tiki is taken very far from its original sacred meaning, it is not understood in its original sacred meaning and will not be shared and spread in its original sacred meaning. As well as mentioned before, languages, idioms are meant to evolve with society, but as long as the society makes them evolve without power relations between cultures and making a culture invisible after colonial history, such evolution of language is not problematic. C1 when asked what she was expecting of the studied tiki bar she visited, she stated that for her the presence of the word Tiki she was expecting a bar culturally charged with meaningful Polynesian artifacts that would somewhere portray the importance of sacred cultural symbols for Polynesian or even in a broader sense Oceanian peoples, showing how for her being familiar with Polynesian cultures the term Tiki means something different than what the owners spread through their bars and understood through their readings, tiki representing a bar culture with American roots.

But to understand even better the degree of coloniality of the bar owners’ knowledge on tiki bars it was relevant to analyze the coloniality of the sources they used to educate themselves. The three following books were found in the shelves of the studied tiki bar as free sources for the staff to understand “tiki culture” and tiki cocktails, Cate, M. & Cate, R. (2016) *Smuggler’s Cove: Exotic Cocktail, Rum, and the Cult of Tiki*, is the book that is pushed by the bar owners to be read by the staff in order to understand everything around tiki including cultural appropriation, the depth of tiki and its link to Polynesian cultures. All of these books were identified by O2 as the books she used to educate herself on cultural appropriation in tiki bars as well as “a quick google search on what is ok or not to do”. O1 in his case did make the difference between the sources he used to educate himself on “tiki culture” and the ones he read in a particular effort to tackle cultural appropriation. If he seems a bit more aware of the difference to be made between the knowledge can be brought by tiki books and tiki critics articles, he also recommends to his staff to read *Smuggler’s Cove* to educate themselves on cultural appropriation, and did identify to me the podcast of Martin Cate, the author of *Smuggler’s Cove* (2016) as a source he used to educate himself on Polynesian cultures and cultural appropriation.

- Jeff Berry is an American author known in the American hospitality industry, mainly for his work on researching lost recipes of tiki cocktails and is even portrayed as a

historian of “tiki culture” thanks to his numerous books on the subject. In the studied tiki bar were two of his books:

- *Beachbum Berry's Potions of the Caribbean – 500 years of tropical drinks and the people behind them*; Jeff Berry (2017)
- *Beachbum Berry's Sippin' Safari – in search of the great “lost” tropical drink recipes... and the people behind them*; 10th edition; Jeff Berry (2007/2017)

In his book *Potions* (2017) Jeff Berry makes multiple statements placing him in what this thesis has identified as the biggest reasoning behind the cultural appropriation of Polynesian cultures which is escapism. Indeed, Berry (2017) in his book *Potions from the Caribbean* wants to give back its place to Caribbean rums which have been associated to tiki bars for long, and he does address in some way the merging of anything tropical, by dominant capitalist cultures of the time “each successive wave of foreign vacationers re-branded the Caribbean to suit themselves. [...] For the international resort developers of the 1960s, the Caribbean became “Hawaii in the Atlantic.” Whatever the incarnation, there were always new drinks to accompany it: it imported cultural twists on the Trinity of rum, sugar and lime that brought different ingredients, techniques, and sensibilities into the mix.” This last sentence is relevant as it shows the orientation of the book used by the bar owners to educate themselves, it is a cocktail book, a bar book, it was not written by someone trained in anthropology or social studies, and it was not written by someone with a particular knowledge of Oceanian cultures. This lack of knowledge, Jeff Berry mentions it himself in his book *Potions from the Caribbean* (2017): “I was a Tiki nerd. But because of Trader Vic’s and his Grog, I became so taken with Tiki drinks that I ended up writing five books about them. I was halfway through the fourth when it finally began to dawn on me that, almost without exception, the drinks served in my beloved South-Pacific themed restaurants and bars all had their roots in the Caribbean. For more years than I care to admit, I’d been swimming in the wrong Ocean.” This statement also shows the limit of the interest on Polynesian cultures, the same limit that was stated by O2 who said during the interview that it is not question of Polynesian cultures really but of giving back “tiki culture” its past glory, therefore the interests of the hospitality industry is not a so-called fascination on Polynesian cultures, but much more oriented around tropical drinks, escapism, taking people out of their daily life but still in their comfort zone. Berry (2017) explained this paradox by quoting Victor Bergeron who “went to Hawaii to see about serving authentic Polynesian food, and quickly found that it wouldn’t do either: ‘How are you going

to make a pig in the ground in your restaurant?' [...] 'Furthermore, you can't eat real Polynesian food. It's the most horrible junk I've ever tasted.' [...] Vic became a culinary evangelist of what he called "international food", using his gruff, folksy 'trader' persona to elevate middle-American tastes while simultaneously pandering to them. He was good at it because he was just as xenophobic as his customers were." On the page 189 of this book Berry shares the recipes of multiple "tiki bowls" and explains in a frame "Tiki bowl: A ceremonial drink among the Polynesians. Served in a cup guarded by Lesser Demons with the symbolic gardenia afloat on the surface." With this explanatory frame I am not sure if he was just picturing tiki bowls as found in tiki bars or was trying to explain their role in Polynesian cultures, neither which culture he refers to exactly with "among the Polynesians", if he meant or knows even about Kava bowls which are indeed used in some ceremonies in many Oceanian cultures.

Jeff Berry's book *Sippin' Safari* (2007) is still used by many bartenders and bar owners as a starting point to build a tiki cocktails menu and understand the classics such as the Mai Tai or the Zombie. This book has also been used by the bar owners as a way for them to differentiate "bad tiki" from "good tiki", therefore understanding that the good, proper "tiki culture" would equal understanding and tackling cultural appropriation as if it was just a concept associated with cheap kitschy tiki bars. "Since this renaissance began at the dawn of the 21st century and well into its first decade, Tiki drinks were shunned as part of the problem: processed, syrupy slush, the antithesis of artisanal "craft" cocktails mixed with fresh, house-made ingredients. *Sippin'* set out to prove that properly made Tiki drinks were craft cocktails – that they too belonged to the canon of classic American drinks. Tiki bars have since gone from being the dirtbags of Craft Cocktail High to prom king and queen." This quote really showcases Jeff Berry's goal alike the goal of many other tiki enthusiasts which is giving back to "tiki culture" its past American golden era glory; therefore, using his work as sources to develop your knowledge on Polynesian cultures cannot work, and will not be representative, and you will participate in the silencing of Polynesian cultures and more generally Oceanian cultures.

- Martin Cate "is a rum and exotic cocktail expert and the owner and creator of Smuggler's Cove in San Francisco. His book *Smuggler's Cove* is the one pushed by O1 as the book to be read by the staff to understand cultural appropriation and "tiki culture."

- A podcast with him was identified to me by O1 as one of the sources to learn about tiki bars, and their link to Polynesian cultures: Bartender at Large, Conversation w/ Tiki legend Martin Cate
- *Smuggler's Cove – Exotic cocktails, rum, and the cult of tiki*; Martin Cate with Rebecca Cate (2016)

Not to repeat exactly the same arguments presented through the presentation of some of the work of Jeff Berry, the work of Martin Cate is in the same orientation, a tiki enthusiast who pushed his fascination and passion to getting to know more about “tiki culture”, dedicated his life to it and worked on a book used as a great way for bartenders and people outside of the industry to get introduced to tiki bars, their history, their evolution and the craft cocktail making that associates with. There is yet one thing missing like in the work of many before, the visibility of Polynesian people. One of the main ways for tiki enthusiasts to defend themselves and argument the critic of colonialism in “tiki culture” is to give it other names “Polynesian Pop fantasia” (Cate, 2016) “faux-Polynesian” (Cate, 2016; Berry, 2017) showing that people are aware of the fake and not accurate representation of Polynesian cultures. Cate’s work can be justified like Berry’s books presented before as oriented towards the drinks, and rums, the hospitality industry, with one main component missing which is Polynesian cultures. It would not be fair either if they were to write on cultures, they are not part of, know very little of, and could risk a worsening of the misrepresentation of the appropriated cultures, yet there are ways to introduce the need for critic eyes around the tiki bar concept. Just like for any other tiki bar enthusiasts, Cate fell in love with the escapism “I always loved tiki and the aesthetic and the design, the spaces but the final piece of puzzle was making the drinks”; “I wanted it to be a semi-autobiography, like so many people before me became so captivated by this experience, this sense that tiki bars and these drinks and wonderfully immersive spaces were shelters, safe harbors, in the sense that you could everyday escape from your terrible job in 1956 going back to the kids after working for a terrible boss. But you can stop for a moment, get inside, there is no windows so you can forget about outside and you just can feel it for a moment and think I can just sell it all, I can move to an island, and I can just sell coconuts on a beach, you know? It feeds fantasy that was a way for people to escape.” It is this escapism argument which is also spread by the bar owners as the sincere, good-hearted actions that are not meant to hurt anyone therefore pushing bar owners not to really question in which ways they are damaging Polynesian cultures through

their business and the image they keep on spreading. This argument takes the responsibility away, of any appropriation or even racism, that take place in “tiki culture”. This argument is also stated by Cate (2016) using same words that were used by O2 in her interviews where for her cultural appropriation was about giving “tiki culture” its authenticity back, and taking away the cheap kitschy tiki bars that are seen as more disrespectful than “proper” tiki bars: “That was where that kind of confluence of craft cocktails and the rebirth of tiki kind of came together. Smuggler’s Cove was to bring back tiki and deepened the rum knowledge. We had to show that it was very sincere and not snarky or ironic. We wanted to seed people’s opinion a little bit and we think it worked.”

But if Cate like many other tiki enthusiasts and defenders use the argument of being fascinated, passionate, not culturally insensitive but having found a new way to honor Polynesian cultures, the information on Polynesian cultures and that are given are colonized, inaccurate, incomplete, and lacking the voice of Polynesian people: “mainlanders started carving the tikis themselves, occasionally with an eye to their South Pacific origins, but more often with ‘a whimsical and naïve attitude toward another people’s extinct religion,’ as historian Sven Kirsten puts it.”; “What might be perceived now as culturally insensitive were then simply enjoyed for their uncommon appearance and ‘dangerous’ appeal. [...] These figures guarded the entrances to countless restaurants, bars, hotels, and apartments [...] some were for good luck, other repurposed by canny restaurateurs into an imagined ‘god of drink’ [...] The tiki was a useful vessel to imbue with your own sales goals. The take-home souvenir tikis in the gift shops of the era were also given imaginary attributes.” If Cate is here obviously showing that there is a difference of acknowledgement of what might be culturally problematic with tiki bars from the 1950s, there is this justification of “they did not know any better” but there is also an assumption that being culturally insensitive did not really do any big wrongdoings to these societies. Here there is the idea of tiki concept just being culturally insensitive and not damaging comes from the assumption that it comes from an extinct religion, that no Polynesian person believes in such things, that it comes from myth and legend that were meant to be lost to civilization. Yet, Tiki, carrying other names in other Oceanian cultures comes from the world of the invisible and the sacred, another dimension world that is omnipresent in majority of Oceanian cultures, beliefs that did not disappear with Christianization but survived and possibly evolved by its side, a world that new generations of Oceanian peoples are being loud about preserving. As an example, at the page 320 of

Smuggler's Cove are presented photos of tiki bars as example of proper tiki decoration, in this bar is visible a small lamp with what would be called a tiki by people only familiar with the appropriated term tiki, but it appears in fact to be a replica of a chambranle, a Kanak figure from New Caledonia/Kanaky, a figure still used nowadays and positioned at the entrance of traditional huts. They are identifiable by the geometric lower parts under the head of the sculptures, these geometric patterns actually represent the traditional handmade mats that were wrapped around the corpse of a deceased before burying them. These chambranles are posted at the entrance of traditional huts as the spirits of ancestors protecting and guarding the entrance, entrance that are made particularly small so that you have to bow to the ancestors, the protecting spirits, and be humble as a sign of respect before entering. This practice is not extinct, these beliefs are not extinct, and yet their sacred symbols are used without any understanding of their meaning in fantasist, escapist bars. But this knowledge cannot be spread, shared, and known if it is not given by people from the appropriated cultures, and if therefore the knowledge is not decolonized by their visibility and their voice. Denying the close link of what is called "faux-Polynesian" to existing Oceanian cultures and the damages such appropriation can create causes erasure of these cultures. Therefore, the knowledge the bar owners of the studied tiki bar could develop by reading the two precedingly analyzed book is only limited to "tiki culture" and if mentions the term Polynesian, does not give any decolonized knowledge of Polynesian cultures, nor a clear idea of what is being appropriated by this bar culture, or what it means to appropriate a culture through entertainment practices that are seen as harmless.



Figure 1 - Photo taken of an illustration from *Smuggler's Cove* (Cate, 2016)



Figure 2 - Chambranle Kanak - <https://www.aguttes.com/lot/79516/6977036>

Figure 3 – Multiple Kanak sacred spirit symbols found at the entrance of traditional huts – Facebook page of Le Musée de la Nouvelle-Calédonie

5.2.2. Research on cultural appropriation

As seen in the precedent section the work of the authors used by the bar owners as their main source of knowledge can be considered as colonized knowledge and therefore participating in cultural appropriation: “My growing collection of vintage aloha shirts, Oceanic carvings, Tiki mugs and ‘Exotica’ music – midcentury easy-listening albums [...] with vocals comprised entirely of bird squawks, frog chirps and ape calls – could not have been further removed from the contemporary zeitgeist. For all I knew, I was the only Polynesian in the world.” Tiki culture became for tiki enthusiasts as being part of another subculture such as punk culture; to the difference that punk subculture is not appropriating symbols of colonized cultures and not building misrepresentation of a whole colonized region of the world, as just by associating “exotica” music by Martin Denny who named one of his album “Primitiva” it is calling the cultures of those islands primitives in opposition to “civilized Western societies” and it is also participating in the spread of lack of knowledge: placing ape calls in the South Pacific where there are no apes, or using cheetah prints covered tikis for “faux-Polynesian” when there also are no cheetahs in the South Pacific. Therefore, this section focuses on the analysis of the documents shared to me by the owners as other sources they used to educate themselves on the controversy of tiki to tackle cultural appropriation, and the ones that I could indeed place as critical towards “tiki culture”. The point of the quick analysis of these documents is on one hand to differentiate them from the “tiki culture” ones presented before, but also to identify in what ways the owners applied or not what they read from the critics of tiki to the studied bar; as they both stated to me having read about problematic mugs and were presenting it as the major effort to tackle cultural appropriation they did in their bar.

- A) Mayo (2021), *Racism 101 Asked and Answered: Mugs, Cocktails and Statues – Is Tiki a form of Cultural Appropriation?*
- B) Punch Staff (2020), *The Problem with Tiki*
- C) Birsdall (2019), *Tiki bars are built on cultural appropriation and colonial nostalgia. Where’s the reckoning?*

In document A) Mike Roe is answering, in a video, questions about whether tiki culture is appropriation, and he mentions that it is a hard one to answer as it can be seen as both appropriation and celebration, an embracing of the culture. He reminds that it is a concept and vibe that was created by white men in the thirties, who represented Pacific islands as a place of vacation and not a place where people actually live. He also mentions that his

Hawaiian family did not really hear so much about tiki, that his mum even found it “cute”, he mentions that one of the reasons a lot of Pacific islanders do not have issues with tiki culture is that a lot of the beliefs and practices around Tiki have died out, due to imperialism. He does mention a certain positivity to “tiki culture” and that progressist people within the culture are trying to change things like for example by not using the term tiki and using instead the term tropical, taking away the cultural specifics while still recreating a relaxing atmosphere. Mike talks about the difficulty answering the question of cultural appropriation of “tiki culture” as there is misrepresentation in tiki culture but for a long time it has been the only kind of representation of Pacific islanders existing, therefore, completely deleting tiki bars could reinforce the lack of representation of Pacific islanders. Mike Roe hopes for a better representation, more authentic both to the past and today’s revalidation Pacific islanders have on the representation of their own culture. He concludes his video with “we all get better when we listen to one another”.

Mike Roe’s video around cultural appropriation in tiki is what O1 stated as his favorite dimension about this discussion, tiki critics are opening the discussion and wanting to show to “tiki culture” actors what is wrong about it and what can be done better, not just accusing, and pointing fingers but inviting people to question themselves.

In the document B) from Punch, are addressed the subjects of “racial inequities, personal accountability, tiki’s history of appropriation and cultural insensitivity”. The article presents three personalities “leading the charge in reexamining the genre’s place in modern cocktail culture”: Chockie Tom, “co-founder of Doom Tiki, a non-appropriative pop-up series”, Mariah Kunkel and Samuel Jimenez “founders of Pasifika Project, an organization by and for people of Oceanic descent working in the hospitality industry.” Chockie Tom with Austin Hartman founded Doom Tiki now Doomersive, a fundraising non-appropriative pop-up bringing attention to problematic issues “while benefiting different cultures and communities that are still dealing with the aftereffects of colonization.” Samuel Jimenez talks about a lot of the discussion he holds around tiki having started when he started being vocal on social media about his opinion on the subject which later turned into a seminar “Making Waves: Tiki through a Polynesian Lens”. Mariah Kunkel mentions like Mike Roe the lack of representation of Pacific Islanders that people build stereotypes and ideas from cartoons, like Lilo & Stitch or even tiki bars, therefore lacking any truths or narratives from the human beings behind the culture: “I just want to help to uncover and amplify real stories, real people and help people

understand why some of these things are harmful in terms of, you know, generational trauma and replicating colonization through tiki.” Chockie Tom: “Even the name is annoying for me because as much as we want to switch it to ‘tropical’, we can’t actually start the conversations and [reach] the people that we want unless we refer to it as ‘tiki’. [...] Right now, we’ve got this changing thing... There’s the old school and then there are the newer people. And the old school tends to be a lot of gatekeeping, out of touch, appropriative, older white dudes that are like ‘this is our thing’ and ‘this is our culture’ and ‘the Polynesian people should be grateful that we are aware they exist because we respect their culture, and we value them’. But there are also a lot of newer people that are more cocktail oriented that aren’t into neocolonialism or colonial roleplay or LARPing or whatever. But even within those communities... there still needs to be a lot of conversations about cultural appreciation and working with each other instead of profiting off of the pain of another group of people”. Samuel Jimenez “As messed up as it may be, I think there is a little bit of validity to the fact that Polynesian pop and tiki allowed for people to open themselves up to Pasifika cultures [...]”. Those are all introductory quotes from the article from Punch on a very thorough and interesting conversation around the problems and more positive aspects around “tiki culture”, showcasing multiple organization, seminars, businesses that are all doing efforts towards decolonizing tiki bars and giving their voice back to Pacific islanders.

In the document C) from Birsdall (2019), the author mentions as well the great work of authors such as Jeff Berry, Martin Cate, and also Donn Beach and Victor Bergeron for what they brought to the American hospitality industry, but Birsdall studies in his article the “colonial nostalgia”; “And that’s the problem with tiki: how to honor its real contributions to mixology while resisting the parts that dishonor indigenous people, misuse their iconography and exploit their sacred traditions. In a woke world, is there hope for tiki?” This article from Birsdall is very complete, putting in opposition words from tiki advocates like Martin Cate, Sven Kirsten and others to Pacific islander scholars decolonizing the knowledge and representation of their own ethnicity. “The more we allow it to continue, the more it looks like consent from the Polynesian community. We have to draw the line somewhere” Epi Aumavae quoted by Birsdall.

These three articles that are indeed more around cultural appropriation, the visibility of Polynesian cultures, their misrepresentation and the colonial nostalgia of tiki bars were given to me only by O1. O2 limited the sources she identified to me as the ones on “tiki culture”

and what she called a quick google search on the tiki mugs that were problematic. By knowing what mugs are being used in the studied tiki bar as well as reading the sources they used to educate themselves I can assume that they limited the problematic mugs to the ones that would be representing hula girls, the ones sexualizing Pacific islanders, or the too cartoonish representations of tikis, but they decided to keep the mugs representing tikis that seem more authentic in the way they envision Polynesian cultures.

It was interesting to read and compare the different kind of sources used by the owners to educate themselves as one of the conclusion that seem possible to draw is that O1 and O2 both fit in one of the categories mentioned by Chockie Tom, O2 fitting more the profile of the gatekeeper of “tiki culture” feeling part of the subculture into colonial nostalgia and the Americana culture even if she does not realize that her justifications of appropriation place her in that category. In the case of O1 he seems more fitting the newcomers of tiki bars, ready to listen to Pacific islander voices, to their inputs and to respect their limits, as from the very beginning he also was the easiest one to approach when pointing out actions or elements in the studied tiki bar that would fit more appropriation than appreciation. In terms of the everyday peace practices, they realized to tackle cultural appropriation with cultural appreciation the first wave of decoration they chose for the studied tiki bar was closer to actual representations of Polynesian sculptures and symbols than it is the case now after the addition of new elements like the cheetah prints. In other everyday peace practices, they realize towards cultural appreciation, both have the desire to discuss and share the knowledge they have around Polynesian cultures, the knowledge is debatable but the desire to participate in the discussion around the controversy of tiki bars is present. In my opinion after the analysis of the data, if O1 seem to be willing to increase his education on Polynesian cultures and to be reading Pacific islanders’ opinions on tiki bars for the respect and sake of Polynesian cultures that he is not particularly passionate about but wants to respect with his business; O2’s motivations appear different. Indeed, her efforts of education and development of knowledge on Polynesian cultures is different and evolved between the first discussion I had with the owners before the opening of the bar, and almost two years after the opening. At first O2 was very concerned about what might look like cultural appropriation, how it might be received by the customers, the feedback they would get. She was very vocal about wanting to celebrate Polynesian cultures, admire them, appreciate them, and not participate in appropriation as much as possible. During the interview we had almost two

years after the opening of the studied tiki bar she was much more involved in defending “tiki culture”, its founders, wanting to give back tiki bars their past glory and even talked about cultural appropriation made by “bad tiki bars” towards “proper tiki bars”, as if in that case Pacific islanders are not the victims of cultural appropriation, but the authentically inauthentic faux-Polynesian bar culture is the victim of cultural appropriation from the mockery bars that gave bad press to this bar culture. Therefore, in her case it can be concluded that she is passionate about the Americana culture, the colonial nostalgia and that her efforts to tackle cultural appropriation were not directed towards Polynesian cultures or Pacific islanders but on a business level of how her bar would be received by customers in a more and more woke world as mentioned by Birsdall (2019). The evolution of the bar owners’ knowledge of Polynesian cultures is questionable, as mentioned by Mike Roe or Mariah Kunkel, the very fact that they opened a tiki bar and participated in “tiki culture” it developed at least a bit of a clearer idea around Polynesian cultures and even if misrepresented it made Pacific islanders more visible and existent in their lives; but such argument cannot become an excuse like presented by Chockie Tom to justify appropriative actions. O2’s continuity of development of knowledge or how she keeps educating herself on Polynesian cultures, she does not really, she is interested in acquiring more decoration, whether it is real Oceanian artifacts or vintage “faux-Polynesian pop” objects. O1 keeps educating himself mainly when we were having discussions, or through ingredients he could use in the cocktail menu that are more representing the South Pacific. But in both of their case the education they realize is very superficial. Indeed, during both interviews, I asked them if they knew about the Pasifika Project founded by Mariah Kunkel and Samuel Jimenez, they both answered negatively. In the case of O2 she did not hear about them and did not read anything relating to them; O1 if he also said he did not know them or their work, in the three articles of this section he identified to me as his sources for cultural appropriation in tiki bars, the authors mention or in Punch’s case the whole article is around the work of Pasifika project and other organization to discuss the issues of tiki bars. The lack of identifying the important information of decolonization process like the work of Pasifika project, can be analyzed here as well that the articles were read not with a goal of decolonization of one self’s knowledge or about the visibility of Pacific islanders in tiki bars, but rather in the owners reassuring themselves or taking only the elements from the articles justifying their own everyday practices as not appropriative but appreciative.

5.3. Can Polynesian cultures benefit from tiki bars?

In the case of the studied tiki bar, in the state it is currently, and in my personal opinion the answer is no. All the customers interviewed also were of the opinion that no sharing of Polynesian cultures can happen from the studied tiki bar; that they did not learn anything more about these cultures. C2 mentioned the risk for people unfamiliar with Oceanian cultures to think that Polynesian cultures are limited to one and only culture and that what is in the bar is what it looks like. EC3 who did not have knowledge of Polynesian cultures or tiki bars before getting to know the studied tiki bar also mentioned that she got to know more about tiki cocktails and discover that tiki bars are a vacation vibe themed type of bar, with the owners sometimes using the word Polynesian, but she does not know more about what Polynesia includes, mean, or if it just concerns Hawaii.

5.3.1. Promote and highlight the appropriated cultures.

O1 mentioned that one way he wants to try and advocate as much as he can by explaining what the bar is to customers asking and introduce around which culture it is based. He also identified the best way for him to support and advocate for Polynesian cultures as him gaining more knowledge. He also mentioned a desire of increasing the studied bar social media presence and taking this opportunity to highlight the cultures that are being appropriated through social media post. He is though also aware that if such work can raise awareness, it can also have a negative impact if wrongly done, and that is why the need of continuing to educate himself. In the case of O2 that was her answer to how does she think she can advocate and support Polynesian cultures: “by trying to educate people around the culture in itself and specifically on tiki bars, because we are not talking about Polynesian cultures generally, but about this particular bar culture. Educating and introducing people to different things and maybe change their minds, there are very few complaints around cultural appropriation that we had”. So in O2’s case even if the interview was presented as the effects of cultural appropriation of tiki bars on Polynesian cultures and that this question was about how she could personally or through her business advocate for Polynesian cultures; she wants to advocate for “tiki culture” and not Polynesian, she separates both and seem to feel like tiki bars need more saving and advocating than Polynesian cultures in this context. It is not the case of O1, the two owners do not share the same view around cultural appropriation of their

shared business, which is also adding a complexity to the situation and how their business could benefit Pacific islanders; as they are not understanding and approaching it the same way, and their own financial gain in the business comes first as it is their livelihood.

5.3.2. Financially support Pacific islanders

On top of educating themselves the main everyday peace practices both owners identified as ways for them to tackle cultural appropriation and move toward cultural appreciation was by financially support Pacific islanders' communities. They did not identify particular communities or organization they would like to donate money to, but they did mention that one of their bigger plans once the business would be making money was to give a percentage of the benefit made from selling merch or selling some decoration when making it evolve to Polynesian cultures, through associations like the ones fighting climate change. This was not yet put in place after the year and a half of opening of the studied tiki bar, but could be followed in some years, as it is at least a constant thing both owners have been saying conjointly and separately on a two-year period.

Another way they mentioned their effort to appreciate the cultures and support them is by buying decoration as much as possible directly from the source. But as shown precedingly in this chapter, the fact that cultural appropriation is understood differently between the owners, O2 believes that by buying "tiki culture" artifacts from businesses like Oceanic art in the US she is participating in cultural appreciation, while the effort should be put towards Pacific islander artists. O1 talked about stimulating Hawaiian economy by buying artifacts from there; Hawaii being an American state it would be more appreciative to be sure to order art from native Hawaiian artists directly, and not just order from Hawaii. Many Pacific islander artists are promoting their cultures through recreating their traditional art or modernizing it, artists like [cannibal.art.marquesas](#) mentioned earlier, and many others. In an era of social media platforms and indigenous people being more and more vocal on taking their visibility back, finding Polynesian artists or more generally Pacific islanders' artists to order from to decorate a tiki bar is very possible, but it takes time, research and an investment that can be more important than ordering fake mass-produced objects. But if bar owners are willing to put money in hand carved sculptures made by white American men owned company because of their historical link to tiki bars, if they really appreciate Polynesian cultures, they should be able to put the same money if not more on artifacts made by indigenous artists from the

cultures they exploit for their business. Just as presented by Daniel McMullin (2013) if some people like Sven Kirsten or O2 present American Polynesian pop as a harmless naïve appreciation of Polynesian cultures, for the majority of people unfamiliar with Polynesian cultures or Oceanian cultures “Tiki kitsch is often mistaken for Polynesian art but is a European American visual art form [...] based on appropriation of religious sculptures of Tiki a Polynesian deity and ancestor figure. [...] These narratives and objects about the Pacific Islands were in fact about the West itself.” This is why it is important for Pacific islanders to decolonize the representation the world has of them from Hollywood movies or tiki bars, but the process of decolonization from indigenous cultures is engaged, for a significant period of time, it is now time for tiki enthusiasts, tiki bar owners, or even just people who have no idea of how colonized their view of the world is to question through which lenses they look at the world. People need curiosity and open-mindedness paired with a need of questioning where is the source they are reading is coming, from whom, in which context, for which purpose. Pasifika project is a gold mine for tiki bar owners and tiki enthusiasts to decolonize themselves and actively participate in re-humanizing Pacific islanders and permitting their accurate representation. Not by talking instead of them, but by listening, reading, and understanding what Pacific islanders are revendicating. The decolonizing practices exist, and they have been existing for a while, it is time for people to open their education to these sources, accept they were mistaken and not be defensive when it is showed. In the case of tiki bars, buying and selling products made by Pacific islanders would also participate in decolonization and support of native people, this knowledge of Pacific islanders’ companies can be obtained by following the work of Pasifika project, very present on social medias. Following the decolonization of Pacific Islanders representations can also be done, following Pacific islanders advocates on social media, reading academic work written by Pacific Islanders, or by following Oceanian artists like Yuki Kihara’s (2004-2005) triptych shown in the chapter 4 of the thesis. Indeed, by this Kihara’s triptych can be seen as directly responding to some of Gauguin’s paintings representing Polynesian women and the Western image of beauty standards that were imposed on them. Kihara by her photos decolonizes this representation and the Western idea of only two genders existing by re-existing and representing herself as a Fa’afafine, giving back to Samoan people the representation of their women, or non-binary society the place that was taken away from them by colonization.

By his poem TIKI MANIFESTO, McMullin (2016) exposes the loss of meaning of Tikis in tiki bars and the impact such appropriation, misrepresentation and misuse can have, encouraging the idea that for bar owners to really appreciate Polynesian cultures they should order arts and artifacts from indigenous artists, they should read sources from indigenous Pacific islanders, they should discuss and get in contact with Pacific islanders, as long as the process of making tiki bars more appreciative than appropriative will not go through discussion with Pacific islanders the results will be mediocre. It is Pacific islanders' decisions what are the boundaries of symbols to be used for decorations or mugs, the words to be used or not. There are many ways tiki bars could benefit to Polynesian cultures, whether it is by using music from Polynesian artists of any style instead of American surf music, buying decorative objects from Oceanian artists and putting their names visible for customers in a way to promote their business, organize events in bar that can help fundraising for issues in the South Pacific, work hand in hand with Oceanian consultants, Pacific Islanders consultants on how to make your bar less appropriative, get in touch with association like the Pasifika project and be opened and receptive to criticism in order to better your business. The difference between ordering a sculpture from a Pacific islander or someone outside of the culture matters not to cause erasure as presented by McMullin (2016):

“And yes it looks like Polynesian sculpture sort of not really
but what is the difference, the difference is this, we didn't make it
or if we did it was someone desperate but probably not any of us
just someone making a buck carving shit for drunks

The difference is this, our sculpture is beautiful, tiki kitsch sculpture is ugly
Not because they look so very different but because their shit
Is supposed to be ugly
Because we are supposed to be ugly
And if we are ugly then they are beautiful
American or European or Australian or Asian or
A lot of us too and anyone can be beautiful and expensive
As long as tiki kitsch is on the walls looking ugly and cheap”

Chapter 6 - Conclusions

From the different chapters developed in this thesis as well as the various decolonizing documents about tiki bars provided by the Pasifika project as well as the constant work of its founders on social media to do everyday prevention on the misrepresentation of Pacific Islanders this thesis can state that cultural appreciation can be seen as the most effective and appropriate way to tackle cultural appropriation. It was though identified that the definitions of both concepts are highly subjective and can therefore lead to confusion or the voluntary misuse of such subjectivity to justify appropriative actions. The idea of cultural appreciation in tiki bars is not new as it is already the way that critics of the tiki concept are approaching the discussion with tiki enthusiasts in a way to end the misrepresentation of Polynesian cultures all while not completely deleting any Pacific Islanders representation.

This thesis aimed to understand the contemporality of the controversy of tiki bars and the decolonized sources existing on the matter. Therefore, the goal of this thesis was certainly not to speak instead of Pacific islanders but rather to apply what they have been showcasing as problematic outside of the US market and analyze how it was understood if at all noticed by the owners of one tiki bar in northern Norway. The choice of the case of study was made first because of the proximity and easy way for me to communicate with the bar owners, and in a second decision that the controversy of tiki bars is for now mainly understood in the context of the American hospitality industry. The point of this thesis was therefore to also show that in a globalized world, cultural appropriation realized by a colonizing culture on a colonized culture can spread its issues by being repeated in territories not having any colonial history or particular ties with the appropriated culture, even if in the case of Norway maybe the Kon-Tiki expedition can be thought about as some historical link.

When the subject thesis was first thought of, I was very optimistic over the idea that tiki bars can be culturally appreciative, and could even become a special place of promotion, prevention, representation and support to Polynesian cultures or even more generally Oceanian cultures. During the process of research and writing the limits of understanding of the studied bar owners often projected me on the pessimistic side of tiki bars being doomed to be culturally appropriative and harmful to Oceanian cultures. But through multiple discussions and the interviews it seemed that some people whether O1 or staff members

were really receptive of what could be raised as issues, or even went reading on their own documents shared by the Pasifika project when the association was mentioned to them. It is these kinds of practices paired with the preceding analysis that led me to conclude that a shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation in tiki bars is possible, and that one day Polynesian cultures and possibly other Oceanian cultures could benefit from tiki bars, but how?

It is people from these cultures who will redefine the tiki concept, it is them who will frame what is appropriative or appreciative. Many bars nowadays have brand managers or communication officers working on the public image and the presence on social medias of hospitality businesses; tiki bars could employ Pacific islanders for these jobs or could at least present as a job task of such positions to educate themselves and get in contact with association such as the Pasifika project to tackle their own cultural appropriation. Pacific islanders are already redefining the limits of what tiki bars should and should not do, whether it is about mugs that can be not problematic like from the company Doomersive; about music why use American music when plenty of Pacific islander musicians could benefit from being played in tiki bars; about which artifacts are authentic or not, once again plenty of Pacific Islander artists are selling and shipping their arts all over the world; about the cocktails and ingredients that can possibly be linked to South Pacific flavors, bartenders from the South Pacific are sharing their recipes and more and more liquor brands or brewery are emerging as being Pacific islander owned. The decolonization of tiki bars is possible, and Pacific islanders are already making the compromise of accepting that some of their symbols can still be used in “tiki culture”, now all they need in this context is to be met by non-Pacific Islander bar owners and tiki enthusiasts who need to accept that the framing of what tiki bars should be does not belong to them but to the appropriated cultures.

The analysis chapter ended up being shorter than desired as I wanted to study and analyze more the decolonizing practices realized by Pacific Islanders towards their representation and more specifically in the context of tiki bars. As much as the subject is fascinating, I realized when reaching the redaction that it is outside of the scope of this thesis that would be too long and would take some attention away from the everyday peace practices the bar owners do and the ones, they think they are doing in order to tackle cultural appropriation. Therefore, this thesis is framed around the reception and following action by white western bar owners of the issues, raised by Pacific islanders, their business are causing.

Hopefully, this thesis is contributing to the field of Peace and Conflict transformation, by reinforcing the UNESCO (2021) statement that “the protection of culture is not only a cultural issue; it has become a security imperative”. This is even more important in a context of climate crisis which will render a lot of Oceanian people climate refugees, therefore the protection of their traditional knowledge as well as native people’s agency is necessary. Both for Pacific islanders’ cultures to survive natural disasters, protect cultural rights and cultural identity as culture is vulnerable to collateral damage or intentional destruction. In the case of Pacific islanders’ histories this mainly happened during colonization, but collateral damages made to their cultures are still visible today and are the basics to systemic racism still happening in some colonized territories as well to the persecution of individuals based on their cultural, ethnic, or religious affiliations, therefore giving room for division and conflict to rise. I believe that strong protected, shared, and cherished cultures are the path to the building of confident identities that are resilient and willing to participate in peacebuilding measures at the utmost of their capacities. Culture and its protection have their role to play in the enhancement of indigenous peoples’ agency and women’s agency.

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Appendix A

Are you interested in taking part in the research project

“From cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation – Case study of a Tiki bar in Norway”?

This is an inquiry about participation in a research project where the main purpose is to participate in the academic efforts focusing on presenting the possible solution of cultural appropriation as cultural appreciation. In this letter we will give you information about the purpose of the project and what your participation will involve.

Purpose of the project

This master's thesis hopes to participate in highlighting the importance of peace from below concepts and role in changing the issues of cultural appropriation, and the possible grounds cultural appreciation in tiki bars could give to educate and raise awareness among people to the challenging situations Oceanian people are facing, many of which are directly caused by colonialism or are at least still influenced by a colonial exploitative past.

Research objectives:

- Analyze the evolution of knowledge and awareness on Polynesian cultures of the bar owners, of customers with knowledge of Polynesian cultures, of customers without knowledge of Polynesian cultures.
- Analyze through their experience the possibility to shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation.
- Analyze the possibility to make a Tiki bar a place of education and prevention on Polynesian cultures.

Research questions:

- Is a shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation possible?
- How did the owners educate themselves, and do they keep educating themselves on Polynesian cultures?
- Can Polynesian cultures benefit from Tiki bars?

Who is responsible for the research project?

UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet Fakultet for humaniora, samfunnsvitenskap og lærerutdanning/Senter for fredsstudier (CPS) is the institution responsible for the project.

Why are you being asked to participate?

This thesis will base its research on main method of qualitative unstructured interviews of three different pools of interviewees, the main pool of interviewees is two bar owners of the studied Tiki bar, the research focusing on their own personal evolution and shift from cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation, the interviews are a mean to understand their

personal efforts and the evolution of their knowledge of Polynesian cultures after carrying the project of opening a Tiki bar. The second set of qualitative unstructured interviews will be employed with two different customer groups that all have visited the studied Tiki bar. One of this group will have some knowledge of Polynesian cultures through environmental factor and the other group will have no known prior knowledge of Polynesian cultures. This second pool of interviewees will be interviewed as a mean to understand the extent of the impact of the bar owners' self-education on Polynesian cultures.

What does participation involve for you?

The data collection of this thesis will include personal data analysis of the interviewees put in relation with the literature review used in the thesis, this thesis is about the possible greater reach of personal experiences, awareness, and self-education. To collect personal data this thesis will employ exclusively qualitative unstructured interviews. These interviews will be conducted in face to face when possible or via calls. There will be a sound recording as well as a written report for all interviews in order to treat the data later. These interviews have different goals depending on the interviewees pool:

- As a bar owner if you chose to take part in the project, this will involve that you participate in an open and unstructured interview about your own education around Polynesian cultures and cultural appropriation. This method of interview is based around seven guiding questions to frame the subject discussed, leaving you the freedom to elaborate or not on some particular answers. The duration of the interviews is flexible and bordered by the interviewees' schedule. Your answers will be recorded electronically.
- As an individual who visited the studied bar, if you chose to take part in the project, this will involve that you participate in an open an unstructured interview about your knowledge of Polynesian cultures, your understanding of the concepts of cultural appropriation and cultural appreciation and your experience in the studied Tiki bar related to the previous concepts. This method of interview is based around seven guiding questions to frame the subject discussed, leaving you the freedom to elaborate or not on some particular answers. The duration of the interviews is flexible and bordered by the interviewees' schedule. Your answers will be recorded electronically.

Participation is voluntary

Participation in the project is voluntary. If you chose to participate, you can withdraw your consent at any time without giving a reason. All information about you will then be made anonymous. There will be no negative consequences for you if you chose not to participate or later decide to withdraw.

Your personal privacy – how we will store and use your personal data

We will only use your personal data for the purpose(s) specified in this information letter. We will process your personal data confidentially and in accordance with data protection legislation (the General Data Protection Regulation and Personal Data Act).

- The people having access to the collected personal data will be the student realizing the thesis Emilie Dubroux who will treat the data, as well as the professor advisor of this project Ana Luisa Sanchez Laws who can ask to consult the data to ensure the proper running of the research.
- To ensure that no unauthorized persons are able to access the personal data, your name and contact details will be replaced with a code. The list of names, contact details and respective codes will be stored separately from the rest of the collected data, the coded personal information will be stored on a USB disc until the publication of the thesis and will then be deleted.

A part of the participants can be recognizable or identifiable. It will be the case for the two bar owners who will be interviewed, as the opening date of the bar as well as the region of the country it is located in will be named and they will be identified as the bar owners. If desired by the participants, the information making them recognizable can be made anonymous.

What will happen to your personal data at the end of the research project?

The project is scheduled to end May 15th, 2023. At the end of the project none of the personal data will be stored, everything will be anonymized when collected, and deleted when the project ends, this includes personal data and digital recordings.

Your rights

So long as you can be identified in the collected data, you have the right to:

- access the personal data that is being processed about you
- request that your personal data is deleted
- request that incorrect personal data about you is corrected/rectified
- receive a copy of your personal data (data portability), and
- send a complaint to the Data Protection Officer or The Norwegian Data Protection Authority regarding the processing of your personal data

What gives us the right to process your personal data?

We will process your personal data based on your consent.

Based on an agreement with UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet Fakultet for humaniora, samfunnsvitenskap og lærerutdanning/Senter for fredsstudier (CPS), Data Protection Services has assessed that the processing of personal data in this project is in accordance with data protection legislation.

Where can I find out more?

If you have questions about the project, or want to exercise your rights, contact:

- UiT Norges Arktiske Universitet Fakultet for humaniora, samfunnsvitenskap og lærerutdanning/Senter for fredsstudier (CPS) via Ana Luisa Sanchez Laws (supervisor) by email: ana.l.laws@uit.no or Emilie Dubroux (student) by email: edu005@uit.no
- Our Data Protection Officer: Sølvi Brendeford Anderssen by email: personvernombud@uit.no or by telephone: +47 77 64 61 53
- Data Protection Services, by email: personverntjenester@sikt.no or by telephone: +47 53 21 15 00.

Yours sincerely,

Ana Luisa Sanchez Laws
(supervisor)

Emilie Dubroux (student)

Consent form

I have received and understood information about the project “From cultural appropriation to cultural appreciation – Case study of a Tiki bar in Norway” and have been given the opportunity to ask questions. I give consent:

- to participate in an interview
- as an owner of the studied bar, for information about me/myself to be published in a way that I can be recognised: opening date of the bar, region of the country it is located in.

I give consent for my personal data to be processed until the end date of the project, approx. May 15th, 2023.

(Signed by participant, date)

Appendix B

Interview guide for bar owners of studied bar

1. How did you hear of Polynesian cultures the first time, how were you imagining/defining them?
2. How did you hear of Tiki bars the first time, did you know their link to Polynesian cultures?
3. Were you familiar with cultural appropriation before planning on opening a Tiki bar?
4. What did cultural appropriation mean to you? Did you know you might participate in this issue? If yes, how did you decide to tackle it or not?
5. Do you know more about Polynesian cultures after opening a Tiki bar than before? Would you say that you are comfortable enough in your knowledge of the Polynesian cultures to advocate for them?
6. Do you think you can support Polynesian cultures through your business/yourself if yes, how? why?
7. Do you think your Tiki bar can raise awareness through the customers? How?

Interview guide for customers who visited studied bar

1. How did you hear of Polynesian cultures the first time? How were you imagining/defining them?
2. How did you hear of Tiki bars the first time? How aware were you of their link to Polynesian cultures?
3. When visiting the studied Tiki bar in Norway what did you expect? How was it similar/different from your expectations? How was it relating to your knowledge on Polynesian cultures?
4. Are you familiar with the term cultural appropriation? How does it define itself for you?
5. Are you familiar with the term cultural appreciation? How does it differ from appropriation for you?
6. If there was a spectrum opposing the two concepts of cultural appropriation and appreciation, where would you place the studied Tiki bar and why?

7. Do you feel like the studied Tiki bar could be a place to support and raise awareness on Polynesian cultures and the Pacific? Can you see a future where Tiki bars are not culturally problematic?

