

HAWAII, THE LEGEND THAT SELLS

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The forests and the very appealing middle and upper slopes, especially on Haleakala, support a wide range of landscapes which so far have been little used for recreational and tourist purposes.

In listing visitor industry resources, limited attention is given to the everyday aspects of human life on the Valley Isle. These, I believe, are of major consequence to the visitor. The cosmopolitan community is both attractive and interesting to outsiders: Japanese, Hawaiian, part-Hawaiian, Filipino, Portuguese, Chinese, and Puerto Rican all have contributed to the composition of the population. Each group retains at least something from its source culture in speech, song, dance, food, or clothing. Although in many ways each group is distinctive, their common island history and heritage have welded them into a relatively coherent community, not without internal differences, but nevertheless completely distinct from the mainland or newly arrived haole... Although tourism is now the major activity, visiting Wailuku, the county seat, is still like going through a prosperous country town with few signs of visitors... It is as though the west was the island's flashy front of hotels, condominiums, and entertainment spots. The eastern towns and settlements house the fundamental behind-the-scenes support activities. And if you lived on Maui this is where you'd buy a car, license it, see a lawyer, consult an architect, buy furniture, go to the dentist, or attend the community college.(61)

A major highway, opened in 1971, made travel from the airport to Lahaina...considerably easier. Several attraction areas are not served by major roads, but people with the inclination to get away from crowds and the perseverance to do so will not be disappointed. This, though, is not likely to last forever. A good north-south if not a circum-island road is bound to come. In a highly visited area like Maui, bad roads can sometimes be a blessing in disguise. Hana and Kipahulu in the southeast of the island retain their unique charm, rural industries, and higher Hawaiian populations largely because the area is so remote.

If not now, certainly in the near future, educational and cultural facilities will play an important role as essential resources.(64)

During the 1060s, Maui's hotel inventory grew by over 835% from 290 to 2720... The success of this radical development was itself a spur to further development...the next decade saw a total of almost 9500 rooms, a spectacular increase of 6500...

The 1980s may see 2,000,000 visitors arriving annually on Maui, a figure which probably would have appeared horrifying to observers in the late 1960s or to people who made the island their home in the expectation of long-lasting peace and tranquility...the same characteristics which brought people in the early days are bringing 16,000 daily visitors now.(64)

[2017 Stats= 2,7 million visitors to Maui; 2.9 day average; \$4.76 billion revenue]

In addition there are those, a considerable number, who stay in their own condominium units or that of a friend, or one rented through mainland contacts. Few of these people are likely to be accounted for in

statistical surveys. Condominiums on Maui outnumber hotels 4:1. It is not inconceivable that in a decade this will become 5:1.(65)

An analysis of owners in a well-established Kaanapali condominium complex shows the significance of Hawaii-based ownership. Of owners 35% is from Hawaii, mostly Oahu, 44% from the Pacific Coast, and the remainder from elsewhere. New condominiums have a much higher out-of-state ownership, perhaps 75-85%. Condominiums have always been an important element in the development of Maui...their share of the overall accommodation inventory is unlikely to lessen... Under these circumstances total hotel-apartment inventory would be no less than 11,800 and possibly as high as 12,500.(65)

Condominiums are characterized by problems not found in hotels. Management is often spotty, owners' association are frequently not prepared to put sufficient resources into management... Quality, mixed at any time, has a ready potential to deteriorate. After initial construction is finished, condominiums characteristically employ fewer persons than hotels, and again, in comparison with hotels, may make less of a contribution to the local economy.(65)

Major assumptions of the plans [1969-71] were that by 1990 Maui would receive about 1,000,000 visitors annually (a figure already exceeded); the average length of stay would increase from 3-5 days; and rather than 25% of visitors being local island people, there would be only 4%... The plans seriously underestimated the numbers who would arrive and overexaggerated the allowable accommodation units for those who did. The function of condominiums was not clearly understood then, nor was there any real link established between hotel/apartment units and employment needed locally.(68)

[Maalaea-Makena Area]

The region is primarily a holiday place for mainland and international visitors, a declining bedroom suburb for Wailuku and Kahului, and a center of retirement. The outward signs of tourism dominate: 3 major hotels and over 40 condominium projects.(71)

The human resources of the area have changed considerably. The Hawaiian component, 56% of the population in 1970, was twice the island average; Caucasians represented less than 20%; and the Japanese and Filipino populations were low. 5 years later I estimated the composition of the population at 30% Hawaiian and perhaps 40% Caucasian. By the end of the decade [1979] the Caucasian element had increased to 55-60%, a typical effect of tourism development... Today the population is greatly increased, mostly haole, and well educated. Signs of dissatisfaction with development are few, but the "Save Makena" movement cannot be ignored or passed over lightly.(73)

[Big Owners]

In Maui 13 owners have rights to 97% of the land. 11 private owners have 48%--the most valuable areas. Most of the rest is in the hands of the state and federal governments.(77)

[Development Issues]

In Hawaii the national context may be American, but the cultural context is not... In many ways, one who sells land for development is as much a force for development as the developer himself.(80)

Developers cater mainly to middle incomes, the rich, and the very rich. During the past few years even buyers in the middle income range have been eliminated by high condominium prices... Because in general, in the most desirable parts of Hawaii, developers provide accommodation well out of the reach of

the bulk of the population, great social distance may be created between resident occupiers who are most frequently in-migrants and local people or their families who, as the result of development, are often forced to live elsewhere in areas of lower land values or lower rents.(82)

[Tourism Impacts]

Wolbrink states bluntly that the major interest of the visitor industry is to make money. It is a simple economic fact that in order to remain in a competitive business, the visitor industry must maintain itself and produce a reasonable amount of profit for its supporters... The resident must deal with the lasting consequences of poorly planned development, while the visitors and the industry enjoy a mobility that would allow them to escape an unpopular situation. A careful analysis of the needs and interests of the residents must be developed and the mechanism for updating this information must be found... I frequently have observed that resident input has been ignored, called for halfheartedly, or has come into conflict with the views of forceful specialist resident groups.(80)

Some say, "Leave us as we are"... a sentiment hard to understand when the ratio of visitors to residents runs 20:1. The administration's [County] view has been to preserve the unique life-style. This may be vain hope as the three major resorts under construction could easily increase the population by 60-70,000 affluent, Caucasian, sophisticated urbanites.(145)

[Impacts]

By now it should be clear that tourism is a subject about which the public is ambivalent. The advantages of tourism are not always acknowledged—something which representatives of the industry are incensed about...(183)

In the name of better and safer transportation to a nearby resort, previous access to the coast has been replaced by more difficult public road access with limited parking space... Removal of a coastal road allows resort landscaping to the beach's edge without interference.

At Wailea, physical access is physically limited by the placement of access roads and the number of parking spaces associated with each access. In contrast hotels guests without the need for parking have unrestricted use of the shoreline. The public is restricted and can no longer drive close to and parallel to the beach while choosing where to park. When such accesses are completed the public use noticeably declines with the effect that the beaches... The impacts are never all on the debit side. The beaches, now backed by resorts, are probably clean and free of the masses of litter characterizing numbers of free access beaches in Hawaii not associated with beach parks.(199-200)

The real dilemma concerning access is that resort development rests largely on the use of public resources—the beach and the sea. Consequently the community contributes substantially to an activity catering exclusively to a small number of people in relation to the total population. Local people, whose moral rights due to permanent residence should be greater than visitors and whose legal rights are equal to those of visitors, are in terms of beach access nevertheless restricted by comparison. Some argue this is a trade-off local people make for jobs in tourism and a higher standard of living.(201)

[People of Hawaii]

The forces which dominate the future will play an important part in determining the character of Hawaii's tourism development. Greater assimilation may help remove the gap between the decision-makers and

the governed, while increasing the antagonism of those not wishing to follow that route. Greater affiliation will preserve local integrity and a resource vital to tourism and not close the gap... There is a great gap between the affluent and the poor. The tensions also exist between haoles and non-haoles, between immigrants and old-timers, among ethnic groups, and among "locals," in-migrants, and the military. Tourism not only provides irritants but also emphasizes and brings into sharp relief a host of social and economic ills initially unrelated to it but attributed to it by many. The situation now is so bad that perceptive long-time observers see conditions as volatile and dangerous.(225)

[Host and Guest Interaction]

In the presence of tourists, human impact is in its rawest form. Here relationships have the potential for warmth, hostility, or something in between. Fortunately, friendliness has characterized Hawaii tourism for a very long time... Hawaii is lucky. In general from the outset of tourism a good-natured, harmonious, and controlled rapport with tourists has prevailed. This should not engender a sense of false security. All conflicts should be considered seriously as social danger signals. The corollary to this is that social signals are always early economic warnings about problems requiring attention. Hawaii has an excellent reputation for fine human relationships and stability but this is not maintained without constant work... Trouble usually emerges from the role of tourism in the overall social and economic mix not necessarily from tourism per se, a point which is frequently overlooked.(226-27)

[Visitor Experience]

Every tourist arrives in Hawaii with a preconceived idea of local life and tropical paradise. Elements making up this mental picture come from persons who have previously visited the state, television, films, and magazines. This is the pre-contact level, where the mystique of the Pacific, if not specifically Hawaii, gathered from artists such as Gauguin or LaFarge, writers such as Stevenson, Twain, or Michener, and articles from the *National Geographic* or *Sunset* magazines help color the imagination... Some information is probably good but much is misleading and second-rate, stressing color, sensuousness, and romantic ambience, a small part of the total picture.(227)

Promotional advertising and travel stories emphasizing sights, events, and leisure activities while downplaying but not excluding the foundation of the state—the people—leave much to be desired... For many visitors such mixed information including stereotypical descriptions of their hosts is their only preparation for a foray into a very different society. With this mental map, an inadequate and haphazard preparation, the tourist experiences his first on-site contact. He is bombarded with unusual stimuli to which he is potentially receptive. He now experiences the natural environment...together with stimuli stemming from buildings, busy streets, quiet rural areas, local people, and other visitors. This is all added to the already existing personal picture of Hawaii.

As a result of propinquity and insecurity, a tourist relates easily with other tourists and includes them inside his ego boundary, a new mental map, a small organized territory around himself, his family, and others from the tour group, together with a few local people whom he feels he has already come to know... Gradually, the ego boundary is extended to encompass other secure things, for example, persons extending friendship and further elements of a newly found world...the original and the newly forming conceptualizations attempt to accommodate each other. Sometimes they symbiotically merge, in other cases they may be in conflict.(227-28)

With the pressure of mass tourism the generation of aloha can become a difficult performance for some, easily replaced by curt offhandedness.(229)

Local people will not evaluate motives. They will evaluate respect for the people of Hawaii and their land. Respect is the key to rewarding individual experience.(229)

[Host Experience]

Although all residents have seen tourists, relatively few meet them frequently. The tourist stereotype then is an image derived from those residents who are in contact with tourists or who feel they know them. It has a very shaky basis but is, nonetheless, a genuine perception of the host group. Just as local people become stereotyped by promotional material, word of mouth, and sometimes living out the stereotype, so too are tourists devastatingly stereotyped by the Hawaii community... It is rare then that the tourist has the opportunity to rid himself of his own stereotypes to become an individual.(230)

The economic or social bonds, limited by a short period of contact, may at best be partial. A Hawaiian realtor may be charming to a visiting potential client in a Wailuku office, but truculent to a tourist harassing him with questions as he nets fish on Sunday at Makena. A special channel of rapport is opened for a particular purpose.(231)

...I am convinced that in general those who stand to gain markedly from tourism have developed a different consciousness from those who do not... These persons would be tourism's advocates and I will reiterate a previous point that the greater the return from tourism, monetary or otherwise, the greater the recipient's positive response.(232)

[Friendly Interactions]

Scale is overwhelmingly important. Within a Hawaii community, whether or not tourism enhances or is subversive largely depends on the scale of activity. Most persons and communities can tolerate tourism on a modest scale. Once the scale exceeds a limit, which will vary with the type of tourism, the ratio of tourists to local people, and the extent to which tourists financially support the community, tolerance becomes another matter.(332)

In Hawaii there is evidence that when there is time and visitors evince an interest in local people, local people in turn reciprocate with a friendly response. The same may be said about tourists who actively and genuinely seek information about district history and the land on which local residents live...

The indigenous people of Hawaii, like all Polynesians, have a traditional sense of hospitality. Many local people, while still being proud of their ethnicity, have added this Hawaiian tradition to their personality traits. The welcoming and entertaining of strangers is part of the Hawaii way of life. With large-scale tourism or constant exposure to tourists, hospitality may easily wear thin especially where tourists exist only as faces in a crowd or symbolic sources of income. The predisposition to amicability, nevertheless remains... It is a valuable asset in need of nurturing. It does not just appear and stay indefinitely. Like all relationships it needs working on and the application of respectful reciprocity.(233)

Oppression in the tourist context of Hawaii...could be more correctly described as exploitation. In this connection I would like to bring out two important elements. First, the islands of Hawaii are distinct, completely circumscribed parcels of land on whose shores visitors from the mainland and other countries

arrive. To some extent, consciously or unconsciously, they are seen by some local people as violating local territory.(234)

Second, the past relative remoteness of Hawaii has developed a special homeland cultural coherence, a mixture of numerous cultural traditions and internalized values derived from early mission and plantation activities, visits to the mainland, past visitors, and from schooling and the media. All island populations are peculiarly vulnerable to sudden change, and inroads made by outsiders can readily be interpreted as a cultural threat. Significant numbers of representatives of Hawaii communities are likely to be most sensitive to this invasion, more so than representatives of mainland communities which are invaded each summer by tourists usually from the same society. The situation developed, without a doubt, contributes toward alienation.

Another source of alienation has to do with the visitors' leisure behavior. Local residents (many of whom have been raised in a morally conservative work-ethic environment) see only the carefree attitudes and lessened responsibility of visitors during their leisure travel. Sometimes the difference of attitudes and values jars local people.(234-5)

Leisure travel is based on discretionary income and local persons serving the visitor during his leisure may never see, in their lifetimes, sufficient surplus income to do the same thing elsewhere. Rich mainlanders appear to flaunt their affluence in the face of less fortunate residents. This situation has a basis in fact. Tourist industry employees are not well paid and comparisons are made between their income level and the incomes of the affluent who visit Hawaii... In 1977 the median family income of visitors to Hawaii was around \$22,000, that of Hawaii residents 1/5 lower, while that of Hawaii visitor industry employees 12% less still. The income disparity then between visitors and industry employees taken along with the high cost of living, high land values, and the necessity for several persons in the same family to have jobs is enough to provide a predisposition towards discontent. The perceived income disparity alone is not the problem. What is a problem is the disparity exacerbated by the marked differences between two societies.

One potent force leading to alienation is the feeling by residents that the local way of life is being whittled inexorably away by unacceptable outside influences... Nevertheless, changes that are seen as a consequence of outside interference are viewed as assaults on local integrity. One must be careful to distinguish between acceptable and unacceptable change. Unacceptability is almost invariably associated with what is seen as imposed change, or with change which is so rapid it shatters the gestalt of the local person, or both... Attitudes and values engendered in colonial times, now with contemporary counterparts, still remain the most influential factors. Only the role players have changed. Some people call this situation neocolonialism, a not inappropriate term if you conceive of a new breed of colonizer: the developer, the hotel operator, the tourist, and the mainland entrepreneur... behind some of the new colonizers one finds to a degree the same patronage, exploitation, and paternalism found earlier in the century and before.(229-30)

In the overall tourism activity the most important factor of all... is the relationship between guests and hosts. Where this attitude is characterized by mutual respect, friendliness, and helpfulness, the satisfaction of the visitor is well nigh guaranteed and the life of the resident is infinitely more satisfactory...(237)

[Human Impacts]

Relatively little has been written about the human impacts of tourism.(238)

The average weekly wage of hotel workers is exceeded by just about every other group except laundry workers. The hours worked per week average about 32 which along with those in the retail trade is about the lowest.(241)

...residents carry the state and county tax burdens for around 100,000 tourists a day and an unknown number of seasonal condominium residents. Under these conditions survival requires a much higher than minimal wage...(242)

...increased growth in tourism is associated with decreased per capita disposable income...

Tourism wages are likely to continue as a perceived problem... The problem is not only concerning economic survival, it has the potential too for increasing social conflict.(244)

The number of people working in service industries, security systems, restaurants, and fast food outlets is particularly high. Hawaii has an inordinate number of real estate sales people, large number of persons working in retailing and transport, and more than its share of small entrepreneurs in specialty businesses catering to the tourist. In 1977 the former sleepy village of Kona had fewer than 200 real estate agents. At the end of 1979 this settlement supported 400 real estate sales people working for 33 brokerage firms.(244-45)

[Real Estate Values]

The apparent irrationality of the rich is an advantage for the developers of expensive, high-class condominium units, but how does the local family fare under these circumstance? Low and moderate income families and young people suffer immensely... Although per capita income in 1978 was 8% about the national average, the cost of living was 24-30% higher.(249)

[Changing Life-Style]

For hundreds of local people, there is no doubt that their most treasured possession is their island life-style, the fear of loss of which gives them grave concern...

Tourists seldom consciously or directly destroy a way of life, but they do contribute... It is largely an alien and homogenizing force which does little to strengthen local ways but actively works toward their ultimate demise.(260)

One of the most graphic signs of changes is introduced architecture.(261)

After New York, more people rent in Hawaii than in any other state: in 1977 it was 65%.(264)

Something has already been said about the rather homogeneous 'condo culture' found at Kailua-Kona, Kihei, Kaanapali-Napili, Poipu, and Hanalei. At the present time it is possible to think of such settlements as being largely separate from local people. This will not be case forever...

Should condominium accommodations become more popular than they are now for visitors, so that the distinction between condominiums and hotels becomes blurred, then the characteristics noted above will become less obvious... What has happened is the development of a distinctive social separation. The resort areas with their impermanent, seasonal, and permanent residents have a style and stamp completely their own: homogeneous, uniform, white, and relatively well-educated (approximately only 61% of

neighbor island populations have a high school education). Because of high land prices and taxes, young people who formerly lived with their families in the area now live elsewhere. The attractive resort areas are thereby serviced by local people—Asian, Hawaiian, and mixed—who may well live down the coast, inland, or 10 to 30 miles or more away on another coast. Many travel long distances daily to serve the affluent.(265-66)

[Symbols of the Outsider]

Remove the tourists from sight, and some residents will still be aroused by symbols of tourism. Many of tourism's human impacts have some symbolic expression. Irritating symbols may take many forms and, of course some may include inflated prices or crowded roads, the proliferation of golf courses or the deterioration of fishing...

Irritation may come in the form of changed landscape—gardens in place of rural forest or familiar shrubs, or high and massive buildings, out of place in a Pacific setting and defiling a coastline. The absence of beach access to a coastline which was always freely accessible can be galling. So too can be “no trespassing” signs which say “guests only allowed beyond this point” placed on land which was an area where local children played 10 years ago.

Circulation may seem directed, territory restricted. New primary territories are created and psychological barriers abound. A resort area, an enclave of outsiders, may be technically accessible to local people, but psychologically not. State law may say that beaches are public property, but if they are backed by alien buildings, the territories of their occupants effectively penetrate the beach and are an impediment to local use.

At time residents must feel incensed when they find themselves using place names that have been imposed by the tourist industry, by developers, or by real estate interests all attempting to create geographical images to their advantage and of no real advantage to local people. “Seven Pools” in Hana is not “Seven Sacred Pools,” a flagrant use of false Hawaiiana. Little Tarawa and Ferkany Beach meant something to picnicking Mauians before the early 1970s. But now the same beaches have been renamed Mokapu. Ulua (Little Tarawa embraced two beach crescents) and Polo—euphonious yes, but not names previously used by the local people. And then to call the part of Kihei where condominium sales were faltering Waikapu-by-the-Sea is ridiculous when Waikapu is four miles away and well mauka of the shore.(269-70)

[Coping Strategies]

Residents of Hawaii living close to tourist concentrations have a potential for habituation, the ability to tune out of consciousness constancies which occur over and over again and are predictable.

This is an important psychological coping mechanism which is put to work in development areas... In this way, local people may become numbed to environmental or social change, especially if they feel the situation taking place is inevitable and beyond their control... Visitors may be treated as though they do not exist, the counterpoint to visitors who see local people as objects rather than human beings. [270]

The overwhelming benefit of tourism is that it provides a major indigenous source of income at a time when the only other major source, agriculture, is everywhere struggling or temporarily on a heady

upswing. Where agriculture has failed there is no doubt the slack has been taken up or the blow softened by tourism. However, tourism is by no means a complete substitute for agriculture...(300)

In an actual situation on a small remote island in which most food, drink, clothing, and industrial materials are imported, in which local wages are low, and where tourism is in the control of a few large overseas establishments, the substantial leakage which ensues would result in a very low multiplier characterizing the operation...multiplier impacts represent only part of the total picture and...they ignore costs while assuming the existence of infinite resources. The multiplier, too, is an entirely economic notion and does not assess social costs or benefits.(301)

...for Hawaii during the first decades of tourism many establishments were local and smaller than they are now. This would have created higher income multipliers and a maximization of employment per establishment. Today local ownership is down, sizes of establishments are much greater, and the overall level of performance is probably as high as it has ever been...

Associated with the benefits of tourism is the fact that it provides over 100,000 jobs directly and indirectly—1/4 of the state workforce. Populations on the neighbor islands ceased declining as a result of tourism and family members were able to remain at home rather than migrate to Oahu or to the mainland to find work.(302)

The industry and its ramifications provide the traveling public and the local community alike with superb restaurants, good entertainment, fine shopping centers with a much wider variety of goods than they otherwise would have had, and relatively cheap, efficient, reliable air transportation to other islands and to the mainland.

The tax base is such that both medical facilities and higher education units are at a level above that found in other Pacific island countries and territories.(303)

Although highly dependent on the private sector, tourism...relies heavily on common or public resources. As it passes certain critical levels it rapidly erodes the resources upon which it is based. Tourism, then, cannot be viewed as just an economic activity and the sole responsibility of the private sector. The resident and the tourist must be considered.(318)

[Maui Tourism]

The industry is dominated by female workers (58%) whereas in the state only 2/5 of the workers overall are women. 50% of the industry's employees are married and 1/2 are less than 30 years old, making it a young group in comparison with state workers as a whole. The fact that many are young in-migrants influences the profile... There are two recognizable groups in the industry: local career people and a young Caucasian group, many of whom are in Hawaii for the experience for a limited period of time. This latter group is drawn to the state primarily by the special appeal of Hawaii rather than career opportunities has a relatively high educational level.

36% of employees have been in the industry for less than 2 years reflecting youth and recent arrivals...51% were born outside Hawaii and 1/3 of these have been in the state for less than 2 years. In other words, a new hotel will not contribute as it might to local job generation. When hiring has finished it is possible that from 1/3 to 3/4 of the new employees are outsiders with only limited residential claims.(323)

In comparison with the average, it is interesting to see the profile for industry management. 58% of managers are male compared with the female domination of the industry, and 47% are Caucasian as opposed to 31% among non-management employees. This is the highest percentage of Caucasians of any occupational group in the visitor industry. 19% of managers have a Japanese background and 12% are Hawaiian.(323)

As a destination area, Hawaii has characteristics which make it quite different from other Pacific island groups. Its political and historical connections create a tropical, exotic, removed, and distant extension of the United States...both agriculture and tourism exist at the present scale and quality only by virtue of their political and social linkages. These vital connections prop up what in the immediate past was a decidedly shaky agriculture and give the state direct access to about the one best tourist market it could have...

Hawaii then is very different from other places in the Pacific. But a cost is paid for these advantages. In Fiji, with a population of 500,000 people and an area comparable to Hawaii, fewer than ½ its residents have rights to the land. In Hawaii...with a population of around 1,000,000, over 220,000,000 have potential rights to land—rights of unlimited access. Within the span of a lifetime, a large number of those people have the opportunity of visiting the state and with them they bring mainland culture, high technology, and prevailing attitudes to environment and life. As an insular piece of tropical exotica alone in the central Pacific, Hawaii more than pays its dues. If the situation did stop at this point, it might be workable, but it does not. The millions with rights to land similarly have the right to migrate to Hawaii, and there is yet no known appropriate way to stopping them. Left to their own devices and without regulation, they will arrive until such time as the state no longer attracts them. If this were to be the case then the tourist industry would for all intents and purposes, no longer attract tourists, and, possibly any shred of local cultural integrity would have by then disappeared. The possibilities of an unattractive, crowded urban tropical outlier of the United States in the mid-Pacific constitutes a real problem which all in the state must come to grips with now or suffer with later.(343-44)

Each element—landscape, industry, agriculture, open land, clear air and water, local ethnic groups, single individuals, visitors, government, and developers—is a part of the whole. The objective and obligation of the human components are to hold this dynamic ensemble in a precise and rewarding balance so that each part is in a reciprocally sympathetic interrelationship with every other part, allowing each to develop its potential but not the extent that it impairs the reasonable operation of any other part. This does not come about by osmosis or propinquity. It is arrived at by good management and full participation...

Balance is an important concept. It suggests an acceptable and healthy proportion which must be maintained. It is important to maintain a satisfactory balance between urban land and rural areas, open land and forest, resort areas and residential districts, used areas and wild lands. Agriculture must always be balanced with tourism to widen the economic base, to help maintain ethnic variety, to preserve the Hawaii way of life, and to maintain open space. A reasonable balance between visitors and residents is essential as is that between local people and recent in-migrants...

Too much development, inappropriate development, development where it is not wanted or where the population is reluctant to increase momentum...may very well upset essential balances with undesirable repercussions. The motivation to develop must be balanced against the forces to constrain.(345)

Elsewhere I talked about the values and aspirations of local people. Not that I believe that these are the antitheses of mainland values or that they are homogeneous or uniform within Hawaii, but they can be seen as having enough common threads to be able to speak of a local way of looking at things, coping with life, and viewing the world. The industry readily recognizes a part of this distinctiveness which it identifies as being the very special aloha spirit. But is very obvious too that local well-established residents live in two worlds—one a creation of the founding ethnic groups, the other cultivated and imposed, associated with the mainland connection. Under such circumstances is it little wonder that at times local people exhibit a high degree of ambivalence revering Hawaii custom on the one hand, while enthusiastically seeking patterns of behavior and mainland symbols of affluence which are believed will give them a truly American stamp. A local person may operate in the two modes simultaneously, may espouse each alternately when the occasion demands, or may cast his lot entirely with one or the other. Whatever is chosen is never comfortable and a greater or lesser degree of discomfort is aroused with the realization that the essence of local integrity and authenticity—which alone is his—appears to become less each decade.(351)

...there comes a time when development, no matter how economically desirable, comes up against hard physical limitations. This is especially so in a situation where growth is pitted against finite resources, physical and social. It is nowhere truer than in Hawaii. The state is so small one can now every mile of coastline, every beach. One can count them. Where else can Honolulu grow but around the base of every mountain, engulfing good agricultural land in the process? How much more can be built at Waikiki?...If problem follows problem with alarming rapidity on Oahu, it will happen too on every other island.

The leading edge of development is in the hands of the entrepreneur who pays lip service to conservation and protection. But in an attempt to derive the greatest possible profit, the rather thin and shadowy conservation-development ethic may be pushed aside. Limits, the entrepreneur contends, inhibit individuality, impair freedom, infringe rights, encourage bureaucracy, invite corruption.(352)

Greater awareness on all sides would go a long way toward removing the emotional cloud surrounding tourism. Many academics, middle-class intellectuals, environmentalists, and liberals are biased against the industry. Industry spokesmen are equally narrow. A middle view may be seen as wishy-washy, yet is an absolute necessity for balance and stability. Greater awareness may also eliminate the industry dictum that criticism projects a bad image. Constructive criticism is the first step toward improving quality.(354)

...aloha spirit is the essence of what is best of Hawaii tourism.(356)

Aloha is...a factor to contend with. It has its roots in Polynesia but today represents the best of the collective consciousness of the state... It can be exploited and people can be exploited for it. It has two important self-reinforcing aspects—actual displayed characteristics and belief that it is there and exists. If there is one thing above all others that is untrue, then it is the belief that aloha can be turned on at will. It cannot. It develops. It is part of group's integrity and it can disappear. It most certainly will if human dignity and cultural integrity disappear.

It stems from Polynesia, a unique Hawaiian tradition, and the rural areas where numbers of Hawaiians and other ethnic groups lived together; it is helped by new groups identifying with the old simple friendly ways; and it is strengthened by an attractive environment. For the tourist industry, it is an adaptable quality which can be used with respect but never exploited. By many of the thousands of industry

employees imbued with high economic expectations of the American dream, it might very well be sustained for personal reasons where otherwise it might have become strained.(356)

Used wisely, aloha is a resource of exceptional value. It is sensitive, vulnerable, and could readily disintegrate at the hands of industry leaders who do not see its connections with other facets of Hawaii society and economy. For the industry to select preservation of the aloha spirit as a question of the utmost concern while playing down such problems as the cost of living, affordable housing, crowding, psychological stress of tourism, income distribution, and cultural authenticity is folly indeed. It is in fact the outward reflection of the social foundations of tourism, an expression of community well-being.(357)

Along with self-sufficiency there is a need for greater self-appreciation... This is separate from conventional hotel entertainment and embraces the provision of facilities for Hawaiians and all other ethnic groups to participate in cultural growth through industry help. Protection and reconstruction of historical sites and buildings can also enhance local living, increase the authenticity of the visitor's experience, and most importantly impart a greater sense of self-worth to local people.

I cannot separate environmental respect from ethnic respect which is part and parcel of self-appreciation and ecodevelopment... The Hawaii environment has been emphasized... It belongs to the people in the same way as culture. It is a Western habit to speak of the two separately. A deterioration of one is as significant as the deterioration of the other; both are inextricably interrelated and both provide much of the essential foundations for tourism. Both deserve more attention by the industry than aloha spirit.

[Scenario 1—Unfortunately seems too accurate a prediction]

Left entirely alone, little that was originally Hawaii other than the physical outline and appearance of the land would persist. Remaining spaces in urban classified areas would be filled with haphazard small-scale tourism and construction primarily for investment. There would be great pressure for spot-zoning outside today's resort areas and variances of all types would be commonplace. Mainland values would prevail. Land values would be so high that only the wealthy could afford to buy. Some would see a simplistic division between the privileged and the proletariat. The residue of an Asian-Pacific people would remain in hostile pockets under the shadow of an indifferent majority... At the slightest threat of government interference those who derived most from the economy would vehemently protest that controls only stultify...

The visitor industry would increasingly be promoted at the fastest rate outside constraints would allow. In-migrants would not be discouraged despite the excessive strain they placed on the land. This would, through crowding, lead to dramatic deterioration of the coastal zone especially in the availability of water, the quality of air, and the state of beaches and coastal waters. Resource limitations would be largely forgotten as new people still arrived to compete for jobs still available.(359)

Hawaii could ultimately become a cross between Puerto Rico and Florida—with subsidies and large numbers of retirees... further tracts would be opened up for ½ lots and retirement villages... Great income disparities would exist between the haves and have-nots. Population pressure would be relieved by a migration reversal back to the mainland.(360)

[Scenario 2]

Scenario 2 would be associated with ambitious education programs at all levels—focusing both on the top and the bottom. Education would stress the fact that healthy tourism needed regulation and wide public

participation... While a steady rehabilitation of Hawaii rather than a complete acceptance of mainland values took place, well-supported active lobbying would take place in Washington, exploring then eventually finding ways to amend the constitution in order to regulate in-migration and immigration. Investment for investment's sake... would be kept well in bounds. Both state and counties through existing legislation and cooperation would keep a firm check on the environment, water allocation, a desirable level of foreign investment and so on. Diversification in agriculture and industry would be an increasingly important component of the economy... Development would be desirably slow always allowing time for reevaluation and a change in direction. Higher unemployment may well accompany slower development.(361)

In Scenario 1, 20% of the people may gain immeasurably while 80% would be manipulated, exploited, or oppressed in some way or another. In Scenario 2, the 20% would feel their initiative stifled and put upon. They would feel hamstrung by unnecessary controls and would threaten to take their money elsewhere for investment...But, and this is important, the 20% would be decidedly unhappy would be those who have the greatest economic and political clout now, and consequently, would be unlikely to let the scenario come to pass.(361)