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ENDURING IDYLLS ?
A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF TOURISM IN
KONA, HAWAI'I ISLAND

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

GEOGRAPHY

AUGUST 1995

By

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This work is dedicated to my mother,
Lois M. Johnston,
in memoriam

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation studied a particular topic—tourism—at a particular place—Kona, on Hawai'i Island. The objectives were to refine the tourism theory that currently exists, to transcend the scope of an individual case study by generating theory that has broader applicability, and to utilize the generated theory to explain the Kona case. The conceptual framework functions at several hierarchical levels. At the top, structuration theory provided ontological guidelines. At the disciplinary level, a set of concepts was taken from the “new regional geography” school. These included the mandate to study a micro-region, to focus on place-as-process, and to be postmodern. The latter incorporated the projects of regional description and generic regions. A systematic approach, the geography of tourism, constituted the third level. Three projects were chosen: tourism resources; the destination area life cycle model (DLC), and tourist space. As a body of research, the dissertation attempts to be a work of new regional geography through integration of material at these different levels.

The results emerged from tourism theory in relation to case. For resources, contributions were: (1) that this is a superior concept; (2) development of the properties of type, availability and quality. Kona data were used to induce a typology. Four types of tourist resources emerged: environmental; social; cultural; service. The variety used by tourists in Kona today is narrower than in the 19th century. The DLC model represents process-as-stage-sequence. Seven properties of process were induced: a unit-entity; its internal characteristics; its users; its stages; the typical sequence and variations; change mechanisms; macro-structural influences. Kona initially had a typical life cycle pathway, characterized by facilitation. At a critical juncture, locals rejected

overtopping by high rises, inhibiting tourism. Resort enclaves were resisted but condominiums were built. This pathway is leading to an early departure from tourism, within the regional sequent occupance. Tourist “space” focused on the semiotics of markers and the relationship of “front and back” regions to “tiers” of businesses, the recreational business district model, and choroplethic zones. In Kona, sites are under-marked, areas are underutilized; this is likely to get worse.

The research showed that “place” demands equal ontological status with people in geography. Also, tourism in Kona is past its prime, hence the ? after *Enduring Idylls*?

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

"They don't know what they've got!" Jack London exclaimed to his hosts, while on his first visit to Kona in 1907. "Just watch this land in the future, when they once wake up!" (Both quotes from London 1917, 229.)

Eighty years later, readers of Hawai'i media might well have thought "they" had finally awakened. "The Big Bang Begins," proclaimed a special report of *Hawai'i Investor* (Wood 1987, n.p.), while Tune (1987, D1) asserted in the Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* that "Big Island Billions" were on the way. Both of these articles discussed the latest phase of tourism development that was sweeping over the State of Hawai'i. With Waikiki, on O'ahu, and the leeward coasts of Maui already heavily occupied by resort properties, it appeared that the Kona and Kohala Coasts on the Big Island of Hawai'i were to have their turn. Fully imbued with the optimistic business spirit of the Reagan era, these articles completely endorsed the vast changes in the coastal landscape that were expected to occur in the near future. Hundreds of new jobs in construction, the spread of money by the tens of thousands of satisfied tourists, the boom in real estate, and the expanded tax base could bring only unequivocal good fortune to the lucky island, and state. A source of a more official nature indicated that this would indeed be an expansion of potentially huge proportions. Data in the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau's *Visitor Plant Inventory* (February, 1987) showed that, for the Kona and Kohala districts, plans for 30 resort projects had been submitted for approval. These called for construction of more than 25,000 new hotel and condominium units. This was more than quadruple the existing total (5,908 units), which had required over thirty years of development to reach.

It was this situation of impending boom that initially gave the Kona case appeal as a topic for geographic research. Would this projected massive tourist development create a resort landscape similar to the others in Hawai'i, or to resorts elsewhere? What would be the long term impacts from so many resorts all constructed at the same time? Could knowledge of the development processes occurring in Kona be generalized into models of tourism development that would have broader applicability? Initial questions such as these motivated the creation of a

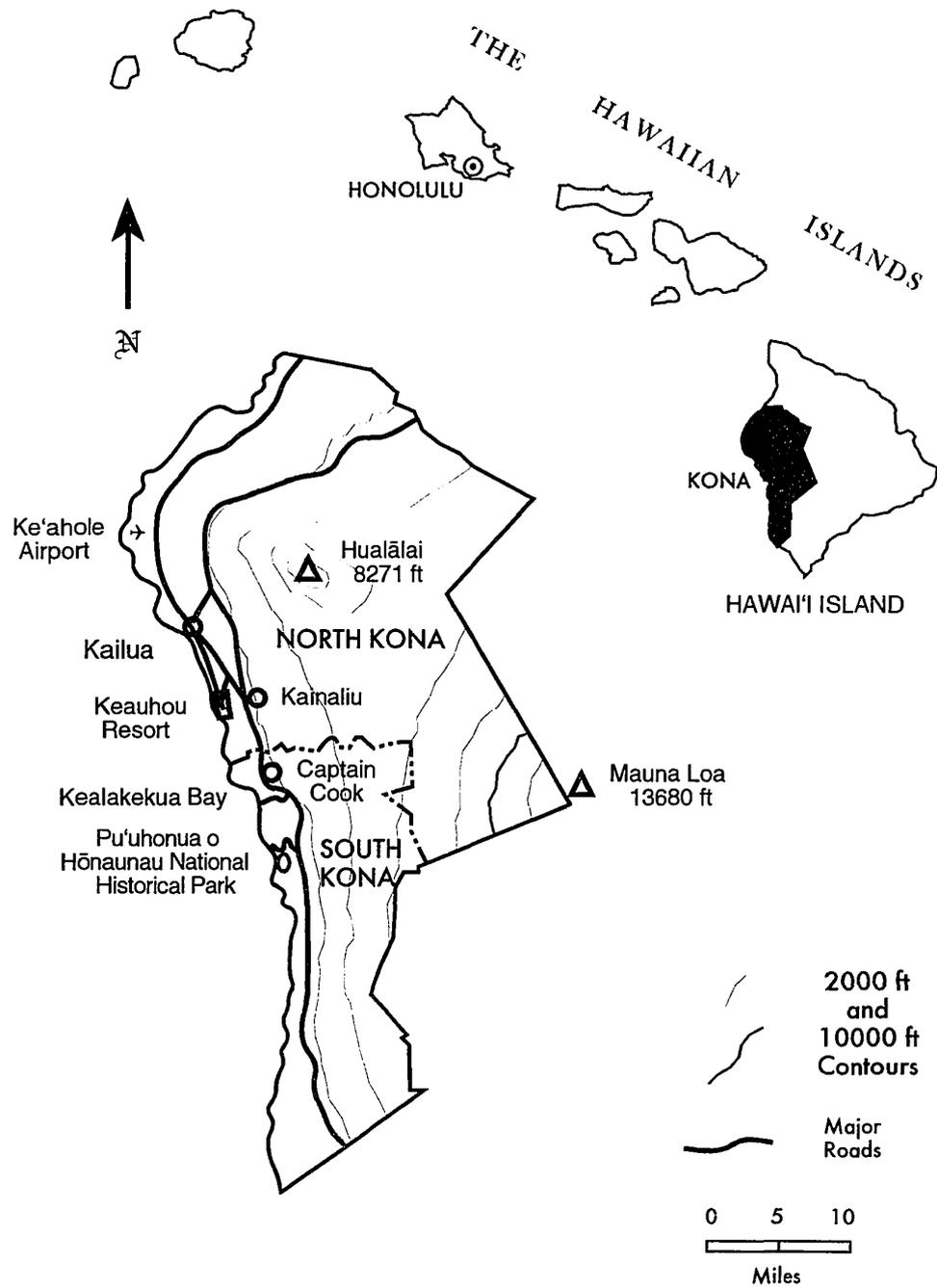


Figure 1.1 Reference map of the Kona Districts, Hawai'i Island.

conceptual framework from which tourist development in Kona could be academically examined. But before describing this, the Kona region will first be introduced.

KONA AS A "REGION"

Figure 1.1 shows the location of Kona to be the central western side of the Big Island of Hawai'i. The major airport for the region, at Keāhole Point, is 168 miles southeast of Honolulu (*Atlas of Hawai'i* 1972, 203). The locations of the most populous towns and major roadways are shown. Contour intervals show the steep rise of the land from the coast and the high elevation of much of the district, leading to the summits of the volcanoes Hualālai and Mauna Loa.

Kona's origins as a region are interesting. The contemporary, commonly understood translation of *kona* from Hawaiian into English is simply "leeward," meaning the side of something that is sheltered from the wind (Webster 1983, 1034). At one level of understanding, Kona as a district would simply seem to have been named for being to the lee of the prevailing northeast trade winds, sheltered by the volcanoes whose lava created the island's elevated topography. Etymological research by Fornander (1980, 17) in the 19th century, and more recently by Pukui et al. (1974, 279) provide a more complete understanding of the word.¹ These researchers noted that the Hawaiian word *kona* derived from the proto-Polynesian *tonga*, which is still the form used in the Tongan and Samoan languages.² In all cases the word is defined as the area on an island, or the direction of the wind, between south and west. Thus, the concept of *kona* has a broad cultural base and its proto-Polynesian form reveals that it expresses a dual notion of relative geographical position that is quite old.

In Hawai'i, the central meaning of position with respect to wind direction has been extended to weather conditions. Typically, macro-climatic conditions create "trade winds" that blow in a consistent direction. In Hawai'i, this is from northeast to southwest. The orographic effects of the high volcanoes create notably different rainfall and humidity conditions on the windward and leeward sides of the island. Kona sides of islands typically have warmer, drier weather than the windward (*ko'olau*) sides. When these macro-climatic conditions are not established, however, the trade winds fail and the weather changes. In Hawai'i, weather then

often moves in from the southwest. Another distinctive set of conditions prevails—hot, muggy, and breezeless. These conditions are known as "kona weather," because they originate from the kona direction. The meaning of kona thus has both positional and climatic dimensions, and the latter is to a certain extent caused by topography. On this basis, and because the term/concept was so widely spread throughout Polynesia, it is possible to conjecture that the first Hawaiian settlers, migrating up from the Marquesas, would have anticipated both the existence of, and the general environmental conditions within, the kona regions of the Hawaiian Islands, even before they arrived.

That they would then choose to name these areas of Hawaiian islands "Kona," was a cultural matter. Just because there was a part of every Hawaiian island that fulfills a set of kona environmental conditions does not mean those areas had to be so-named. However, within Hawaiian culture, it was customary to divide all the larger islands into regions, known as *moku* (Holland 1971, 26; Barrère 1983, 25; Kirch 1984, 258). On four of the major islands—O‘ahu, Moloka‘i, Kauai, and Hawai‘i—there in fact exist mokus specifically named "Kona" (King 1935, 215). This cultural practice can be interpreted to mean that kona must have been a basic and important regional concept to Hawaiians (as throughout the rest of Polynesia), perhaps because it reflected their intimate relationship with the environment.

Turning to the Kona region of Hawai‘i Island, it is (because of the term's linguistic antiquity) not surprising to find that references to this specific place go far back in legend. Kamakau (1992, 19), for example, told the story of how Chief ‘Umi-a-Liloa united Hawai‘i Island through a series of battles approximately 300 years before western contact. Kamakau described how, after this achievement, ‘Umi then moved from rainy Waipio Valley, in windward Kohala, to Kona, because the climate was warmer and drier. There is thus a historical reference indicating that Kona had been given its present name at least 500 years ago, that it had some of the specific climatic attributes normally associated with the term, and that these were considered favorable then, as now.

What is perhaps more surprising is that the boundaries of Kona that were established in antiquity have not been changed. Menzies (1920, 179), the botanist on Vancouver's expedition,

traveled in 1793 towards the south end of the island to reach the starting point of his (unsuccessful) trek to the summit of Mauna Loa. He was informed while visiting the village of Manukā that the large square pile of stones he saw was in fact the marker of the border between the districts of Kona and Ka'u. In pre-contact Hawaiian society the common people, the *maka'ainana*, were ruled by the *ali'i*, a class of chiefs. The *ali'i* either inherited their rule over a district (often a *moku*), or gained it as a reward for helping a particular chief conquer territory. It would seem the case that throughout the generations of Hawaiian society, the *moku* of Kona were perpetuated as a stable land entity with immutable borders, controlled as a fixed area of land by a succession of *ali'i* (Alexander 1890, 105). As a distinguishable, cohesive region, Kona's origin was ancient and its existence stabilized as a culturally-reproduced entity through many generations of Hawaiian society.

This stability is rather remarkable given that Kona's borders have never precisely reflected demographic conditions. The habitable area of Kona was environmentally limited by the traditional system of agriculture. The Hawaiian population was always concentrated in the central part of the district, because of the beneficent combination of arable soils and adequate precipitation. To the north and south, respectively, the lava desert of Kekaha and the greater porosity of recent Mauna Loa flows have prevented the spread of agriculture, and only small numbers of people lived as fishers along the coast. These border areas would seem perfect for repeated *moku* boundary changes resulting from political upheaval and compromise. Yet, as Menzies saw, the cairns were not knocked down and relocated according to the dictates of the latest political victor. Kona's boundaries seemingly have never been altered. Uncovering the cultural intricacies that inhibited border changes goes beyond the scope of this research. What can be concluded is that the meaning of *kona* seems to have been so culturally ingrained that even the absolute authority of victorious chiefs was insufficient to change the borders.

After western contact, the integrity of Kona's boundaries has been kept intact. In the late 1840s to mid 1850s, the traditional Hawaiian land tenure system was converted to one more compatible with western ideas of private property during the Great Mahele. No adjustments were made to Kona's external boundaries during this period. Internally, Kona at-large was

broken up into North and South districts with the passage of the Civil Code of 1859 (King 1935, 216). Since that time no further change has been made to the area that constitutes Kona. Its existence as a political district seems secure for the foreseeable future.

With respect to tourism, Kona since western contact has risen and fallen in its perceived value as a distinctive destination region. It was one of the political centers of the Big Island when Cook anchored at Kealahou Bay in 1779, then during the latter part of Kamehameha's reign (1812–19) it was the seat of government for the island chain. Visiting western ships were obliged to touch base at Kona, although most spent the majority of time being provisioned and repaired at Honolulu Harbor. After Kamehameha II established the seat of government at Honolulu, in 1820, Kona's importance declined steeply. Tourists visiting during the rest of the century, and particularly after 1850, found a sleepy back-water region. Most visitors were commuters traveling between Honolulu and Kīlauea Volcano, and did little more in Kona than visit the monument placed at the site of Cook's death.

This “sleepy” identity persisted until the 1920s, when the same characteristics were reinterpreted. Kona then became known as the best location in the Territory for tourists who desired to see “old Hawai‘i,” which had largely disappeared elsewhere, particularly from Honolulu. The local “way of life” became the basis for a well-developed regional identity to tourists. However, after World War II, and particularly during the 1950s, local entrepreneurs anticipated exploiting this known quality to develop the tourism industry there. Kona was felt to be the legitimate #2 destination in the State, after Waikiki. Development progressed fairly rapidly after 1960. Kailua Village in particular boomed for a decade-and-a-half. During those years the impacts of completed projects spoiled much of the town's pre-War ambience. Disputes between locals over which resources to develop for tourism, however, neutralized much of the impetus for growth. By 1975, when compromise over the nature of future development was reached, the Ka‘anapali-Lahaina district of Maui had overtaken Kona as the second most popular destination in the state. A decade later, as the opening paragraphs described, Kona was expecting another boom. However, by early 1992 when field research concluded, none of these

resorts had yet opened. The touristic identity of Kona thus remains focused on the place-characteristics of the central sub-region of the district.

Planners at the State and County levels have focused on the entire leeward coastal zone, however, and have created a new regional identity—West Hawai‘i. This encompasses the leeward coasts of districts of North and South Kohala and Ka‘u, as well as North and South Kona. Plans for development of tourism have been published at this larger scale (Department of Planning and Economic Development 1972; Office of State Planning 1988). Additionally, developers have been attracted to the resources in the coastal zone of South Kohala, and this district has emerged as a major resort area. It now contains almost as many accommodation units as Kona, and is likely to surpass Kona in the near future.

Overall, then, Kona’s regional identity was established by Hawaiians centuries ago and has remained politically stable to the present. As a tourist destination, Kona also attained a strong regional identity, based on the local ambience and lifestyle of a particular period. This identity had faded by the 1960s, precisely because of development built to exploit it. Since the 1980s, Kona has lost its regional supremacy as a destination, as South Kohala emerged as a competing resort district. Together, these now comprise most of the developed portion of West Hawai‘i. This new and larger regional identity has considerable strength at the planning level, but not “on the ground.” Tourists standing in Kona are still visiting Kona, not West Hawai‘i.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This dissertation incorporates a combination of conceptual elements that exist at distinctive conceptual “levels.” These are shown in Figure 1.2 below, in a vertical arrangement. At the “highest” level, ontological ideas were provided by Giddens’s structuration theory. This ontology describes what is here taken to be the nature of social reality, as well as the nature of reality between people and environment. “Below” this, a specific disciplinary approach has been chosen, the so-called “new regional geography.” This approach incorporates social theory; it also represents something of a paradigm shift in the way geographic research is done. In constructing a new regional geography study, it also became apparent that a “systematic” level

should be included. That third level is represented by research from the geography of tourism sub-field. New regional geography of course also has a real world focus, hence a region must be chosen for case analysis. This aspect is fulfilled at the “empirical” level through study of Kona districts of the Big Island of Hawai’i. In its entirety, then, this dissertation attempts to integrate these levels—ontology, theory, and the real world—it is not written at a single level of abstraction.

Ontology	⇒	Structuration theory
⇕		⇕
Disciplinary approach	⇒	New regional geography
⇕		⇕
Systematic topic	⇒	Tourism
⇕		⇕
Empirical case	⇒	Kona, Hawai’i Island
⇕		⇕
Methodological theory	⇒	Grounded theory

Figure 1.2 The conceptual framework of the dissertation.

In addition, the research has been heavily influenced by "grounded theory," which is a methodology for generating theory from case data. Grounded theory was “discovered” during the search for a methodology for studying processes, an objective of new regional geography research. However, in addition to providing methodological guidelines, grounded theory contains something of a philosophy for doing research. For example, a principle of grounded theory is that the objective is to study data from case situations then generate theory that has applicability beyond the case. The aim of a grounded theory study thus transcends that of a case study, in this fundamental way.

The remainder of the discussion of the conceptual framework will describe in more detail the particular elements that have been utilized. First, the basic concepts elements of each

will be described, followed by a discussion of how they have been used. Further aspects of grounded theory will be detailed in the section on methodology.

ONTOLOGICAL UNDERPINNINGS—STRUCTURATION THEORY

Structuration theory has provided the ontological underpinnings for this research.³ This theory was invented by Giddens, and was elaborated most thoroughly in his work *The Constitution of Society* (1984, all page numbers below refer to this source). In its entirety the theory is quite complex, and only the basic elements were used here.

First of all, Giddens's major goal in developing structuration theory was to transcend the polarized nature of other work in social theory. Previously, discussion had centered around either the primacy of "agency"—the human capacity to act willfully—or "structure"—an external force of sorts that acted to constrain individual action. Giddens took these concepts and merged them through the notion that there is a "duality of structure" (p. 25). This asserts all human agency is conducted through previously internalized structures, but at the same time any act has the capacity to reproduce and/or transform these structures. In Giddens's words: "the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize" (p. 25). As elements of social theory concerned with the nature of reality, the importance of this way of looking at structure and agency is that neither is given primacy or dominance over the other. Rather, they share primacy.

This leads immediately to a second crucial assumption about reality, which is that structures, as ontological entities, are not only constraining, but also enabling. This is because human agents can manipulate structures through their agency; people are not simply controlled by structural forces. This is in turn because structures are made up of "rules and resources" (p. 17). Rules are social constructs while resources include the physical world in which people live. When the composition of structures—rules and resources—is combined with their nature—being enabling and constraining simultaneously—it can be seen that structuration theory provides a flexible way to understand the nature of human interaction. This includes both social interaction, and interaction with the physical world.⁴ People utilize their inherent agency in goal-oriented

behavior, and this behavior is simultaneously enabled and constrained through structures, both internal (cultural) and in the real world. This theory is a notable improvement over simply asserting that structural forces only constrain people, or going to the opposite extreme, and ignoring structures altogether.

A third concept of central importance is the "institution." Institutions are the practices of individuals that are "deeply embedded in time and space" (p. 13). They are sets of behaviors that are comprehensible to other members of the same "social system." Human behavior is thus not completely creative or original, in social situations people rely on sets of institutionalized practices to communicate and to achieve goals. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, "tourism" is an institution in this sense.

The final two ontological concepts used were "time" and "space." To Giddens, time had three important scales. The shortest of these was called the *durée*; it referred to the events and routines of daily life (p. 35). The life span of the individual was the middle scale. The *longue durée* covered the life span of institutional practices, which were performed by entire societies.

Giddens had just one concept for space, called the "locale." Earlier in human history, locales were the places where social relations were reproduced, through people interacting. Human interaction was always face-to-face, and occurred at specific places. The capabilities of modern communications technologies have now reduced the face-to-face component somewhat. Nevertheless, most social interaction still takes place within locales. What was most important for geographers was not scale considerations, but rather Giddens's assertion that social reproduction did not occur in abstract space, but rather in these time- and place-specific locales. The place where an activity occurred could thus be central to its occurrence. Activities were "situated," not randomly occurring anywhere.

In this dissertation, no attempt was made to formally test structuration theory, or to modify any of the concepts. Instead, the concepts just described have been used as a way of "informing" the research. That is, this theory about the nature of reality has been used as an interpretive device. This represents a "top-down" approach, in which ontology is used to inform the lower levels. Thus Figure 1.2 shows arrows pointed down only. Structuration theory

informed all three lower levels, but here are some examples of how it was used to illuminate the Kona case data.

Both "tourists" and "locals" have been conceived as "agents." Each group has considerable agency to act in its own best interests, yet all activities are constrained and enabled by structures. A structural component of considerable importance has been the set of elements—the resources—that enabled tourists to have successful exploration experiences in Kona. This set is composed of elements occurring naturally and developed by the tourist industry, and also by "events" that have occurred in archaeological, historical, or contemporary time. A second major structural component is the set of rules that have existed in Kona. These rules simultaneously enabled and constrained entrepreneurs engaged in developing tourism facilities. That is, by following the rules, some developers could complete their projects. In other cases, by attempting to get around or modify the rules, other developers had to abandon their projects. The change over time in the nature of structures, in the resources the tourists found important and the rules related to development, provided an excellent example of what the structuration process really is.

Tourism in its entirety is an "institution," in the sense of being a broad set of behaviors practiced by both tourists and the locals interacting with them in a face-to-face manner. For individuals, these practices have a *durée*; the relatively short time-span in which they are tourists. For the institution, practices have a *longue durée*, thus tourists are recognizable as such over generations. Tourism *comme* institution goes through the structuration process, in the sense that the temporally ongoing reproduction and transformation of structures perpetuates or changes the institutional character of practices. Thus, the institution of tourism in Kona has not been static, but has changed continually over time. Tourists from an early era would be recognizable as tourists to people from a later one, but they would not behave identically to tourists of the later era. Another example would be that the features of Kona that tourists have chosen to experience, the regional resources, have changed considerably. Also, the resources that commercial enterprises have chosen to utilize in their economic interactions with tourists has changed just as much. As a final example, tourism may occur ubiquitously within a place, but is

typically concentrated within sub-regions—locales. Places can therefore be mapped on the basis of whether tourist practices are/are not occurring there.

DISCIPLINARY APPROACH—NEW REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY

By the middle 1980s, Giddens's work was receiving criticism for its relative inability to lend itself to research (Gregson 1986, 1987). Nevertheless, certain geographers saw these new ontological ideas as a way to transcend the agency-versus-structure debate that had been occurring within the discipline (humanistic geography versus structuralism) (Thrift 1983; Pred 1984). What geographers liked most about structuration theory, however, was the way it dealt with the spatiality of social relations (Storper 1985; Gregory in Gregory and Urry 1985; Moos & Dear 1986; Kellerman 1987). Interdisciplinary structuralism had been particularly aspatial in its theoretical notions. This had created a problem for geographers seeking a niche from which they could make a distinctive contribution. Soja (1980, 1983, 1985) had proposed a "socio-spatial dialectic" to overcome this limitation. Giddens's assertion of the inherent importance of space produced a certain amount of re-evaluation. Dear (1988, 267) noted, for example, that Giddens's ontological upgrading of space "promises to resituate geography at the very centre of a newly defined paradigm of human inquiry." Through such a reevaluation, it became acceptable to study *place* again, as opposed to abstract space. This led to calls for a "new regional geography."

During the decade-and-a-half since this change in focus began, the content of the new regional geography has been open to interpretation. Perhaps it is an over-statement to say there has been a "contesting" of its nature, what has happened is that many geographers have contributed to a rather abstract discussion about what new regional geography should be. The directional chaos has been recently reviewed at length by Johnston (1991). The upshot is: little consensus has been reached, particularly with regard to method.⁵ Perhaps this is only to be expected, given the parallel debates on deconstruction, which assert that no school or individual can claim hegemony for a particular theory, method, or paradigm. However, such a situation leaves graduate students, part of whose "academic project" includes inculcation of (or acculturation into) disciplinary paradigms, in a quandary. Which rules are legitimate, not to

mention *au courant*, and which are not? Is it better to follow one authority, or combine the approaches of many? After due reflection, the decision made for this research was to try combine the perspectives of several people into an aggregated whole. This dissertation attempts to be a work of new regional geography, then, on the basis that its content is composed of features that are all acceptable to someone who has been calling for this to be done. The combination of features chosen, however, is unique. Rather than provide a full literature review overviewing the history of the debates on new regional geography (which Johnston [1991] has already done very thoroughly, and which are not yet concluded anyway), the following paragraphs describe only the several components that were chosen to be included here.

In old regional geography, regions were often continental in scope, or based on macro-scale climate zones. However, the social theory focus of the new regional geography school necessitated that regions be conceived more in human terms, as areas that have recognizable identities. Several writers have stressed that it is important for the researcher to make sure that the region does in fact exist and the study is not just an exercise in spatial fetishism. Paasi (1986) developed this idea the most thoroughly, noting the necessity to show that the region being studied had gone through a set of stages, culminating in its institutionalization. Murphy (1991) focused on the methodological aspects. Thus, one task chosen was to show that Kona is in fact an identifiable region. This has already been completed, in the opening section of the chapter.

Next, Giddens considered his own spatial concept—the locale—to be the appropriate scale for studying social structuration. This had an impact, and some geographers (Duncan and Savage 1989, 193, citing Cook 1988; Jonas 1988, 101) called for the down-sizing of geographic research, from macro-regions to something smaller. But how small to go? No definite answer has yet been given. Of course, the size and boundaries of regions have always been fuzzy. This probably should be seen as a strength—the concept is fully flexible—rather than a weakness. But such a directive requires making a choice, as just noted. For this research, background study done prior to field work indicated that any of three scales—Kona only, the combined Kona-South Kohala districts, or the entire Big Island—might have been appropriate for a dissertation

on regional tourism. But during field research two things became clear. First, Kona has distinct political boundaries; it also has a more fuzzily defined core area and hinterland. This spatiality is the basis for a distinctive regional identity. Also, it became apparent that Kona has had its own set of (mainly) distinct processes, thus the goal of discussing place as process (next paragraph) could be met. Hence the Kona region (North and South Kona) only, the smallest of the three possible scales, was chosen to be the main focus of the dissertation.

Structurationism, with its focus on how structures are reproduced and transformed, essentially describes a "process," in one sense of the term. Another aspect geographers took from Giddens was the idea that locales—the settings of social action—should be looked at in terms of processes. How places change over time is considered an important topic of research. Pred (1984) developed this the furthest, with his notion of "place as historically contingent process." Pred's (1986) own case research focused on the transformation of rural Swedish landscapes vis-à-vis changing economic conditions. Numerous writers (and notably Massey) have studied capitalist processes in specific locations. Moos and Dear (1986) looked at the creation of ghettos of group homes for ex-psychiatric hospital patients. The conclusion reached from comparison of this case research is that a major goal of new regional geography is to select a topic, then study it within the context of the chosen region. Put another way, this involves an integration of "systematic" with "regional" geography, through the analysis of process. Thus the goal of new regional geography research is conceived as more limited than before. Rather than attempt to comprehensively illuminate the region, the new approach focuses on only one systematic area.

In this research, the systematic topic chosen was tourism. The call for the study of process has been taken up in two ways. The first is by showing how tourist resources in Kona have changed over time. This material is covered in Chapters 4–7. Second, a more formal model of change over time at resorts, the destination area life cycle model (DLC), has been used to assess the stages of tourist development that Kona has gone through (Chapter 8).

Dear (1986,1988) has chosen to approach the advancement of a new regional geography from a somewhat different direction than the geographers cited thus far. In two papers on post-

modernism, he contemplated this contemporary intellectual movement. In the first essay, he noted Eco's assertion that all avant-garde movements, including the "modernism" of the 20th century, reach a point in time when they can no longer extend themselves any further into the future (Dear 1986, 66–8, citing Eco 1984). There is then a "postmodern response," which is "to recognize that the past...must be revisited." The current phase of postmodernism is therefore not unique in history; it is more appropriately conceived as part of a larger intellectual cycle. Further, according to Dear, what differentiates the postmodern from the modern is a vision that includes the past, that brings the past *up* to the present. It does not solely attempt to bring the future *down* to the present; that is the modernist agenda. "Postmodernism demands, in order to be understood, not the negation of the past, but its ironic rethinking" (Dear 1986, 369). He also noted (p. 370), with respect to architectural design, that postmodernism "provides architects with the opportunity to comment on previous stylistic genres, often caustically and with wit." This is interpreted here to mean that postmodernists are selective about what aspects of the past to revivify. They use their agency to choose what they think is most appropriate.

In his second paper, Dear applied these ideas on postmodernism to geography. After noting how postmodernism has dealt a "mortal blow" to much of the "modernist project" (Dear 1988, 266), he concluded with the argument that the way for geography to re-integrate itself with the social sciences at-large was by focusing on social theory. In this way human geography could "reconstruct" itself (p. 271).

Together, these two papers suggest that another task of a new regional geography study is to incorporate elements from "old" regional geography, and combine them with elements that focus on social theory, such as the concept of "place as process." Such an integration represents the fourth component that was chosen here. Unfortunately, Dear did not suggest which elements might be most useful to include. He seems to be saying that, since geographers have the same agency as architects, it's our choice. After due pondering, it was decided to use these elements from the past: regional description, and the project of "generic regions."

Regional description involves discussion of a set of characteristics, typically including aspects of the physical and cultural geography of the chosen study region. Hartshorne's classic,

The Nature of Geography (1939), was of course the methodological *Bible* for this approach. The point was to describe these elements in order to show regional uniqueness (areal differentiation). This “old regional” paradigm was ultimately discarded because of this chorological imperative. However, for this dissertation, the task of regional description was chosen for two reasons. First, as a way of introducing Kona, so that readers might have a better appreciation of it as a place. Demonstrating uniqueness was not the goal of such description, however. The second reason was that an *a priori* description also served to provide a way to compare and contrast the subset of elements that tourists have perceived and utilized as resources. Thus in Chapters 4–6 a regional description is followed by discussion of how tourists have perceived the different regional elements, and how these perceptions have changed over time. In essence, this integration of “objective” description with “subjective” perception is taken to be the means of combining old and new, and fulfilling Dear’s directive to be reconstructive.

As is well known, Hartshorne’s goal (1939, 361) was areal differentiation, the division of the world map into distinctive regions. Yet he also discussed another possibility—the study of “generic regions.” This alternative approach “reveals the inherent similarity of remotely separated regions” (both citations Hartshorne 1939, 293). While Hartshorne seemed ultimately disinclined to pursue this line, certain research in tourism geography seems to be developing somewhat along it, though unconsciously. Specifically, the DLC model focuses on how tourist resorts develop and change over time. Since Butler (1980) published his model, over a dozen case studies have examined it with respect to individual places (resort towns, islands, and “regions” such as the Canadian Northwest). To date, a problem with these studies is that they mostly have attempted to prove local uniqueness—how the place did not fit the model. Yet review of these cases indicates there is a broad similarity between places that has been mostly ignored. In other words, as resorts grow they develop both “generic” and unique features.⁶ No two develop identically, but no one resort develops along totally different lines from all the rest. Thus, studying the DLC model represents a systematic way of developing the concept of “generic regions,” the second aspect of old regional geography chosen in order to bring the past

up to the present. This is reconstructive in the sense that a product will be a taxonomy of tourist resorts with a framework for identifying resorts based on similarity and difference.⁷

SYSTEMATIC FOCUS—THE GEOGRAPHY OF TOURISM

As noted above, an interpretation has been made that the content of a new regional geography work focuses on a systematic topic within a delimited spatial context. How can this be applied to tourism? In 1939, when Hartshorne published *The Nature of Geography*, the geography of tourism as a sub-discipline was mostly undefined, though Gilbert was in fact developing a systematic sub-field, a “geography of resorts,” that very year. He continued with this theme through the early 1950s (Gilbert 1939, 1954) with his work on Brighton, England. Ultimately, Stansfield (1971) would attempt to define the challenges for furtherance of this sub-field, but no one really followed him. This lack of focus on tourism by geographers (particularly regional geographers) in the decades immediately surrounding World War II was ironic, since much of tourism is simply the lay person’s attempt to experience geography directly. Hartshorne (1939, 130) had noted that: “Geography as a chorographic (chorologic) study has always found its justification in the widespread desire of many people to know what other parts of the world are like...” Then, as now, they can learn this through studying geography or through travel.⁸ Regional geographers and tourists have thus always been close kin, but this is a relationship that has gone unacknowledged by the former. Given the vehemence of the attacks on regional geographers that were to occur in the 1950s, it is perhaps understandable that those particular professionals did not seek to broaden their base by popularizing their works among such a widely despised group as tourists. Yet this is unfortunate because the rising numbers of mass travelers represented a natural audience for regional geographers. Hartshorne (1939, 130) had also noted: “If one were to establish a different discipline under the name of geography, the interest in the study of areas would not be destroyed thereby.” How true these words have reflected reality in the past 30 years! The discipline that came to exist in the 1960s-80s was “different,” to say the least. The study of areas was appreciated only slightly more than cold, dirty bathwater, and met the same metaphorical fate. Yet writers, photographers, and people

working in radio and television have all published and produced heavily on travel-related subjects. The interest in “areas” is as alive as ever, but is exploited almost entirely by people lacking training in the discipline that has the most to teach—regional geography.

In spite of this, the “geography of tourism” began to develop slowly. Coalescence as a systematic sub-field could be said to have occurred between about 1976 and 1979, through several publishing events. These were: (1) the publication by the Association of American Geographers of Matley’s *The Geography of International Tourism* (1976); (2) Robinson’s text *A Geography of Tourism* (1976); (3) the special issue on the geography of tourism published in the *Annals of Tourism Research* (1979), particularly the articles by Mitchell and Pearce; (4) an article by Britton (1979) in the *Canadian Geographer* entitled “Some Notes on the Geography of Tourism. These publications attempted to define what the geography of tourism was, and how it fit into the larger discipline. Matley (1976, 5) stated this relationship the most broadly: “There is scarcely an aspect of tourism which does not have some geographical implications and there are few branches of geography which do not have some contribution to make to the study of the phenomenon of tourism.” Such a statement was an invitation for all geographers, no matter of what systematic persuasion, to join in the study of tourism. The other authors cited above, however, mainly resisted defining tourism geography in a sentence or two, but instead chose to describe several substantive areas of research in something of an encyclopedic fashion. For example, Pearce (1979) developed such themes as “spatial patterns of supply,” “the geography of resorts,” “tourist movements and flows,” “the impact of tourism,” and “models of tourist space.” Such themes obviously have a systematic focus. Other writers, (especially Matley 1976) also included sections on the geography of tourism as an “applied field.” Overall, then, the study of tourism by geographers was not intellectually reduced all that much. Tourism is a holistic phenomenon that can be approached in a variety of ways. But it would be historically accurate to say that by 1979 tourism geography had come to exist as a distinct sub-discipline. This can perhaps best be inferred through assertions such as: “The geography of tourism and, more broadly, the geography of leisure are legitimate and potentially important parts of the discipline” (Britton 1979, 279).

Not much has changed since these initial statements of identity. More recent overviews (Warszynska and Jackowski 1986; Meyer-Arendt and Wall 1990; Mitchell and Murphy 1991; Wall and Meyer-Arendt 1992) generally take the same tack; they describe how the geography of tourism has fit into a set of topical themes. For example, Mitchell and Murphy (1991) discussed the more recent work in terms of environmental, regional, spatial, and evolutionary “considerations.” Thus tourism geography currently exists as a sub-discipline in which certain practitioners specialize in tourism topics, while geographers from other sub-disciplines occasionally do research on tourism using their own distinctive approaches.

What this review is leading up to is that there never has been much research in which tourism has been considered from a regional perspective. The earlier generations ignored tourism almost totally; perhaps they knew tourists were reading their works on regions. In the past 20 or 30 years, systematically-oriented geographers have focused on tourism and established a distinctive sub-discipline. However, to date no one interested in tourism seems to have also been interested in answering the call for a new regional geography. The debates on social theory, the reaffirmation of place, and the focus on process, for example, have evidently not yet been applied to the study of tourism, particularly in the self-conscious sense of attempting to be new regional geography. Thus, in designing this research, there was nothing in the tourism geography literature that could be directly used to construct the systematic level of the conceptual framework. The potential ways that tourism research could be integrated with new regional geography had to be established in relation to the objectives of new regional geography.

A set of tourism topics was ultimately chosen, however. These are: tourist resources; the destination area life cycle (DLC) model; semiotics; “site sacralization”; “attraction complexes”; “front” and “back” regions; the recreational business district (RBD) model; and “choroplethic” tourist space. These eight were then reduced to three major topics. The studies of resources and the DLC model mostly stand alone. The remaining six topics were synthesized to create an aggregate category that has been called “tourist space.” This particular topic goes from the specific—the nature of tourist places—to the general—distinctive categories of tourist space. Together, these three topics—“tourist space,” the DLC model, and resources—were respectively

considered to cover the more general subjects of space, time, and place-content. This set has been, in turn, interpreted to permit a holistic treatment of tourism in a region. By so doing, this set of topics achieves the new regional geography goal of comprehensively researching one systematic topic, within a delimited area.

EMPIRICAL CASE—KONA, HAWAI'I ISLAND

The “lowest” level of the conceptual framework is the “empirical.” The Kona region (the districts of North and South Kona) of the Big Island of Hawai‘i was initially chosen because the boom conditions described in the introduction seemed to have relevance to the DLC model. Further, this was relevant to “place as process”; Kona as a destination seemed to be in the process of entering a new stage in a life cycle.

Once chosen as a case study site, documents and field research on the Kona region provided factual data. This data has been used as a way of verifying certain aspects of geographic theory on tourism. The data has also been used to generate further theoretical concepts, however, with regard to all three systematic topics—tourist resources, the DLC model, and tourist space. Case and theory thus have equal importance in the dissertation. Although case was placed at the “lowest” level of the conceptual framework, this is in terms of abstractness, not importance.

SUMMATION

A short rephrasing is in order. This will be based on Figure 1.3, which shows the elements of the conceptual framework in greater detail. First, this dissertation strives to be a work of new regional geography. This involves, in particular, studying a delimited spatial area from one systematic perspective only, with a focus on process.⁹ No grand synthesis is attempted. Second, the dissertation is a work of new regional geography through the choice of topics, not the substantive content. Thus, after this chapter, little will be said about new regional geography. The focus will shift down to the systematic topics and the empirical case. Three topics within the geography of tourism have been chosen for study: resources, the DLC model, and tourist space. Theory has been used to inform the case, but case data has also been

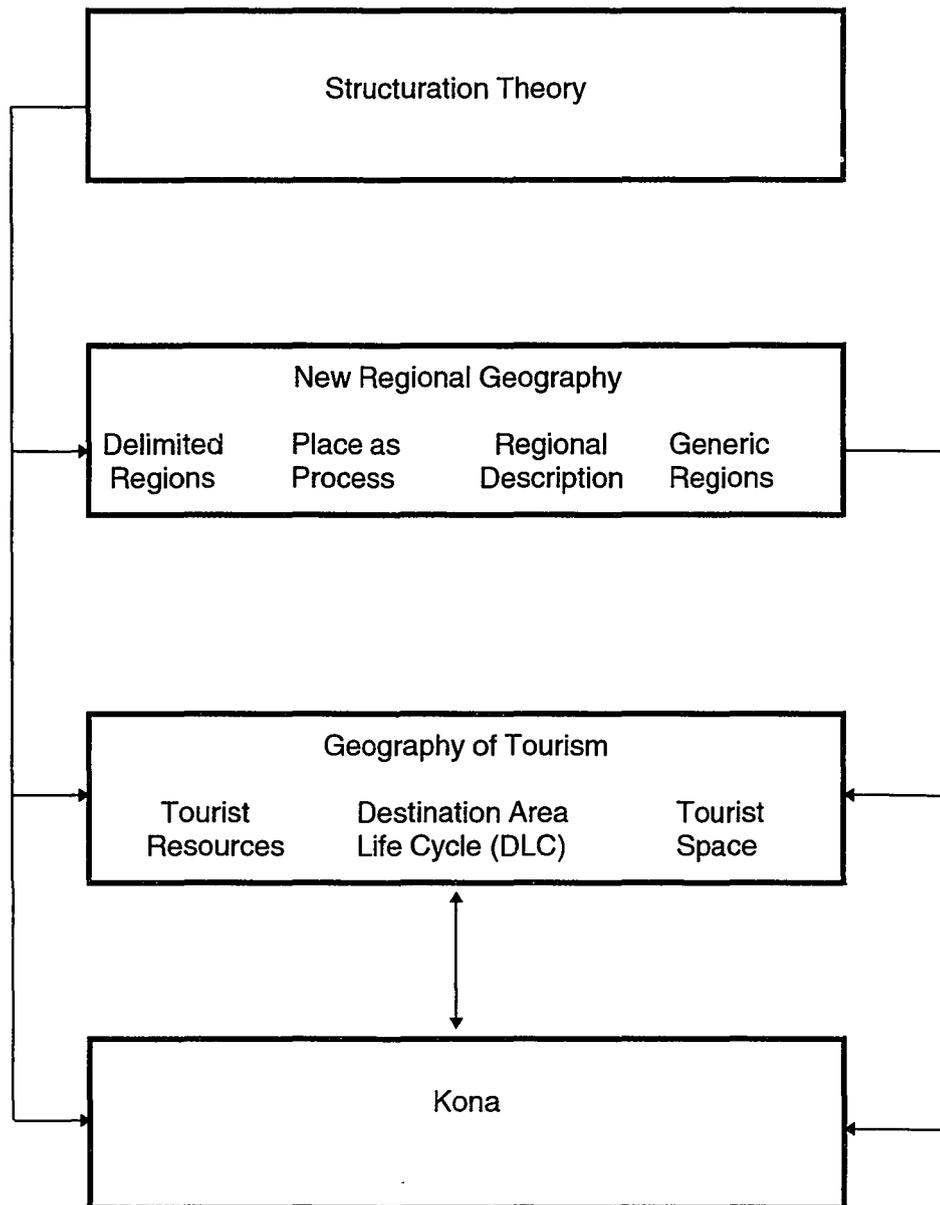


Figure 1.3 The conceptual framework expanded.

used to expand theory. Finally, structuration theory will be used only to inform the discussion of systematic theory and case material, as a way of providing ontological soundness.

OBJECTIVES

The major objective of this research should now be apparent: it is disciplinary in nature and involves construction of a dissertation that can be called an example of new regional geography. The discussion above showed that doing this has not been a straightforward task of applying existing guidelines to a new case situation. Rather, it involved creating a new research framework composed of a specific set of tasks.

The second objective, which has roughly the same degree of priority, is to generate theory about the major systematic topic. Again, the topic here is tourism. This objective comes from a study of grounded theory, which is discussed below as a methodology. What is different about grounded theory is that the goal of generating theory is raised to a higher priority. It is useful to note here that, as a word, “theory” has been used in this dissertation in accordance with the definition of being “a formulation of apparent relationship” between phenomena (Webster 1983, 1893).

In this study, the objective is to generate theory on the three major tourism topics chosen; tourist resources, the DLC model, and tourist space. This will be accomplished through two approaches. For each topic, a review of literature was done, and existing ideas were compared. This comparison generated new theoretical concepts. Then, data from Kona were either analyzed or synthesized, depending on the topic. Empirical data were then compared against the theoretical ideas that had been generated in the examination of literature. This generated further theory.

The third and final objective applies at the empirical level. The Kona region was chosen as the case study area. A new regional geography task involves describing the Kona region in relation to tourism. A systematic objective is to apply theoretical concepts in order to show how these have played out in terms of tourism development. Thus, one empirical objective has been to examine how Kona as a region has been, or not been, appreciated by tourists. A second

objective applies the DLC model and ideas of tourist space to Kona, demonstrating through time and space how the district has evolved as a tourist region.

METHODOLOGY

Geographers have advocated doing new regional geography but have been silent about how to do it. Therefore no pre-developed conceptual framework or methodology could be used for this research. What eventuated was that, during the search for methodological materials on new regional geography, "grounded theory" was serendipitously discovered. Study of this approach led to a decision to adopt it as the underlying methodological base for the case research and generation of theory. However, grounded theory turned out to be more than a set of methods. It has a very different orientation to the entire research process, one which seemed quite appropriate for this particular study. Thus a summation of grounded theory and how it has been used is apropos.

Grounded theory was developed by two sociologists, Glaser and Strauss (1967), as a way of generating theory from case data. The 1960s had created something of a quantitative revolution in sociology as well as geography; the concern of these authors was that too many researchers were jumping onto the computer bandwagon in order to verify theory using statistical procedures. Philosophically, they argued, it was as important to generate theory as it was to verify it; their concern was that researchers were ignoring this first stage of theory development. The methodology of grounded theory emerged from this belief.

Glaser and Strauss discuss generation of grounded theory in relation to sociologically-oriented field research situations. The data of such social research consists mostly of observations about social behavior, in specific contexts. The data is collected, contemplated, and theoretical ideas generalized. Thus, use of the grounded theory method results in theorization about social processes. The authors refer to this as "developmental theory," as opposed to "static theory" (p. 114). This feature of the generated grounded theory seemed to make it very applicable to the disciplinary call discussed in the last section: to study new regional geography as "place as process."

The term "grounded" means that any theory developed must first be "derived from data and then illustrated by characteristic examples of data" (p. 5). This directive is therefore mainly a principle for doing inductive research, since generalizations emerge from the specifics of the data that have been collected and analyzed.

The theory is also considered to be "middle-range," meaning it exists between "the 'minor working hypotheses' of everyday life and the 'all-inclusive' grand theories" (p. 33). Two types of theory can be generated, the authors called these "substantive" and "formal" (p. 32). They exist at different levels of abstractness. Substantive theory is developed for empirical areas of research. The examples Glaser and Strauss cited for sociology included "patient care" and "race relations." Formal theory is more abstract and is developed around conceptual research topics. Again, examples from sociology included "deviant behavior and "reward systems." Substantive and formal theory are cast as polar opposites but these examples show there is no sharp break between them.

Both types of theories must be grounded in data. This requires that the components of the theory emerge from the data that was collected and analyzed. Glaser and Strauss asserted that theory itself was composed of "categories" and "properties." Categories constitute the building blocks of theory, each "stands by itself as a conceptual element of the theory." Properties are conceptual aspects of categories; they are subcomponents. Together, categories and properties are the abstracted elements that are generated through analysis and synthesis of the data. Once generated they "have a life apart from the evidence that gave rise to them" (all citations from p. 36). "Hypotheses" are the third component of grounded theory. This term is used quite atypically. It does not refer to a proposition that is going to be verified or rejected. Instead, a hypothesis conceptualizes a linkages between theoretical categories.¹⁰ These linkages are called hypotheses because of the unfinished nature of grounded theory. As noted above, grounded theory is considered to be in a developmental state. Therefore, the interrelationships between categories can be adequately defined from substantive research, but they are probably never perfectly or totally conceptualized.

Generating theory from case data requires that research proceed in a series of steps. The steps taken, however, are quite different than those in logico-deductive research. Essentially, iterations of data collection and analysis/synthesis are conducted. During each iteration, working hypotheses are developed from study of the new data. Answers to these working hypotheses are then sought through collection of additional data, often at new study sites. Working hypotheses are then confirmed, modified or rejected. Confirmation in a new situation represents “verification.” This research objective is thus not ignored, but is subsumed under the goal of theory generation. The process of continually verifying or modifying working hypotheses makes the methodology "comparative," and Glaser and Strauss have referred to this iterative procedure as the "constant comparative method" (pp. 101–15). Research as an activity is best conceived as a spiraling between data collection and theory development. (There is no sense of it occurring in a straight time-line from *a priori* hypothesis to statistical verification.) Afterwards, in the discussion of the theoretical concepts that have been developed, pertinent examples are chosen from the data as illustrations. Doing this grounds the theory in the data.

Because it is a comparative method, the sampling procedure is also different. The most effective way to obtain answers to generated hypotheses has been called "theoretical sampling" by Glaser and Strauss (pp. 45–77). The researcher must control the process of data collection by deciding which sources are the most likely to provide answers to the working hypotheses. Sources are chosen on the basis that they have a perceived relevance to the developing theory. These are tapped, while others that seem irrelevant are ignored. This procedure provides "constant direction to research" (p. 76) because the researcher is more-or-less continuously making decisions about the best places to look next.

At some point in the overall research process, certain categories may become fully developed. When this occurs the category is said to be "theoretically saturated" (p. 61). After the researcher is sure that there is little of importance left to be discovered about the category, the search for relevant data about it can be abandoned. Attention is then turned completely to developing other categories pertinent to the theory at-large.

The activities undertaken in doing theoretical, versus random, sampling are obviously very different. According to Glaser and Strauss, this results from differences in objective. In research utilizing random sampling techniques, the objective is to "obtain accurate evidence on distributions of people among categories to be used in descriptions or verifications." In grounded theory research using theoretical sampling, the objective is to "discover categories and their properties, and to suggest the interrelationships" between them (pp. 62–4). No implications regarding the magnitude of the categories or statistical size of their interrelationship are necessarily advanced in a grounded theory.

The differences in objective, particularly in relation to magnitude, infer that there are also differences in what is judged to be an adequate sample size. For theoretical sampling, a correct sample size reflects the number of groups from which data were collected, in relation to the breadth of the theory developed. An inadequate sample size is spotted by the creation of "thin" (p. 63) theory; one that has too many unexplained exceptions and weak generalizations. Glaser and Strauss asserted that an inadequate sample size is actually easier to spot in grounded theory research, since in statistically-based research "other researchers tend to accept technical sophistication uncritically" (p. 63).

The "constant comparative method" was developed as a rigorous set of techniques for inductive theorizing from data. Overall, the method involves four steps: studying data that are roughly comparable; integrating categories and properties; theory delimitation; writing of theory (p. 105). The first two steps involve the coding of raw data and developing note systems that generate conceptual categories, their properties, and working hypotheses. When these two steps are carried out systematically, it is then possible to establish the boundaries of theory around the subject being investigated.

As noted above, grounded theory was developed with respect to field research. Its ideal use is in social contexts for which no or little theory currently exists. Going into a research context "cold" inhibits the tendency of researchers to unreflectively adapt existing theory to the present situation; theory can only be created by using the data collected. Researchers must therefore develop "theoretical sensitivity" (p. 46) to the context in order to generate theory. This

kind of approach would no doubt have appealed greatly to Carl Sauer, who according to Professor Geoffrey Martin (Geog. 691 "History of Geographic Thought," Fall, 1986) advocated geographers should do field research without prior study in order to permit the newness of the place to stimulate ideas. However, most research has the objective of advancing existing theory, not inventing something entirely original. This is the case for nearly all graduate research. Students are expected to first demonstrate knowledge of existing theory, then develop it further through their research. They cannot go into the field with brains of blank slate, upon which substantive case material can be sculpted into theory. The solution to this dilemma, according to Glaser and Strauss, is to consciously acknowledge the existence of previously learned theory, but to hold it "in abeyance" (p. 34). That is, existing theory should not be assumed to be true and then overlaid on the present research situation. Rather the researcher should try substantiate existing theory through use of the constant comparative method. To the extent that it is found to be relevant, it can then be integrated into the overall body of theory being generated by the new research.

This concludes the general overview of the methodology of grounded theory. However, it is pertinent to make one more point related to processes. As the word is typically used, it mainly refers to movement. For example, Laver (1981, 41) asserted: "Every social phenomenon is processual in the sense of exhibiting movement over time." However, in a later work Glaser (1978) discussed a concept of "basic social processes." This takes the idea of a process one step further, by noting there is a required research task of delimiting distinctive "stages" in the social phenomenon. This is a more formal conceptualization than mere "movement." Grounded theory in general can be used as a methodology for illuminating process as movement. The method for theorizing about basic social processes focuses more directly on studying process as stage-sequence. This is discussed more fully in Chapter 3, but it is important to point out here that the different tourism topics chosen for research use both these notions of process.

Like structuration theory, grounded theory has sociological origins. With respect to the former, geographers have taken many of Giddens's ideas and called for a "new regional geography" which is based at least partially on them, though no consensus yet exists on what a

new regional geography study should look like. The transfer of grounded theory methods to solve geographical problems, however, has not yet reached even that limited level of conversion. No geographer calling for a study of place as process had adapted grounded theory methods designed for studying processes. The intent of the overview just concluded was therefore to show that grounded theory is in fact a rigorous method of research, one that seemed the most suitable for studying “place as process.” However, as described by Glaser and Strauss, grounded theory methods were also clearly best suited for certain types of research, particularly the study of contextualized social interaction. Here, the basic subject was a place—Kona. Place becomes something more than “context” when people interact directly with it, as tourists do when they explore the Kona region. Studying place as process means giving the “real world” equal ontological status with people. Grounded theory was concluded to provide an adequate methodological base, but it was also felt that the method required adaptation for a study attempting to be an example of new regional geography. Thus, this dissertation does not attempt to set a standard, by being precisely an example of a grounded theory study.

A general guide to adaptation emerged from one of its own propositions. As just mentioned, grounded theory proposes that when theory already exists it should be first held in abeyance, then compared with the new theory generated from case data. Here, that was taken to mean that the techniques described above should themselves be kept in mind, but used only when and to the degree perceived to be useful. Grounded theory was thus used more as a philosophy of methodology that informed the research process than as a distinctive set of tasks that were performed religiously in a set sequence. Some general examples of this are now presented, they are followed by a more specific discussion of the sequence of activities that took place with respect to the topic of tourist resources.

First of all, a major objective of the dissertation is to generate theory, not verify it. This might be said to be a “principle” of the methodology, and means that the theory generated in the chapters to follow will be “developmental” in nature. There are no formal hypotheses in the dissertation and there have been no attempts to test, prove, or disprove anything. The reason for this becomes more clear when it is recalled that the subject of the dissertation is a place—Kona.

The theory generated has been mostly substantive in nature. This is particularly the case for theory on the resources tourists experience at destinations and tourist space; the DLC model is somewhat more formal. For each topic the theory has been grounded in the case data.

The admonition to hold existing theory in abeyance while gathering case data was the second principle. The idea of going to the field “cold,” however, was not. Going to the field site—Kona—without any background knowledge was rejected because of the nature of the tourism topics being studied. The DLC model, for example, is historical in nature; it describes a process that typically takes decades, and sometimes centuries to conclude. It would have been inappropriate to go to the field without any knowledge of what had happened 10, 20, or 150 years ago. Thus, the first two stages in the research were collection of documentary data, then field data. During these first two stages, however, existing theory was not studied much. The constant comparative method was invoked as a way of generating theoretical categories and properties from the documentary and field data that could be later compared with existing theory.

To generate theory, an approach approximating the constant comparative method was used. The idea that research should proceed through iterations was taken as a third principle. Data collection, analysis/synthesis of data, and comparison with existing theory were done as often as necessary to produce a sense of “saturation,” meaning aspects (categories and/or properties) of the theory under consideration seemed thoroughly developed. During these iterations, the concepts of “working hypotheses” and “theoretical sampling” were used as guidelines to direct the research.

These guiding principles of grounded theory can be illustrated by an overview of research activity. Such an overview is typically provided in Glaser’s and Strauss’s own publications (Glaser and Strauss 1966, 1968; Corbin and Strauss 1985), and this overview will be modeled after their efforts.

By autumn, 1990, theoretical materials on structuration, new regional geography, and some of the topics on tourism (particularly the DLC model) had been studied, and a general conceptual framework showing the relationship between them had been devised. At that time grounded theory was discovered, during the search for a method suitable for studying processes.

The impact was immediate—it was perceived as far more appropriate to leave the emerging conceptual framework the way it was, as a form of developing theory, rather than work further until it had reached a concretized state that would be tested in the field. The logic of taking an inductive approach to field work is compelling when the subject being studied is a process. Put another way, the objective of theory generation immediately replaced verification.

At this time very little was known about Kona. The region had been visited, in early 1986. This visit had produced the impression that Kona was in an earlier stage of tourism development than other resort regions of Hawai‘i. The articles cited on the first page of this chapter asserted that this was going to change virtually overnight, hence DLC research would be very timely. Such was the background that led to choosing Kona as a study site.

The collection of data on Kona occurred in three phases. The first began in December, 1990, and continued until September, 1991. This involved extensive use of the U.H. library's Hawaiian Collection and the microfilm/fiche collections of Hawaiian newspapers. Background materials were gathered during this time. A process very similar to that discussed by Glaser and Strauss (1967, 161–76) occurred. Initially, the shelves were sampled more-or-less randomly; this phase was quickly replaced by a more systematic search, where books having specific call numbers were read systematically. Getting information on certain research topics, particularly the DLC model, were also focused upon during this phase. Different versions of the model provided guidance for which notes were taken. In other words, the constant comparative method was used to direct material collection, to analyze materials as they were gathered, and to direct the search for further materials.

A large number of travel narratives held in the U.H. library, written by people about their trip to Hawai‘i, was analyzed for content on what they saw and did in Kona. These books included people who went only to Hawai‘i, as well as others who went places beyond Hawai‘i. Notes were taken on what they did in Kona, but not all of Hawai‘i, or even all of the Big Island. Authors were typologized into loose categories: explorers, missionaries, 19th and 20th century tourists. A second source was Hawaiian newspaper articles held on microfilm. Indexes were perused for tourism-related articles; these were then annotated. Overall, travel narratives

provided background on tourism up through the 1950s, while newspaper articles have been most useful in the post-World War II period. Both these sources provided ideas for what aspects of regional description should be studied. Theoretical sampling during this stage thus took the form of tracking down background descriptive materials that were important to tourism. Regional and systematic geography became linked in this way.

The second phase of research was field work on the Big Island, from October, 1991 to February, 1992. This research involved four main tasks, though, as might be expected from the inductive nature of grounded theory, these were not pre-designed to any great degree. The first task involved collection more background data. Several weeks were spent in Hilo, perusing documents at the U.H.H. library, the Lyman House Museum, and the Hilo Public Library. This represented a continuation of what had been done at the U.H. Hawaiian Collection in Honolulu. After arriving in Kona, more background knowledge was gained through study of documents held at the Kailua-Kona Public Library and the Kona Historical Society archives. The latter facility proved especially important.

On the basis of questions raised by study of the background materials already collected, the method of theoretical sampling was used to choose particular people, who were then interviewed on the basis that they knew more about particular topics than could be found in published literature. This was the second major task of the field research. About 30 such interviews were conducted. The method was particularly helpful in understanding place as process, since in many cases these were the very people who had been utilizing their agency to produce a specific result with respect to tourism's presence on the Kona landscape.

Third, a survey of about 200 tourism-related businesses operating in Kailua town was conducted in order to develop theory on one particular topic, the recreational business district model. An additional survey of people working in Kona's accomodation sector—mostly property managers—was done in order to obtain a better grasp of the nature of this sector, which is somewhat broader than collected statistics show.

Lastly, a fairly extensive exploration of Kona was undertaken, simply for familiarization purposes. Virtually all the places tourists go in Kona were visited, as well as several sites where

resort projects had been advanced. Many places tourists do not go were also explored, to increase overall familiarity with the region. This exploration also included efforts to map the tourist space that existed in Kona, using cadastral maps (TMKs). This mapping was done on the basis of current land use, as observed in the field, and zoning. Information on the latter was provided by the branch County Planning Office, in Kailua.

After writing of the section on tourism resources had commenced, it became apparent that the goal of delineating the properties of Kona's tourist resources could best be achieved by using quotes from travel narratives. However, gaining this level of detail necessitated a third phase of data collection at the U.H. Hawaiian Collection. This took from August, 1992 to February, 1993.

The writing of the dissertation began afterwards. The sequence of topics attacked was: resources; tourist space; DLC model. The chapters on resources were the most numerous and the most difficult. Tourist resources as a major category only emerged when the theoretical materials, which had been held in abeyance, were restudied. It eventuated that this theoretical category also contained the properties of type, availability and quality. Generating theory with respect to type led to construction of a tourist resource typology. Substantiating the typology, i.e., grounding it, required four separate chapters—one for each major type of tourist resource in Kona. Inducing the major sub-types within the typology was also exceedingly difficult at times (particularly for “social” resources). Overall, then, the volume of material needed to describe Kona and discuss tourist resources required five chapters—one on theory and four on case.

The topic of tourist space was treated next. As noted, Kona's tourist space had already been mapped during field research. The question then focused on how to treat this theoretically. Thus a variety of research on spatial ideas in relation to tourism was studied. These included work on “semiotics,” to the recreational business district model, to “choroplethic” tourist space. What eventually was generated was theory about the space within a region that tourists do or do not occupy. Three spatial scales were found to be meaningful, and the chapter is written around these—from small to large. Case data was used to both generate additional theory, as well as to illustrate examples of existing theory.

Theory and case with respect to Kona's DLC more were somewhat more straightforward to write, though not entirely. Roughly 30 pieces of literature now exist on this topic. Most are journal-length articles that attempt to cover decades if not centuries of history. Most were written by geographers, hence this model represents a major topic within the geography of tourism sub-field. The theory informing the model, however, was in chaos. Most writers had taken a positivistic orientation, and had tried to show that their own case data proved or disproved some or all of one particular geographer's (Butler 1980) general model. Most features of the model had been attacked, yet it was still asserted that the model was essentially valid. It was ultimately found necessary to study other types of research on processes, to impose an overall structure on the theory. This task replicated what has been described with respect to tourist resources. Because of this need, DLC theory required an entire chapter.

Once this was finished, writing up the case data went fairly quickly. Sufficient data had been found in newspapers, and improved through interviews, to methodically date the stages through which Kona has passed, as well as describe the characteristics of each stage. Additionally, the use of this type of data enabled a processual approach to be taken. That is, it could be determined how the interaction of people had produced or prevented stage changes. Such an approach (which links new regional geography with the geography of tourism) had not been previously attempted.

As a final comment, it should be apparent that the research has been only partially inductive, but does combine theory and case. This dissertation therefore cannot be called a pure grounded theory work. The general rule to hold theory in abeyance and verify it with case data, and the general objective to generate theory from case data, were both followed for each major tourism topic. However, the new regional geography objective of studying a place over time, combined with the fact that there was much pre-existing theory which had to be sorted out, conflicted with the writing style of grounded theory. This resulted in theory and case being discussed mostly separately in the dissertation text.

OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

The three main systematic topics that constitute the bulk of this dissertation are tourist resources, tourist space, and the destination area life cycle (DLC) model. The textual material has been broken down along the following lines.

Chapter 2 generates theory about the nature and properties of tourist resources, from the tourist's perspective. The first part of the chapter conceptualizes resources at-large. These are then discussed in terms of tourist resources and the three properties of type, availability and quality. A synthesis of Kona case data indicated a typology could be developed, based on the four major categories of tourist resources: "environmental," "social," "cultural," and "service." Sub-categories for each type were also induced from the data. Such a typology is a good example of "developmental theory" because it was induced only from data on tourists' experiences in Kona. Large urban areas that are tourist destinations obviously contain types of resources that do not exist in Kona. There was no attempt to include these in Chapter 2.

The second property of tourist resources is their level of "availability." Any particular resource, or a set of them, can be "reserves," "utilized," or "degraded." While this has become a fairly standard way of approaching the availability of natural resources, no literature could be found which discusses tourist resources at a destination in this way. The transfer of the concept to tourist resources is original. Yet such a concept is clearly useful with respect to inventories of tourist resources. Planners at destinations would be better able to prioritize which resources should be developed if they had a good understanding of which resource types were most in reserve, and which were most degraded. As a substantive example, Kona's beaches are sorted into the above categories to show current level of availability (Figure 4.3).

The third property examined is tourist resource quality. A well-known model—the resource pyramid—was modified to conceptualize this. The resource pyramid divided the total stock of a region into high, medium, and low quality resources. However, a newer understanding of the term resources focuses on how they are simply real world elements (including other people) that are useful. But, as elements, they can also be negative at times. The resource pyramid was modified into the "tourist resource diamond" to incorporate this negative capacity.

Any element at a destination can thus be in one of five states, with respect to how tourists experience it. These have been labeled: “attractions,” “gratifiers,” “neutral elements,” “irritants,” and “deterrents.” Kona data is again used to provide examples of each category.

Chapter 3 generates theory on the DLC model. Since the 1980s, and even since field research concluded in early 1992, this has become one of the most popular topics of study in tourism geography. There was thus a considerably-sized academic literature to analyze. This was so chaotic that other types of research on processes were examined as a way of generating an improved theoretical structure. These types were the human life cycle, the product life cycle, a model of port development, and ecosuccession. A synthesis of these generated seven properties that were considered imperative to study in all DLC research. They were: the unit-entirety, its internal characteristics; the users of it; stages; change mechanisms; variability; and macro-structural conditions. Existing DLC literature was fit into this structure, as were examples from Kona. This created a discussion that simultaneously generated theoretical and methodological insights; i.e., insights on the DLC process and how it should be studied. The chapter thus takes up the tasks of focusing on “place as process” and of developing ideas about generic regions.

Chapters 4–7 substantiate the theoretical material on resources by looking at the main types that exist in Kona, their availability, and their level of quality. Each chapter focuses on one major category of resource: environmental, social, cultural and service. In Chapters 4–6, the task of describing Kona is taken up through a discussion of regional background. After the description, references from literature on Kona are used to substantiate how tourists have experienced, as resources, these regional features. Extensive quotations from tourists are used as a way of getting at the specific properties of the resources that tourists experienced. This writing style also tries to show “place as process” at a smaller scale by illuminating how the resources have changed in perceived level of quality over the decades. Taking this approach led to the realization that there has been a narrowing of the resource base that tourists experience.

In Chapter 8, the life cycle of tourism in Kona is examined. Three different analyses, based on spatial scale, have been done. Kona as a resort region within an archipelago is the first.

This shows that Kona's experience is not unique because it is just one of 11 resort regions that exist in Hawai'i. However, the analysis also shows that Kona is barely holding its own against resorts on other islands. The second analysis treats Kona as one destination on the Big Island. Development is contrasted with Hilo and South Kohala. Development at the Big Island's major environmental resource—Kilauea Volcano—is also discussed. Lastly, the life cycle of Kona as a tourist region is examined. A set of stages was induced, based on a graphical analysis of accommodation units and a study of critical events. The latter element focused on social process—how Kona has or has not changed due to community involvement with the tourist industry. Process as movement was induced into process as stage change by so doing. Documentary evidence indicates not only that Kona has gone through several stages, but that inhibitional tendencies in the community have prevented it from attaining others. One of the most fascinating aspects of this dissertation was uncovering how the town has come to exist in something of a state of petrification. That is, the village is further along in its life cycle than it appears to tourists, because locals who contested the idea of change succeeded in preventing certain tourist landscape forms from appearing.

Chapter 9 is the most synthetic chapter of the dissertation, in that it combines several different types of theory under the category of “tourist space.” This is discussed in two ways. The first looks at specific attraction sites. Theory is generated about the nature of attraction “markers,” then an analysis indicates that Kona's attractions are not marked well enough at present. The second compares the idea of “front and back” regions with geographic ideas about tourist space. A four-tiered hierarchy is ultimately induced and the Kona case provides substantive examples at three scales. In addition, the potential development of tourist space in the future is mapped as a way of spatially interpreting the results of Kona's tourist life cycle.

Chapter 10 sums up the dissertation. Conclusions about what has been learned with respect to methodology, tourism theory, new regional geography, and Kona are overviewed, in that order. The dissertation ends with an explanation of the first part of its title: *Enduring Idylls?*

NOTES ON ABBREVIATIONS AND USE OF HAWAIIAN WORDS

Throughout the following chapters a large number of newspaper articles are cited. The following conventions were adopted, to encourage brevity without compromising credit for authorship. First, when the author of an article was given a byline, reference has been listed alphabetically in the citation. The titles of those newspapers that were major sources have been shortened to a mnemonic in the text. These include: Honolulu *Advertiser* (*HA*); Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* (*HSB*); *Sunday Star-Bulletin and Advertiser* (*SSBA*); Hawai'i *Tribune-Herald* (*HTH*); *West Hawai'i Today* (*WHT*). These are listed alphabetically by the mnemonic in the reference section. All articles that lack authors have been placed under the newspaper heading. In addition, a number of articles were found in the Hawai'i Newspaper Agency clippings morgue (*HNCM*) held at the U.H. Library. These had been collected by newspaper staff from either the Honolulu *Advertiser* or *Star-Bulletin*, but were cut out, photographed, and assembled on microfiche cards without full citation. Articles indicating the author or paper were placed under those headings. However, the reference also notes that the morgue, not the paper was the source—through use of the mnemonic *HNCM*. The title of the microfiche card on which the article can be found has been placed in brackets. Articles with no author or title have been listed chronologically under the *HNCM* heading.

Words from the Hawaiian language are treated according to the rules of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (1982). That is, those judged to be unfamiliar have been italicized the first time they were used. They are also defined upon first usage, for the sake of readers unfamiliar to them.

ENDNOTES

¹ Fornander (1980, 17) noted that "kona" is derived etymologically from "ko-ana," or the setting of the sun. He also noted that Kona is the opposite, directionally, of Ko'olau.

² In Tahitian, *tonga* has changed to *toa*.

³ When Giddens was interviewed by Gregory (1984, 124) he noted he was working on an ontology of human society. Gregson (1986, 194) also notes Giddens is doing ontology.

⁴ The term "structuration" encapsulates the idea that the "duality of structure" simultaneously reproduces and transforms social structures. "Structuration" as a term means the reproduction and transformation of structures through ongoing social behavior (Giddens 1984, 16–7).

⁵ In 1991, Murphy (p. 24) noted Gregson's comment of the late 1980s was still true, that it was an "open question" as to how to do empirical research on regions.

⁶ It should be noted that, when conceptualized ontologically, this combination of unique and generic features at resorts is the result of the structuration process. That is, institutional factors tend to create generic development, although different structural conditions prevail at different resorts. Agency typically creates uniqueness, though strategies of agents may ultimately produce similar results, particularly in the built environment.

⁷ Warf (1990, 590) has asserted that the purpose of postmodern locality research is to comprehend the "dynamics of specific conjunctures," not to infer about wider processes. Given that so many studies of the DLC model indicate that resorts show similarity, Warf's agenda seems inadequate. It would seem possible to go beyond looking at the "specific conjunctures" in individual resorts, and to take steps towards comparing them, thereby working towards development of a resort taxonomy that is based on the DLC model and informed by social theory. While this project may never create a complete taxonomy (the equivalent of Hartshorne's areally differentiated world map), it would certainly be useful for generating a more broadly-based theory of resort development.

⁸ In a different context, this was noted by Jackson (1962, 22 cited in Britton 1979, 278): "Tourism is essentially a geographical experience, a free and leisurely method of learning about the world, and about ourselves and our own way of life."

⁹ This also means different new regional geographies could be done on the same region, by choosing different systematic approaches. Here, tourism was chosen, but agriculture or demography would have been equally appropriate choices.

¹⁰ The word "hypothesis" thus has a dual meaning in grounded theory. Initially, researchers examine data, then develop hypotheses about categories, their component properties, and the relationships between them. As such, these are working hypotheses, and are used simply to get to the next step. Hypotheses are also, however, a component of the grounded theory itself, specifying the relationships between categories. Use of the word in this way illuminates the processual nature of grounded theory. The "hypotheses" as links have been grounded through use of "hypotheses" as tools, yet the job is seldom completely finished. "Verification" through establishment of statistical significance often creates an illusion of finality that can be improved upon by conceptualization of theory as always being in an on-going process of development (Glaser and Strauss 1967, 26–8).

CHAPTER 2

LET'S GO SOMEWHERE SPECIAL

This chapter is the first of two that generate theory. Here, the focus is tourist resources. The chapter attempts to formulate the theoretical relationship tourists have with the destination—that *special place* they go to rejuvenate after working for a year. The reading of travel narratives and guidebooks indicated that, over the past two centuries, Kona has often been considered someplace special, though at other times it was not. Overall, visitors to Kona have experienced a wide variety of phenomena there. Much of this experience was pleasurable, some wasn't. The initial approach taken was to try to organize this phenomena in some logical way. However, the literature on tourist resources turned out to be so disorderly that this was not immediately possible. Literature on the nature of resources at-large and natural resources was then studied. The first part of the chapter works through this broader literature, and how literature on tourist resources relates to it. A result is that three distinctive properties have been found to be transferable to tourism. These are: type, availability, and quality. The second part of the chapter grounds each of these properties through sorting of data from Kona. The resource typology categorizes resources into four major types; these also contain sub-types that exist at one or more levels. The discussion on availability is more general. Obtaining complete data would require a thorough resource inventory—learning the amount of each type—which was beyond the scope of the dissertation. However, availability is illustrated through discussion of one particular resource, Kona's beaches. Lastly, a model relating to resource quality is expanded into the "tourist resource diamond." Examples taken from Kona are used to illustrate each division.

ON "RESOURCES" AT-LARGE

DEFINITIONAL MATTERS

The definition of the word "resource" has changed considerably through time. In past centuries, when most people lived in rural settings, the word meant the capability of nature "to

rise again," and "to heal herself" (Merchant 1989, 11). By the 19th century, and the development of industrial civilization, the word it had come to refer to the set of elements known as "natural resources"—those raw materials which were useful in industrial production (Spoehr 1956, 93). In this century, the meaning has continued to expand. The definition listed first in a contemporary dictionary (Webster 1983, 1542) is: "something that is ready for use or can be drawn upon for aid; a supply of something to take care of a need." Obviously, with the rise in importance of service industries in modern society, the "something" of the dictionary definition can be expanded to include "someone"; people themselves are now considered necessary resources within society.

The very general quality of the contemporary definition of resources seems to require that it be given further explication. Thus, points following from the definition have been elaborated upon by several geographers (Murphey 1971, 55-80; DeSouza and Foust 1979, 97-100; Haggett 1979, 196-200; Hoy 1980, 12-15 and Rees 1990, 12-29). First, the dictionary definition makes clear the idea that because a resource is something that is used to take care of a need, it is not an end, but is a means to an end. Second, its usefulness as a means is contingent upon it being first perceived as a means. This perception is in turn based upon individual and societal recognition. People utilize their intelligence, reasoning ability, and cultural conditioning (all components of "agency") to select certain elements as resources, while ignoring others. Depending on perception, an object may be a resource, or it may be "neutral stuff" (Merchant 1990, 12 citing Zimmerman 1951). Resources are thus human assessments, not givens. Third, societal development, particularly of a technological nature, can alter people's choices as to which elements they use as resources. Extending from this, social and technological change will bring perceptual change in the resource value of an element. Something, or someone, can change in its resource value—from having none, to much, and back to none again. Last, because objects themselves (including people) have the potential to change, their relation to resource-users can change. When this happens in a negative way, resources can become hazards (Burton et al. 1978, 19). The Mississippi River during the summer of 1993 provided a pertinent example. These points all lead to the conclusion that the relationship between people and a set

of resources is never completely stable, particularly not when there is a fast pace of social and technological change. A further conclusion is that material elements have structural properties. As resources they enable, as hazards they constrain. As “neutral stuff,” they do neither.

PROPERTIES OF RESOURCES

The development of resources as the set of elements that enable goals to be achieved in essence describes a relationship between people and the real world. From the grounded theory perspective, “resources” can be taken as a theoretical “category.” As such, the next task becomes a search for “properties.” Reviewing the literature on resources at-large uncovered three properties: type, availability and quality.

The property of “type” emerges from the reality that, although the total variety of resources may be infinite, they can be grouped together—in a typology. With the contemporary concept of resources broadened to include such different elements as tools and people, it would seem very difficult to develop a comprehensive typology of resources. Certainly, none was found in the (mainly) geography literature read for this chapter. Rees (1985, 14-30), however, has done considerable work in developing a typology for “natural resources”; According to her, the totality of natural resources can be subdivided into two major types: “fund” and “flow.” Fund (non-renewable) resources take millions of years to develop and are thus finite in supply, from the vantage point of humans. They can, however, be sub-divided into those that are consumed when used, versus those that can be recycled. Flow (renewable) resources are those which are capable of renewal in a period of time that is relatively short, by human standards. They, too, can be sub-divided into two types. “Non-critical zone” resources (solar energy, tides, air) exist outside the bounds of human impact, while “critical zone” resources (soil, forests, water in aquifers) are renewable if their use remains below their regenerative capacity.

The second property relates to how much of a particular type exists. Interestingly, because resources are assessments that change according to social perception, technological development, and the nature of the elements themselves, Rees (1985, 17-30) discussed this aspects in terms of the level of “availability” rather than “quantity.” For fund resources, the major concept of availability is expressed in terms of “reserves.” “Proven reserves” are those

known to exist and are profitable to extract under current technological and economic conditions, while conditional reserves are also known to exist, but are too difficult or unprofitable to extract. A second major category of resource availability covers quantities not yet known to exist. These are "hypothetical" when there is evidence that there might be some located in an area that has not yet been explored fully; they are "speculative" when an unexplored area is being discussed. The totality of all resources for a region is known as its "total stock."

For flow resources, availability is expressed in terms of "potential" and "capacity." The highest amount that is available, either without human efforts (non-critical zone resources) or with them (critical zone resources) is termed the "maximum resource potential." The "sustainable capacity" is the maximum amount of a critical zone resource that can be used without reducing the amount available to future generations. The "absorptive capacity" measures the amount of waste that a resource (e.g., air) can handle without change in ecology or aesthetics. Lastly, the "carrying capacity" roughly combines these by including both how much of a resource can be used as well as how much it can handle in terms of waste products, without deterioration occurring.

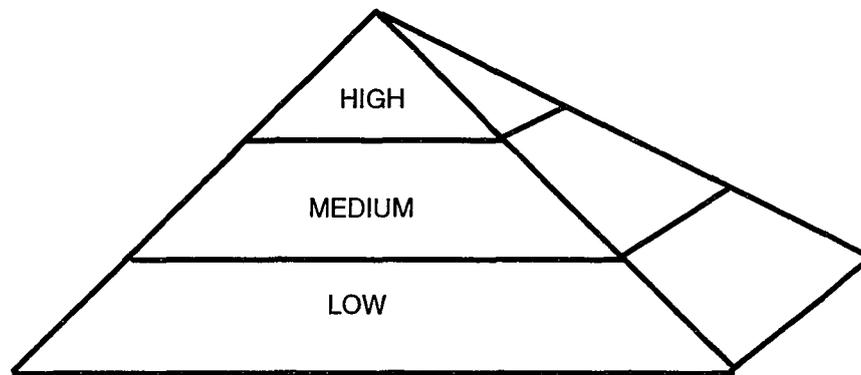


Figure 2.1 The resource pyramid.

Source: After Hoy (1980).

Beyond availability, there is also the matter of the quality of a resource—how good a particular quantity of it is. This is the third property. A temporally static way of conceptualizing

quality has been through use of the "resource pyramid" (Hoy 1980, 14). Figure 2.1 shows a pyramid, with base at the bottom, is divided into 3 horizontal layers. Each layer contains a different quality of the resource - the smaller top layer has the highest quality, the middle represents medium quality, and the bottom the poorest quality but largest amount. A time element can be added to this static assessment. That is, over time a particular resource can be improved through development, or degraded through overuse. Raw materials, for example, can be refined to remove impurities, while water in aquifers can become polluted. Thus the amounts of a resource that are of high, medium or low quality are not really static, but can change over time through, or because of, human agency.

CONCEPTUALIZING "TOURIST RESOURCES"

DEFINING "THE TOURIST"

The conceptual properties of resources at-large, for the most part, have been found to be extendible to the subset used by tourists. Before discussing this subset of resources, however, it is necessary to note that the literature often defines "the tourist" in very different ways. It is therefore pertinent to develop the operational concept of tourist that will be used in this dissertation.

According to Schmidt (1980, 2) the word "tour" was first entered into the Oxford English dictionary around 1320. Derived from a Greek word for a tool used to describe a circle, "tour" came to mean "circular travel," in the sense of leaving home, going to several destinations, then eventually returning home by a different route (Leiper 1983, 277). The word "tourist", however, dates only from about the year 1780, by which time substantial numbers of people (particularly in England) were "touring," both internally and internationally (O.E.D. 1972, 306).¹ In this century, the increase in research on tourism has led to expansions in the definition. Mathieson and Wall (1982, 10-12) cite as examples of this both Oglivie's 1933 delimitation of the tourist as someone who leaves home for a short period and spends money not earned on the trip, and the conception of the IUOTO² as someone who spends at least 24 hours away from home for the purpose of either leisure or business. These definitions have been used

widely in tourism research; the latter has come to predominate after it was officially adopted in 1980 by the successor to the IUOTO, the World Tourism Organization.³ However, both of these were considered to be unnecessarily restrictive for the research here, which utilized travel memoirs dating back to the 1780s, coincidentally the same decade that the word "tourist" was first derived from "tour." For the present purpose, therefore, the older concept that tourists are simply people who are engaging in "circular travel" will form the core of the definition.

To get at the underlying idea of tourist resources, however, a description of a typical travel pattern is insufficient. If resources are means toward an end, then the question must be asked: What are the "ends" which people are attempting to attain through traveling? Literatures on tourist motivation and tourist typologies (mainly from the 1970s) tackled this question and put forth a number of answers (Cohen 1972, 1974 and 1979; Plog 1972; MacCannell 1973 and 1976; Smith 1977; Graburn 1977). In general, these writings tended to stress the alienation of the modern urban individual—the tourist was someone who was escaping from the stress of city life to more pastoral destinations where the human condition was more authentic.

While this interpretation has some merit, use of travel narratives and guidebooks as data sources does not enable such a psychologically-based conclusion to be reached. These sources do enable comprehension of what people are doing when they travel, however. This is much more straightforward. At the level of individual activity, what tourists do when they leave home and start towards the destination is fairly simple—they explore places. Further, when they choose a destination such as Hawai'i, the word "region" can be substituted for "place." Therefore, except where specified otherwise, tourists will be conceived as "regional explorers" in this dissertation. This is similar to a conception sometimes seen in the literature—"wanderlust" tourists. The difference is that regional exploration implies a purposefulness that is apparent in travel narratives. Tourists are utilizing agency to intentionally explore; they are not simply wandering around.

Extending from this idea of tourists being regional explorers, it is perhaps permissible to assert that they are also motivated to be successful in exploring the places where they have chosen to travel. The dictionary (Webster 1983, 646) defines "explore" as "to travel in (a region

previously unknown or little known) in order to learn about its natural features, inhabitants, etc." Thus, exploring regions is the act of experiencing places personally, in order to learn about them.

Study of the travel narratives from different time periods made it clear that travelers to Kona throughout the past 200 years have had a great deal in common. This results from the experiential subject-object relationship between all travelers and the places they visit. This relationship is structural in nature—the visitors must always be outsiders, and they are enabled and constrained by the structural properties of the destination. The relationship therefore does not change over time, though visitors' interpretations will be colored by their own cultural background and existing travel conditions. A narrative of Kona from Cook's exploratory expedition is thus written from the same outsider-looking-in perspective as a diary from a contemporary tourist visiting on a tour. Each has a similar focus on describing the place and recounting experiences had there. This similarity in relationship between true explorers such as Cook and modern "tourists" enables their travel narratives to be interpreted as a continuous chronology of the Kona region.

Guidebook writers take this explorational relationship with places a step further by utilizing existing spatial divisions of regions as a way of organizing their material. Guidebooks are essentially just "exploration manuals." They first provide tourists with background knowledge of the region's history and culture; the remainder of the material is then organized locationally, so that the tourist can successfully explore the important places within the region, along the routes the author has come to prefer.

Over the time period under scrutiny in this research, most of the tourists who have gone to Kona fit the description of regional explorers. Certain types of travelers have not gone there to explore, but for some other reason. These have included participating in special events such as the Hawai'i International Billfish Tournament or the Ironman Triathlon or, in the past, simply spending several days relaxing at the shoreline while staying at the Kona Inn ("sunlust" tourists). Such people might be called "special interest tourists." In sum, "regional explorers" and "special interest tourists" make up the entire universe of people who have traveled to Kona, and left again.⁴

CHOOSING THE TERM "RESOURCES" FOR DESTINATION ELEMENTS

With the concept of tourist now operationally defined it is possible to consider tourist resources more precisely. But before doing so, it is necessary to discuss what has been specifically written in the literature on this general subject. This is because the task of defining tourist resources has been made more difficult by the fact that there is as yet no consensus in the literature to use only this term. Three other terms—"tourist supply," "tourist product," and "attractions"—currently vie with "tourist resources" as concepts that claim this definitional turf. These in fact compete so strongly that an explicit decision on which term to use had to be made. The term "tourist resources" was ultimately chosen because of its comparability with other types of resources and its greater breadth of meaning. Yet, because these other terms are so prevalent, it is necessary to defend this choice.⁵

The terms "tourist supply" and "tourist product" seem to have originated through the application of economics to tourism research and are fairly synonymous in meaning. The idea of "tourist supply" developed through adaptation of the concept of supply and demand. That is, tourist needs produce the demand and the set of elements at the destination that satisfy those needs constitutes the supply. This is consistent with the idea of resources being means, but the set of elements typically included as the supply has been narrowly conceived. For example, Smith (1988, 183) proposed a supply-side definition where: "Tourism is the aggregate of all businesses that directly provide goods or services to facilitate business, pleasure, and leisure activities away from the home environment." Smith's main goal in advancing such a definition—to establish conclusively that a tourism "industry" really does exist—was laudable. However, the obvious weakness to defining the set of elements tourists experience in terms of only the tourism industry is that much of what tourists explore at destinations is excluded.

The second term, the tourist "product" was advanced most heavily between the 1970s and mid-1980s (Ferrario 1974, 57, 1979, 19; Jafari 1974, 73-89; Vukonic and Pirjevec 1980, 14; Gunn 1981, 261; Murphey 1985, 14; Papadopolous 1986, 3). Writers who utilized this conception seem to have made two (usually implicit) assumptions. The first was similar to an assumption of "tourist supply"; tourists are "consumers" and it is the "product" they consume

which satisfies them. The second assumption expands upon this by comparing tourism to other industries. That is, the nature of industry is to take raw materials and convert them into a finished product. This product is then marketed to customers (Ferrario 1979, 19). As with supply, the weakness of this term is that the "product" is usually defined in terms of the elements included in the tourism industry, not the entire set of features that tourists explore at destinations.⁶

The third term, "attraction," seems to have come in vogue recently (Lew 1987; Leiper 1990; Pearce 1991). In the past, the conceptualization of tourist "attractions" has also sometimes suffered from the same narrowness. That is, writers tend to focus on either the set of features included within the tourism industry, or those outside of it, but not both (Peters 1969, 148-9; Ferrario 1979, 18; Gunn 1981, 262; Poláček and Aroch 1984).

Schmidt (1980) and Lew (1987), however, developed the concept further. Utilizing a list of places described in the column "What's Doing In ____" column of the *Sunday New York Times* and the U.S. Department of Interior's National Parks and Landmarks registry, as well as data obtained from personal field research on tourists (observing them while being employed as a tour guide), Schmidt attempted to discover the underlying relationship between the tourist and the "attraction" being visited. She concluded that all attractions were "extremes" of some sort:

The extremes which comprise tourist structures command the sacred power of attraction because they represent certain transitional points in the natural or social world, points that are symbolically powerful because they lie at the boundaries of categories. (Schmidt 1980, 86)⁷

This conceptualization proves to be extremely useful, not only for increasing theoretical depth, but also for assessing their quality; it will be discussed again in that section.

Lew's (1987) inductive work on tourist attractions advanced the possibilities for research in a practical direction. By reviewing several dozen references in the literature that had anything to do at all with the subject of tourist attractions, Lew was able to develop three distinctive "frameworks" for studying them.⁸ The first of these, his "ideographic perspective," was very highly oriented around a regional approach. The framework Lew created was quite useful as a starting point for the model of tourist resources that will be developed in the next section.

Overall, the concept of "tourist attractions" has been developed in more depth in the literature than either of the terms "tourist product" or "tourist supply." However, it was considered inappropriate for this research because it also seems overly narrow in content and also is "exceptionalist"; it stands by itself and does not contain a set of properties in the way that the term "resources" does. The travel literature read for this research indicated the term would also seem to have two other problems. First, the meaning of the word "attraction" indicates the existence of forces that draw bodies toward each other. Certain sites and activities in Kona definitely do draw tourists towards them. However, the travel narratives indicated that tourists exploring Kona also drew experiential satisfaction from many features that did not "pull" them there, and thus fell outside the literal meaning of "attraction." In addition, the concept to a certain extent implies prior knowledge of the region—the tourist must first know about the existence of the attraction in order to make the effort to visit it. Travel narratives again showed this was often not the case—tourists often arrived in Kona without knowing what was there. Tourists often were simply moving around a region-at-large (they were exploring Hawai‘i), and ultimately found themselves stopping over at a sub-region (Kona) without having any definite idea of what the local features were and without having put any thought into what they were going to do there. Ultimately, therefore, "attraction" seems a useful word for expressing the high points at a destination that do have value in luring tourists. It is not a sufficiently broad concept to cover all elements that combine to produce successful regional explorations, but is useful in describing a property of resource quality.

Finally, the concept of "tourist resources" also already exists in the literature. Any number of researchers have in the past loosely used the term "tourist resource" in their writings, but few bothered to operationally define it. Farrell was one of those who did. He conceptualized tourism itself to be an "ambient resource" in Hawai‘i, meaning it was:

that special combination of elements such as a warm, sensuous, and nondebilitating climate; exciting coastal and mountain scenery; warm, clear ocean water; uncluttered open spaces of cropland, forest, and park; and one of the most interesting cosmopolitan populations in the world. (Farrell 1982, 28)

While this is a useful and thoroughly inclusive definition, Farrell did not take the next step and connect it with the concept of resources at-large. Consequently, it is impossible to link tourism

resources as a theoretical category to the properties of type, availability, and quality discussed in the previous section.

The most comprehensive work on the concept of tourist resources has been done by the World Tourism Organization (1980). In their monograph entitled *Evaluating Tourism Resources*, the anonymous author(s) framed the discussion in a way that was similar to the section above on resources at-large. Unfortunately, their conceptualizations were also somewhat exceptionalist, in the sense that they developed a distinctive, rather than a connective, terminology.

The WTO monograph actually provided two definitions of "tourist resources," which were, when combined, quite thorough. The first definition was: "the material, energy and human potential which is, or can be, available to a community. This potential will become a tourist resource when it is capable of attracting visitors" (WTO 1980, 3). This definition quite clearly transfers to "tourist resources" the notion that resources are assessments, and it implicitly expresses the idea that there is a larger resource base from which particular elements are picked for utilization. The definition is also stated with sufficient generality to encompass the idea that tourists are regional explorers, though it is vague about which elements actually are resources to tourists. The second definition the monograph advanced was more specifically pointed toward the tourist industry. Accordingly, tourist resources were defined as: "all the goods and services which, through the intermediary of man and the means at his disposal, make tourism activities possible and satisfy the needs of demand" (WTO 1980, 3). Taken together, these two definitions are complimentary but do not excessively overlap.

Furthermore, the monograph discusses practical ways to evaluate aspects of resource quality of specific attractions. The notion of the scale of the resource—national or international—is developed, along with a procedure for assessing the overall situation of the attraction in relation to others. The goal of the monograph was for nations to be able to conduct extensive inventories of their tourism resource base.

Overall, this monograph clearly goes very far towards transferring several resource-related concepts to tourist resources. However, it too falls short of doing a complete job, the

main failure being an overly-abstract stance without sufficient discussion of real situations. It also has the problem of not focusing directly on how resources satisfy tourists' needs, and does not develop a typology of tourist resources that fits well with the data collected for this dissertation research. Thus other concepts relating to resource type, availability and quality have had to be developed for this dissertation, before an analysis for a region—Kona—could be attempted.

This ends the discussion of literature on tourist resources. A short description of conclusions reached is now in order. First, the reading of travel narratives and guidebooks pointed out the obvious, that visitors' experiences in Kona differed. The term "resources" appeared to be an adequate theoretical category to describe this overall relationship between visitor and destination environment. This term conflicted with several others used in the tourism literature, however. Only after further reading, on resources at-large, was it concluded to be the proper term. Second, the wider readings on resources indicated this theoretical category contained three properties: type; availability; quality. In the tourist literature, only type had been discussed. Existing typologies, however, were almost all developed in an asystematic manner. In particular, resources used by tourists, such as beaches, were never distinguished from those used by the tourist industry, such as electricity. Thus the task for the remainder of this chapter will be to develop these three properties—type, availability, quality—with respect to tourist resources. Each will be grounded through use of examples from Kona.

TOURIST RESOURCE PROPERTIES

A Typology, Based on Kona's Tourist Resources

The original idea for this component of the dissertation was to gather data on tourist resources and assemble it into Lew's (1987) "ideographic" framework. Towards this end, travel narratives contained in the University of Hawai'i's Hawaiian-Pacific collection were read, using only material written those by travelers who had visited Kona. In addition, a large number of guidebooks to Hawai'i and the Big Island were perused. The method used for collecting data on resource type was a loose form of content analysis: everything was noted that travelers and

guidebooks mentioned for Kona that fit the basic definition of resource—something that helped them successfully explore and experience Kona as a region.

When the attempt was made to fit this data into Lew's categories, however, the conclusion was quickly reached that resources from the tourists' perspective were significantly different than from the academic sources he had combined, which included in particular sources that were defining attractions from the perspective of the tourist industry. Thus, a new typology had to be generated from the Kona data.⁹ In this case, holding existing theory in abeyance was necessary. After numerous iterations, a typology of generalized categories based on resource elements was created. This is shown in Figure 2.2. It should be noted this typology is a theoretical construct that is developmental in nature. Only data on Kona were used to induce categories. Because of this, some categorical omissions were inevitable. Nevertheless, because of the explicit intention to generate theory, it is hoped that this typology will be useful as a starting point in future research on tourism resources.

This figure indicates that the totality of tourist resources at destinations can be divided into four major categories: environmental, social—meaning the local residents; cultural; and service. The first three constitute what might be termed the "base resources" of a region. These are the regional features that exist independently of the tourist industry; they act as the base upon which the industry rests and relies. The fourth type—"service"—refers to the tourist industry itself. These are the tourist businesses that either exploit the base resources or complement them. They are "structural" in the sense that they are built upon the base and, through their physical presence, overlay it. The ideographic nature of this classification scheme, that Lew (1987) recognized in his research, is apparent.¹⁰ A brief description of each major type and component sub-types will now be given.

Environmental Resources

A glance at the sub-types of "environmental" resources shows these are very familiar categories to geographers. The aforementioned strong parallel between regional geography and

ENVIRONMENTAL	CULTURAL
<p>TOPOGRAPHY</p> <p>CLIMATE</p> <p>FLORA</p> <p>FAUNA</p> <p>OCEAN ENVIRONMENT</p> <p>SCENERY</p>	<p>MATERIAL CULTURE</p> <p>CULTURAL LANDSCAPE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Built Environment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agricultural Residential Religious Historical • Regional Ambience <p>HIGH CULTURE</p>
SOCIAL	SERVICES
<p>NATURE OF PEOPLE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aspects of Society <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Demographic Ethnic variety • Aspects of Individuals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Appearance Character Status Role <p>NATURE OF LOCAL LIFE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social relations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Religious sanctions Class deference Distinctive lifestyles • Daily Activities <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Work Domestic Leisure • Events <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sporting Holiday related Ethnic Cultural 	<p>TRANSPORTATION</p> <p>NECESSITIES</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Accommodation • Food (and Drink) <p>ACES^a</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Experiential Services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Explorational Sports Participation Entertainment • Shopping <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Clothing Accessories Souvenirs Real Estate

Figure 2.2 A typology of tourist resources, based on data from Kona, Hawai'i Island.

^a "ACES" are the "ancillary commercial enterprise services" at the destination.

The term “topography” was abstracted to cover the various aspects of the form of the land in Kona. Its volcanic mountains, Hualālai and Mauna Loa, are the two major landforms. Seeing the lava flows, however, particularly from Mauna Loa, has perhaps been the major topographic experience. Climate has undoubtedly been perceived as the best environmental resource the district has to offer. The particular aspects of climate that have been appreciated have changed markedly. Until the 1920s, the cool climate of upland Kona was considered the best. Since the 1960s, the tourist industry has constructed facilities only at the coast, however, so that resort tourists could appreciate the oceanic climate. Kona’s flora was mainly experienced during the 19th century, when tourists could take horseback rides through the mauka countryside. Contemporary tourists have very little contact with the native flora of the region. The same is true for local fauna; the hunting of imported mammals and birds is now virtually the only way to have involvement with animals in Kona. "Scenery" has been differentiated from topography on the basis that it is essentially a synthetic category, composed of topography, flora, and ocean. Tourists visiting before World War II often described Kona’s scenery in exuberant terms. Recent guidebooks hardly mention it at all. Finally, the oceanic environment is the one sub-category of the environment that is not included in a traditional regional geography focus. For Kona, game fishing is the major sub-type, but technological improvements have recently raised the popularity of scuba diving in Kona’s pristine near-shore waters.

Social Resources

If environmental resources represent a familiar resource category to geographers, social resources definitely do not. This category emerges from experiences tourists have with the people they meet at the destination. For Kona, these people were almost exclusively local residents.¹¹ In travel narratives the descriptions of social experiences often took up a large percentage of text. At times this seemed wholly out of proportion to the importance of the person being described. From this it was concluded that social experiences with local residents are important; they fulfilled needs just as much as did any of the other major categories listed in Figure 2.2. This is perhaps obvious, but little research would seem to have been done in this area in any field of academia; few works were found in the tourism literature that did more than

barely mention that local people existed and none stressed that locals were an important part of tourists' exploring and experiencing of regions. The sub-categories listed under people are therefore mostly original. Interestingly, the guide books read for this research ignored social resources almost as completely as has the academic literature. This was true even in 19th century guidebooks for Kona, when interaction between tourists and locals was a necessity.

Tourists in Kona have experienced social resources by focusing on the nature of local people or the nature of local life. Each of these was in turn induced from smaller categories. The "nature of people" involves experiencing who they are. "Societal aspects" concern the local demography. In travel narratives this consisted of comments relating to the numbers of local people; the great number of locals present, or the lack of them. Similarly, tourists sometimes made comments about the types of people they were observing. These have been abstracted under the term "ethnic variety." Social commentary about the number and variety of locals is often included in travel narratives, indicating that this particular type of observation is often a catalyst for stimulating tourists to ponder the human condition and human relations at a deeper level than they might do while at home.

When not observing characteristics of groups of people, visitors to Kona would often comment on the nature of individuals. The "appearance" of locals, for example, transcended ethnicity by focusing on how good or bad looking people were, or on particular cultural aspects of appearance. Their "character" was also important, particularly how the locals dealt with the tourists. Trustworthiness, friendliness, etc., that the locals showed to the tourists was generally highly praised. The status of locals in their own society was another important feature. Visitors to Kona noted two particular aspects of this with respect to Hawaiians. First, visitors were often able to meet local people who have a different (usually higher) social status than the tourist, and who would be impossible for the tourist to meet at home. Such a group was here labeled "peerage." A second group of people were notable because they achieved an elevated social status from the force of their own personalities. This group has here been called "celebrities." Peerage thus focuses on status accorded on the basis of social structure, while celebrities show the possibilities of agency. Finally, tourists have shown interest in the different roles that locals

played. In Kona, three were of particular importance. An important type of person with whom tourists interact has been termed a "business transactor." This is someone with whom tourists meet in order to fulfill their needs for transport, shelter, food, etc. In regions where a tourism industry has become established, these people may be the only locals with whom the tourists have any contact. "Culture brokers" is the one non-original term used for this category of resources (see Nash 1977, 41). These are people who interpret the local culture for tourists' benefit, thereby educating them. By birth, culture brokers may be local, but often are "expatriate" in the general sense of having moved from a region more similar to the tourist's home. The third type has been "sex partners." The importance of this side of tourism is often noted (and bemoaned) in the academic literature. Narratives about Kona indicate it is not new.

Tourists also enjoy experiencing what the locals are doing; the "nature of daily life." This also contained several components. First, tourists liked to watch locals interacting with each other, experiencing their "social relations." This had several aspects. Learning the daily activities related to work, domesticity, and leisure was and is an important part of travel. Tourists enjoy watching how local people's activity manifests the universal human condition. Seeing how local people work and recreate enables tourists to evaluate the quality of their own lives, although activities that are markedly different than what occurs in tourists' own societies are rewarding to observe in their own right. This type of observation, also made with social relations, commonly leads to social commentary about the overall level of civilization at the destination, and how it compares to the tourists' own societies.

The last aspect of local life focused on "events," the non-daily elements. This topic has recently received attention in the literature. Getz (1991) has written a text in which considerable effort was spent in typologizing special events and festivals. He defined the term "special event" as "a onetime or infrequently occurring event outside the normal program or activities of the sponsoring or organizing body." More importantly for this research, from the perspective of tourists or other participants a special event is "an opportunity for a leisure, social, or cultural experience outside the normal range of choices or beyond everyday experience" (both citations from Getz 1991, 44). Such a definition obviously enables events to be included as part of the

overall set of resources tourists can experience. This inclusion is important, for Hall (1992, 3) categorically differentiates "events" from "attractions" on the basis of time—events are temporary phenomena, while attractions are more-or-less permanent features on the landscape. Nevertheless, events are social gatherings, and thus represent a form of social resource.

Cultural Resources

The third major category of tourist resource focuses on the "culture" at the destination. Culture is already a broad term in the English language, but here the meaning is conceived as being even wider than usual, because cultural landscapes are also included. There were four major sub-categories generalized from the Kona data. At what is usually the smallest scale, tourists have an interest in the "material culture" of the local residents. Taking a definition from the anthropological literature, this is considered to include "the class of objects made by people or modified by people....It excludes natural objects" (Prown 1988, 19). Another way of conceiving of a society's material culture is to "distinguish those manifestations which have a physical presence from the total culture" (Spier 1973, 1). This broad set of objects created by people functions to aid in the accomplishment of a set of tasks that are as broad as life itself. This sub-category is of particular importance when tourists from technologically advanced countries visit destinations that are less advanced. In these situations, tourists have the chance to see how a different society has utilized the materials of the environment, and how cultural conditioning has influenced human ingenuity. Sometimes, however, the reverse situation occurs. Then, the diffusion of modern technology or western material culture into less technologically advanced societies becomes an interesting part of the material culture for tourists to experience. A third reason the local material culture may be important is that certain implements may make excellent souvenirs, which tourists can take home as mementos of the trip. Natural objects and items from the local material culture would seem to actually be the basis for the entire souvenir industry that comes into being as the destination develops.

The "cultural landscape" is of course a familiar category to geographers. Four sub-categories were induced from the Kona data. These included the "agricultural," "residential," "religious," and "historical" components of the landscape. They are fairly obvious categories.

The second major component of the cultural landscape to be induced for Kona was "regional ambience." The term "ambience" is typically applied to places smaller than regions. As a concept in daily language, ambience is used to conjure up the feeling—the atmosphere—that is sensed in small, urban spaces. On rare occasions an entire city—Florence, Italy, for example—might be said to have an overall ambience. As noted above, Farrell (1982, 28) used this term as a way of getting at the nature of tourist resources. In this research, the term has been used more conventionally, but applied to a larger scale, in accordance with Farrell's application to the State of Hawai'i. Like "scenery," ambience is basically a synthetic category, composed of the features of the material culture, the cultural landscape, etc.

A sub-category which is often very important at urban destinations has been called "high culture." This includes the set of museums, performing arts theaters, etc. at the destination. It essentially relates to the forms of art tourists can experience. In Kona, largely a rural area, this sub-category is only weakly developed.

Service Resources

The final major category of resource to be induced from the data has been called "services." These refer to the tourist industry itself. As is well understood, most tourists require the presence of at least some services of the tourist industry before they venture to explore the destination. The academic literature has tended to combine elements that are resources to tourists with other elements that are resources to the tourist industry itself. Thus, restaurants and electricity are sometimes found together. Here, only services that were resources to tourists have been included. In total, three major sub-types have been induced. Transportation, first of all, enables tourists to reach Kona. The means of transport was sometimes a resource in-and-of itself, however. For example, taking the cattle boat back to Honolulu from Kona gave travel an added dimension. The "necessities" sub-category includes accommodation and food. The former has been by far the most important in Kona.

Lastly, there are the "ACES"—ancillary commercial enterprise services. Within this group, the sub-categories induced were less obvious. The first included the various types of "explorational" services provided to tourists. These resources enabled tourists to explore Kona

better. Auto rental businesses and different types of tours were the main components. Two other sub-categories focused on "sports participation" and "entertainment." The second main ACES sub-category was "shopping." This was considered separate on the basis that tourists purchase tangible objects rather than experiences. The "clothing," "accessories" and "souvenir" shops in Kona dominated this category. The "real estate" agency, though utilized by smaller numbers of tourists, may be provide the most important type available, however.

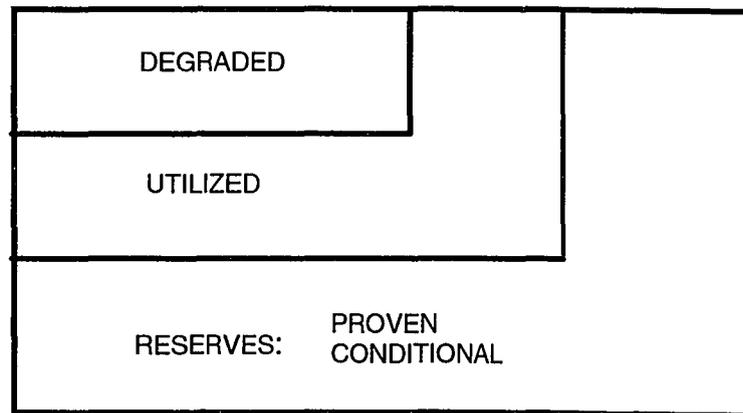


Figure 2.3 Levels of availability of tourist resources.

Source: After Rees (1985).

Aspects of Tourist Resource Availability

Rees's concepts of resource availability would seem directly applicable to tourist resources. In Figure 2.3, the area inside the box is conceptualized to contain the "total stock" of elements in a region. Everything is included. Of course, not everything has the potential to become a resource for tourism; total stock is thus a rather vague concept. A smaller category might be called the total stock of tourist resources; this would just include the elements that did have potential. Of this smaller total, certain resources will exist at different levels of availability. If tourism has been present for some time, and undergone considerable development, chances are good that certain resources have become "degraded." Doxey's (1976)

well known "irridex" model of social impacts, for example, theorizes that this tends to happen fairly quickly to social resources. With certain environmental resources, carrying capacity levels can be exceeded, resulting in degradation. Degradation can also occur with respect to cultural resources, particularly the ambience of the cultural landscape. At times, the tourism industry itself is responsible for this.

In the middle are the set of resources that are currently being "utilized" by tourists. This is equivalent to harvesting or producing other types of natural resources. Oddly, there seems to be no general term expressing the quantity of a natural resource that is being utilized. This is more typically expressed as a number. With flow resources, the term "sustainable yield" is sometimes used to express an acceptable level of utilization. This can be adapted; an example is provided below.

Lastly, there are those resources which still exist in a "reserve" condition. They are not yet being exploited by tourists or the tourism industry. Rees noted three levels of reserve for natural resources: proven; conditional; speculative. Tourist resources would not seem to be this complicated. Probably the distinction between "proven" and "conditional," based as this is on technology and profitability, is sufficient.

The three levels of availability can also apply to any particular category of resource, in addition to the total stock. The beaches in Kona are an example. All beaches in the region (identified in the literature) have been sorted into the three levels of availability (Figure 2.4), based on field checking. Only one beach, Kamakahonu, can be said to be "degraded." This particular beach exists in this state mainly because the Kailua Pier has been constructed on much of the land it used to occupy. Several beaches are currently being utilized by tourists. All of these either have been designated as beach parks, or are on the property of resorts. The most significant feature of Figure 2.4 is the high number of beaches that are not currently being used by tourists—that are in reserve. Several reasons account for this; inaccessibility is the most common one. Private property must be crossed to reach the beach. Field research indicated locals use many of these beaches, but few tourists were observed to have found them.

DEGRADED		
Kamakahonu		
UTILIZED		
Ka'ūpūlehu	Kahalu'u	
Mahai'ula	Keauhou	
White Sands	Nāpo'opo'o	
	Hōnaunau	
RESERVES		
Pueo	Wāwāli	Ke'ei
Keawaiki	Pinetrees	Keālia
Kīhoho	Honokōhau	Ho'okena
Kūki'o	'Alula	Ka'ohē
Manani'owali	Papawai	Miloli'i
Makole'ā	Old Kona Airport	Honomalino
		Oea
		Okoē
		Kapu'a

Figure 2.4 Levels of availability of Kona's beaches, with respect to tourist use.

Sources: Nolan and Chaney (1981); Clark (1985); field observation

The overall ratio of beaches in reserve to those being utilized provides a clear indication that tourism has not yet reached unsustainable levels, with respect to this resource. There is clear room for expansion, though this does not necessarily mean there is a mandate to do so. For example, a common complaint of tourists is that there are no beaches in Kailua town. The beach at Old Kona Airport is close by, and could be developed to alleviate this problem. Yet field observation indicated clearly that locals considered this their beach, and visitors were not particularly welcome to use it. Descriptions of conflicts of this sort are widespread in the literature, and the optimal solution is well known to involve ensuring that locals have adequate recreational facilities that do not have to be shared with tourists.

When a resource element has potential to be developed, to go from a "reserve" to a "utilized" status, the medical concept of "indication" would seem useful in deciding whether such development should in fact occur. "Indications" in medicine refer to the symptoms which a drug can help cure or alleviate. In addition, there are also symptoms and/or conditions which "contraindicate" use of that drug. With respect to Old Kona Airport, the need for additional

beaches indicates development, but local resentment against such development is a contraindication. It should be noted that indication is quite a different concept than carrying capacity. This latter term also relates to resource availability, particularly between the levels of utilization and degradation. But, as is now well understood, tourists and locals have different thresholds of tolerance, therefore no single "carrying capacity" can be established for most of the resource types identified in Figure 2.2. Locals may consider a place to have been spoiled by tourists presence long before maximum numbers are reached. Indication, as a conceptual tool, essentially precedes carrying capacity, by weighing the pros and cons of development ahead of time, rather than by focusing on how much use a resource can withstand.¹²

Overall, then, the conceptual property of availability would seem extremely relevant to those responsible for developing the regional tourism sector. Awareness of the three levels—degraded, utilized, reserves—permits a basic understanding of “how much” of a tourist resource there is, as well as what general condition it is in. Once this is grasped, the task of planning for a sustainable rate of development and use becomes possible.

Resource Quality

The property of resource quality would also seem transferable to tourist resources. This is because, first of all, tourist resources definitely would seem to be very much human assessments. Systematic reading of travel narratives made this quite clear. Certain travelers loved particular features of Kona, while others ignored or hated them. Particular sites have risen and fallen in perceived value over time. They can become "neutral stuff," not considered important to experience, and consequently ignored. Or, they can rise out of neutral stuff and provide significant experiences. This difference in assessment forced the realization that the “resource pyramid” was an incompletely developed concept, with respect to the theorizing of the quality of tourist resources. The positive had been overstressed, while the neutral and negative factors had been ignored. Figure 2.5 shows a more complete conceptualization of the concept of resource quality. The "pyramid" has been replaced by a diamond-shaped figure, referred to as the "tourist resource diamond." Figure 2.5 contains five categories instead of three. As in the original resource pyramid model, the total area within the diamond is conceptualized to

constitute the total stock, while the area within each division heuristically approximates the proportion of the total each quality level contains.

Regarding the categories of resource quality, the figure is labeled to indicate that high quality tourist resources in a region, at the pinnacle of the diamond, are its "attractions." Using the term "attractions" in this way enables it to be retained, but limiting its meaning. It is now just one of five possible categories; the term is not meant to include the entire regional resource base. The attractions at a region are obviously those elements in which tourists have strong desire to experience. Using Schmidt's (1980) idea, they are often "extremes" of phenomena. Scale is important, a tourist attraction which is extreme at the national level is more important as a tourist resource than one which is only extreme at the local level. A four-tiered scale hierarchy can thus be applied to any existing attraction site: local, provincial, national, international.¹³ Conceptually, attractions might also be sub-divided by their "pulling" power. Those that have the capability of making tourists decide to visit the destination might be called "strong attractors," while others that tourists are motivated to visit and experience only after they arrive are the region's "weak attractors." In Kona, perhaps the strongest attractor ever to motivate visitors was the "death site" of Captain Cook during the early 19th century. This spot became a virtual pilgrimage stop for ship captains traveling across the Pacific. Today, however, the site is only a weak attractor at best. It is nearly inaccessible from land and most tourists must gaze from afar at the obelisk which now denotes the event. This example points out that the tourist resource diamond is only a static measurement. It does, however, conceptualize the capability of elements at the destination to rise or fall in perceived value.

Lower in quality than "attractions" is a set of elements that can be called "gratifiers." This category is more subtle; it emerged from descriptions of regional features in the travel narratives. Gratifier-quality elements are those that tourists experience positively, but which have no or very little pulling power, even after tourists are at the destination. For example, the beauty of family gardens in mauka Kona was often commented upon by travelers in their narratives. This element of the cultural landscape helped create a favorable impression of the region, but it was not something tourists would go out of their way to see. Yet, over the decades,

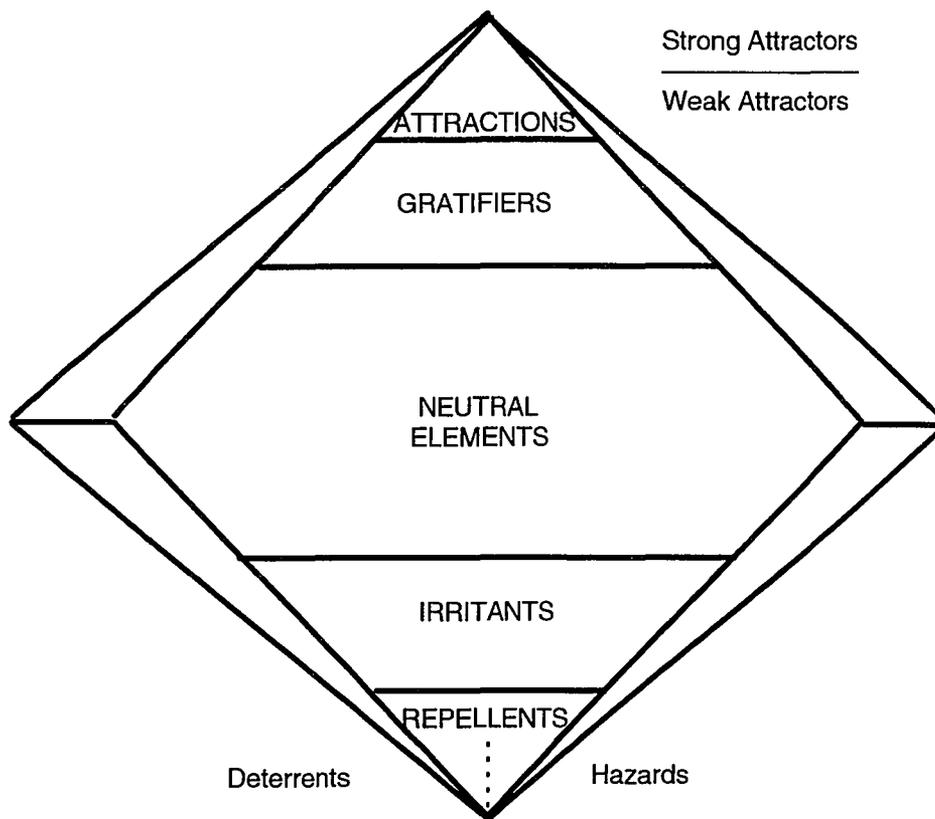


Figure 2.5 The "tourist resource diamond."

the gardens' existence has made visiting Kona a more pleasing experience for many tourists. This category helps to bring out the point that the tourist resource diamond includes the total stock of the destination. Theoretically, there is a larger amount of gratifiers than attractions.

Two points need to be made here about the "attractions" and "gratifiers" within a region. First, taken together, these two quality categories include all the elements at the destination that can be considered "resources." The three categories yet to be described are not resources, though elements within them have the potential to become so. Second, at a conceptual level the attractions and gratifiers together constitute the total amount of the resource base that is currently "in use." They are not "reserves," and in a conceptual sense are not "degraded," either. Of course, gratifiers can be developed into attractions, and vice versa.

The middle category in Figure 2.5 is labeled "neutral elements." These are regional features that are ignored by tourists, or that have no impact on them. They are the "reserves" in

the sense that they are part of the total stock that is not currently valued by tourists. Neutral elements, like "neutral stuff," theoretically constitute the largest portion of the total tourist resource base.

Below "neutral elements" is a category labeled "irritants." These include aspects of the region that cause tourists dissatisfaction. Like gratifiers above, this category is subtle in the sense that tourists have no strong feelings about these elements. Being treated curtly by locals who have tired of tourists' presence is an obvious irritant. This category conceptually also includes resources which have become degraded, and no longer exist at their former level of quality. Polluted water in Kailua Bay was an irritant for two or three autumn seasons; the smell caused tourists shopping along the main street considerable distress.

At the opposite end of the diamond from "attractions" are "repellants." These are elements at the destination that are extremely negative. The term was simply chosen because it is the antonym of attraction. Two types of repellants can be conceptualized. First, there are negative elements which literally drive tourists out of the destination after arriving. These are "hazards," in the conventional sense of the term. Environmental elements such as hurricanes and earthquakes are hazards. Local social problems can also be hazardous to tourists, as for example the occasional attacks against tourists that have occurred in Egypt over the past couple of years. A second type of deterrent is more subtle. These are elements that are so negative that they force tourists to decide against going to the destination in the first place. Severely degraded tourism resources could be considered a form of deterrent. Cultural landscapes, for example, that become too unappealing, too "spoiled," might be said to have reached a deterrent state, in the sense that potential tourists anticipate that a visit there would bring them extreme levels of dissatisfaction. Very few examples of repellants have existed in Kona. It is necessary to go back to the beginning of western contact, to the incident of Cook's death, to find an example of a repellent. This incident acted as a deterrent; for several years after the surviving voyagers returned to England, and told the story of how Cook met his end, ships did not sail to Hawai'i, for fear of attack.

SUMMATION

The objective of this chapter has been to generate theory on the category and properties of tourist resources. This has been accomplished by combining literature on natural resources, academic literature on tourism, and literature on Kona (travel narratives and guidebooks). Recent literature on natural resources proved useful in generating a core definition of tourist resources as those destination elements that enable tourists to have positive experiences. In addition, this general literature contained a set of properties—type, availability and quality—that could be included within the theoretical category of tourist resources. The specific literature on tourism resources was found to be in a state of disarray. Certain individual points did emerge, however. For example, the notion that tourist attractions are “extremes” of phenomena was helpful in conceptualizing the property of resource quality.

The case material from Kona proved useful in generating the internal components of the tourist resource typology. Four substantive types of resources—environmental, social, cultural, and service—were induced. These types are themselves conceptual abstractions of numerous sub-types, from beaches, to sex partners, to souvenir shops. Inducing these hierarchical levels of abstraction from the Kona case data is important, for it leads toward the conclusion that *all* tourist resources fit within one of these four major categories. However, the taxonomy of sub-types themselves is far from complete. Kona, as a rather rural district in the State of Hawai‘i; does not contain everything. Hence, this typology is developmental in nature. Use of grounded theory methods, however, has enabled the generation of a theoretical base, into which new research can be incorporated. This advances the project of generic regions, by providing a way for destinations to be compared. Kona data also were useful in verifying that Rees’s (1985) concept of availability, including the levels of degradation, utilization, and reserves, was transferable to tourism resources. Availability of environmental resources would seem a useful concept for planners. After tourism resources have been inventoried, and the amount of each level has been estimated, a basis exists for decisions about which attraction sites to permit to be developed. Lastly, Kona data verified that Hoy’s (1980) concept of the “resource pyramid,” which categorizes on the basis of quality, is also transferable to tourism. It required, however,

an expansion, in order to fully conceptualize the idea that resources can change and take on a negative character.

ENDNOTES

¹ The word "tourist" began to acquire a negative connotation about 1850, after Thomas Cook invented the package tour. This organizational innovation enabled the urban multitudes to travel cheaply in great numbers, inundating the resident populations at an ever-increasing number of destinations (Leiper 1983, 278-9).

² The initials "IUOTO" stand for the International Union of Official Travel Organizations.

³ The purpose of this explicit definition was to establish consistent statistical collection procedures at the international level. Before this definition was proposed, countries used a variety of definitions of "the tourist", making cross-country arrival and departure statistics incomparable.

⁴ Categorically, tourists are not immigrants. In the 19th century, missionaries sometimes stayed for decades, but their observations, particularly on Hawaiian culture, were made as outsiders. Currently, Kona has a large population of "snowbirds," people who live there in the winter when it is too cold for them on the mainland. During a series of field interviews, business people in Kailua were asked to state whether snowbirds should be considered as locals or tourists. There was no consensus on this. The status of snowbirds is somewhat problematic; this group will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 8.

⁵ Lew (1987, 554), for example, specifically favored rejecting the term "resources" in favor of "attractions" because of the notion that "without tourist attractions there would be no tourism" (Lew 1987, 554, citing Gunn 1972, 24).

⁶ In one case, the "tourist product" was not defined in terms of the industry. In what is perhaps the broadest definition, Lundgren (1979, 13-14), a geographer, focused on the destination rather than the industry. According to Lundgren (1979, 14), the tourist product: "is a changeable cultural entity within geographically definable areas—it is a living organism that consists of a mix of elements—the physical landscape features, the cultural-historical and geographic components and above all, in most cases, a native population." While this definition might seem to be all-encompassing, Lundgren's interpretation was also somewhat narrow. In particular, Lundgren excluded precisely what Smith (1988, 183) focused on in his "supply-side" definition—the tourism industry.

⁷ After developing the idea that tourist attractions are "extremes," Schmidt (1980) then attempted to uncover structural similarities in different types of attractions. Ultimately she induced a set of six categories based on the concept of "extreme" quoted above. These categories were: "boundaries"; "holistic" (attractions that represented some central feature of a culture, for example, most special events); "transitions"; "transformations", "illusions" and "explanations." No attempt was made to utilize this structurally-based typology in this research.

⁸ Lew named his three frameworks "ideographic," "organizational," and "cognitive." The first framework, "ideographic," takes the form of a regional listing of features. Lew created a 3x3 matrix containing nine substantive cells. Column headings were labeled "nature," "nature-human interface," and "human;" row headings were entitled "general environment," "specific features," "inclusive environments." This framework obviously had the most potential to be used in a regional geography dissertation. The "organizational" and "cognitive" frameworks were less useful in this regard.

⁹ The relationship between grounded theory and typology creation is conceived along the following line of reasoning. Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested that, because grounded theory is part of the comparative method, a result is that the theory generated is in terms of "categories" and their "conceptual properties." Nothing explicit was said about typologies. Typologies are, however, sets of categories, divided into sub-categories which may be construed as equivalent to "conceptual properties." Thus, creation of a typology is one way of generating theory. The set of categories and sub-categories at a destination that provide experiences for visitors can be used to generate substantive theory about the nature of tourism at that destination.

¹⁰ Since the four major resource categories in Figure 2.2 were induced from data written by and for tourists, it is also apparent that tourists' interests in regions parallels geographers' interests quite closely. Tourism, as regional exploration, is quite clearly a well-developed form of experiential geography. Hence an ideographic tourist resource classification would seem particularly pertinent to geographic research.

¹¹ It is obvious that, in other destinations, experiences tourists have with other tourists form an important part of this category. Descriptions of this nature were not found in the travel narratives on Kona, however, nor in guidebooks.

¹² The concept of carrying capacity has been developed extensively for parks (Western 1986; Lindsay 1986). Estimating capacities for regions, however, has been more difficult. Getz (1983) has overviewed the major issues and problems involved.

¹³ Getz (1991) typologized "events" on the basis of scale. In one sense, an event which pulls international tourists into the destination is of a higher quality than one which pulls only regional or local tourists. Getz also asserted that events are one type of "attraction." The other types were "ambient attractions" (climate, scenery, etc.) and "permanent attractions" (theme parks, outdoor parks, heritage sites, etc.). These categories obviously do not match the typology that was induced from the travel narratives on Kona. Yet the notion of event-scale still fits.

CHAPTER 3

NEXT YEAR IT'LL BE TOO CROWDED

People realize that tourism can spoil places. The scenario goes: a new destination is discovered, crowds flock to visit while it's hot, entrepreneurs and developers see opportunity and build the place up, thereby destroying the charm and causing the chic set to move on. Perhaps this is best understood in the South Pacific, where there it is sometimes noted that "tourism is the goose that lays the golden egg, but soils its own nest." Tourism development can cut two ways; some people are economically enriched but at the expense of the place-quality of the destination. The "destination area life cycle" (DLC) model has been developed, mainly by geographers, as a way of conceptualizing these sequential changes brought about by tourism. The model has a pedigree, in the sense that Christaller (1964) was one of the first to advance the general concept.¹ Non-geographers, particularly Plog (1972), Doxey (1975) and Noronha (1977) made early theoretical contributions. After this, most research has been by geographers. Stansfield and Rickert's (1978) work on Atlantic City was published first, but it was Butler's (1980) theoretical discussion that has excited most subsequent interest. As Butler's is still the definitive version of the model, the stages of the life cycle as he saw them will now be introduced.

Butler explicitly adapted the DLC model from the "product life cycle" (PLC) literature in economics. A "destination area" replaced the "product." He also adapted the set of stages within the product's life cycle, and this was the major feature of his model. His conception seems to have been partly inductively derived, partly impressionistic. The cycle started with "exploration," a stage when there were virtually no tourists nor facilities for them. The "involvement" stage began when locals responded to the presence of the first few tourists. The "development" stage was characterized by rapid growth of facilities for tourists, but the "consolidation" stage was typified by a slowing of this growth. A loss of local decision-making control to outsiders also occurred. This was followed by a "stagnation" stage, when nothing much would happen at the destination. Growth would be flat. After stagnation, a destination

could go in one of two directions. If a new resource could be exploited, there was the potential for "rejuvenation." If nothing new could be developed, "decline" would result.

While each stage had its own individual character, in Butler's articulation what led the destination from one stage to the next was the number of tourists present. This was a straightforward adaptation from the product life cycle model, which hypothesized existence of stages mainly on the increase, then decrease, in unit sales of the product. One tourist arrival equaled one sale. The model was pictorially represented by an asymptotic ("S") curve, with each stage labeled at a different area of the curve (see Figure 3.6).

Overall, Butler's representation of this model was a broadly conceived starting point, flexibly constructed to be able to incorporate later theoretical advances. Yet his version has not been accepted uncritically. Subsequent research, particularly in geography, has mostly not been published with the same spirit of flexibility, particularly toward place-variation. Articles assert the model is right or wrong, or attack part of it. Current research on the model also often seems unguided. Writers lump stages together or invent new names, without considering theory. They do case research on different types of destination areas but do not really offer explanations as to how this affects the general model. They do not compare or contrast their work with other case studies, thus most research stands alone. In the nearly 15 years since Butler published, subsequent researchers have not attempted to systematically build upon the base he established. Most just make their own statement, without comparison or synthesis.

In addition, no one has attempted to integrate the model into the current focus within geography on social theory. Yet the broad applicability of the model as Butler presented it would seem to allow it to easily fit within the confines of "new regional geography" research. The model describes a particular process that occurs at specific locales, and thus would seem an excellent example of "place as process." It thus fits Pred's (1984) agenda. The model would also seem suited to advance the idea of "generic regions," the path Hartshorne (1939) didn't take.

As might be expected from the comments made above, the present state of the literature on the model does not permit these tasks to be attempted immediately, at least not under the grounded theory mandate to generate theory. The situation is such that existing work must be

first integrated before case research on Kona can be described. This chapter undertakes the challenge, in three sections. First, the concepts of “life cycle” and “process” are scrutinized, using the guidelines of structurationism and grounded theory described in Chapter 1. These are considered to be ontological issues. The second section forms the bulk of the chapter. The objective is to sort out the literature, to identify and clarify the central concepts and methods. Such analysis will advance theory and enable future comparative research. The section will be developed in the following way. First, several other types of process research are examined (hereafter referred to as “process research at large”). These include: the human and product life cycles; a model on development of seaports, and ecosuccession. The point of studying these was to find elements that might be considered common to the study of all types of processes. Through this research, seven such properties were identified. The discussion of them has been aggregated into two broader topics, on the “unit-entity” that undergoes the process, and the “stages” in the process. Second, published research on the DLC model is examined. Pertinent points are discussed for each of the seven elements. Thus, for each element, an examination of ideas in the literature on processes at-large is followed by a corresponding discussion of ideas extracted from the DLC literature. The objective of such a structural arrangement was to maximally cross-fertilize the DLC model. In the third section of the chapter, a synthesis of theory is done. This connects ideas of the process literature at-large with the DLC literature. This synthesis also functions as a chapter summary.

ONTOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The DLC model first of all asserts that destinations have life cycles. Though this is seemingly meant to be taken metaphorically, the point has been raised as to whether it is appropriate to assert that a geographical location has a life cycle, in any meaningful sense of the term.² Giddens's (1984) concept of "institution" would seem to provide a basis for an affirmative answer. Giddens considered institutions to be the practices of individuals that are "deeply embedded in time and space" (p. 13). They are practices "which have the greatest time-space extension" (p. 17) and encompass "the more enduring features of social life" (p. 24), which

provide "'solidity' across time and space" (p. 24). Tourism—the set of behaviors practiced by tourists across space and over time—represents a perfect example of an institution, in Giddens's sense. The very coining of the word 'tourist' attests to this; it describes a particular style of travel that evolved during the late 18th century. The negative stereotypes of tourists which have thrived for over a century also attests to its institutional nature. The conceptualization of tourists in this research, as "regional explorers," can aid in explaining the origin of the repeatability of practices. Tourists, for the most part, have gone to Kona to explore it, to see the sights. While so exploring, they do essentially the same things at the same places. They react to what they are seeing. The repetitive nature of the activity reproduces the specific social practices.

Tourists also must have certain needs met, which requires interaction with locals. This brings out the less obvious, though just as important, point, that locals also have a set of social practices which constitute an institutional response to tourism. When both tourists and locals behavior is added together, it can be seen that there is at any destination an aggregate set of practices that constitutes the "institution" of tourism.³

Continuing this line of thought, Giddens has further noted that institutions have *life spans*; he called this their *longue durée*. This has obvious applicability. Tourism has changed considerably over the past five centuries or so, since it evolved from religious pilgrimages and became a dominant form of travel. The Grand Tours of young 16th century English *milords* filtered down to the middle class, and eventually a touring vacation became possible for most citizens of developed countries after automobiles became accessible. Visiting a spa for health purposes evolved into vacationing at a seaside resort to swim and get a suntan, which could be done *en masse* at a foreign country in an age of jet travel. These have been two of the dominant forms of the institution in this century. Currently, adventure travel and ecotourism may be replacing the seaside resort vacation, as people seek more active involvement with environmental resources.

There is thus every indication that tourism is well into a *longue durée*. This has implications for destinations, however, since they can, and do, go out of favor when resources in different places, or different resources altogether, become more desirable to experience. In no

case will the *longue durée* of tourism at a destination ever completely match the *longue durée* of the institution at-large. Tourism will decline, or even die out, at particular destinations, but will continue to expand at others. In this ontological sense, then, it is accurate to say that destinations do have life cycles. Further, this view also shows that Butler's DLC model is generally accurate. It is, however, somewhat incomplete. Butler does not really describe a "pre-tourism" state (though others such as Young [1983] have done so); he also quits at the "decline" stage without ever describing the "post-tourism" era.

What is further apparent is that tourism will be just one of many institutions that will dominate at a destination over a long period of time. This of course is a familiar idea within geography...that locations will have a "sequent occupance." In Whittlesey's original conceptualization, an era in a sequence of land uses within a region was very similar to the general idea, adapted here from Giddens, that places go through distinct periods when they are dominated by a particular institutionalized practice. Thus, New England had eras where the landscape was utilized by "Indians who lived a migrant life," followed "by a thorough subjugation of the land to farming," and, by the 1920s when Whittlesey wrote, a "transition" stage of "idle land and renascent forest" (Whittlesey 1929, 163-4). Adapting this, it can be seen that tourism as an institution will have its own internal set of stages in its life cycle, but also that it is just one era in the larger sequence of human habitation. Some type of social institution typically precedes tourism, and another replaces it.

Utilizing a shorter time scale enables internal analysis of each era in the sequence occupance. For tourism, the DLC literature suggests that different destinations will contain similar features at roughly the same time during the *longue durée*. Ontologically, this means the institution of tourism can be broken down into temporal subcomponents—stages—when certain typical aspects are prevalent. Such stages represent reified conceptual entities, nevertheless they are useful analytical tools for understanding the patterning and functioning of tourism on the destination landscape.

The second ontological point focusses on the nature of processes. In Chapter 1 it was noted that geographers such as Pred (1983, 4, 6) have called for studies of "place as process." As

was described, the best methodology found for studying processes was "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss 1967). In a later work, Glaser (1978) focused more specifically on the characteristics of processes, providing a more thorough explanation of what they are. The following represent the most pertinent features of his discussion.

According to Glaser (1978, see pages 74-106) a process in general is "something which occurs over time and involves change over time," but, more conceptually, "is a way of grouping together two sequencing parts of a phenomenon." The key factor is that a process must have "at least two stages." That is, there are two or more temporally distinct parts to a phenomenon and these occur directionally, sequentially, from one to the next. While this is simple enough, the research done by Glaser and others utilizing grounded theory had revealed the existence of a conceptual entity that they labeled "basic social processes." These were "fundamental patterns in the organization of social behavior as it occurs over time."⁴ As concepts, basic social processes had three properties: "pervasiveness" "stages," and "variability."

The property of "pervasiveness," according to Glaser, was why basic social processes were basic. Pervasiveness occurred because of the "patterned, systematic uniformity flows of social life which people go through." Stages within the process are relatively unique in form/condition and consequences. They "ordinarily have discernible breaking points," and thus are "theoretical units in themselves." They are also perceivable because they "sequence with one another within certain temporal limits." As theoretical units, stages "should differentiate and account for variations in the problematic pattern of behavior." If they do not do this, they collapse conceptually into larger entities (i.e., there is one long stage rather than two short ones).

Stages have a time dimension—a perceivable beginning and an end. The length is not necessarily fixed, however, but is a function of the conditions that create the changes leading to the next stage. Thus, basic social processes are "variable" in the sense that no two entities ever go through a specific process in exactly the same manner. This is because social organization itself contains "sets of infinitely variable conditions." That is, no two social entities are ever entirely identical, therefore processes will be somewhat different in each case situation.

Finally, what brings about a stage change, a transition, will vary. At times, specific events are necessary; Glaser called these "critical junctures." At other times, transitions are blurry, marked by a general set of indicators rather than the occurrence of a critical juncture. Further, while stages occur in sequence, there is not always the necessity that all will occur, or will occur in the typical sequence. Sometimes stages can be skipped, or there can be variation in which will occur next.

It is clear from the above description that the DLC model does describe a particular process.⁵ Butler's (1980) model and all others following it are based on the existence of distinct stages in a resort's development. Substantive research on the model indicates that the three properties of basic social processes also exist at tourist destinations. It is obvious that resort development has been widespread in the last generation. Hence, the model can be said to focus on a pervasive phenomenon. The stages defined by the model are typically based on the prevailing set of conditions at destinations. These "sequence" reasonably well, as examination later in the chapter will show. Finally, case research has substantiated what Butler asserted—that stages at different resorts are variable. This variability occurs in the same two ways that Glaser discussed: in time and stage sequence.

Overall, then, the DLC model can be called a "life cycle" and it does describe a distinctive "process." Whether there exist corresponding "basic geographical processes," and whether this model describes one of them is beyond the scope of the dissertation to definitively conclude. However, given the wide applicability of such models Von Thünen's "Isolated State," and Christaller's "Central Place," it might be possible to state that basic geographical processes do exist. And, if that is the case, the DLC model might, when more thoroughly developed, be considered to focus on one of them. Even if it is not, however, transfer of the concepts developed for study of basic social processes will certainly help to firm up the theoretical underpinnings and methodology of the DLC model.

Type of Process → Core Concept ↓	Human Life Cycle	Product Life Cycle	Port Development	Ecosuccession
Unit-Entity	People as Individuals	A specific product	A coastal port	A patch of vegetation
Characteristics	Biological Cultural Psychological.	Product type and modification Marketing and costs Parts and servicing Trade-ins, etc.	Port physiography Built environment of port facilities and nearby urban areas Linkages to inland cities	Soil characteristics Different plant species
Users	None	Consumers	Shippers	None
Stages	Infancy Childhood Adolescence Adulthood Old age	Introduction Development Maturity Decline	Primitive era Marginal quay expansion Marginal quay elaboration Dock elaboration Simple lateral quayage Specialized quayage	Varies with types of plants: simplest version = grasses — shrubs — trees
Mechanisms of stage change	"Critical events"	Competition	Change in ship design	Based on properties of plant species
Typical sequence and variation in stages	Precociousness Premature aging	Product non-acceptance Mass marketing Innovation	None	"Pathways" Facilitation Tolerance Inhibition
Macro-structural conditions	Family Community Society	Economic system, Levels of technology and communication Organizational capability	Trade conditions	Climate Latitude Altitude

Figure 3.1 A comparison of the features of several types of process research.

PROCESS RESEARCH AT-LARGE AND THE DLC LITERATURE

The current state of the model and the methodology for applying the DLC model at specific destinations leaves much to be desired. The state of the literature in fact indicated that further research outside the topic of tourism might be fruitful. To that end, a limited amount of reading was done on four other types of process research.⁶ These were: the human life cycle; product life cycle; port development; ecosuccession. The objective was to find properties that are universal in process research and could be used to structure the DLC model. Put another way, because the DLC is taken to be pervasive, there was a need to find a set of theoretical properties that could and should be examined in all DLC research. This is also the case because the DLC process is variable, and thus the importance of any particular property will be somewhat different in each situation. Figure 3.1 was ultimately constructed from a comparison of the research done on the four types of process just mentioned. The left column of the figure fulfills the objective by identifying seven properties they held (mostly) in common. The content of the cells in the figure provides an indication of the variability of each property. This content provides theoretical ideas that (at times) can be transferred to the DLC model.

The discussion of the seven properties will be aggregated into two sections. The first will focus on the “unit-entity” being studied—the thing that is undergoing a process. The conceptual bounding of the entity is discussed first; this is followed by an examination of its internal “characteristics,” and concludes by focusing on its “users.” In the second section, the focus will shift to the “stages” unit-entity undergoes. A discussion of stages as conceptual units comes first. This is followed by a comparison of “mechanisms” that cause stage changes, then the “macro-structural conditions” under which the unit-entity exists. Finally, the typical sequence is discussed, along with variations that are possible. Again, the overall objective is to develop a more normative conception of the DLC, one that will enable future research to be more broadly comparable, and capable of generating theory.

A CONSIDERATION OF THE "UNIT-ENTITY"

Defining Scale Boundaries for DLC Research

For each type of process research shown in Figure 3.1, there is first of all an identifiable "unit," this is the entity which actually goes through the process. The unit-entities studied here included the human life, a product, a port, and a patch of vegetation. When these are compared, it becomes clear that each has a somewhat different level of discreteness. A human life, obviously, is a completely discrete unit, bounded by the corporeality of each individual. This perhaps represents the ideal research situation. For the other three types, boundaries can sometimes be less exact and may need to be defined arbitrarily. The difficulty of defining a distinctive "product," for example has been well noted in the literature. Seeking a solution, Rink and Swan (1979, 225-7), have asserted that three levels of product aggregation exist. These are (1) *class* (where different items act as substitutes for each other), (2) *form* (a finer distinction) and *brand* (a type made by one particular company). They used the example of tobacco products to illustrate. The class—all tobacco products—is composed of three distinct forms—cigars, cigarettes or pipes. Each of these three basic forms is at least a partial substitute for the other two. Name-brands are the obvious subdivisions of each.

Butler (1980) specified only the general term "destination area," but his discussion of the typical features of each stage seemed to indicate reasonably clearly that he was describing a coastal resort city, or a similar type of spatial entity. Figure 3.2 shows, however, that the places chosen subsequently for study by researchers have sometimes been different than this. Research, for example, has been conducted at a variety of spatial scales. Di Benedetto and Bojanic's (1993) work on Cypress Gardens, a theme park, represents a study done at a scale smaller than urban, in terms of complexity. At the opposite extreme, a life cycle comparison between entire island regions in two different oceans (Caribbean versus Pacific) has even been made. Research has also focused on different types of destinations, in terms of the experiences tourists can have. In addition to beach resources, studies have focused on one of the world's best known waterfalls (Niagara) and a county where cultural practices of a religious minority are the main attraction

RESEARCHER	UNIT OF STUDY	"USERS"
	INDUSTRIAL UNITS <i>Theme Parks</i>	
di Benedetto & Bojanic (1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cypress Gardens, FL 	
	GEOGRAPHICAL UNITS <i>Urban Enclaves</i>	
Debbage (1990) Patoskie & Ikeda (1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paradise Island, Nassau • Waikiki, Honolulu 	
	<i>Cities</i>	
Stansfield (1978)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Atlantic City, NJ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Railroad to automobile; overnight to day trippers; affluent to working class
Getz (1992) Strapp (1988)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Niagara Falls, Ont. & NY • Sauble Beach, Ont. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourists, cottage owners, campers
Foster & Murphy (1991)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parksville and Qualicum Beach, Vancouver Is., BC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Families, campers, retirees
Kermath & Thomas (1992) Smith (1992)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sosúa, Dom. Republic • Pattaya, Thailand 	
	<i>Counties</i>	
Hovinen (1981)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lancaster, PA 	
	<i>Islands</i>	
Weaver (1986) France (1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Antigua • Barbados 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aristocrats, health tourists, charter tourists, cruise ship day trippers
Ionnides (1992) Meyer-Arendt (1985)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cypress • Grand Isle, LA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health tourists, fishing campers
Cooper & Jackson (1989)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Isle of Man, U.K. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Victorian/Edwardian tourists, working class,
	<i>States-within-Nations</i>	
Keller (1987)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Northwest Terr., Can. • <i>Extra-national Entities</i> 	
McElroy, deAlbuquerque & Dioguardi (1993)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The island-Caribbean and the island-Pacific 	
	• MODELS	
Young(1983)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Villages (in Malta) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Maltese, intl. tourists, urban migrants
Cooper (1992) Miossec (1977) Christaller (1964)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coastal resorts • Islands • Peripheral regions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Painters and poets; cinema people; <i>jeunesse dorée</i>
Plog (1973)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destination areas at-large 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Allocentrics; mid-centrics; psychocentrics
Butler (1980)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Destination areas at-large 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adventurous → conservative

Figure 3.2 Units and users in the destination area life cycle literature.

(Lancaster County, PA). There would seem to be little reason to assume that such different types of destinations should have identical life cycles. Thus, DLC analysis currently has a similar problem to PLC research—different classes, forms, and brands of destinations are all being compared against a single model.

The solution to bounding destinations appropriately for research purposes would seem to be to design what might best be termed a tourist destination “phylogeny.” Like the most familiar version, which groups all forms of life, this would be a comprehensive structure that sorts the different types of destinations. Development of such a phylogenic structure would seem to be in line with a post-modern version of Hartshorne’s (1939) “generic regions” project because it would facilitate comparison between similar destinations. Construction of an all-inclusive framework is well beyond the scope of this dissertation, but a partial phylogeny can be built up by sorting the existing literature. Figure 3.3 shows one such arrangement, based on resource type and spatial scale.

The figure indicates that just over half the DLC case studies have been done on beach resorts, i.e., at approximately an “urban scale.” This type and scale is perhaps what Butler had in mind when developing his model. Smith (1992,) has reinforced this idea, noticing that beach resort evolution “is a form of urbanization.” The minimum spatial unit which has a distinctive life cycle would seem to be a recreational business district contiguous to an environmental attraction, such as a beach or a stretch of coastline. Essentially, what the DLC model shows are the stages that a coastal destination goes through as it develops from (perhaps) an uninhabited stretch of beach into a multi-functional city.

Geographic social theory can underpin this choice of scale. As an institution, tourism develops when tourists arrive at a particular destination site, to experience it. Locals respond to the presence of tourists and features of a tourist industry are established, i.e., become institutional features of the built environment. Together, the attraction and the commercial built environment constitute a locale. Over time, the institution of tourism evolves at that locale; a *longue durée* begins. Thus the basic unit for which the DLC is most appropriate, in its present form, is a destination site that has some sort of environmental or cultural resource as its base,

plus a recreational business district. Destinations at scales larger or smaller than this would need to modify the DLC model. The case research that has been done at these scales indicates why this is so.

Only one study, Cypress Gardens, has been done at a scale smaller than urban. From the description in di Benedetto and Bojanic's (1993) article, it would appear that this theme park from the 1930s has neither its own accommodation facilities nor a recreational business district. Development of these of course is a central feature of the life cycle of urban areas, and was so emphasized by Butler. A lack of such facilities means that the corresponding institutionalized components of tourism, particularly the responses by local entrepreneurs, have not taken place at Cypress Gardens. Though this attraction is undoubtedly well into its life cycle, there is really no reason to assume it will have a set of life cycle stages that is equivalent to what is typical for resort cities, particularly coastal resorts, because it lacks these important service resources.

About one-quarter of the case studies have been done at the micro-regional scale. The focus of four was an island, either small- to medium-sized. The other two, including this study on Kona, looked at a political subdivision slightly larger than a city. Beginning at this scale, the difference that must be accounted for is potential replication of institutional practices, due to development of multiple destination sites. That is, more than one locale can be simultaneously undergoing a tourist life cycle within a region. The resource this is based upon may differ at each, resulting in different sub-sets of institutional practices occurring. Kona, as will be seen, contains a destination town—Kailua—but also an “attraction hinterland” that contains areas which could develop into destinations in their own right. Such a situation—multiple-site development—had occurred at some of the four studies that were done on islands. The micro-regional scale would thus seem to be the largest at which it is appropriate to examine destination life cycle development, at least using Butler's model in its current state. However, it is important to avoid spatial fetishism. If there is multiple site development, what is going on at individual destinations must not be glossed over without examination. Such glossing may miss important variations that are occurring at each locale.

RESOURCE		SCALE			
CATEGORY	SUB-TYPE	SUB-URBAN	URBAN OR URBAN-PLUS	MICRO-REGIONAL (ISLAND)	MACRO-REGIONAL
ENVIRONMENTAL	BEACH AND/OR COAST		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Waikiki, Honolulu • Paradise Island, Bahamas • Sosúa, Dom. Rep. • Pattaya, Thailand • Maltese Villages • Grand Isle, LA • Atlantic City, NJ • Sauble Beach, Ontario • Parksville & Qualicum Beach, B.C. • Kona, Hawai'i Island 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Antigua • Barbados • Cypress • Isle of Man, U.K. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Island-Caribbean vs Island-Pacific
	WATERFALL		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Niagara Falls, NY 		
	ARCTIC				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Northwest Territories, Can.
CULTURAL	RELIGIOUS GROUP		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lancaster County, PA 		
SERVICE	THEME PARK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cypress Gardens, FL 			

Figure 3.3 A partial phylogeny for comparing destination area life cycles on the basis of attraction resource and spatial scale, based on case studies in the literature.

Lastly, Figure 3.3 identifies two studies that have been done at much larger scales. It would seem less useful to use the DLC model for research at this scale because a very broad range of social practices is reproduced. Obviously many urban-scale destinations exist within the entire Caribbean.

Characteristics of the Unit-Entity

The most appropriate scale for a Butlerian DLC analysis is urban, plus or minus a little. The second aspect that needs to be pinned down involves defining the salient internal characteristics of the destination. The review of process research at-large indicated that this set can be complicated. In studies of the human life cycle, for example, the totality of a human life has been broken down into a multitude of characteristics. Spierer (1981, 29) even proposed a “watermelon theory” that divided the human life into slices.⁷ In ecosuccession studies, Noble and Slayter (1981) developed the notion that “key component species” had “vital attributes.” In ecological patches, not all species are of equal importance. The dominant species would be key because they occupied most of the patch. Their presence defined the particular stage in the overall succession process.

As developed by Bird (1963), the set of characteristics of ports was rather straightforward. As this model was spatial in nature, Bird emphasized the features that would be found at the port site. These included the physiographic properties of the site; the shoreline characteristics, the depth of the water, etc. The built environment of the docking facilities was the most critical component, for evolution of these facilities was how each stage in the cycle was defined. Certain superstructural features such as storage facilities were noted, as were “structural” elements of control such as the port authority and customs house. The existence and evolution of the port town and roads to interior destinations for the shipped cargo were taken-for-granted elements of the model.

The model of port development is perhaps most similar to the DLC model. Ports are spatial entities, similar in scale to coastal resorts. Thus, an analysis of a resort that focused solely on the equivalent physiographic and built environment features (i.e., the environmental attraction at the coastline and the recreational business district just inland) could perhaps be

considered the necessary minimum needed to show the development of stages. Additionally, the ecosuccession concept of “key component species” would seem to transfer well; it describes the tourist industry at the resort.

Transferring these concepts to DLC research enabled Figure 3.4 to be created. The figure groups the set of internal characteristics of destinations that were discussed by different writers. This method enabled a rather bewildering list of features to be reduced to three major properties: the base resources (environmental, social and cultural) of the destination; the services resources (tourist industry); and government. It became quite clear during this grouping exercise that DLC researchers have not treated these as being equally important. For example, the base resources (environmental, social or cultural) that brought tourists to destinations were sometimes taken almost totally for granted.

CHARACTERISTIC UNDERGOING CHANGE	SUB-TYPE	SUBSTANTIVE EXAMPLE
BASE RESOURCES	Environmental	Beaches, a waterfall
	Social	Presence of celebrities, level of face-to-face contact
	Cultural	Built environment, special events
SERVICE RESOURCES	Necessities	Accommodation, food
	ACES	Base Resource Exploitation Marina New Resource Creation Casino Real Estate
	Promotion	Hawai'i Visitors Bureau
	Tier 2 ^a & 3 services	Doctors, shopping
	Post-hoc Tier 4 services and facilities	Housing, shopping
GOVERNMENT	Post-hoc services Infrastructure	Post Office, Police/Jail Public Works Projects Beach modification Transportation
	Structural Documents	Development Plans Legislation at-large

Figure 3.4 Characteristics of tourist destination areas, induced from the DLC literature.

^a Tier 2 shops serve both tourists and locals; tier 3 indirectly serve the tourist industry; tier 4 serve locals only (see Chapter 9).

In other cases, the most consistent focus with respect to resources was on how tourism impacted them. There was particular concern with the amount of degradation that tended to occur. This was often stated somewhat abstractly, as a line of reasoning, rather than through a discussion of what had actually occurred. The typical line advanced was to note how things generally got worse as tourists arrived in larger numbers and development at the destination proceeded. The physical environment, particularly the beach and water, would become despoiled by lack of adequate infrastructure, notably sewers. Local youth in Third World destinations would be swayed by the “demonstration effect;” they would emulate tourists, subsequently losing their culture. Finally, the ambience of the small town would be lost through construction of new shops and housing.

If study base resources have been ignored in DLC research, the tourist industry has not been. The service resources represent the “key component species” of the model. The typical approach has been to spend the most effort describing the development of these.

The accommodation sector of the Necessities category was extremely important in the literature. Certain writers (Foster and Murphy 1991) stated that accommodation units could be used as a surrogate for tourist arrival numbers, which often were not available throughout the entire length of a destination’s development (see Appendix 1). Others (Young 1983) described the different characteristics of this sector during different stages. Overall, change in type and quality of accommodation was often considered a major aspect of the model. The other main type of Necessity—food—was almost completely ignored. Researchers seem to take it for granted that locals will open restaurants or shops that sell food, and so provide for tourists’ needs.

Many services in the ACES sector were described. Few theoretical discussions or case studies really attempted to identify the range of resources that existed. (Stansfield and Rickert 1978, was the exception). As with food, most researchers seemed to take it for granted that shops would open to sell souvenirs, etc. In Figure 3.4, the ACES sub-category is itself subdivided into two components: those businesses that exploit the existing resources versus those that create new ones. In the DLC literature, examples of the former included fishing tournaments (Meyer-Arendt 1985) and the opening of a marina (Young 1983). The latter

included the construction of a casino (Stansfield 1978), the arrival of chain businesses (Hovinen 1981), or the importation of souvenirs from distant manufacturing centers (Young 1983). As with environmental, social and cultural resources, the impacts of the tourist industry on the local economy tended to be stressed. Again, examples were often impressionistic rather than induced from case research. A general trend of economic expansion in the early stages, followed by later decline, was often described.

Promotion was a third topic often commented upon, particularly by writers working on modeling (rather than on a case study). The role of promotion was considered an important one. The destination was thought to develop the capacity to promote itself just after “discovery.” This very quickly became essential to continued development. A distinctive market area was soon defined for the destination. Finally, towards the end of the life cycle promotion became crucial, because the destination had become passé. Although these ideas seem logical, virtually no substantive research was ever done in any of the case studies. The relationship between promotion and destination life cycles thus remains completely speculative.

The final sub-categories induced from the literature focused on the development of facilities and services used by both tourists and locals. These have been categorized into “tiers,” to be consistent with terminology to be used in Chapter 9. Tier 1 services are used almost exclusively by tourists, while tier 2 services are used by both tourists and locals. The presence of doctors treating tourists was an example of tier 2 services sometimes mentioned (Young 1983). Tier 3 included those that indirectly benefited the tourists (wholesaling, etc.), while tier 4 services are for locals only. They have been labeled “post hoc” in the figure to emphasize the fact that they come into existence because the presence of tourists and the tourist industry typically enables the necessary population thresholds to be reached.

The third major characteristic at a destination has been seen as the presence and impact of government. Examples of involvement of all levels, from local to national, were shown in the literature to have affected the affairs of destinations during the course of their life cycles. The first sub-category of government shown in Figure 3.4 is the public sector version of “post hoc” services. These could include provision of post offices, on the positive side, to jails, on the

negative. These were established as increasing tourist presence and development made them necessary. What was considered more crucial to development of tourism, however, was the role of government in providing infrastructure. This has been termed “public works projects,” to focus on the fact that the nature of government projects could go beyond providing transport facilities, sewers, water, and electricity. In certain cases, it was large scale government investment in environmental modification, particularly along the shoreline, that made tourism development by the private sector subsequently possible (see Cooper and Jackson 1989). Comparison of research indicated that the tourist landscape at most sites was the result of the combination of public and private sector efforts. There were very few cases that seemed to be the result solely of private sector efforts (Pattaya, Thailand, seemed to be the exception [Smith 1992]).

The final sub-category of government effort dealt with documents that government produced. These typically came in the form of development plans for the destination, or legislation that impacted how it developed. In both cases, these documents created a set of development structures that constrained and/or enabled change. Certain projects, both public and private sector, were made possible through the actions of government, while others were hindered, or prevented entirely.

Turning to Kona, the case study verified that base and service resources and government had been the important internal characteristics, but that some had been clearly more important than others. The development of the service resources over time was by far the most crucial feature. In particular, the accommodation sector development, the increase in tier 1 shops, and the (later) development of tier 2 and 3 shops were the key components. The role of government in developing infrastructure was also quite important. The opening of a new airport in Kona in 1949 played a major role. Later, the completion of planning efforts was to have a major impact in constraining development. Other internal characteristics were much less important. Government services (such as opening a police station) occurred but did not play a major role in Kona. Typical infrastructure projects—water, electricity, etc.—were more enabling, but development of these lags private sector development in Kona, just like almost everywhere else.

The Kona case may point to a reason why the base resources have been so neglected in DLC case research. In Kona, these have never been developed as tourism grew. Rather, they have been ignored or allowed to deteriorate.

The impacts of the development of tourism have been important in Kona, but in a much different way than is typically described in the DLC literature. Looking at Kona as “place as process” enabled the community responses to development projects to be incorporated into the analysis. How residents perceived tourism projects has been perhaps the single most important factor influencing Kona’s development as a resort. As will be seen (Chapter 8), locals have played an extremely important role in preventing certain projects. One internal characteristic that should be studied in all DLC analyses is the local response to tourism.

Overall, the property of variability—every resort will develop somewhat differently—indicates that each of the internal characteristics shown in Figure 3.4 will be of unequal importance at new research locations. Thus, the guideline for DLC research would seem to be that each characteristic—base and service resources, and government—should be assessed in every study. In addition, the role of locals in enabling or constraining tourism would seem very important to incorporate into DLC analysis. Such inclusion enables the analyst to understand both the why and how of local development.

Users of the Unit-Entity

In addition to the unit-entity itself, there are also the “users” of it. This was the one feature that did not occur in all types of process research. In the types that might be considered “organic”—the human life cycle and ecosuccession—there would seem to be no “users” as such. For port development, the users are the shippers who own the vessels and the cargo. This seems fairly clear cut. For products, however, defining the users becomes more difficult. In a discussion that compared the PLC to innovation diffusion theory (from the marketing perspective), Onkvisit and Shaw (1989, 69-71) discussed product users in terms of “adopter categories.” They noted that four types of user could be typically identified, based on the time when they adopted the product (i.e., began using it). The types were called: “early adopters”;

“early majority”; “late majority”; “laggards.” There is thus a sequential component to this characteristic.

In addition to the types of users just described, the quantity of them has also been perceived as important. For ports, the empirical data Bird (1963) collected to develop the model also showed that volume of shipping has continuously increased through the centuries. Thus at each stage in the life cycle there were larger ships hauling greater volumes of cargo. However, changes in ship design, not cargo volume, were what necessitated changes in port design, and hence produced stage changes at ports. In the product life cycle model, the *S*-curve of unit sales was utilized as the way to deduce the life cycle stage. During the course of the life cycle, a rise was followed by a leveling off of, then a decline in sales. However, it was later shown that the *S*-curve was only one possibility. In a review of the literature, Rink and Swan (1979) identified no less than 12 (!) distinct sales curves had been described for different products.

The conclusion about “users” that can be inferred from these two types of process is important. It is that the number of users is not necessarily the independent variable that drives the user-entity through the sequence of stages in its life cycle. Rather, the producers of the entity and the number of people using it would seem to be in a system of continuous feedback. Producers anticipate volume of use and increase or decrease production accordingly. However, for ports and products it would seem to be the type of facility and the amount of production rather than the level of use or sales that most clearly shows the stage of the life cycle.

These ideas overall would seem transferable to tourist destinations. Of course, a destination, by definition, does have “users”—the tourists. Returning to Figure 3.2, the right-hand column lists the different “tourist types” that have been identified as being important.⁸ Certain rows have been left blank, indicating the author(s) either did not discuss tourists types specifically or utilized someone else’s system. The column shows that 9 of 21 articles identified either substantive types of tourists or created formal categories. Several points emerge from this.

First, visitors who can be described as “tourists,” as well as those who cannot, have both been included for study. Christaller’s (1964) list of the sequence of types of people who visit a destination (including painters, poets, and the *jeunesse dorée*) is perhaps the most inclusive (and

famous) list, but it was not exhaustive. Meyer-Arendt (1985) chose to include “health tourists”—those who went to Grand Isle, LA to recover from nervous breakdowns. France (1993) thought it permissible to include George Washington as an “explorer tourist” who visited Barbados. Still others (Strapp 1988 and Foster and Murphy 1991) also included “residents” in the form of cottage owners and retirees.

Several writers have also asserted that different types arrive at different times. The sequentiality associated with product use has been transferred to destinations. Plog’s (1973) linking of places with sequentially changing tourist types is extremely well known in tourist research. However, the broader point discernible from the column in Figure 3.2 is that there is a larger “class” of travelers, of which tourists are just one “form.” Because of this, the concept of sequent occupance becomes pertinent. Tourism, it will be recalled, is just one era in the larger sequent occupance for a region. Therefore, there will be a “before tourism” era, when the types of people who visit cannot properly be called “tourists,” and an “after tourism” era, when the same condition applies. But what has sometimes occurred in the DLC literature is that writers have analyzed destinations where, during some stages, the predominant type of visitor could not typically be considered a tourist. Foster and Murphy’s (1991) case study, for example, focused on retirees during the later stages of development, while Strapp’s (1988) destination became inhabited by second home owners. But tourism is one institution, with a particular set of social practices, “retirees” and “second home owners,” as part- or full-time residents, form another. There is overlap, but these groups are not identical.

The next point covers the change of types within the tourist stage of the larger sequence. Early researchers, particularly Plog (1973) and Smith (1977) (not identified in Figure 3.2), asserted that tourist types would change in a lineal direction, based on the properties of decreasing adventurousness, but increasing arrival numbers. Butler (1980) impressionistically adopted this, and was later criticized by Keller (1986), who substituted the general idea that market segments (not necessarily more or less adventurous) arrived in a sequence.⁹ What is important to note about this discussion is that it has been almost completely academic. Nobody has ever done any kind of time series research on tourists at a destination, to prove or disprove

that they become less-and-less adventurous. Rather, researchers have inferred a degree of adventurousness from the quality of facilities existing at a particular time. The more luxurious facilities become, the softer the tourists are asserted to be. But, even though this is a logical assumption, it has never been empirically proven. The important point about tourist types, then, is that, at present, this would seem a relatively unimportant feature. What is probably more important is an understanding of the change in availability and quality of facilities that are developed for the tourists.

The change in numbers of tourist arrivals is one of the most important features of the DLC model. It is even considered a deterministic feature. Butler (1980) asserted this most explicitly. However, research on products and ports hints that this emphasis may have been misdirected. First, the fact that 12 product life cycle curves were found to exist would seem to indicate that a single model, based on increasing tourist volume over time, is not a valid starting point. Keller (1986) has already asserted this, displaying four different curves that might occur at tourist destinations (none of these were based on empirical research, however). What would seem to be the case is that the number of tourists at destinations is contingent upon the development of transport infrastructure and accommodation facilities for them. Extending from this, it can be concluded that the stage of the resort is more properly considered in terms of the development of the characteristics of the unit-entity—the resort itself—than the number of tourists who visit.

The development of Kona verified this idea. Because it is a destination on an island, transport facilities and infrastructure have been crucial to its development. Once there, tourists have needed hotel rooms to stay in. At times, these have not existed. The life cycle of the region, to a great extent, is a function of their development. The types of rooms and the number of them has been a very important factor with respect to the interpretation of stages. Further, the type of room also does indicate what type of visitor is coming. A condo boom in the late 1970s, for example, enabled large numbers of “snowbirds” to replace more traditional tourists. This change had long term ramifications for the district.

In sum, the role of tourist types and arrival numbers has thus far been stressed in the DLC literature. This emphasis would seem to be overly heavy, however, since ideas about tourist types remain assumptions inferred from quality of facilities. The numbers of accommodation units would seem to be a better measure of resort development.

A CONSIDERATION OF "STAGES"

The second set of conceptual properties relates to the stages that the entity passes through during the course of its (life) cycle. Four specific properties were uncovered in the study of process research at large. First, the nature of stages themselves is considered. This is followed by three sections on aspects of stages. These are the mechanisms that cause stages to change, the macro-structural conditions within which the unit-entity goes through the life cycle process, and variations in the sequences that typically occur.

Stages as Conceptual Units

According to Glaser (1978), basic social processes must have at least two stages to be so called. Stages were also a central feature of the four types of process research studied. Comparison indicated that the stages had several common properties. First, each stage is distinguishable by a certain level of internal homogeneity. For example, at each stage in an ecosuccession certain key plant species dominate. In a general sense this means that people can usually recognize and agree when two units of a particular entity are in the same stage, or in a different one. Second, it is change over time in the set of internal characteristics that creates the conception that there are stages in an entity's life cycle. As the obvious example, in the human life cycle, adulthood is distinguishable from childhood on the basis of change in the characteristics of the individual. Or, for ports, one set of docking facilities replaced another.

A third feature held in common, and also discussed by Glaser (1978) as part of basic social process research, is that there is "variability" to the length of stages. For the two organic processes, the human life and ecosuccession, there is a certain level of conformity. People have a relatively short period of infancy, a longer childhood, and typically live most of their lives as adults. For ports and products, much greater variability is the norm.

Author and Place or Focus	Number, Name, and Sequence of Stages	Change Mechanisms	Sequence Variation
Plog (1973) General model	5 unnamed stages	Tourist types become more conservative as facilities increase	
Miossec (1977) General model	5 numbered stages (0-4)	Transport, tourists spatial knowledge and behavior, local attitudes	
Noronha (1977) General model	1 Discovery 2 Local Response and Initiative 3 Institutionalization	1 Tourists arrive 2 Local entrepreneurial catalyst 3 Outsiders take over	"Induced" tourism: stages can be skipped
Stansfield and Rickert (1978) Atlantic City	Three—first named "discovery," other two not named	1 Developers create resort; transport innovations occur 2 More transport innovations 3 Affluent class abandons, facilities deteriorate	
Cohen (1979) Tourist types			"Organic" vs "induced"
Butler (1980) General model	1 Exploration 2 Involvement 3 Development 4 Consolidation 5 Stagnation 6A Decline 6B Rejuvenation	1 Tourists arrive 2 Local provision of facilities 3 Heavy advertising 4 Rate of tourist increase declines 5 Peak visitor numbers are reached 6A Can't compete 6B New attractions built	"Instant" resorts are possible
Young (1983) Maltese Villages	I Pre-tourist 1 Early Traditional 2 Late Traditional II Tourist 3 Initial 4 Early 5 Expanding 6 Intensive	1 Local tourists only 2 A few foreign tourists 3 Facilities built for foreign tourists 4 More of the same 5 Construction boom; major resort built; residential property 6 "All-but-complete transformation"	
Weaver (1986) Antigua	1 Pre-tourism 2 Transition 3 Tourism Dominant 3A Early 3B Mature	1 None 2 Capital invested by local elite and foreigners; zones of tourist space created 3A Tourist space encircles island 3B Concentric tourist zones created	

Figure 3.5 Stages, change mechanisms and variations in stage sequences described in the destination area life cycle literature.

Author and Place	Number, Name, and Sequence of Stages	Change Mechanisms	Sequence Variation
Strapp (1988) Sauble Beach, Ontario	Used Butler's	Disproves Butler's assertion that mechanism is the number of tourist arrivals	Butler's "stagnation" & "decline" stages became "stabilization"
Cooper and Jackson (1989) Isle of Man	1 Early 2 Take-off to mass tourism 3 Stabilization 4 Decline	1 Wealthy tourists 2 Public works projects, expansion in rooms and ACES, government laws establish quality standards, promotion 3 Cessation of developmental activity 4 Change in tourists' needs	
France (1991) Barbados	Used Butler's	2 Investment increased 3 Air transportation improved 4 Commercial exploitation 6 Loss of rooms	Noted a pattern: "consolidation" to "decline," back to "consolidation"
Foster and Murphy (1991) Parksville and Qualicum Beach, BC	Used Butler's		"Maturity" stage replaces "consolidation"
Smith (1992) Pattaya and General model ("Tentative Beach Resort Model")	1 Predevelopment 2 Explorative tourism 3 First hotel 4 Strip development 5 Business center established 6 Hotels built away from the beach 7 Second road built 8 Separation of CBD from RBD	2 Explorer tourists arrive 3 Accessibility improves; a hotel is built 4 Room #s increase 5 Residents displaced; old village CBD is dominated by tourist interests 6 Hotels built inland; environment spoiled 7 A second road is built parallel to beach road 8 Separation of districts indicates resort is a city	
Patoskie and Ikeda (1993) Waikiki	1 Discovery 2 Establishment 3 Growth 4 Maturity	2 Wetland reclamation projects; a first class hotel built; a competing hotel in downtown Honolulu razed 3 Jet transport; 2nd road; huge expansion of facilities 4 Slow down of development; increase in planning activity	World War II divides the "establishment" stage into two parts.

Figure 3.5 Stages, change mechanisms and variations in stage sequences described in the destination area life cycle literature (Continued).

Attention will now turn to how stages as conceptual entities have been dealt with in the DLC literature. This section, and the next several, will draw on Figure 3.6. This figure includes what were thought to be the most innovative contributions in the literature. The length of the figure indicates the importance of this aspect of the model, as well as the overall lack of consensus concerning stages and how they change.

In DLC research on destinations, the property of internal homogeneity of stages has generally been well developed. Butler formulated the model so that each stage is differentiated from the others in terms of the set of internal characteristics. The tourist industry was emphasized, as the equivalent of the key component species in an ecosystem. Stages in the model were mostly recognizable by the nature and extent of the development of the tourist industry. In the works of those who utilized Butler's model, the internal homogeneity of stages has also been reasonably well brought out. Early stages would be described in terms of the primitive nature of facilities, a "development" stage was typified by a construction boom, and later stages could be identified by the lack of new development. The limit to consensus about this property is fairly quickly reached, however. This is shown by the second column in Figure 3.6, which lists some of the names for stages that have been proffered. In turn, this indicates there is not much agreement the crucial feature of the stage, of what defines it, in spite of the fact that researchers are mainly looking at the development of the tourist industry.

Stating this generally, the problem seems to be a lack of focus on substantive detail, of using examples of what actually happened to illustrate abstract principles. Though accommodation facilities are often considered important, for example, few writers even note increases in room counts, much less changes in hotel types. As was just mentioned however, change in the industry at the destination is the primary basis for naming stages, . This practice dates back at least as far as Noronha's (1977) review of the literature, from which he developed his inductive model. Since Butler (1980) published his version, most writers have either used his stage names, or invented different terms that continue to focus on the development of the tourism industry. Unfortunately, there is as yet no consensus about this.

Wong	Meyer-Arendt, et al.	Abstracted Type
Basic Accommodation Unit	<i>Balneario</i> (Bathing Resort)	Local
Individual Resort of National/Local Standard	Domestic Resort	Domestic
Individual Resort of International Standard	"Integrated" Domestic/International Resort	International
Planned Resort Complex	"Interactive" Enclave Resort	Enclave
	"Self-Contained" Enclave Resort	

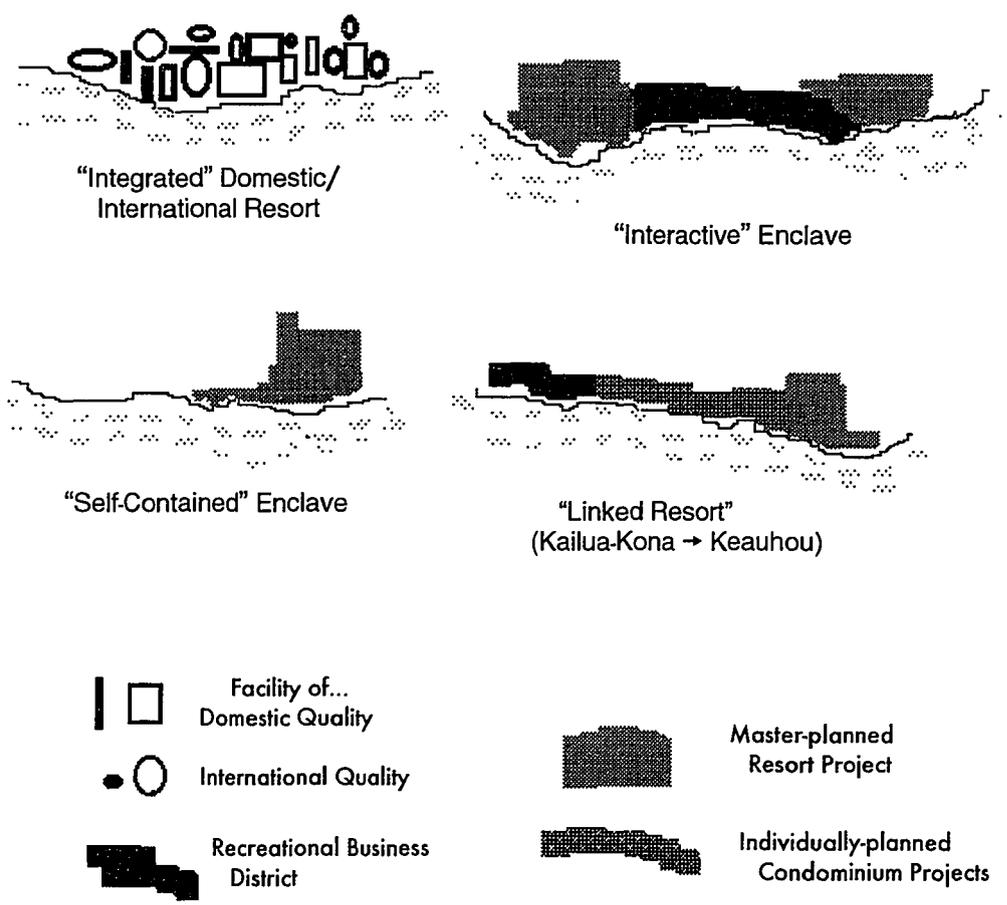


Figure 3.6 An abstracted typology of coastal resorts.

Sources: Wong (1986); Meyer-Arendt, Sambrook and Kermath (1992); field research

Finally, the role of government is often not even acknowledged. Though Butler (1980) clearly emphasized the interjecting of government into the economic affairs of the destination, few writers have chosen to analyze this. Cooper and Jackson (1989) did show that its involvement could be crucial to industrial development even at the beginning of the resort's life cycle. Patoskie and Ikeda (1993) also discussed government's role in modifying the landscape; this enabled Waikiki to develop on land that had been used for rice paddies.

Though there is little consensus about the features just discussed, theory on DLC stages can be advanced by incorporating and adapting the literature on resort typologies. In essence, doing this enables resorts to be conceived the same way that Bird (1963) conceived of ports. Bird observed that over the centuries ports took on distinctive forms based upon the set of typical characteristics. Something along these lines has been done for coastal resorts, though the research to date has not interpreted change in form as a change in stage.

Wong (1986) and Meyer-Arendt et al. (1992) have each developed substantive typologies of resorts, for Malaysia and the Dominican Republic, respectively. The slightly different focus of these studies brought out an interesting point—that resorts can be either individual, privately-run facilities, or towns composed of such facilities. Wong's objective was to create a typology of the individually run businesses, while Meyer-Arendt et al. looked at how sites developed into particular types of resort-towns. The categories that were identified in each typology are shown in the top of Figure 3.6. They have been combined into the more abstractly defined terms listed in the right hand column.

The names for resort categories that each study identified show quite a bit of similarity. This would not seem unreasonable since both studies focused on coastal resorts, either "beach" (Wong 1986) or "seaside" (Meyer-Arendt et al. 1992). Somewhat different characteristics were emphasized; Wong (1986) looked almost exclusively at accommodation facilities, while Meyer-Arendt et al. (1992) focused upon all types of businesses that developed in response to tourists' presence.

Looking down the columns, it is apparent that there is an overall increase in scale. The term for the abstracted type, listed in the right column, has been named in order to reflect this.

There is thus a “local” scale resort, constructed by local entrepreneurs, and used mainly by local tourists. In the case of the *balneario* the users were sometimes not really even tourists. Rather, they were locals spending their recreation time at the beach. Resorts at the “domestic” scale were typically built by people from outside the region, but from the same country. Facilities were of quality levels expected by the middle class living in the nearby cities, who made up the bulk of the tourists utilizing them.

At the “international” scale the possibilities became more complicated. Wong (1986) specified a single type of resort; Meyer-Arendt et al. (1992) found that two types existed. Both studies found that tourist facilities (mainly accommodation) were financed from abroad. Meyer-Arendt et al. (1992) aggregated resorts built by these developers into two types, based on the spatial proximity of the international-scale facilities to those of local/domestic-scale, and on the amount of social mixing the foreign tourists engaged in with locals. “Integrated” Domestic/International Resorts were identified by the fact that facilities were located in an “integrated” manner, mixed up among each other. At “Interactive” Enclave Resorts, on the other hand, the international facilities were off to one side, or both sides, of the town. Though “enclaves” in the strict sense of the word, they were nevertheless contiguous to a town, and tourists utilized the facilities of the town as well as of the resort. In Figure 3.6 these two types have been combined into one “international” form in the right hand column. This is because, with respect to Rink and Swan’s (1979) concepts of “class,” “form,” and “brand,” both would appear to be variations of the same “form” of resort.¹⁰ That is, they share an “urban” quality.

An important feature of resorts at these different scales becomes apparent when they are compared. It relates to the typical height of buildings. At each scale, an aspect of form is that buildings get taller. This is very similar to what usually happens as ecosystems develop. Thus it can be said that the “local” resort may be “overtopped” by “domestic” resorts; this can occur again between the scales of “domestic” and “international.”

The final type of resort the two studies identified was called an “enclave.” These are large, with multiple hotels, and contain all facilities *in situ*. They are located away from other towns, often in isolated spots valued for the pristine quality of the environment. Hotels tend to

be low-rise; grounds are extensive and a golf course can be expected. A residential component, particularly condominium units, may represent the major, and most profitable, component of the development. As described, “enclave” resorts are not relay urban in their morphology. Rather, they are more “suburban” in nature. Enclave resorts thus represent an increase in scale by appropriating more space for tourist use, not by building higher.

The bottom section of Figure 3.6 pictographically interprets the “international” and “enclave” types of resorts, as described by Meyer-Arendt et al. (1992) In addition, one other type is shown. This has been labeled the “linked” resort; and it is based on the morphological form of development that occurred in Kona. Tourism in Kona began with the development of a recreational business district in the center of Kailua village. In the late 1960s, the Keauhou resort enclave, six miles south, underwent construction. This master-planned facility never quite succeeded in becoming “self-contained,” however. Tourists have always needed to return to Kailua. Thus the enclave, though spatially separated, has continued to be functionally linked to the town. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the space in between, along the coast, was filled by individually-planned condominium projects. These also have continued to be functionally linked to Kailua, though in this case the “tourists” later became “snowbirds” who were part-time residents. This group has shopped in Kailua’s CBD as much as the RBD. By the time of field research, the three types of space—RBD, condos, and resort enclave—were spatially as well as functionally linked.¹¹

In sum, contemporary coastal resorts would seem to have developed several distinctive spatial morphologies that have been separated into “types” in the literature. Together, these would fit into the urban-scale/beach matrix cells that were shown in Figure 3.3. Some comments on the historical origins of these particular forms are pertinent.

First, tracing the history of resort tourism, the evolution from inland spas to seaside health resorts had begun to occur by the late 18th century (Robinson, 1976). During the late-19th century, swimming for recreation gradually replaced sea-bathing for health. This phenomena grew rapidly, especially in England, with the development of railroads. Thus, as coastal resort tourism began its life cycle, the capacity to build resorts and to organize and move

tourists was already at the “domestic” level. This means there were two scales of development, resulting in two forms of resort-town (“local” and “domestic”), from the beginning of the modern institution of tourism. Over the course of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, “local” resorts sometimes developed into a “domestic” form as transportation expanded and entrepreneurs from the cities moved in to take advantage of high quality coastal resources. Most coastal resort destinations were characterized by these two forms of development until after World War II.

Since then, the development wide-bodied jet travel, combined with communications and organizational innovations, permitted a true international era in tourism to begin. At the global scale, the spread of this style of resort has created what has been called the “pleasure periphery” (Turner and Ash 1975). Tourism in both the “international” and “enclave” forms has spread out from the origin nations of tourists, in much the same way “domestic” tourism did prior to World War II. Additionally, condominiums, as residential forms, are of relatively recent origin. Their popularity began in the 1960s or 1970s, and spread quickly. This overview shows that the institution of coastal resort tourism has, to this point, produced several identifiable forms. These have spread out in different directions at different times. Where a newer form has spread to an older destination, it has most likely either overtopped it, or formed an enclave off to the side. Since the 1950s, when a completely new site is chosen for development, an “enclave” may be built. Whether this represents the final form in the evolution of coastal resort tourism is difficult to say. As with ports, it would seem likely that future innovations in coastal resort tourism will someday produce new forms.¹²

Mechanisms of Stage Change

As part of a process, stages occur in a sequence. This means it is important to understand the mechanisms that cause stage changes. For basic social processes, stage changes could occur in two ways. First, a “critical juncture” could occur; this might push the process along. Or, the transition could be “blurry,” measured by change in a set of indicators. These two concepts add rigor to the task of identifying whether stage changes have occurred. For example, specifying that something has aged would no longer seem adequate. What characteristic has

aged? How? How has this changed things? These questions must be answered to show that a “blurry” stage change has occurred. Also, the directive to identify mechanisms makes “temporal fetishism” indefensible. This is the practice of identifying stages simply on the basis of calendar years (1900 was Stage A, 1925 was Stage B, etc.)

The literature on process research at-large reinforced Glaser’s (1978) ideas about mechanisms. In the human life cycle, for example, Spierer (1981) has asserted stage change is caused by “critical events.” These can sometimes cause stage change immediately, but often have “sleeper effects” that are not noticed for some time. “Critical events” would seem similar to “critical junctures,” while “sleeper effects” would seem synonymous with “blurry” transitions. At ports, change in ship design was the mechanism that led to stage change.

Contemplation of mechanisms reveals that an abstract way of looking at them exists. The dictionary (Webster 1983, 1116) defines a mechanism as “a system whose parts work together like those of a machine.” In processes, however, both “critical junctures” and “blurry transitions” are events. That is, something happens, an event occurs, and the process moves forward to a new stage. Comparison of process research at-large indicated that all events could be formally grouped into three classes: “additions,” “alterations,” or “cessations.” Thus, the event could be an addition of a new characteristic to the entity. New docking facilities could be built at ports. Second, existing characteristics of the entity could be altered. A product can be improved. Finally, a stage change can occur when characteristics of the entity cease to function. Individuals die when their hearts stop beating.

For tourism resorts, the set of mechanisms found in the DLC literature are listed in the third column of Figure 3.5. This column would appear to show that a large variety of mechanisms have been identified. However, many of these are really only interpretations that had to be teased out of the literature. Writers often did not specifically identify exactly what event(s) had propelled a destination out of one stage and into the next. Stages were much more frequently constructed as a set of conditions (of the internal characteristics), with little analysis of how change in those conditions pushed the destination into a new stage. However, when the column is appraised, it can be seen that the types of events listed do fit into the categories of

“critical events” and “blurry transitions.” The concepts of “additions,” “alterations,” or “cessations” would also seem applicable to mechanisms operating at tourist destinations.

Critical events are thus mostly additions to the resort. Examples would include transport innovations (Stansfield 1978; Meyer-Arendt 1985); the funding of public works projects (Cooper and Jackson 1989); the development of a new resource (Butler 1980); or a local entrepreneur catalytically developing a new project (Young 1983). The latter example has been mentioned several times. An individual or company opens a hotel in a new location, where tourism had only been minimally developed. Such a facility can be called a “pioneer hotel.” It is often built at higher-than-local standards, hence attracts a new type of tourist. The opening of the hotel is usually a critical event, for it catalyzes other individuals in the community to develop tourist-oriented businesses. No specific example of “cessation” could be found in the literature. However, the Decline stage itself obviously is defined by the ceasing of touristic activity and the lack of presence of tourists.

Most of the examples of mechanisms in Figure 3.5 are “blurry transitions,” particularly of the kind where some characteristic of the tourist industry undergoes slow “alteration.” Stages in fact are usually described this way in the literature. A good example is the types of entrepreneurs who are perceived to be running Tier 1 businesses at the destination. In early stages, these are locals who are providing tourists with basic needs. Over time, outsiders enter the picture; they construct ever-larger and more elaborate facilities for tourists. Eventually, locals completely lose control over the destination as multi-national corporations move in; this group sets up the most elaborate facilities of all. This change in entrepreneurial type is mechanistic in the implied sense that when a new group enters the picture, there has been a stage change (also note the similarity to “relay floristics”). There is almost never a critical event mentioned in association with this, however. Such lack of example can make it difficult to demonstrate that a stage change has actually occurred.

Mechanisms were quite useful in understanding events in Kona. Most of the stage changes that have occurred were tripped off by an event-mechanism. In 1949, for example, tourism began to develop immediately after the new airport opened, and increased accessibility.

About a decade-and-a-half later, a critical juncture occurred when plans for a pedestrian mall and a high-rise condominium were advanced. The townspeople, and particularly the property owners in Kailua, had to choose between development paths. Ultimately, these projects were rejected by the community; as a result Kailua remained a small village. Ten years after that, the cessation in growth of large hotels spelled the end of one important component of development. Finally, one more decade later, the inability to surpass the numbers of accommodation units attained in 1985 represented another kind of cessation, and a stage transition.

Macro-Structural Conditions

Macro-structural conditions create the larger context in which the unit undergoing a process finds itself. This aspect was sometimes only implicitly stated in the literature reviewed. An example of macro-structural conditions would be the role of climate in ecosuccession. This property is important because, as a structure, it constrains or enables from outside. Typically, when macro-structural conditions are stable, the entity can progress through its stage sequence within the normal range of variation. Large-scale stability would thus seem to be an enabling factor. Radical change in macro-structural conditions could be either enabling or constraining, however, because, depending on the nature of change, the life cycle could be either prolonged or shortened. With respect to the latter, the role of macro-structural conditions is quite important. Major change can often end life cycles. A new innovation can wipe out a product, as calculators did to slide rules.

Macro-structural conditions were not included in Figure 8.6 because so few were discussed in the DLC literature. Those that were, however, were not unimportant to the particular places they affected. War has been cited as a macro-structural condition in two cases (Ionnides 1992; Patoskie and Ikeda 1993). In both, the effect was described as separating a particular stage into two phases. Meyer-Arendt (1985) discussed the impacts of hurricanes on Grand Isle, Louisiana. These had been so devastating that they had completely destroyed the tourism industry on the island. While this was certainly a constraint to development in the short term, the hurricanes also enabled the destination to make a fresh start. Finally, another macro-structural change involved transportation. Whenever innovations occurred, the result tended to

be the obsolescence of resorts located near populations centers. Tourists had the capability of visiting newer, more distant resorts, and abandoned those nearby.¹³

Kona has had one macro-structural condition that has overshadowed development; this is the “investment climate.” At any point in time, there is a level of availability of capital that may either enable or constrain the ability of entrepreneurs to complete projects. This is particularly the case for large projects, such as hotels or enclave resorts. In the past, “tight” money has held up projects advanced even by multinational corporations, such as Sheraton. At other times, such as the mid-1980s, the perceived availability of such capital has led to the proposal of many projects, on a basis that may be more speculative than serious.

Stage Sequence and Variation

The fourth property of stages in a life cycle process is the sequence in which they occur. Glaser (1978) showed that for “basic social processes” there was no inevitability that stages would always come in exactly the same order, or that they would always take the same amount of time. However, to be a distinctive process, a typical order must be discernible. This of course follows from the nature of life—plants, animals, all live directionally from birth to death. For living organisms, life stages are essentially genetic, and little variation is possible. With other types of processes there must also be a typical stage sequence, otherwise the stages could not be discerned from random sets of events and conditions. For the PLC, the initial model seems to have presumed the “S-curve” of unit-sales, from the “introduction” to the “decline” of the product. The rise-and-fall in the number of sales was thus conceived as the equivalent of a “life.”

There may exist more than one “typical” sequence of stages, however. In ecosystems, Noble and Slayter (1981, all following citations from pps 312–13) concluded that variation in stage sequence occurred in patches because plant species have different adaptation strategies. Based on these strategies, they identified three typical “pathways” for stage changes in patches. The first was termed “facilitation.” Within the patch, plants modified the environment so that their own seeds would not propagate successfully, but those of other species would. One species thus facilitated the eventual dominance of another. The authors noted this type of sequence was

also referred to as “relay floristics.” This pathway is well understood, but it is not the only one. The “tolerance” pathway would occur when faster and slower growing species would propagate at the same time, but the slower growing species gradually would come to dominate and replace the faster growing species because they had longer life spans and could grow at lower levels of resource availability. The “inhibition” pathway was roughly the opposite of “facilitation.” It occurred in areas where certain “late” species would not propagate if members of “early” species were present. This led to a successional situation where “species not normally regarded as late succession species” would come to dominate.

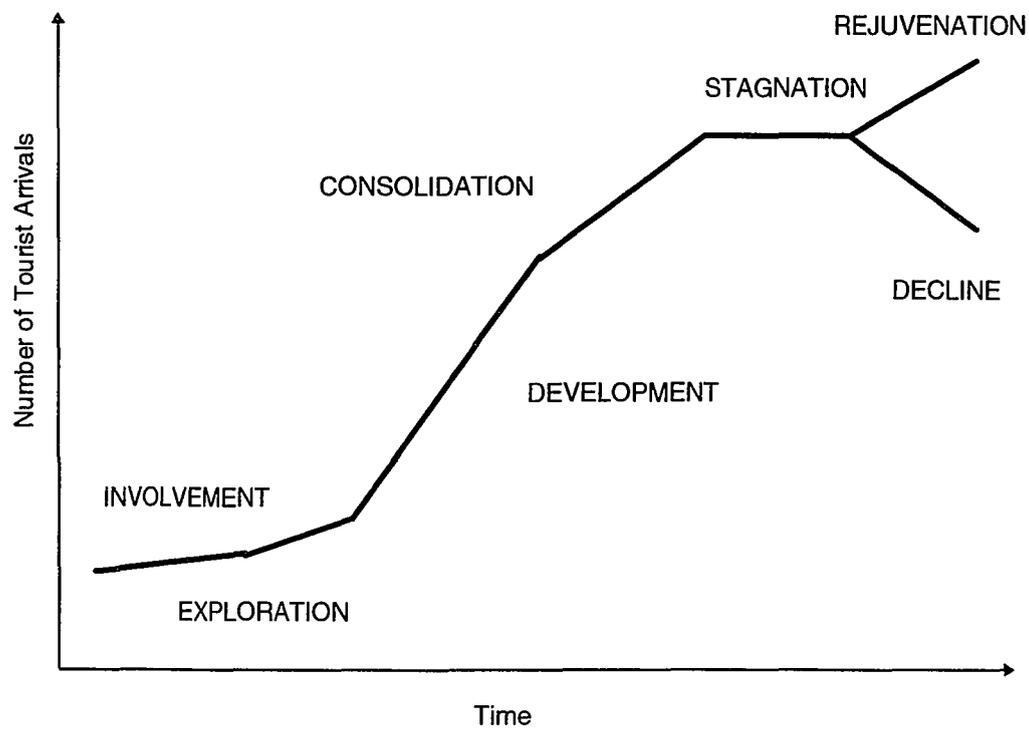


Figure 3.7 Butler's Destination Area Life Cycle curve, redrawn to highlight the changing rates of growth in tourist arrivals typical for each stage.

Source: Butler (1980)

The DLC literature contained several ideas regarding the normal sequence of stages, even before Butler (1980) developed his model (see Christaller 1964, Plog 1972, Noronha 1977). Perhaps one reason for the subsequent appeal of Butler's version was that the description of how individual stages were linked—through tourist arrival numbers—improved upon earlier research. Butler (1980—all page numbers below refer to this source) adapted the DLC model from literature on the product life cycle. In his words: “The pattern which is put forward here is based upon the product cycle concept, whereby sales of a product proceed slowly at first, experience a rapid rate of growth, stabilize, and subsequently decline; in other words, a basic asymptotic curve is followed.” Butler's “asymptotic curve” is shown in Figure 3.7.¹⁴ It has been redrawn to highlight the changing rates of growth typical of each stage.

The curve in Figure 3.7 shows that the first two stages, Exploration and Involvement, each have low rates of growth. Butler defined the Exploration stage in terms of the tourist types described by Christaller (1964) and Plog (1972), and also noted “there would be no specific facilities provided for visitors” (p. 7). In other words, adventurous types would find the destination, but couldn't stay at a hotel or some other type of accommodation built specifically for them. Also, there would be little in the way of provision of other necessities or services. This is precisely what changes during the Involvement stage, when “some local residents...begin to provide facilities primarily or even exclusively for tourists” (p. 7). During the rest of the stage, advertising begins, a distinctive tourist season emerges, and government begins to receive pressure to make improvements that will enable tourism to increase.

Butler's third stage, Development, was graphed in Figure 3.7 to show a time period characterized by high rates of growth of visitor arrivals. The destination was discovered and took off. Tourism as an institution developed broadly; new attractions came into existence and marketing of them correspondingly occurred; planning became necessary; immigrants arrived looking for and finding work; tier 2–4 services opened to serve the expanding population base. Also, some local facilities disappeared, “being superseded by larger, more elaborate and more up-to-date facilities by external organizations, particularly for visitor accommodation” (p. 8).

In the Consolidation stage tourist numbers kept rising, but the rate of growth slowed. This change had an impact: "Major franchises and chains in the tourist industry will be represented but few, if any, additions will be made." Also: "The resort cities will have well-defined recreational business districts, and, depending upon the length of time involved, old facilities may now be regarded as second rate and far from desirable" (both citations from p. 8). This stage represents the end of the period of growth for the resort. Afterwards Stagnation would set in. This is characterized by tourist numbers having failed to reach previous peaks. A large percentage of facilities were now obsolete. The destination itself was out of fashion. Excess supply, particularly in accommodation units, was a problem. New development was located peripheral to the original area, and existing properties changed hands frequently.

Finally, Butler's model asserts that after a Stagnation stage the destination might experience multiple paths. If a new resource were to be developed, such as when a coastal resort builds a casino (an service resource), or when a spa town develops its winter sports potential (a new environmental resource), the town could have a Rejuvenation stage. A certain amount of re-development is possible. If no new resource could be exploited, the destination would go into the Decline stage. At some point, tourism ceases completely, and the life cycle ends.

Several features of this model should be apparent, with respect to its stages. First, stable macro-structural conditions are assumed. The wider world does not change in ways that significantly alter tourism development at the destination resort. Also, no specific mechanisms for stage change are described. Butler describes the mid-stage characteristics, but does not discuss how or why one stage follows the next. Blurry transitions are inferred to be the norm. The characteristics he does describe, however, are all either additions, alterations, or cessations. These are important in that precise sequence, with respect to stages. Additions to tourist facilities and services dominate through the Development Stage. Alterations are most important during Consolidation; cessations occur frequently during Decline. Rejuvenation involves a second type of facilities and services addition, based upon a new resource. Lastly, and most importantly, Butler's typical stage sequence has great similarity to the "facilitation" pathway in

ecosuccession. The development of certain services leads to more tourists, and thus to the development of even more services. This might be termed “relay touristics.”

Since Butler, only two writers have tried to re-define the stages and their typical sequence. Young (1983) added a “pre-tourism” era which had two stages, but he concurred with Butler’s ideas about stages once tourism got started (though he gave the stages different names). Smith (1992) defined a “beach resort” model in which the mechanisms for stage change were considered to be additions to the built environment, such as a second road parallel to the beach. Patoskie and Ikeda (1993) modified this model in their assessment of Waikiki, but used stage names that were similar to Butler’s. It is thus the situation that Butler’s model continues to represent the “typical sequence,” though Young’s pre-tourism stages can be added on at the beginning.

Butler also indicated that variation was possible, and most research seems to have looked for this (though the motive seemed to be to disprove Butler in part, rather than show that the property of variation was operating). Cohen (1979) was one of the first to notice that there were distinct pathways which development of tourist destinations could take. He identified two, based on the presence or absence of the early stages. Those destinations that developed slowly and gradually became larger and more complex were said to have gone through an “organic” sequence. This was considered to be the more-or-less natural path. However, developers from outside the region could enter the picture and build up a complete resort on an empty landscape. Destinations with this type of origin had an “induced” sequence of stages. As examples, Cohen mentioned the destinations of Guam and Tahiti, where outsiders had come in and built facilities. Locals had little say about these, and also had little interaction with tourists.

Other case studies have shown that inducement is not a new phenomena. Stansfield (1978) noted that Atlantic City, built in the 1850s on what had been a virtually uninhabited island, was “the quintessence of a created resort.” There, a particular entrepreneur convinced a set of developers to invest capital in a new resort city, one well within the range of the inhabitants of New York and Philadelphia. At a somewhat smaller scale, the local elite have also induced destination development. Meyer-Arendt (1985) showed this had occurred on Grand Isle,

Louisiana. In that locale the impetus was soil salinization; it had rendered plantation agriculture impossible. The owners converted the plantation house to a hotel, taking advantage of the new national fascination with ocean bathing and swimming. Weaver (1986) has generalized the idea that local elite living on Third World islands often convert capital horizontally (get out of agriculture) in order to induce tourism.¹⁵ These examples indicate that inducement of destination development would seem to be a rather common phenomenon, one that can occur during any of several stages.¹⁶

The ideas regarding stage sequence variation have focused on the beginning of the destination's life cycle. Yet Butler has received more criticism from writers who thought the stages at the end of the cycle were different. France (1991) asserted that certain coasts on Barbados had reached the "decline" stage, then reverted back to "consolidation" (as opposed to Butler's idea of "rejuvenation"). Others have combined the "consolidation" and "stagnation" stages into one they called either "stabilization" or "maturation." Strapp (1988), for example, noted that part-time summer residents had replaced true tourists as the dominant force in Sauble Beach, Ontario. This change had the effect of "stabilizing" the economy. A similar situation occurred in Foster and Murphy's (1991) study of Parksville and Qualicum Beach, British Columbia. There, retirees had replaced tourists, but with the same effect. These writers, however, preferred to call this the "maturity" stage. This term was also chosen by Getz (1992) to describe the situation at Niagara Falls, Ontario and New York. In this case, the falls has been a compelling attraction for nearly 200 years. Yet no real "stagnation" stage, according to Getz, has ever occurred at either town.

This study of Kona, which benefited from the concept of "pathway" as well as understanding of properties of process such as "variation" and stage mechanisms, verified that Butler's general model is adequate as a starting point for research. In Kona, stages initially replaced each other in a facilitational sequence. Critical events occurred, such as the opening of a hotel and an airport. Facilitation was, however, later replaced by inhibition, as the local community fought to prevent the town of Kailua from proceeding further through the Development Stage. Critical junctures have occurred, with anti-development factions winning

out. A blurry transition also occurred when condo properties boomed, and became co-dominant with hotels. Kona then began to go down a pathway similar to the Canadian destinations noted by Strapp (1988) and Foster and Murphy (1991). This has been interpreted as a pathway that will eventually take Kona out of the tourism era of the sequent occupance because a broader, non-touristic form of regional development will come to dominate.

Before synthesizing this material, a methodological point related to stage identification needs discussion. Butler essentially provided two methods of identification, graphical and through identification of typical characteristics. Process research at-large suggests that identification of critical events/junctures and blurry transitions is also important. For Kona, it was found that all were complimentary and none worked perfectly by itself. Each stage had a core period, followed by a year or two of transition; after that another core period was identifiable. To have the best understanding of process, it was therefore necessary to use multiple methods to identify stages. But this also resulted in somewhat different calendars being created. That is, the calendar years that stages began and ended differed slightly with each method. This has been interpreted as indicating that the core years of each stage were reasonably clear—these were when the different identification methods produced agreement. The years when there was no agreement were interpreted as transitional—one important component was changing, but not all.

SYNTHESIS

The first two sections of the chapter have generated a considerable number of theoretical ideas about the DLC model. An attempt will now be made to synthesize this into a more normative conception.

First of all, the model is underpinned by social theory, in that tourism is considered to be an institution that is reproduced at a specific locale. Destinations therefore do have life cycles, a.k.a. *longue durées*. Spatial scale is an important consideration with respect to generating theory about generic regions such as tourist destinations. An individual destination—a resort city, including its immediate attraction hinterland—is the most appropriate scale for studying this model, as a life cycle model, because of this grounding in social theory. Individual

attraction sites may be too small because certain aspects of the institution of tourism may not be reproduced there. Large-scale regions have the opposite problem; there may be multiple sites within that are undergoing individual *longue durées*. Each site may be based upon a different type of attraction. These within-region destinations also have life cycles, but, strictly speaking, they may not be the same type of entity as a resort town, hence the stages of the life cycle will not necessarily be comparable.

Within the destination locale, the tourism industry (the set of service resources) represents the “key component species” that a DLC study examines. The focus is on how this industry does or does not develop over time; on how it does or does not alter the built environment. The model represents something akin to a basic geographic process, therefore the focus of the model should be on the nature of change as the destination develops as a resort. Taking this focus means identifying and analyzing the impacts of location-specific events as well as the macro-structural context. Because the model analyzes a place, the importance of tourists themselves is demoted somewhat. Data on the numbers and types of tourists that arrive are but indicators of the direction of change at the resort. The number and type of accommodation units built provides virtually the same information as data on tourists. Change in the number of room units is a key indicator of the stage the resort is in. The architectural form of the facilities will indicate whether the tourists are local, domestic, or international in origin; this is also an indicator of life cycle stage. Information on accommodation type also points to whether it is “pure” tourists who are the target market, or part-time residents, such as snowbirds. Having this information will in turn point to whether the destination is taking a pathway that leads to an early departure from the tourism era of the sequent occupance.

Conversely, because the topic is a life cycle of one institution at one place, the question of when “life” begins is important. The concept of sequent occupance exists as a way of defining major eras at places, when particular institutions dominate. Tourism represents one such institutional era, but this means there also exist both pre-tourism and post-tourism eras. Young (1983) has been the only researcher to conceptualize the former, through naming of two pre-tourism stages. Butler (1980) described an Exploration stage that covered a long period of

time when very few tourists visited the destination, and even fewer facilities for them existed. From this description, an interpretation based on social theory would be that the institution of tourism is only half developed during Exploration. Visitors reproduced the social practices of tourists, but locals did not initiate the corresponding responses. Nothing concrete had yet been built on the landscape to indicate institutionalization had begun to occur.

Stemming from this interpretation, it would seem more appropriate to place Exploration as a part of the pre-tourism era. “Life” with respect to the institution of tourism can be said to begin when locals build facilities, either because some tourists are already visiting, or in anticipation of them arriving. Construction of an important facility will represent a “critical event” because it enables tourism to become more dominant. One type of facility that seems to be built fairly frequently is the “pioneer hotel.” The opening of such a hotel can be particularly important when the entrepreneur is a transportation company that immediately promotes it, and the destination.

A second point to arise from this interpretation is that “response” is probably a better label for tourism’s first stage than is “involvement.” Young (1983) has already used “response” to describe a similar stage for Maltese Villages. What are observable in the built environment are “additions” of new facilities for tourists, and “alterations” of pre-tourist facilities to serve tourists’ needs. However, the beginning of the Response stage is not an indication that the previous era of the sequent occupance has concluded; that the *longue durée* is over. Whatever institution dominated regional activity before tourism will carry on into the tourism era. The break between the pre-tourism and tourism eras of the sequent occupance begins when tourism becomes the dominant regional institution. Since this may come about by a decline in the other institution, rather than because of an increase in tourism, there is no way of predicting when, or even if, tourism will dominate. The general relationship between eras in the longer sequent occupance is shown in Figure 3.8.

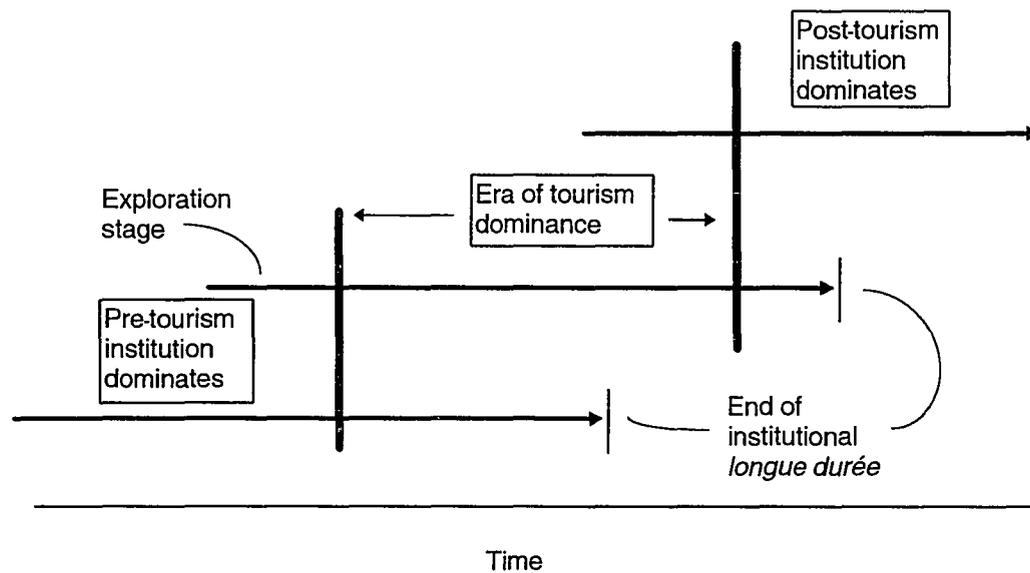


Figure 3.8 The institution of tourism within the longer sequent occupance at a destination.

Butler's model represented the typical sequence of stages that destination areas would go through. Implicitly, the model represented a facilitational sequence; the internal characteristics of the destination at any point in time would alter the environment in a particular direction: from development, to stagnation, to decline. Attention will now turn to the particular stages and Figure 3.9 will be used as a graphical reference in relation to accommodation units.

The life cycle begins at roughly the time when tourists begin to visit the destination and entrepreneurs begin to provide services for them. The people who make this entrepreneurial response, however, and the facilities they construct will vary with the situation. The morphology of the touristic built environment can begin at either the local, domestic or international scales. What is actually built will depend upon the quality of the base resources, accessibility, and the origins of both the entrepreneurs and the tourists they are targeting. At its purest, the Response stage begins when local entrepreneurs develop local-scale and local-quality facilities for explorer tourists, who arrive in small numbers. This is not the only scenario, however, Meyer-Arendt et al. (1992) described a form of response at the Domestic scale, in which entrepreneurs from a city in the Dominican Republic began to construct facilities at a beach resort town for urban tourists of the same country. What typifies the Response stage is that facilities for tourists are not yet

numerous, and this number is not increasing very rapidly. There have not yet been many additions, nor alterations from non-tourist to tourist activities, and very few cessations.

The Development stage begins when there is a major increase in additions, particularly in construction of accommodation facilities. A critical event may set this off, such as a transportation innovation, as was the case for Kona. The oft-noted scenario where the jet set discovers a destination, and development follows, represents more of a blurry transition. Whatever the cause, the effect is a development boom. Visibly, the resort town is probably at its messiest. Ambience is quickly lost with the sight of building cranes. Wooden walls go up to block the sight of construction, forcing people to walk in the street. Infrastructural capacity is over-taxed as the pace of construction increases. Most “alterations” from pre-tourist to tourist related activity would have occurred by the beginning of the stage. However, during the course of development, entrepreneurs who established tourism businesses early on might alter their business by up-grading it, by changing to meet the needs of new types of tourists, etc. Those businesses that could not survive would “cease” to exist. “Cessations” would not be the dominant aspect at any time during this stage, however.

Resorts entering the Development stage take on the morphological forms discussed earlier. These could be the “domestic,” “international,” or “enclave” forms. In the “typical” sequence, the Local form of the Response stage is replaced by the Domestic form as development occurs. This in turn is quickly replaced by the International form. If enclaves are also built nearby, expansion may also result in the resort attaining the Linked form. When these forms occur in this sort of sequence, each form attained represents a substage of Development. Such changes as these build up the destination. Overtopping will occur with the Domestic and International forms, as taller buildings come to dominate the built environment. A spreading out over the landscape away from the original nucleus will occur with the with the Enclave and Linked forms. Tourism will claim more of the land in the region.

After the boom, there will at some point be a slowing down of the growth of the resort. By this time the town has developed into something. It has an identity, based both on its built environment and how this has been promoted. It can be said to have reached maturity. Foster

and Murphy (1991) and Getz (1992) have suggested this modification to Butler's sequence, based on case research at two small resort towns in British Columbia and Niagara Falls, respectively. Both asserted that a term like "stability" might better represent what happens after consolidation. This idea is here taken a step further, a Maturity stage is taken to describe the destination after it has finished Development. The Consolidation, Stagnation, and Stability stages are reduced to sub-stage status.

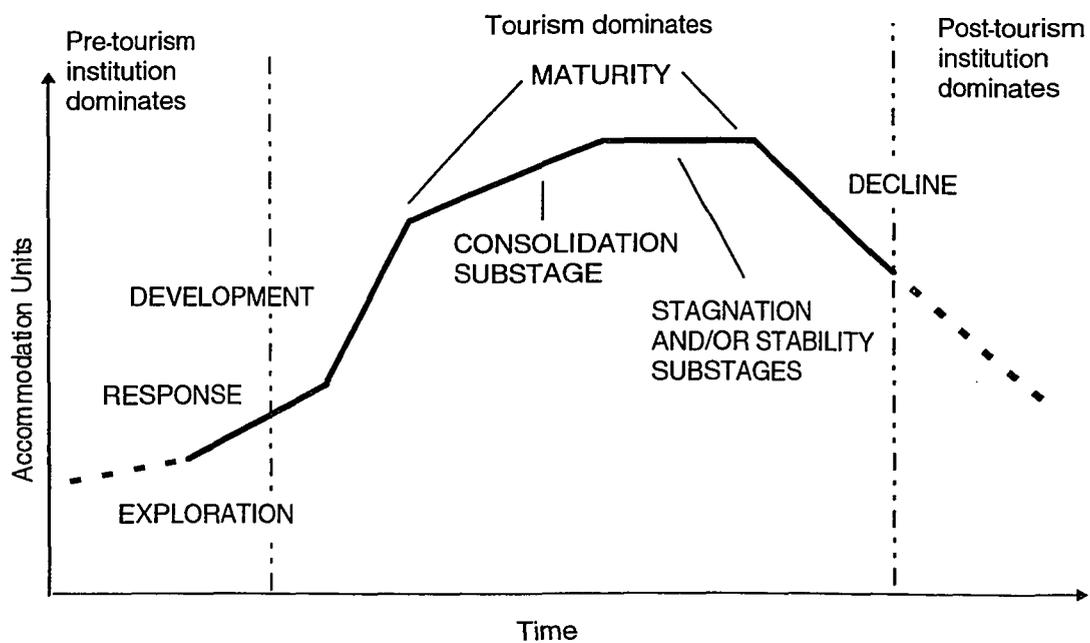


Figure 3.9 A tourist life cycle curve, showing the "typical" (facilitational) stage sequence at a coastal resort.

Adapted from Butler (1980).

In the Consolidation phase, rates of increases in tourist arrivals and in accommodation units will slow down, though the total numbers of each will continue to rise. The graphical interpretation is shown in Figure 3.9. A maximum number of accommodation units will most likely occur towards the end of this phase. On the landscape, a recreational business district will exist. For the town as a whole, Consolidation might be taken to mean the visible clean up of the mess that occurred during the Development stage. The sight of building cranes is gone. The

wooden walls surrounding buildings under construction are gone. Infrastructural capacity has been improved somewhat. Attention is paid to improving the town ambience. The destination takes on a finished look. This is enhanced by certain alterations Butler mentioned. Chain stores begin to dominate the RBD, replacing independent businesses. These may not sell a much wider variety of products, but are more familiar to tourists. They are standardized at a higher level. The opening of a chain store, particularly one from the tourists' home region, could possibly be conceived as a critical event identifying the onset of this stage. It would represent the beginning of a stage of "alteration," when many small shops are consolidated into a lesser number of large ones.

As with the other stages, Butler did not really specify a mechanism that propelled the destination out of the Consolidation substage, into Stagnation . Through the way this stage was described, it seems to represent aging more than anything else. Little is added, little ceases to exist. Alterations are in the form of ownership rather than anything necessarily visible. Perhaps the alteration is in the form of a built environment that gradually takes on a run-down character from lack of maintenance. The destination becomes old in the relative sense that it doesn't look like others that are newer. There would thus seem to be a "blurry transition" from Consolidation to Stagnation; there is no critical event that causes it. This is even more the case in destinations where a Stability phase occurs. This phase is perhaps indistinguishable from Stagnation in terms of accommodation units or visitor arrivals. Rather, a stable destination is one where there is no sense of decline in quality of the built environment and tourist resources. Additions keep pace with cessations; alterations prevent a look of aging from being seen on the built environment.

The Decline stage is obviously characterized by cessations and alterations out of tourism. Hotels close or convert to residences. Businesses close. There is an overall narrowing of facilities and services that are available for tourists.

No case study has yet asserted that a particular resort town has actually ended its tourist life cycle; i.e., the institution of tourism has ceased to exist. However, at some point in the Decline stage, if not the Stagnation phase, tourism ceases to be the dominant institution in the sequent occupance. Something replaces it. Strapp (1988) and Foster and Murphy (1991)

discussed second home/retiree tourism along these lines. Thus one pathway leading out of the tourism era would seem to occur when a resort converts from being primarily a destination to a residential area.

Conversely, if a new resource is developed, the “additions” to the built environment will indicate rejuvenation. However, such a development essentially amounts to the destination attaining a new status. Atlantic City is the traditional example cited; it rejuvenated through adding casinos. It is argued here that, although this is the case, it is now no longer much of a coastal resort. Its life cycle is now dependent upon the social institution of gambling. Hence it is argued that “rejuvenation,” though a distinct stage, represents a transition to a new life cycle, and is not really a part of the typical sequence of a coastal resort. However, Butler’s assessment that rejuvenation cannot take a destination back to the beginning is correct. This could only occur if the entire built environment were bulldozed, allowing development to proceed anew.

As noted above with respect to the condition of “variability,” several authors have asserted that the stage sequence in a process is not necessarily fixed. The typical set of stages does not always occur. This section will attempt to cover this variety of stage sequence for a coastal resort, using the modified graph shown in Figure 3.9.

What is perhaps more apparent when the life cycle graph is drawn as a series of line segments rather than a smooth asymptotic curve, is that, as long as a general direction of birth-to-death is followed, there can be a variety of stage sequences. These are the typical “pathways” through which a resort can go. Six pathways are listed below. The complete life cycle, with all stages, is shown first. The other five pathways take into account the oft-made observation that some destinations do not go through all stages.

Response → Development → Maturity → Decline

Response → Maturity → Decline

Response → Decline

Response → Development → Decline

Development → Maturity → Decline →

Development → Decline

The second and third pathways both describe life cycles of resorts towns that have some form of response to tourism, but which do not then go through any real boom period of development. They become built up to a certain degree, then reach a peak. In the second pathway, tourism as an institution would carry on for some time. The town has a certain amount of success before finally entering a decline phase. The third pathway would describe a destination where locals have been unsuccessful at really establishing tourism as a local institution. Decline occurs quickly. Both of these pathways would most likely describe locations where the environmental resources are of lesser quality. The third pathway might describe a location where the initial attraction was cultural, perhaps an event. It would be something that failed to capture the interests of tourists for very long. In the fourth pathway, however, the response stage turns into a development boom at some point, but one which does not last. The destination does not reach maturity, tourism decline follows the boom.

The fifth and sixth pathways describe life cycle variations of the “instant resort” (Cohen 1979). A development boom initiates the tourism era, there is no prior stage of slow build up by locals. In the fifth pathway, this is followed by a normal aging of the coastal resort during its maturity stage. In the sixth pathway, a “boom-and-bust” cycle is described. It should be noted that macro-structural conditions, such as war, could also be responsible for the premature onset of the decline stage.

The list of pathways above has indicated some of the variations the life cycles of coastal resorts might take, and could be expected to take. A life cycle that includes all of the defined stages is only one of the possible variations. Though it represents the typical sequence, none of the others should be considered abnormal. This is because the stages themselves have been defined on the basis of the presence of particular aspects of the institution of tourism. If those features do not become manifest on the destination landscape, for whatever reason, then the stage has not occurred.

This set of pathways is comprehensive in the sense that all possibilities have been described, at the level of the stage. However, further path variation is possible at the sub-stage level. Both the Development stage and the Maturity stage were shown to have several substages.

As a resort develops, it assumes different morphologies. Butler assumed these would come in a sequence. This is shown in the first pathway of the set below.

Local → Domestic → International → Linked

Local → Domestic → Linked

Local → International

Local → Consolidation → Domestic → Consolidation → International

However, this is only one possibility. Several others are also listed. The Kona situation is modeled in the second. There, the Domestic substage duly grew out of the Local, but not much International development ever occurred. In the third example, a resort in a Local substage is discovered by International scale entrepreneurs, who construct facilities of this quality. The Domestic form is bypassed. Lastly, a resort could experience a time lag between each substage of development. In the example, the pathway contains a Consolidation phase after each of the first two Development phases had occurred.

Overall, a resort could go through one of any number of pathways in course of its life cycle. The pathways shown above are just some of the possibilities. These could all be considered normal sequences. None are deviant from any ideal norm; they each reflect the property of variability of process. Case study research that uncovers one of these, or some variation not shown, does not disprove the general model, with its typical sequence of:

Response → Development → Maturity → Decline.

Lastly, the impacts of tourism development must be considered in terms of the larger sequent occupance. The DLC literature has to date identified two pathways that either lengthen or prolong the tourism era. In Butler's Rejuvenation stage, a new resource is developed just before decline sets in. This enables the destination to return to yet another phase of development, through attracting a new type of tourist. This lengthens the institutional *longue durée* of tourism, through substituting one set of touristic practices for another. Foster and Murphy's (1991) and Strapp's (1988) studies of second home owners and retirees suggest a different pathway. Through exploitation of real estate as a resource, the destination undergoes a blurry transition to the post-tourism era, through becoming inhabited by part-time and full time residents.

Finally, the DLC model has been criticized for failing to include predictability. Hopefully this chapter has solved part of the problem, by narrowing down the unit-entity to a coastal resort and by defining a typical set of stages that can be generalized to potentially occur pervasively. The chapter has also shown that the specific stage a resort is in can be identified in a preliminary way simply through knowing what morphological form it has attained, in combination with a graph of accommodation data. The difference between a one-story ten-room hotel, a three-story 75-room hotel, and a 25-story 300-room hotel is obvious, both visually and when that hotel's room units are counted on a graph. Figure 3.10 demonstrates this with three hypothetical pathways. In example "A" the resort goes through the facilitational sequence, attaining the Local, Domestic and International forms. The difference in rate of increase is notable. After a short Consolidation substage, it then stabilizes in the International form. Example "B" shows a pathway of slow Local development, followed by Stagnation. The resort then gets discovered and booms at the International-scale, before stagnating again. Lastly, example "C" shows a boom-bust pathway, at the International scale. The "instant" resort takes off without any prior development, but then flounders badly. A macro-structural influence such as war or a hurricane could cause a resort to take this pathway.

Basic understanding of the DLC can be utilized to interpret stages once this visual and graphical information is attained. All three resorts shown in Figure 3.10 have attained the International substage. This means the landscape contains multi-story hotels and is highly urbanized. The destination cannot revert to the Local or Domestic substages, because these forms have been overtopped. The destination cannot suddenly become an Enclave, because it is too urbanized.

The three examples also show pathways that have proceeded beyond the Development stage. While the difference in change in accommodation units permits a partial interpretation, visual inspection is also helpful. The difference between Stability, Stagnation, and Decline is in how much life there is in the destination, and how good it looks. A resort in a Stable substage may be old, but is kept up well. As noted above, a stagnating resort shows its age, while a resort in decline shows its cessations in the form of empty buildings and streets.

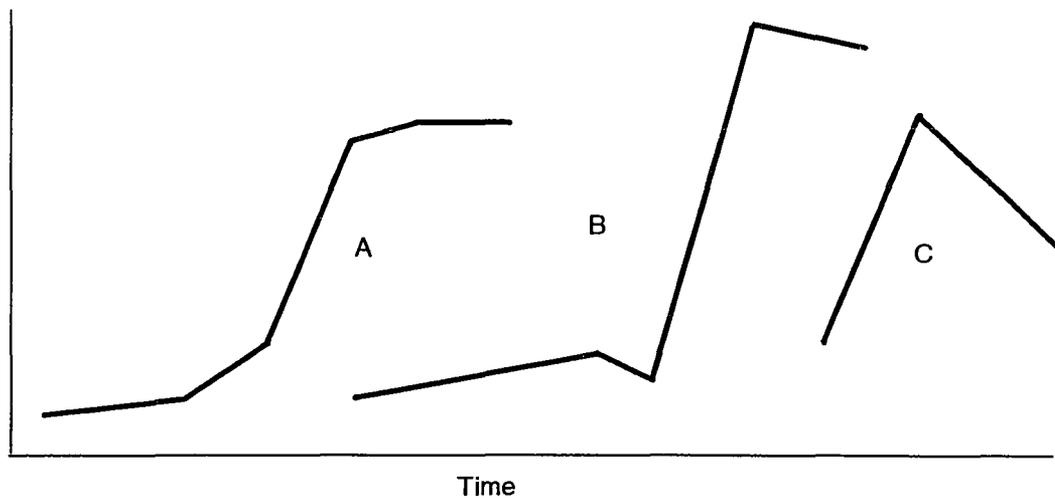


Figure 3.10 Examples of resort life cycle pathways, based on accommodation unit change.

- A. A facilitation sequence; the resort attains the Local, Domestic, and International forms, then stabilizes.
- B. A local-scale resort develops slowly, then stagnates. It then takes off Internationally, but stagnates again.
- C. An “instant resort” booms at the International scale, which then goes bust by declining quickly.

In sum, it is not overly difficult to conclude which stage a resort is in, and which it has already passed through. What its future will be is not very predictable, except to note that it is impossible to go backwards unless the landscape is bulldozed clean. Predictability is difficult because the future depends on local and outsider agency in relation to the institution of tourism. Coastal resorts thrive because of the cultural value of tourists spending their free time at the coast. If this activity were to be devalued, say because of the risk of skin cancer from exposure to the sun, the fate of the resort would lie in the capability of locals to find something new and meaningful for the tourists to do there. Atlantic City, a resort that lost its charm over time, showed one pathway. Resorts that catered to retirees and snowbirds have indicated another. As will be seen in Chapters 8 and 9, the latter path seems to be the one Kona is taking.

ENDNOTES

¹ Gilbert (1939) is sometimes given credit for being the first to notice that destinations went through developmental stages.

² During field research, conversations with Dr. Fred Stone brought out this point.

³ This explanation has dealt with only some of the types of practices that constitute the institution of tourism. Weaver's (1986) idea of choroplethic tourist space and Smith's (1988) ideas on types of businesses would also indicate that there are also "indirect" practices—locals interacting with each other—that are part of the overall institution of tourism. For example, local farmers growing produce to be cooked in hotel kitchens, or workers producing souvenirs to be sold in the local recreational business district, are also engaging in practices that constitute part of the institution of tourism.

⁴ Glaser's (1978) conception that a process is something containing stages that occur in a typical sequence is thus a formalization of the way the word is used in daily speech. For example, Lauer (1981, 41) asserted: "Every social phenomenon is processual in the sense of exhibiting movement over time." This way of looking at process would seem to be what Pred (1984) was thinking of in his arguments for studying "place as process." Such an argument is really not much more than an assertion that it is important to look at change over time. Glaser's idea of "basic social processes" takes the idea of "movement" a step further, through the formal subdividing of temporal activity into stages, and the notion that there is a typical sequence of such stages. Basic social processes are thus a subset of the totality of processes.

⁵ In a recent work on tourism, Pearce (1989) devoted a chapter to "Processes and typologies of tourist development." This chapter was essentially a literature review. He began the chapter by noting:

To date, relatively few writers have tried to identify and clarify different types of processes of tourist development along the lines of the general models discussed in Ch.1. Much of the literature on tourism is ideographic in nature, with few attempts being made to compare case studies let alone generalize from them." (p. 57)

These comments were particularly pertinent for the literature on coastal tourism that Pearce reviewed. That section of the chapter strongly showed the need for a more rigorous conceptualization of "process," based on the properties developed in grounded theory research for basic social processes. The term was used there mostly as a synonym for "change," meaning a resort started out in a particular condition, Pearce argued, and then changed over time. Comparison or generalization between works was mostly impossible, because of lack of a common framework for understanding the sequence of changes that occurred.

⁶ The reading of these other types of process research was hardly exhaustive. It mostly consisted of one or two articles or chapters that either reviewed the literature or developed a model, similar to Butler's development of the DLC. Future research that took this approach further would no doubt be fruitful. For example, from doing this limited amount

of research it was learned there have now been several hundred articles published on the product life cycle model. This surpasses what has been done on the DLC model by at least an order of magnitude. Considerable possibility thus exists for transference of knowledge.

⁷ Spierer's (1981, 29) slices of the watermelon included such distinctive characteristics as: the cardiovascular system; the endocrine system; skin; personality; and ekstics. He noted that each of these develops through the human life and can be studied in terms of stages.

⁸ The research on tourist typologies exists in partial independence to that on destination area life cycles. Certain well-known typologies, such as Smith's (1977) or Cohen's (1972, 1979) have not been included here. Plog (1973), however, directly linked the two with his assertion that destination areas would gradually receive more conservative tourists over time.

⁹ Keller (1986) seemed to want to have and his cake and eat it, too. While he argued against unilineality of change in tourist types, he nevertheless chose to indicate through graphs that this was indeed what occurred.

¹⁰ Meyer-Arendt, Sambrook and Kermath (1992) used the term "integrated" to refer to resort types where international facilities were mixed in with domestic in an overall urban setting. Though this is a valid use of the word, the problem is that Pearce (1982) had already used it to refer to a type of ski resort where a single developer had constructed a large project without involving the local community. These resorts are isolated "enclaves." Thus the term "integrated" has been used by different writers to describe types of resorts that are quite different, and cannot easily be aggregated at the level of "form."

¹¹ Kona thus also represents an example of what Weaver (1986) referred to as "heliotrophic" development. The tendency to fill in the gaps is the equivalent of the tendency of plants to bend toward light.

¹² The vast scale and luxuriousness of some "enclave" resorts brings to mind the evolution of the ocean liner. By the 1920s these ships were floating palaces, as will be described in Chapter 6. By the 1960s they were nearly extinct. Does such a fate await today's "enclave" resort? Almost certainly, when considered in terms of the *longue durée* of the institution of tourism. The more pertinent question is: how soon will this happen?

¹³ Though it would seem feasible that an existing resort could be enabled by a transportation innovation on the basis that tourists from other population centers would become able to visit it, no examples of this having happened were found in the literature.

¹⁴ Butler (1980) seemed to refer to this as an "asymptotic curve" on the basis that, as the destination developed, it would eventually reach a point where supply elements could not expand further. He left unclear which aspects of supply he was referring to. In his original figure, Butler drew two lines running parallel to the x-axis, and called the area in between them the "critical range of elements of capacity." These lines included the consolidation and stagnation stages of the model. The inference is thus that there are two asymptotes, represented by each of the parallel lines. The line above the stagnation stage of the curve would be the true asymptote.

¹⁵ Hussey (1986) also demonstrated that horizontal transfer of capital had occurred in Kuta Beach, Bali. Tourism began when Australians looking for a new place to surf discovered the

village. As their numbers began to increase, local residents at different economic levels raised capital through selling fishing boats or land outside of the village in order to raise cash to construct small scale hotels (*losmen*) or open restaurants or souvenir shops.

¹⁶ In an overview that focused mostly on European towns (and did not discuss life cycle stages), Pearce (1981) noted that destinations could be divided into "integrated" or "catalytic" categories. This essentially represents a sub-dividing of inducement. In the "integrated" category, a single entrepreneur would dominate the entire development process. In France, the ski resort of La Grande Plagne, and the marina developments at Port Grimaud and Marines de Cogolin were used as the best examples. In other cases, a developer might start the overall process but would not be able to assert monopoly control. This would create "catalytic" development if the community or other developers further expanded facilities. Again for France, the ski resort at Vars and the spa town of Gréoux-les-Bains were considered to be examples of this type. Overall, these several examples from the literature indicate that the induced path to development is complex. It is not simply a polar opposite to an organic form.

CHAPTER 4

WHAT ? NO BEACH ?

Appropriate to geography, this first chapter on Kona's tourist resources focuses on the physical environment. Nineteenth century tourists found much to experience within it. The enormous volcanoes, the rarefied air on their upper slopes, and the magnificent forest filled with tree ferns delighted these visitors. But since World War II tourists have often arrived in the "resort" town of Kailua expecting to find something else: a stretch of beach like Waikiki, where they can be lazy while getting a tan. Then they discover Kailua has but one small beach, and that all the rest in Kona are also small and are hard to reach. This can be difficult to accept, and sunlust tourists ponder why they're spending time in a Hawaiian town with no beaches. They leave without exploring Kona, unaware of other environmental pleasures. However, these pleasures are also not easy to get to, anymore. There is little public land in Kona, but many fences. The cry of denial chosen as the chapter title is thus broadly applicable to this resource category. Kona's environment today is mainly off-limits to tourists.

This chapter, and the next three, are substantive, in that the theoretical categories of resources were induced from the case literature and field observation, and then explicated through use of examples. The discussion of resource type begins with a regional description. Here, Kona's physical environment is first described, then the properties of it that were considered notable by travelers are discussed. The dual intent has been to merge the regional and systematic geography approaches, and to get at "place as process" by showing how the perception of environmental features has changed over time..

KONA'S ENVIRONMENTAL RESOURCES

The first, and major, portion of the chapter focuses on the resource typology that was induced (Figure 4.1). For each of the six major sub-types, discussion is in two parts. First, a physiographic overview provides regional context. ("Scenery" deviates from this structure by having no initial discussion on physiography.) A substantive section, using travel literature, next

describes how tourists have experienced the specific environmental features included in the sub-type.¹ It is these particular features which have been assembled into types, which in turn constitute the resource typology that was developed in Chapter 2. The discussion of each particular feature attempts to show how its perceived value as a tourist resource has changed over time. With respect to the resource diamond model, such chronological treatment interprets how individual environmental elements have changed in terms of their "quality" categories (how feature have changed from "attractions" to "neutral elements," to "irritants," etc.). The chapter concludes with a summary for the category as a whole; this includes a discussion on current levels of resource availability and quality.

<p>TOPOGRAPHY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mountains • Lava Flows and Tubes • Beaches • Anchialine Ponds 	<p>CLIMATE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upland • Purity • Coastal • Tradewinds 	<p>FLORA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forest • Tree Ferns • Endangered species and ecosystems
<p>FAUNA</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bullock Hunting • Game Hunting • Native Birds 	<p>OCEAN ENVIRONMENT</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reef Topography • Reef/Nearshore Animals • Game Fishing • Whales 	<p>SCENERY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inland, from the sea • Mountains, from shore • Lowlands, from on high

Figure 4.1 Kona's environmental resources, at the substantive level.

TOPOGRAPHY

As a region of an island within the Hawaiian chain, Kona owes its existence to the hot spot lying underneath the Pacific Plate. This hot spot, also known as a "melting anomaly," has been located at the same approximate site on the aesthenosphere for at least 70 million years (Walker 1990, 25). Vying with Iceland for being the most productive on the planet at this time, the Hawaiian hot spot has been responsible for thousands of eruptions that have pushed molten material up about 60 km through the earth's crust and created the island chain through the development of shield volcanoes (Walker 1990b, 316).

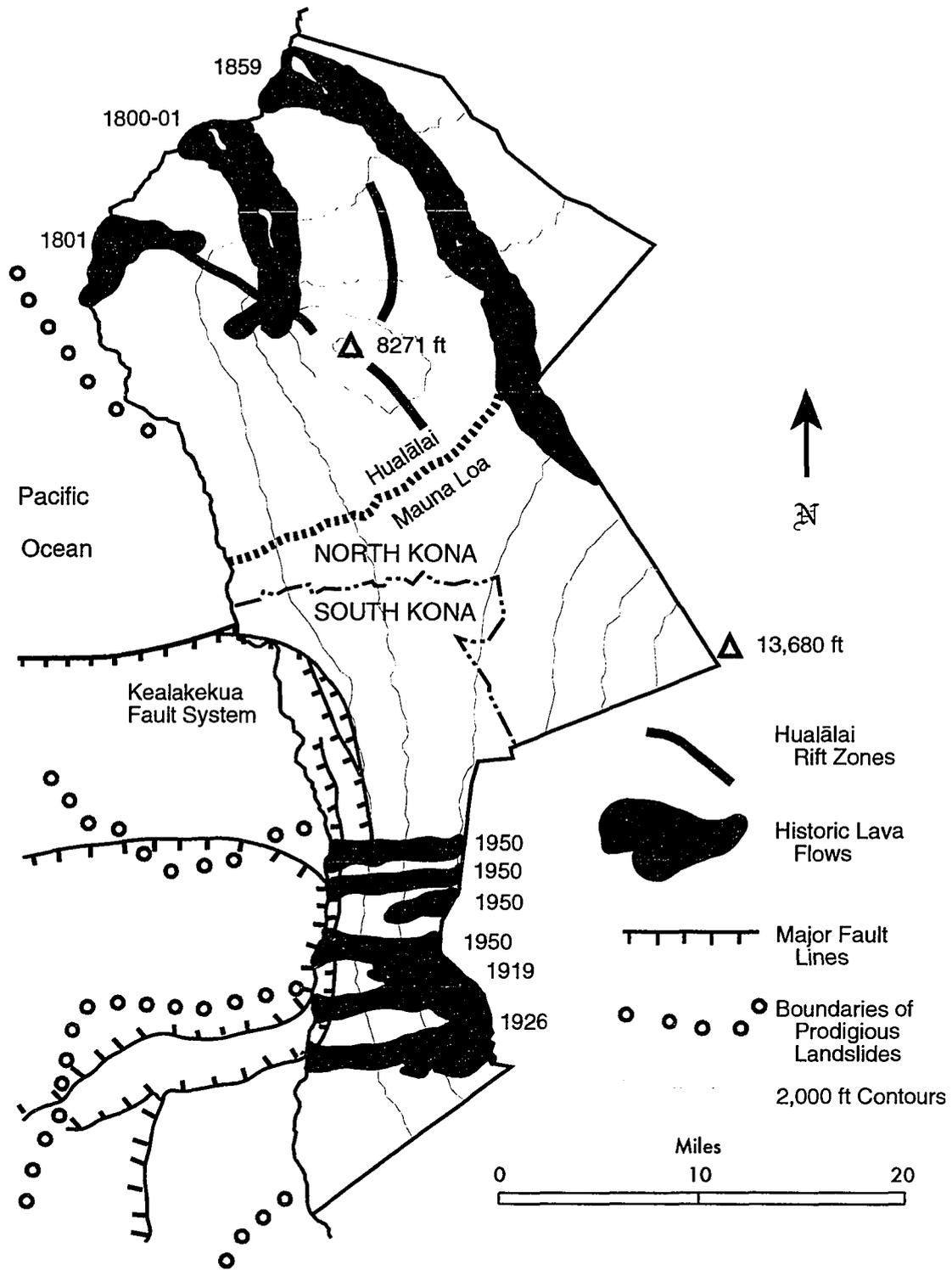


Figure 4.2 Important geologic features of Kona.

Sources: Walker (1990, 315); Fornari (1987, 126); Peterson and Moore (1987, 156).

The topography within the borders of Kona is formed almost entirely of lava from just two of the five shield volcanoes on the Big Island: Hualālai and Mauna Loa.² The slopes of Hualālai constitute the majority of the area of North Kona (Figure 4.2). This volcano, 8,271 feet in height, dominates the landscape of central and northern North Kona. It is considered to have passed through the "shield-building" stage when volcanoes attain most of their size. It is now in the "post-shield" stage, when the type of lava that is extruded forms an alkali cap on the mountain.³ Numerous large craters, products of these recent alkali cap-building eruptions, dot the summit and are clearly visible from sea level. Based on past flow rates, the mountain can hardly be said to be extinct. It has erupted about 200 times in the past 10,000 years and flows from the last 13,000 years cover 95% of the surface of the volcano (Peterson and Moore 1987, 185). There have been seven eruptions within the past 2,100 years (Walker 1990b, 331). Most of these have been from the northwest rift zone, and flows from this zone have built a large delta that has extended the boundaries of the island to the west. The newness of these flows have given the topography in much of North Kona a raw, rugged quality. The last eruption occurred in 1800–01;⁴ it filled in a large bay and destroyed a productive Hawaiian fish pond.⁵

At 13,680 feet in height, and 2,035 square miles in area (Stearns 1985, 143),⁶ Mauna Loa is by far the larger volcano. It is considered to be in the shield-building stage, however the entire massif is subsiding at such a fast rate that it may have nearly attained its maximum height. In the historical period eruptions have occurred generally every 5–10 years and flows since 1843 have covered about 14% of the surface area (Lockwood and Lipman 1987, 513). Flows that have traveled downhill and extended South Kona land into the sea have emerged from the southwest rift zone, at an elevation of between 2,500 and 3,000 meters. In the historical era, flows from this rift zone have reached South Kona in 1919, 1926 and 1950 (Figure 4.2). The 1926 flow destroyed the village of Hō'opūloa. The 1859 flow emerged from northwest of the summit and traveled over forty miles along the north side of Hualālai, eventually reaching the ocean and creating new land at the north end of Kona dominates the landscape of central and northern North Kona. It is considered to have passed through Kīholo Bay.

A striking feature of the Kona's volcanic topography is the steep slope of the land. This begins behind Kailua town on Hualālai flows, and extends south beyond Kealahou Bay into

Ka'u on Mauna Loa flows. The land rises steeply and quickly reaches elevations of over 2,000 feet within two-to-three miles of the coast. The probable cause of this slope seems to have been huge landslides that occurred from the inherently unstable nature of large volcanic edifices (Moore et al. 1989, 17,477; Walker 1990, 325).⁷ (Figure 4.2 shows the major fault lines as they extend out to sea.) The angle is so steep that the summit of Mauna Loa, though 13,680 feet above sea level, is mostly hidden from view of people standing at the shoreline.

The land-creating forces of Kona's volcanoes are countered by the erosive forces of the Pacific Ocean, resulting in a distinctive set of shoreline features. The entire Kona coastline has been described in great detail (Nolan and Cheney 1981 and 1981b). Where it meets the sea the land is typically rugged, forming flat basalt benches or cliffs. On the Hualālai lava delta the prevailing form is lava bench. The lava rises abruptly one or two feet from the ocean surface, and is level inland for some distance. The bench is usually wave-washed and may contain extensive deposits of white sand or coral fragments behind the shoreline which were thrown up during storms. Basalt cliffs, less than 20 feet high, do occur in this area, most were formed where the 1959 Mauna Loa flow and the 1800–01 Hualālai flows have entered the ocean.

South of Keauhou Bay cliffs occur more frequently than benches. This results from the generally higher slopes descending from the southwest rift zone of Mauna Loa to the ocean. Nearly the entire South Kona coastline is very rugged. Breakers crash white against the black lava for miles. Sea caves are common. In areas of high cliffs, lava tubes opening out above the ocean are conspicuous. Three littoral cinder cones make prominent landmarks. One of these, Pu'u Ohau, is 230 feet in elevation and forms the border between North and South Kona. Sea arches occur at Moinui and Keananui'onaha Points. The Pali Kapu o Keōua fault scarp rises vertically out of the ocean for hundreds of feet at Kealakekua Bay, then, inland, rises still further. Southward, other fault lines running parallel to the coast are visible as high palis, with large areas of slumped land underneath (see Figure 4.2). Lava from three historic Mauna Loa flows has reached the sea in five places. The "First Flow" ("Honokua") of the 1950 eruption created cliffs 300 feet high.

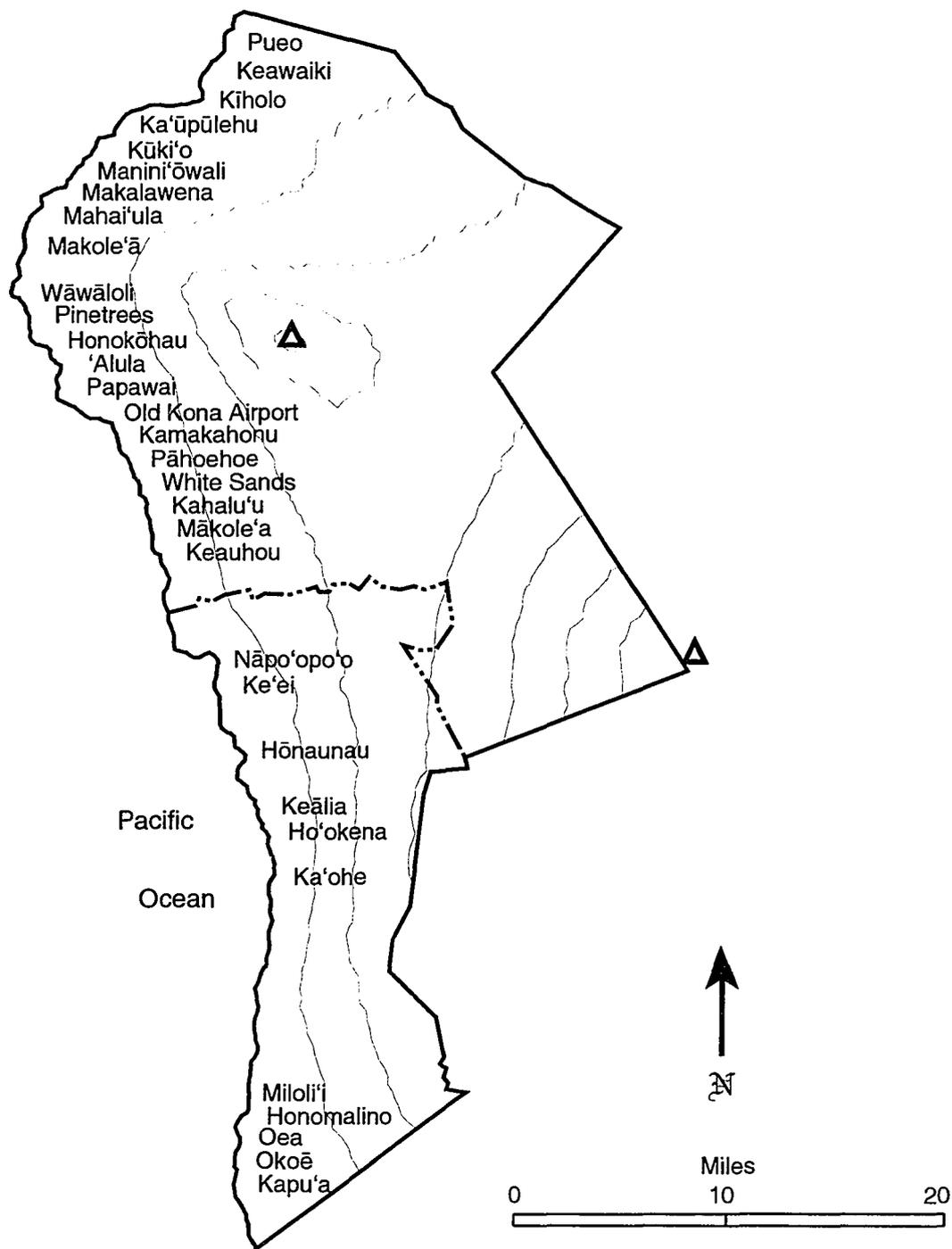


Figure 4.3 Beaches in Kona.

Compiled from Clark (1985) and Nolan and Chaney (1981).

A tabulation utilizing the works of Nolan and Cheney (1981a and 1981b) and Clark (1985) indicates that there are at least 45 spots where the shoreline in Kona is made of black or white sand, coral fragments or rubble, cobblestones or boulders, or sand deposits upon a lava bench, and which therefore may be defined as "beaches". Many of these are simply small pockets in an otherwise unbroken line of bench and cliff coastline. Thirty-two which might be considered the major beaches have been mapped in Figure 4.3.⁸ A count indicates that about two-thirds are located in North Kona; not quite this fraction occur at the edge of Hualālai flows.

Continued expansion of the island's land borders from eruptions has occurred in Kona; most of the land at the water's edge is less than 5,000 years old (see Lockwood and Lipman 1987, 519 and Moore et al. 1987, 574). The Big Island has also undergone high rates of subsidence, as mentioned above; this has prevented the development of extensive coral reefs. In spite of these factors, beaches of white sand are more typical in Kona than black sand. North Kona in particular has excellent beaches of fine white sand located in nearly pristine settings. Unfortunately, many of Kona's best beaches are located some distance from Kailua town. Most are inaccessible without a four-wheel drive vehicle and by gaining permission to cross private property. This has posed a problem for residents and tourists, and over the decades has been a major constraint to the expansion of the tourist industry.

The most unusual feature of the Kona coastline may be the anchialine ponds that occur there.⁹ During the past 20 years or so these ponds have gained importance because of the discovery that, although small, they contained ecosystems with unique biotic assemblages. Several types of animals have evolved into new species; three endemic shrimp species, as well as two endemic mollusks and one endemic moray eel have been discovered. Several of the large ponds, particularly 'Opae'ula and Honokōhau also have importance as wetlands for endangered Hawaiian water birds, such as the Hawaiian stilt, coot, and duck (US Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife 1970, np).

Visitors to Kona going all the way back to Cook's expedition have commented on Kona's topographic features. The discussion will now focus on their perceptions and experiences.

Hualālai mountain rises dramatically behind Kailua town, and "standing quite alone it makes a fine landmark" (McSpadden 1939, 116). It is the third highest peak on the island. But this lack of status as an "extreme"—it is not "the tallest" peak on the island—seems to have prevented the volcano from being appreciated. Twain was one of the first to notice this. After reaching the coast of the Big Island in a schooner from Honolulu, he commented: "Two of its high mountains were in view—Mauna Loa and Hualālai. The latter is an imposing peak, but being only ten thousand feet high is seldom mentioned or heard of. Mauna Loa is fourteen thousand feet high" (Twain 1966, 201). This lack of attention has been in spite of the fact that "it is hardly inferior in beauty to its two rivals, Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea" (Chaney 1879, 202).

Hualālai has been climbed by visitors, both on foot and on horseback, but not very often and not much lately. Menzies was the first visitor to reach the summit, during Vancouver's third visit to Hawai'i in 1794. He described the view of the Kona coast below as one "over which the eye could eagerly wander without weariness, and continue imparting to the mind new felt pleasures" (Menzies 1920, 160). He and his party spent two days on the summit, exploring the different craters and cinder cones, sleeping in caves at night. In the 1870s, both Bird (1966) and Chaney (1879) spent some days living on the mountain with sheep ranchers, while Jack and Charmian London (1917) stayed with cattle ranch owners in 1907. These writers described their activities, particularly horseback riding, as very enjoyable, though the ride to the summit was over lava flows that were difficult country for a horse to traverse.¹⁰

In the 1960s, Hualālai became the center of attention when the US National Park Service floated plans to extend Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park to the west. These called for an inclusion into the park of 110,000 acres of land on the summit of Hualālai and on the saddle between that mountain and Mauna Loa (HTH 1967d, 4). The basis for the plan was the exceptional quality of the volcanic landscape, as well as the existence of other historical and botanical features (Ketchum 1969b, 16; HTH 1968b, 1). This large area of Kona was considered to be "definitely national park quality" (HTH 1967d, 4, citing Bill Harthorn, Dep. Dir., National Park Service). However, the idea for opening up the summit and saddle of Hualālai as part of the National Park faded during 1970.¹¹ Since this time Hualālai has been virtually inaccessible as a

resource to visitors, although small numbers of hunters obtain permission to travel over some of the privately-held ranch lands (Alan 1970, 1; 1970b, 1).

Even less use has been made by visitors of Mauna Loa as a resource, at least on the Kona side. Generally considered to be the largest mountain in the world (McDonald and Abbott 1970, 54), Mauna Loa's identity as a visual landmark suffers from an unusual problem: a low profile. The height of the volcano is relatively low compared to its width and length. Clerke, sailing on Cook's expedition, was one of the first to notice this. Speaking of both Mauna Loa and Mauna Kea, he noted: "the great altitude of these snow Peaks was by no means striking to the eye, I suppose from the vast base they stood upon" (Clerke 1967, 591). Not quite a century later, Cracroft (cited in Korn 1958, 66) observed while sailing up the Kona coast: "Mauna Loa is ever the same, a huge round mass." Consequently, many visitors have thought its elevation lower than it really is; only the presence of snow on the summit forced them to think otherwise.

Mauna Loa also has not been perceived by many visitors as an object suitable for recreational activity. The mountain's great dimensions, and the many recent, voluminous lava flows at its upper levels, have combined to make access to its summit extremely difficult, particularly from the Kona side. King reported the experience of several members of Cook's expedition who tried to hike to the top. After struggling through the forest for two days, they reached a vantage point from where they could see the summit. Their Hawaiian guides told them there was "no path on this side of the Island to get to it, & that the road both to this & to the other Snowy mountain was on the NW side" (King 1967, 523). This state of access seems to have remained unchanged since.¹² People who have wanted to reach the summit have gone by foot, horse and (part way by) car from Hilo, Puna and Ka'u, but not from Kona. Thus Mauna Loa's status as a resource for tourism is unusual: its scale is so much larger than human that people don't seem to quite know how to use it.¹³

While Kona's volcanoes have not been widely perceived or used as tourist resources, the lava they emitted has been considered interesting to visitors in a variety of ways. First, the sequential layering of flows that built up the island produces a ground surface that is unusual. Visitors such as Twain and Stevenson have been stimulated to describe this phenomena: "This

lava is the accumulation of ages; one torrent of fire after another has rolled down here in old times, and built up the island structure higher and higher" (Twain 1966, 212–13).

The surface of a lava flow itself is also unique. Morrill, traveling south from Waimea, described an a'ā flow in North Kona: "The region of lava formation looked as if we were traveling in another planet. The moraine seemed like coffee grounds and chunks of broken chocolate" (Morrill 1919, 99). About three decades earlier, Burnett expressed his heightened interest in the sight of lava flows at Ho'okena: "As far as the eye could reach, up and down and along the mountain sides, broad stretches of exposed lava could be seen, in some cases recently expelled, glistening and shining in the sun, like acres of black paint or varnish, and covering miles in every direction" (Burnett 1892, 204–5). Faris was intrigued by the differing rate of decomposition of the different lava flows in Kona. He observed with interest that a flow can remain "in its frozen form for centuries," but that a different one might be recolonized fairly quickly by plant species (Faris 1929, 315–16).

Eruptions that have occurred historically are generally of greater interest to visitors than older, prehistoric flows, even if not personally witnessed. The violent and voluminous Hualālai eruption of 1800–01 produced several flows down the northwest rift zone.¹⁴ Lucy Thurston, wife of one of the original missionaries in Kona, learned of the eruption from old time Hawaiian residents. She recounted their descriptions in her memoirs:

On the mountain Hualālai, just back of Kailua, is a large crater. It is now extinct. But our old people tell us of the time in their childhood, when they were aroused from their midnight slumbers, to see red hot balls hurled into the air from out of the crater on this mountain. Torrents of molten lava flowed from crater to coast, extended the shore farther out into the sea, and encrusted the surface of the earth, besides leaving an abundance of large loose scoriae, tossed about in every direction. (Thurston 1934, 32)

This eruption became legendary; Hawaiian stories recount how no amount of porcine sacrifices could stop it from destroying their fishponds, that only after Kamehameha cut a lock of his hair and threw it into the flow did volcanic activity desist (Morrill 1919, 100). At least two legends concerning the Hawaiian volcano goddess, Pele, exist in relation to this flow (Faris 1929, 292–3).¹⁵

Hualālai has now been dormant for nearly two centuries, but this has not been the case for Mauna Loa. Isabella Bird was staying at one of the sheep ranches on the upper slopes of

Hualālai during one of the periods when Moku'āweoweo Crater on the summit of Mauna Loa was active. She commented that the volcano was "throbbing with internal fires," and "When darkness came on, our great camp fire was hardly redder than the glare from the volcano." Eventually, she "was kept awake all night by the magnificence of the light on the volcano" (Bird 1966, 256).

Mauna Loa has also produced several flows within Kona during the historic era. The 1859 flow emerged from a cone over 11,000 feet in elevation on the northwest slope near the summit, then flowed over 40 miles to the northwest, eventually reaching the ocean at Pueo Bay. Bird, riding through the forests on the north slope of Hualālai, emerged from the "thick scrub" at the edge of this flow. She found a flow "broken into streams in our vicinity, but on the whole, presenting an iridescent uphill expanse a mile wide." Scrambling up it, she found it to be "heaped in great surges of a fierce black, fiercely reflecting the torrid sun, cracked, and stained yellow and white, and its broad glistening surface forms an awful pathway to the dome-like crest of Mauna Loa" (all quotes from Bird 1966, 255–6).

Other flows from Mauna Loa have emerged from the southwest rift zone. This area of the mountain has been highly active; several other flows have also coursed through the southern and western sections of Ka'u district. For visitors traveling to Kona via the southern route, these flows have created a sub-regional landscape with a unique identity. Over the past century, this area has been one of Kona's most important topographic resources for tourists.¹⁶ Anderson (1864, 142–3), traveling by horseback on the recently completed government road found "These scenes were novel and interesting."¹⁷ Arriving half a century later, Morrill noted that some people thought this area was more impressive than Kīlauea itself. He cited Milton on the nature of Hell, then stated these flows were "hell dried up." He summed up his opinion with the statement: "This is Kau's masterpiece, worth a trip around the world" (all citations from Morrill 1919, 23).¹⁸ Traveling through in the late 1920s, Faris echoed Morrill's sentiments: "There is strange fascination in this region of death and desolation. There is no monotony. Here the lava has come down like a river, there it is cast up in blocks like broken ice on the edge of a stream." These flows were hardly beautiful to him: "Yet repulsive as those vast mountainsides of shoe-destroying clinkers are, there is something scenically striking about them" (both quotes from

Faris 1929, 316). More recently, Chegaray, a French film producer, noted in his narrative the signs placed along the road telling the years of the lava flows: 1823, 1865, 1907, 1926. He concluded: "These were the great years...the great vintages" of Mauna Loa (Chegaray 1957, 84

One eruption of Mauna Loa, which produced the 1926 flow, has been especially memorable in Kona for destroying Ho'ōpūloa village. Franck traveled through the district in the 1930s, while the memories of destruction were still fresh. He noted that the offerings left by the Hawaiian residents did not appease Pele:

but alas! The pig was doubly well roasted but was a total loss...for the last surge of the flow buried the offering, wiped out the village, Catholic church, fishponds and all, and carried hissing out into the sea. Fishermen flocked to the spot to gather the perfectly cooked fish that came floating to the surface. (Franck 1937, 43)

One final feature of Mauna Loa's lava flows has been commented upon. This was the "lava waterfall," located just south of the Place of Refuge. Twain (1966, 255), referring to this as a "great natural curiosity," explained what it was:

Some old forgotten volcanic eruption sent its broad river of fire down the mountainside here, and it poured down in a great torrent from an overhanging bluff some fifty feet high to the ground below. The flaming torrent cooled in the winds from the sea, and remains there today, all seamed and frothed and rippled—a petrified Niagara. It is very picturesque, and withal so natural that one might almost imagine it still flowed. (Twain 1966, 255)

This site was mainly of interest in the 19th century. No references by 20th century visitors could be found, though the formation still exists and is accessible to the public.¹⁹

In addition to the general vulcanicity of Kona, its volcanic origin has produced some smaller scale topographic features that have been interesting to tourists. The presence of lava tubes—central channels in a lava flow which ultimately empty out as the eruption ceases and there is no longer any source material—has interested tourists since the time of western contact. Clerke (1967, 591), travelling with, Cook noted: "Here are numberless Caverns in the bowels of the Earth." Lava tubes are typically visible as caves in cliffs; Stevenson (1973, 7) commented upon this aspect of Kona's landscape: "The mouths of caves are everywhere; the lava is tunneled with corridors and halls; under houses high on the mountain the sea can be heard throbbing in the bowels of the land, and there is one gallery of miles which has been used by armies as a

pass." The Kealakekua pali (Pali Kapu o Keōua) is studded with lava tubes that have attracted visitors' attention since the early days.²⁰

One cave in particular has been rather famous in Kona—Laniākea Cave in Kailua. Ellis' missionary exploration party of 1823 explored this cave, hoping (unsuccessfully) to find a fresh water source for the mission station in Kona. Ellis noted the party walked nearly 1,200 feet from the cave entrance towards the sea, when their progress was finally halted by a pool of brackish water that rose and fell with the tide. At this point, the Hawaiian porters who had accompanied them:

plunged in, extending their torches with one hand, and swimming about with the other. The partially illuminated heads of the natives, splashing about in this subterranean lake; the reflection of the torch-light on its agitated surface; the frowning sides and lofty arch of the black vault, hung with lava, that had cooled in every imaginable shape...produced a singular effect; and it would have required but little aid from the fancy, to have imagined a resemblance between this scene and the fabled Stygian lake of the poets. (Ellis 1927, 42–3)

The Thurstons and Bishops, early missionaries in Kona, sometimes took people into the cave. These trips in effect helped make this cave a tourist attraction during much of the 19th century. Not many references to it exist after 1900, however.²¹

The vulcanicity of Kona's topography is ever-present. Beaches, the feature so necessary to some tourists, are a distinctly secondary landscape phenomena. They do exist; Clark (1985) has described Kona's numerous pocket and storm beaches that are in between or on top of the lava bench. And they have had their champions. Several decades ago, Inouye extolled the virtues of Kona's beaches. She emphasized that they were not "tourist-infested", as was Waikiki! Noting they were "little known to the continental traveler," Inouye luringly advised "travelers of all ages" that "the Kona coast with its dulcet-voiced emerald water and its winsome coves still wields an age-less enchantment" (all quotes from Inouye 1925, 28–9). However, there is little evidence from tourist memoirs of the time that her advice was heeded because many of Kona's finest beaches were, and to a lesser extent still are, inaccessible to visitors.

Since the 1950s, several of Kona's more accessible beaches have become popular with visitors. These include White (Disappearing) Sands, Kahalu'u Beach Park, Nāp'opo'o Beach and Kamakahonu Beach.²² The location and features of these beaches are now discussed in

most guide books. In spite of this, the general lack of beaches, particularly in the near vicinity of Kailua town, has posed a severe resource handicap in the development of the tourism industry.²³ Guidebook writers frequently take pains to point out that Kona is not really a beach resort, along the lines of Waikiki or Kā'anapali, Maui. As suggested in the chapter title however, tourists often have the impression that all of Hawai'i's coastline is beach, and are startled to find this isn't the case. A common question put to the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau office staff in Kailua is: "Where's the beach?" They are often unhappy to hear the good ones are located some distance out of town.²⁴

After Queen Ka'ahumanu highway opened between Kailua and Kawaihae, Kona's beaches have been eclipsed by those in South Kohala, particularly at 'Anaeho'omalu Bay, and at Hāpuna Beach and Spencer Beach parks. These beaches are somewhat larger than any in Kona, and are close to the upscale resorts that have been built there.

Lastly, anchialine ponds have not yet been recognized as a distinctive resource for tourism in Kona. This is mainly due to isolation; most are located along stretches of coastline that are inaccessible to tourists. Most, however, are probably not fit to become tourist resources. The ecological sensitivity of anchialine ponds—both of aquatic life and bird life along the shore—contraindicates their being visited by many people. In general, they have a deterrent level of quality. Anchialine pond preservation has been a controversial component of resort development in South Kohala. At this time, a group of ponds in the resort district of Waikoloa has been preserved and are well marked, and has become an attraction for the resort.²⁵

CLIMATE

Surrounded by the vast Pacific Ocean, lying mostly within 20° of the equator, the Big Island shares many of the equable features of the tropics with the rest of the State. Kona's climate, however, is distinctive with respect to both the Big Island and other kona districts on the neighbor islands.

The most important climatic influence is the great height of the Kohala, Mauna Kea and Hualālai volcanoes, and the saddle areas between them. This elevated land mass blocks the

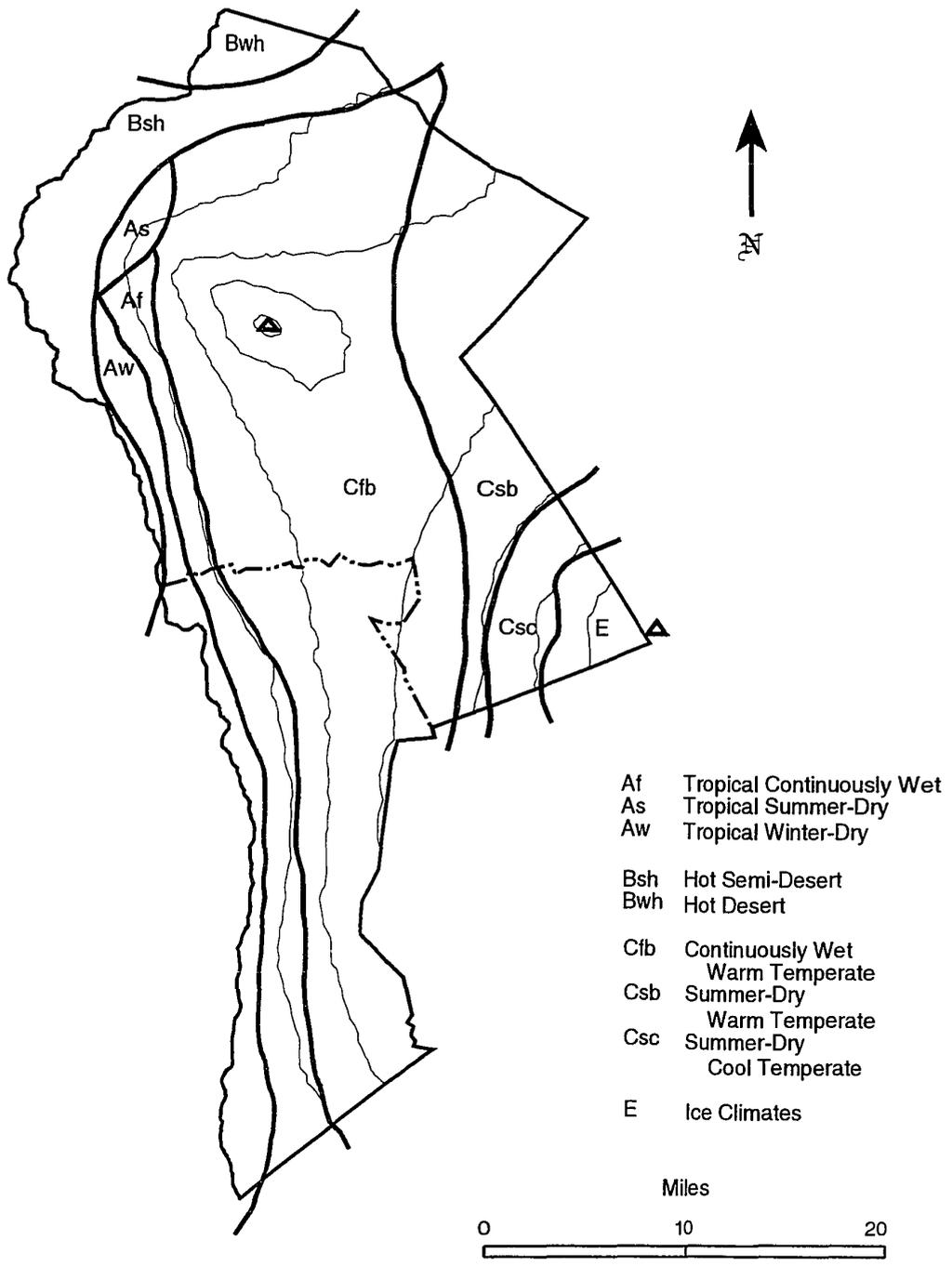


Figure 4.4 Köppen Climate Zones in Kona.
 Redrawn from Juvik et al. (1978, 131-2).

passage of the northeast trade winds that predominate over the island chain, preventing them from reaching Kona.²⁶ Without the trade winds, a diurnal "localized land-sea breeze regime" comes into existence, the only place in the state where this occurs (Juvik et al. 1978, 131). Cool air rises up the western slopes of Hualālai and Mauna Loa during the day as the temperature increases, then descends at night as it cools. This air "drifts" (Blumenstock 1961, 2) up and down the slopes; it seldom attains sufficient force to be called a "breeze."

This distinctive daily movement of air has important effects on Kona's weather.²⁷ First, late morning and early afternoon cloudiness often results when rising water vapor condenses. The sight of clouds spreading from the mountains out over the sea is common, particularly south of Hualālai along the coastline. Second, sufficient moisture often condenses to produce afternoon showers. This occurs most commonly in the summer, and thus Kona is the only place in Hawai'i where rainfall is greater in the summer than the winter (*Hawai'i Solar and Weather Information* 1980, 14).

Because rainfall in Kona is predominantly determined by orographic conditions, the amount that falls over the course of a year at a given location is to a great extent a function of elevation. Giambelluca, Nullet and Schroeder (1986, 34) have gathered and analyzed precipitation data for Kona. Their research indicates that maximum annual precipitation exceeds 2,000 mm (not quite 80 inches) in three small areas located south of Hualālai between 2,000–3,000 feet in elevation. Rainfall levels decrease quickly with distance from these pockets, creating narrow zones running roughly parallel to the coastline. Land less than five miles away, either inland or towards the sea, typically receives half, or less, of the maximum.

Temperatures within Kona are similar to other parts of the Big Island and the State, thus the seasonal temperature ranges tend to be smaller than the diurnal ranges.²⁸ At Kailua, for example, the average monthly high temperatures range is between 80–85° F, while the average lows fall between 60–70° F (*Atlas of Hawai'i* 1973, 58). The adiabatic lapse rate of 5.5° F per 1,000 feet means, however, that mauka towns, located at about 1,500 feet elevation, are noticeably cooler than coastline areas. At still higher elevations, this lapse rate permits ground frost to potentially occur year round.²⁹

Juvik et al. (1978 , 131–2) utilized data for rainfall and temperature to construct a climatic zone map for the Big Island based on the Köppen classification system. Figure 4.4 reproduces the climatic zones they found to exist within Kona. This map shows that a startlingly wide range of micro-climatic conditions exists within the North and South Kona districts. All four of the major Köppen zones are found. Tropical climates (A types) begin on the western flank of Hualālai and extend southward parallel to the coastline. Three sub-types are represented, including the rare As climate.³⁰ Two types of desert climates (Bsh and Bwh) are located in North Kona, mostly north of Kailua town but also stretching south in an extremely narrow band. Three sub-types of temperate zone climate (Cfb, Csb and Csc) are located in the high elevation saddle areas and on the upper slopes of Hualālai and Mauna Loa. Finally, near the summit of Mauna Loa, a true arctic climate (E type) exists. Thus Kona's climate encompasses a range of extremes, from "continuously wet," to "hot desert," to "periglacial." This wide range indicates the powerful influence of the local topography on temperature and precipitation.

Visitors to Kona have found its climate to be pleasant for well over a century. Depending on when they have visited Kona, however, tourists have typically found different climate zones most appealing. This has meant that tourists have preferred to stay in different locations within Kona during different eras. Furthermore, the pureness of the air, and the lack of tradewinds have also been properties of the climate considered to be resources by visitors.

Early visitors to Kona, between 1779 to about 1829, were noticeably silent on the topic of climate. The only comment that was found on the quality of the coastal climate (where these visitors spent their time) was made by Portlock (1968, 65), who complained that the "close and sultry air" of Kealakekua Bay could potentially spoil the freshly killed pork meat before it could be salted. Those who explored the mauka regions behind the coast noted the remarkably cool nights required two blankets (see King 1967, 533; Ledyard 1963, 121; Wilkes 1970, 99). Menzies (1920, 77–8), exploring this area during Vancouver's second expedition, did make the comment that "the climate in this elevated region appeared to us exceedingly mild and pleasant."

Although Lucy Thurston wrote that in Kailua "The mercury seldom stands higher than 84°, or lower than 60°," and that "The climate is soft and delicious" (Thurston 1934, 83), the consensus of other missionaries and visitors later came closer to Menzies' opinion that the cool,

wetter mauka regions had the best climate. Bishop (1916, 14) noted: "The contrast is immense and delicious between the arid heat of the shore, and the moist cool greenness of the near-by upland"; by the 1830s the mission station at Ka'awaloa had been moved up the mountain. At that location, visitors such as Anderson (1865, 130) would comment that the missionary Paris was fortunate to have "the best of climates" from which to proselytize.³¹ Decades later, Whitney would stay with a descendent who owned a hotel near the old mission home. According to her, the "cool mountain air" was still one of the main attractions of Kona (Whitney 1907, 13).

Throughout the latter half of the 19th century and into the 20th, the opinion predominated that the coastal zone of Kona was too hot. Visitors preferred the milder upland climate where local residents were then living, growing coffee and/or operating ranches. This seemed particularly true for visitors who had just reached land after traveling over the ocean by ship (see Barnes n.d., 25). Twain, arriving by schooner off Kailua, looked up at the summit of Mauna Loa and commented: "The rays of glittering snow and ice, that clasped its summit like a claw, looked refreshing when viewed from the blistering climate we were in" (Twain 1966, 201).³² Charmian London passed on the belief of the resident Dr. Goodhue, who from the heights of Hōlualoa village (about 1,200 feet in elevation), proclaimed: "Few of us Anglo-Saxons are so made as to thrive in the tropic spots like Kailua yonder...no matter how beautiful they may be." She noted Jack London echoed this opinion, saying Hōlualoa had a "matchless equable climate"; it was a "white man's climate" (London 1917, 204).

This preference for the cooler mountain areas only began to change after the first major hotel, the Kona Inn, was built at the shore in Kailua in 1928.³³ This was the major hotel for tourists for three decades afterwards, and semi-promotional articles were written from the vantage point of tourists who were spending their days relaxing along the shoreline at this particular hotel. The climatic features promoted were: "350 days of sun" and "soft, cool days with gentle breezes coming off the Pacific" (Doyle 1957, 22–41). Of course, since World War II, the tastes of modern tourists have favored hot, dry, sunny climates, and hotels have been placed along the shoreline in Kona since. Change in taste with respect to temperature has thus meant a complete change in the parts of Kona favored by tourists.

A second resource-related aspect of Kona's climate concerned air purity. A major reason for travel during the 19th century was to improve one's health, particularly lung problems. The healthiness of the Kona Hawaiian population was noted as early as the 1850s by Hill (1856, 207).³⁴ By the late 1870s, Kona seems to have had a reputation as a place for invalids to improve their health; Chaney (1879, 189) mentioned that he had met several living there. Thrum's *Annual* (1889, 51) contained a short article noting that Kona was "remarkable for the salubrity of its climate, affected largely through the regularity of its land breeze of the night alternating with the sea breeze of the day." Even the US Army (1893, 20–4) asserted that the Kona coast was one of the most healthy places in the island chain, particularly for people with lung problems.

Although some early guide books of Hawai'i mentioned Kona as a good place for invalids to recuperate (Logan 1913, 20; Schnack 1915, 181), Kona never developed as a health destination. Perhaps this was because health-tourism became less important after World War I. Perhaps there was a more localized reason. Crampon (1976, 148) has noted that Hawai'i as a whole was actively being promoted as a health destination in the early 1890s, through the Hawai'i Bureau of Information. However, others quickly began questioning the wisdom of trying to attract this type of tourist. In 1902, the Rothwell-Humburg-Lishman Report was published; this stated local businessmen wanted tourists, but they wanted "the best of the species, the wealthy, the healthy, and the Bohemian, who has money to spend and will spend it" (Crampon 1976, 150). Whatever the reason, no mention was found of Kona as a health resort after World War I. The "great sanitorium" predicted by Logan (1913, 20) was never built.

A final component of Kona's climate that has been a resource to tourists has been the lack of trade winds. As discussed above, these are blocked by the windward massif of the island, and are replaced with an extremely light land and sea breeze that rises up and falls down the mountains. During the 19th century, opinions were mixed as to whether lack of trade winds was good or bad. Bishop, describing life in Kona as a missionary during the 1820s, had this favorable comment on the lack of trade winds: "There are only the sweet land breeze by night, and the cooling sea-breeze by day" (Bishop 1916, 13). London's first impression, however, upon sailing up to Kailua was of "the almost oppressive stillness" (London 1917, 201) there. Bird,

writing from a mauka location, described the absence of trade winds more fully, along with the ambivalent feelings this lack produced in her:

Wind indeed, is a thing unknown. The scarcely audible whisper of soft airs through the trees morning and evening, rain drops falling gently, and the murmur of drowsy surges far below, alone break the stillness. No ripple ever disturbs the great expanse of ocean which gleams through the still, thick trees....No heat, cold, or wind, nothing emphasized or italicized, it is truly a region of endless afternoons, "a land where all things always seem the same." Life is dead, and existence is a languid swoon. (Bird 1964, 250)

In the 20th century, the lack of trade winds in Kona has been perceived more positively. In an early guidebook, Castle noted that the absence of the trades made the climate even more pleasant than in other parts of the Territory. He commented on the effect this had: "On reaching Kona one cannot help feeling a change in the atmosphere that seems to produce a change in the whole aspect of the country" (Castle 1913, 177). Arriving about 20 years later while on a circle-island auto tour, Gessler echoed these sentiments: "But soon we felt we were in a different country." He continued: "One must be insensitive indeed to atmosphere, not to feel the spell of Kona. A haze of enchantment lingers over the land. Time seems to be retarded. It is difficult to remember, here, that a life exists that is regulated by clocks or buzzers or desk buttons. Hour slips unheeded into hour, and day unto day speaks content" (both quotes Gessler 1937, 241–2).

In the period since World War II, as Hawai'i became fully developed as a tourist resort, the qualities discussed so far—temperature, air quality, and trade winds—seem to have been devalued. None of the guidebooks perused for this research mentioned anything about Kona's climate. Instead, the generic Hawaiian climate is always discussed, typically in terms of the needs of tourists; what to wear during particular months of the year, etc. The prevailing tropicality is noted, as is the informality of dress in the local life style. Kona, as a tropical coastal resort, is now generically and anonymously included in these discussions.

FLORA

According to the *Atlas of Hawai'i* (1973, 63) the Hawaiian Island chain is so isolated that before human occupance a new species arrived on the average of only once every 70,000 years. Subsequent adaptation by these successful migrants has produced considerable species evolution. About 99% of the plant species growing at the time of western contact were endemic.

Hawai'i thus has the highest ration of endemic vegetation of any equivalently-sized location on the planet (Jacobi 1990, 46 citing St. John 1973). Over time, distinctive vegetation communities became established throughout the islands. Distribution of species was typically a function of precipitation, though low temperature tolerance became important at higher elevations. Jacobi (1990) has recently produced a comprehensive "potential vegetation" map for the Big Island; providing an indication of what vegetation patterns would have been like had there been no disturbance by humans.³⁵ This map has be redrawn as Figure 4.5 to highlight visual differences in Kona's forest, particularly tree and tree fern species. Above the 2,000 foot contour interval, Jacobi's data indicate that Kona's potential forest would be dominated by four tree species as well as by areas of shrubland. The tree which would dominate the forest most extensively is 'ohi'a lehua (*Metrosideros polymorpha*). South of the summit of Hualālai, forests of 'ohi'a would cover the landscape almost completely between 2,000–4,000 feet. Where rainfall is more frequent, tree ferns, particularly hapu'u (*Cibotium chamissoi*), would be a typical understory plant. In drier areas, such as north of Hualālai, various native shrubs would form the understory of 'ohi'a forests. Between 6,000 and 9,000 feet elevation on the upper slopes of Mauna Loa, 'ohi'a trees would grow in a scattered manner in a landscape dominated by shrubs.

A second important tree, koa (*Acacia koa*), would grow widely throughout Kona, but never to the extent that it would form a type of forest by itself. At lower elevations, mainly south of Hualālai, koa would mix with 'ohi'a. Portions of this forest which have not been degraded (usually at the upper ranges) continue to provide extremely critical habitat for several plant and bird species that are currently endangered. At higher elevations koa would grow together with mamane (*Sophora chrysophylla*).³⁶ Mamane would grow exclusively in large patches on the southern slope of Hualālai, and on the western slope of Mauna Loa, mostly above 6,000 feet. In several remote locations (near the inland borders of Kona with the Hāmākua district), well above 4,000 feet in elevation, mamane trees would grow together with naio (*Myoporum sandwicense*) to create a distinctive type of forest.

Rare ecosystems of mixed forest species (*Osmanthus sandwicensis*, *Myrsine lessertiana*, *Streblus sandwicensis*, *Diospyros ferrea*, etc.) grow north of Hualālai. In more moist areas the

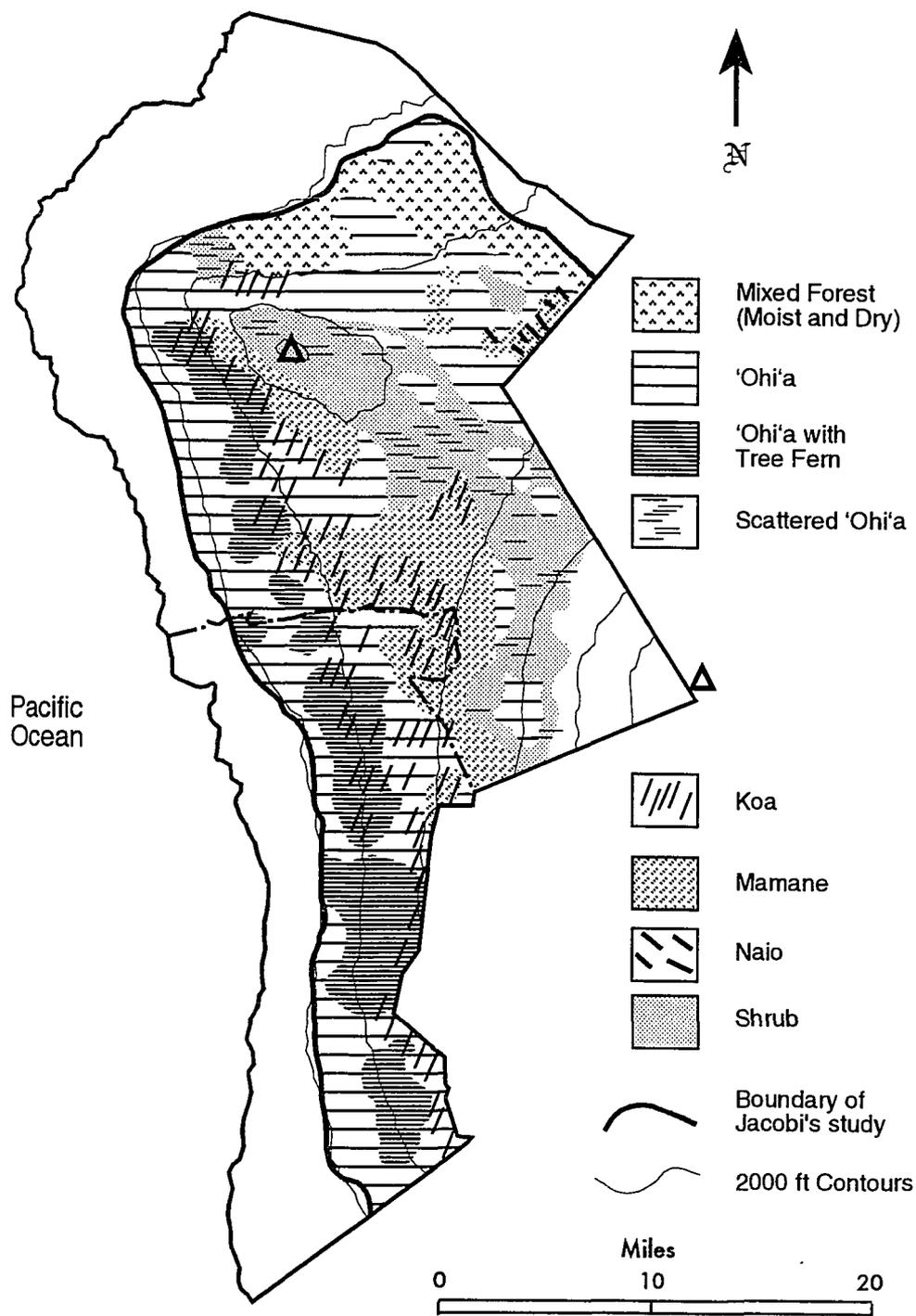


Figure 4.5 Potential vegetation of Kona, based on dominant tree type
 Compiled from Jacobi (1990).

understory would be a combination of ferns and shrubs; these typically would also occur in the understory of 'ohi'a forests, particularly at lower elevations.³⁷

The botanical isolation of Hawai'i partially ended with the arrival of the Polynesian people. Over the centuries, immigrants brought with them about 25 plant species that were useful within the culture. They also utilized portions of the landscape for agriculture, particularly inland from the coastline. This ecosystem modification accelerated with the arrival of western ships and settlers. Several species of ungulates (cattle, goats, horses, game animals) were released into the landscape and large inland areas were later developed by plantation agriculturalists and ranchers. By 1900, the result has been that the native vegetation in all but the most inaccessible areas under 1,500 feet elevation has been replaced by a variety of exotic species. The damage to native ecosystems has continued to the present day. When doing field research Jacobi was able to obtain sufficient data to map areas on the basis of degree of disturbance. This has been redrawn as Figure 4.6. It would seem that about one-third continues to consist primarily of native species, while about two-thirds has been degraded to some extent.

As with climate, the flora of Kona has also changed in value to tourists over time. This has not been due so much to a change in how tourists value flora, as represented by forest plants, but because of changes in modes of transportation. In particular, the value of flora increased when travel by horse replaced foot traffic, but then declined when the automobile replaced the horse.

When the first westerners arrived in Kona they paid little attention to the coastal vegetation, but noticed there was a wide girdle of forest inland, above the areas the Hawaiians had cleared for cultivation. This forest was mainly appreciated from afar. Most visitors stayed along the coastline and, while some hiked up into the Hawaiian garden areas, only a few exploring parties attempted to cross through the woods to the barren lava landscapes surrounding the volcanic summits. Those groups found the going difficult. After reaching the forest zone they were forced to stick to footpaths which the Hawaiians had made. Ledyard (1963, 121-2) called the path "excessively miry"; after it ended "impenetrable thickets... render it impossible to go further." Menzies, the botanist on Vancouver's expedition, was undoubtedly one of the few early visitors who could really appreciate Kona's forest, particular the endemic plants he found

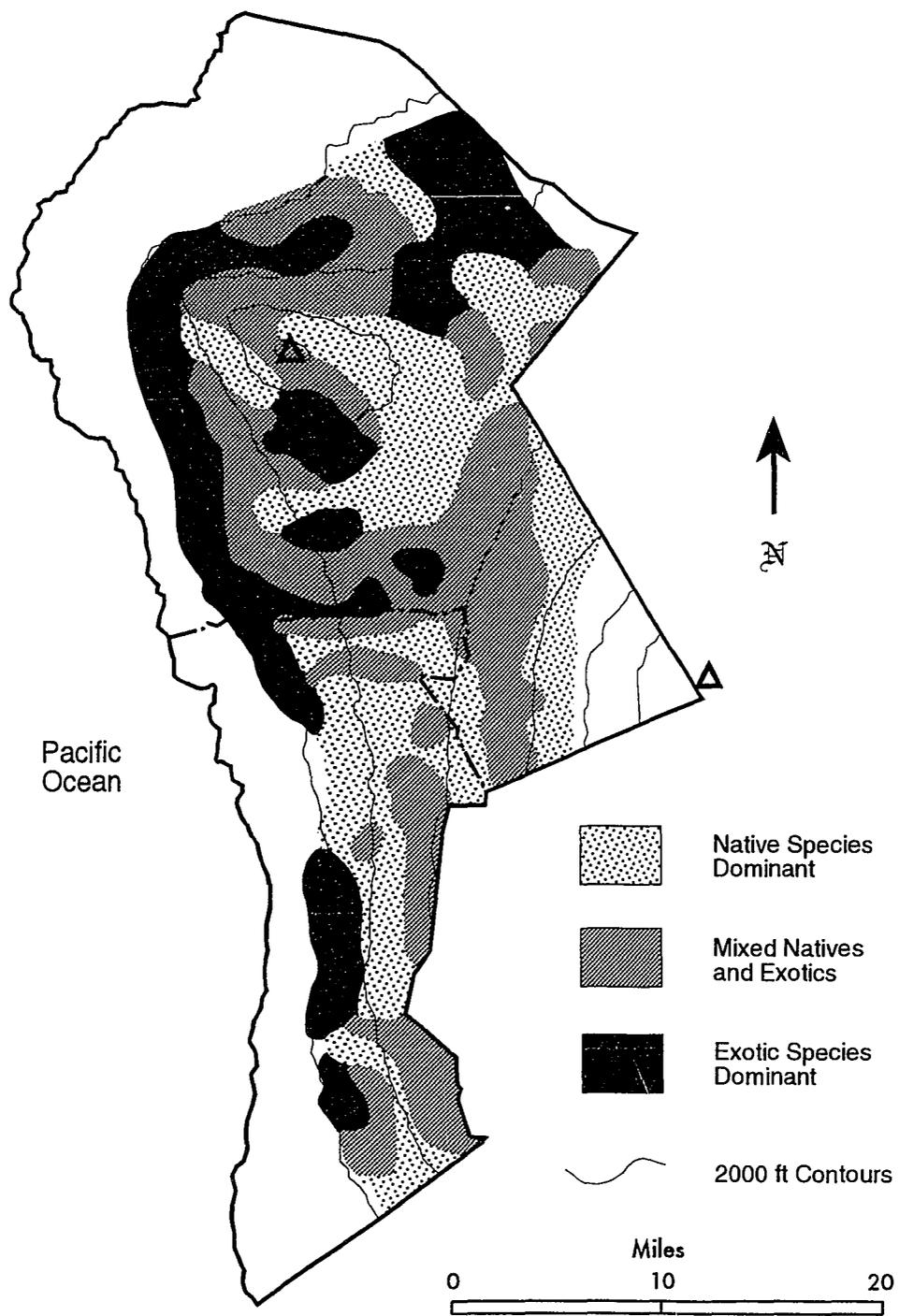


Figure 4.6 Dominant Vegetation in Kona: native versus exotic.

Compiled from Jacobi (1990).

there. Exploring the forest behind Kealahou Bay in 1793, he commented that the ferns seemed to be common to other Pacific islands, "but most of the trees and shrubs that made up this vast forest were from their appearance entirely new to me, and many of them, I believe, peculiar to these islands" (Menzies 1920, 81–2).³⁸

It was not until the mid-19th century that the forest could be fully appreciated by visitors. The government had opened a circle-island trail for horse travel; people had also begun to move to the cooler climates several miles inland. The forest was to a certain extent opened up by human activity at this time, giving visitors the opportunity to take long horseback rides through it. Moving in relative comfort and at no great hurry, visitors observed and marveled at Kona's forest for the next 50 years.

During these rides visitors appreciated two qualities of the forest: its beauty, and the remarkableness of particular species. Twain, for example, rented a horse in Kailua and rode to Kealahou Bay, in part along the mountain road, winding in and out of the forest. He commented that: "It was pleasant also, at intervals, to leave the sultry sun and pass into the cool, green depths of this forest and indulge in sentimental reflections under the inspiration of its brooding twilight and its whispering foliage. The jaunt through Kona will always be to me a happy memory" (Twain 1966, 207).

Bird spent nearly all of her time in the uplands, and took many rides through the forest. She observed that: "The beauty of this part of Kona is wonderful. The interminable forest is richer and greener than anything I have yet seen, but penetrable only by narrow tracks which have been made for hauling timber" (Bird 1966, 251).

Chaney summed up the holistic appeal of the forest the most parsimoniously: "To one not familiar, or only recently acquainted, with such woods, the charm of novel vegetation and birds singing in a foreign tongue is irresistible." He also commented that: "While under the fascination of the lavish beauty of the woods, no sense is appealed to but the aesthetic" (both quotes from Chaney 1879, 210 and 213).

While visitors from this era mostly did not understand the endemic qualities of Kona's forest, they did appreciate the several typical kinds of plants growing there; the trees, shrubs, vines, and ferns. The latter were especially novel and fascinating to visitors (Ellis 1927, 46;

Wilkes in Morgan et al. 1970, 99; Corwin 1862, 4). Stevenson (1973, 19) was amazed at the size of the tree ferns which "joined their fronds above a horseman's head." Chaney (1879, 210) was also amazed by the variety of ferns and began collecting them during his rides with his family. Plants of all types fascinated Bird, who continued her commentary on the forest this way:

The trees are so dense, and so matted together with trailers, that no ray of noon-day sun brightens the moist tangle of exquisite mosses and ferns which covers the ground. Yarns with their burnished leaves, and the *Polypodium spectrum*, wind round every tree stem, and the heavy *ie*, which here attains gigantic proportions, links the tops of the tallest trees together by its stout knotted coils. (Bird 1964, 251)

Around World War I the Territorial government replaced the circle-island horse path with a proper automobile road. Other roads were developed along the Kona coast and also running makai-mauka. After this, visitors traveled exclusively by car. This change in transport method had the effect of totally neutralizing Kona's forests as a resource to visitors. The forests essentially became invisible, something people passed by at a rapid speed, far too quickly to observe.³⁹

Recently, the greater knowledge of the large numbers of endangered plant species in Hawai'i has led to an increasing interest in Kona's forest. A golf course developer was interested in establishing a native dry forest as a buffer zone (Clark HA 6-4-90, C5). Such an interest may correspond with the widely acknowledged increase in ecotourism. However, at the time of field research, there did not seem to be any entrepreneurial activity involving ecotourism on land. All ecotourism activities then in operation were ocean-oriented. It will probably be some time before Kona's forests are again appreciated the way they were a century ago.

FAUNA

As with plants, the factor of isolation made dispersal to the Hawaiian Islands extremely difficult for animals. Hence there are no native species of amphibians or reptiles, and the only land mammal is the Hawaiian bat (*Lasiurus cinereus semotus*) (Berger 1983, 5). Land birds have been the most successful in dispersing to Hawai'i, although even for this group it is accepted that the number of colonizations was extremely small.⁴⁰ The degree of adaptive radiation to new environments that occurred is remarkable; it resulted in the evolution of many

endemic species. Unfortunately, human destruction of habitat, particularly since western contact, and importation of birds carrying new diseases have sent several native species into extinction, and endanger the survival of several more.

In Kona, critical habitat for the survival of native land bird species exists on the upper slopes of Hualālai and in the forest areas mauka of Kealakekua Bay (US Fish and Wildlife Service 1974, 5). Scott et al. (1986, 2) note that the Hawaiian crow (*'alala*) lives only in the latter area. These researchers also note that Kona is the home to the majority of the population of the endangered Hawaiian hawk (*Io*), as well as to substantial percentages of species such as the short-eared owl (*pueo*), the common *amakahi*, and the *'akiapola'au*. For endangered water birds such as the Hawaiian coot, duck and stilt, the coastal ponds at 'Opae'ula and Honokōhau provide important habitat (US Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife 1970, np).

Intentional and accidental introductions of animal life by people has increased the variety of species. Polynesians brought domestic animals, such as the pig, dog and chicken.⁴¹ Pigs and dogs escaped captivity and established feral populations. Kona was also the scene of important introductions of western domestic animals; Vancouver released domestic sheep and cattle at Kealakekua Bay in 1794. Goats had been brought to the Hawaiian Islands by Cook in 1778, and horses were brought to Hawai'i Island in 1803 (Walker 1967, 2). Killing of the cattle was prohibited by Kamehameha and populations increased geometrically. Throughout the 19th century, wild herds roamed the slopes of the volcanoes. Additionally, many birds (francolin, pheasant, quail, turkey and dove [Kramer et al. 1983; Scott et al. 1986]) have been introduced to Hawai'i for hunting purposes and can be found in the wild within Kona's borders. Among the several mammals also imported into the state for hunting, only mouflon sheep have been introduced into Kona. These have been bred with captured female feral sheep, both to improve appearance and to change diet patterns to reduce damage to native forest (Walker 1967, 2).

The fact of isolation that led to so few colonizations by animal species has meant that there have been few ways in which native fauna have been a resource to tourists. Von Kotzebue (1967, 237), for example, pointed out this dearth: "The only original wild quadrupeds of the Sandwich islands are a small bat and the rat. To these is added our common mouse; besides the flea, some species of blatta, and other noxious parasites."⁴²

The native Hawaiian bird life was part of the attraction of the mauka forests. Visitors mentioned birds as part of the experience of riding through the forests on horses. The sound of invisible birds was what most visitors commented upon (Ellis 1927, 54; Corwin 1862, 4; Twain 1966, 207), though some people did mention seeing particular native species (Wilkes 1970, 99; Chaney 1879, 213). As with Kona's forests, native birds were not mentioned by visitors once auto touring became the dominant mode of travel.

It has already been noted that cattle were first introduced to Hawai'i by Vancouver at Kona. Kamehameha outlawed killing them and, over the next few decades, they went wild and their numbers grew to the point where they did serious damage to upland Hawaiian agriculture. During the mid-19th century many people went hunting for wild cattle on horseback, for food and for hides. In some instances visitors were taken along on these hunts, when they got more excitement than they bargained for. Bird, who rode an unshod horse through a forest growing on lava outcroppings, "wished myself safely at home" when, after asking the leader of the hunt where she should stay while the group was in pursuit of the "ruck of half maddened cattle," was told: "Oh, just keep close behind me." She noted the Hawaiians were later "surprised" that she did not want to watch the captured bull being killed "as the native women greatly enjoy such a spectacle" (all quotes from Bird 1966, 253). Bullock hunting was evidently a harrowing experience for these visitors, one that went far beyond the normal range of tourism. But by the early 20th century the wild herds had been eliminated from Kona's mountainsides, simultaneously eliminating the possibility of this form of sport ever catching on with visitors.

The hunting of other introduced game animals, both mammals (sheep, goats, and pigs) and birds, occurs in Kona on private ranches. It has never really become popular, though promoted to a small extent by the Fish and Wildlife service (particularly in the 1950s and 1960s).

After coffee became established in Kona, local farmers began using donkeys to carry the crop down the mountain and for personal transportation. These animals liked to bray just before sunrise and this habit led to their being nicknamed "Kona nightingales" (London 1917, 207). Morrill (1919, 112) stated that "it is impossible to sleep 'mid such seraphic music." After World

War II, greater use of trucks to ship the crop ended farmers' reliance on donkeys. Their numbers subsequently dwindled and there was not much mention of them by tourists or in guidebooks.

OCEAN ENVIRONMENT

The quality of the ocean water off the entire length of the Kona coast is excellent. There are no perennial streams or rivers in Kona to produce run-off during storms. Turbidity problems from sediment are very localized at specific embayments.⁴³ There has been no industrial pollution and the human population has created waste disposal problems at only a small number of sites. The visibility of waters along the coast can approach that of the open ocean.

Lying within the boundaries of the northern tropical latitudes, the underwater surfaces off the Kona coast are able to support coral growth.⁴⁴ The degree to which coral reefs have formed is dependent upon several conditions. First, as with land animals and birds, isolation has prevented many species of coral from arriving here.⁴⁵ As a result, Hawai'i overall is depauperate in coral, having only about 45 species.⁴⁶ Additionally, subsidence of the Big Island combined with sea level rise since the peak of the last glacial era about 18 ka have prevented reef development along the Kona coast.⁴⁷

While these factors constrain coral growth and reef development, others enable it. The foremost of these is the relative position of the Kona Coast. Being leeward, and to the southeast of Maui, the coastline is protected from trade wind-induced surface swells and from westward swells created by winter cyclonic storms. The typically calm water conditions enable coral to grow near the surface more easily than along most other coastlines of Hawai'i. Second, the steep slope of the island off-shore further reduces the lateral distance that wave turbulence does impact. Last, the young age of the Big Island means little sand has formed from an eroding coastline, and little soil washes into the ocean as run-off during storms. Coral is thus able to attach itself easily to the basalt pavement and boulders which form the substrate and can take advantage of the high levels of sunlight filtering through the extremely clear water.

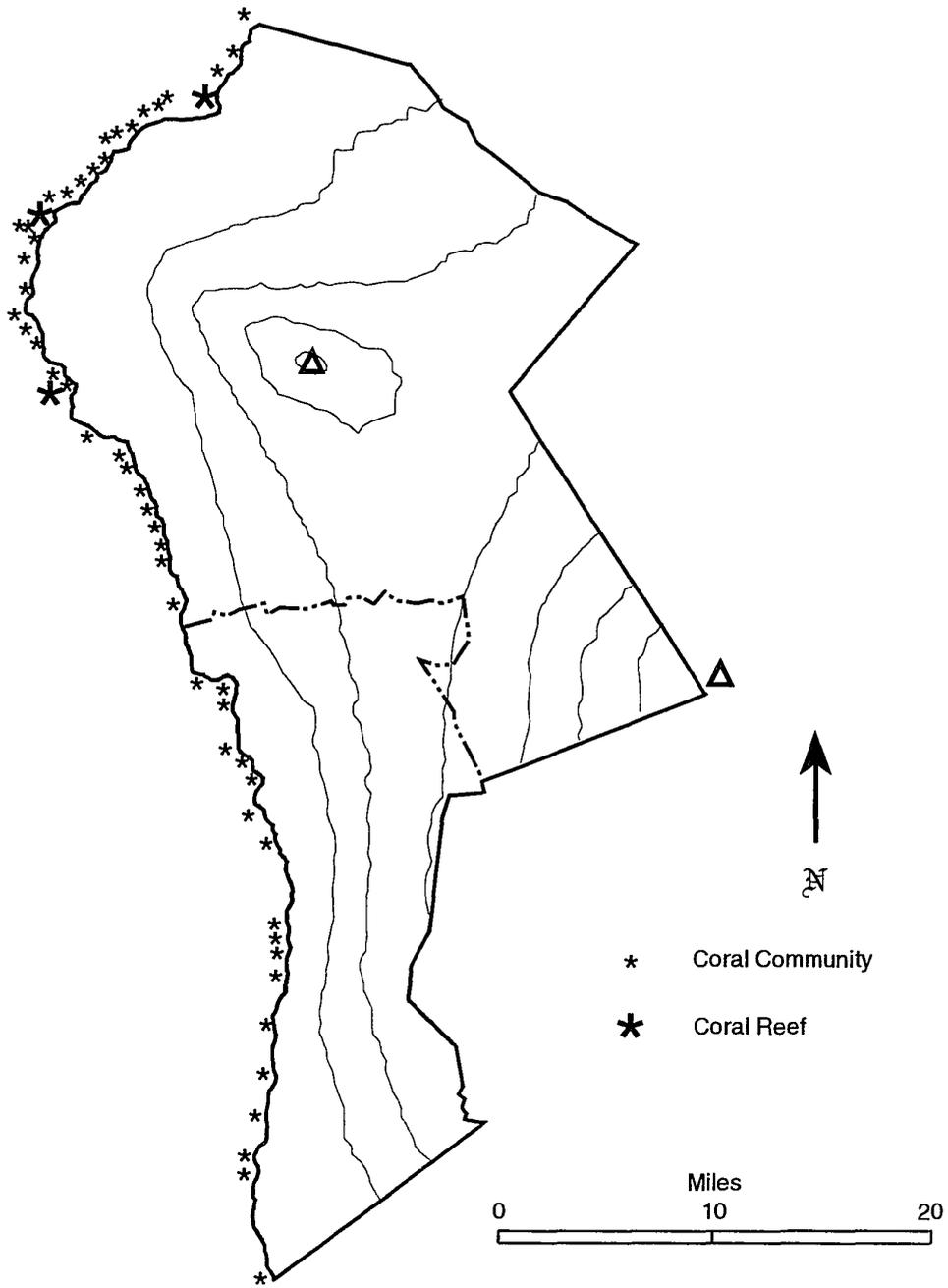


Figure 4.7 Coral communities along the Kona Coast.

Compiled from Nolan and Cheney (1981).

For Kona overall, small areas of reef have developed, along with many active coral communities.⁴⁸ Figure 4.7 shows the location of more than 40 distinctive coral communities, as well as three areas where small reefs have developed.⁴⁹ This incipient reef development and the greater density of communities has occurred north of Kailua town because the greater age of Hualālai flows has enabled stable conditions to exist there for a longer time period.⁵⁰

As with coral, isolation and unfavorably directed ocean currents have constrained the arrival of many species of fish.⁵¹ Although there are at least 680 species of fish in Hawaiian waters, the island group is again found to be depauperate when compared to others of the Indo-Pacific region with which it is affiliated.⁵² Again, Hawai'i has a high level of endemism; about 30% of the approximately 440 species of in-shore fish are endemic, while others show considerable sub-species variation. However, there are two ways in which fish evolution patterns have been different from land animals. First, there has been little inter-island variation or adaptive radiation by species. Second, many of the endemic species are the most abundant, suggesting their ancestors were the earliest arrivals.

Kona's coastal zone thus consists of a sub-set of species of reef fish shared with other districts and islands. There are no fish species that are endemic to Kona. However, the overall number of species is rather large. Nolan and Cheney (1981) determined through examination of the literature and field studies of the Kona coastline that several areas had over 100 species of reef fish, while others had between 40 and 80 species.

What Kona is world-famous for however, is deep-sea game fish. The steep underwater slope of the island combined with moderate water temperatures year round provides ideal habitat for several species, which grow to prodigious sizes. The most abundantly caught species include marlin (*a'u*) of several types (black, blue, silver, and striped); dolphin (mahimahi); wahoo (*ono*); barracuda (*kaku*). Several species of tuna are also found off Kona, including yellowfin (*ahi*), skipjack (*aku*), bonito (*kawakawa*), and albacore (*ahipala*) (Biehl 1958; Squire and Smith 1977).

In addition to game fish, Kona's coastal waters are visited by several species of whale during the course of the year (Balcomb 1984). The most famous of these is the humpback whale (*Megaptera novaeangliae*), which breeds and calves during the winter months. Other species, though seen less frequently, also swim in Kona waters.⁵³ Several species of dolphin also inhabit

Hawai'i's coastal waters. Most of these species are shy or tend to stay in deep water. Two species that can be seen at the surface are the bottlenose dolphin (*Tursiops truncatus*) and spinner dolphin (*Stevella attenuata*). The latter lives in herds, several of which reside in bays up and down the Kona coast. One particular herd of spinner dolphins can be frequently seen in Kealakekua Bay.

Coral, reef fish, and other aspects of the oceanic environment were seldom mentioned by visitors until recently. Virtually the only place they were visible was at Kealakekua Bay, where it was the practice for visitors to hire Hawaiians to row them in canoes to the Cook Monument or from the Bay to the Place of Refuge. Twain (1966, 249) took such a canoe ride in the 1860s and, looking over the side, noted the "unique shrubbery of the sea." Howell (1892, 76) admired the "fan-shaped displays" of the branch coral growing there. A school of porpoises has also been noticed at Kealakekua Bay for well over a century (Forbes 1984, 6; Twain 1966, 250).

In the past 15 years or so, the ocean environment has become a major resource for tourists visiting Kona. The basis for this has been technological improvements in underwater recreation equipment. Virtually all aspects of this change, however, have been due to the efforts of entrepreneurs to establish businesses and locate the best dive and snorkeling sites. Therefore this aspect will be developed further in Chapter 7, on the tourism industry.

SCENERY

The final major sub-category of environmental resource induced for Kona is "scenery." Traditionally, this element has not been of major interest to regional geographers. To exploring tourists acting as amateur geographers, however, scenery obviously is a resource of major importance. Scenery is here considered to be a synthetic element, one composed of combinations of features of the physical environment discussed above. Topography and flora are obviously particularly important. Scenery often contains aspects of both the physical and human environments. Here, concentration will be on the former; the latter will be discussed in the section of Chapter 6 on "ambience."

Scenery is perhaps typically thought of as static. Certainly for Kona, the topographic factors have not changed over the past two centuries, with the exception of the several new lava

flows. The amount of land under native forest has been significantly reduced by human activity, but much of this has occurred in areas which are no longer accessible to tourists (particularly mauka ranch lands). What has changed markedly, however, is the direction from which Kona's scenic landscapes have been viewed. During the first 75 years or so of western contact, nearly all visitors approached Kona from the sea. Hence visitors looked inland from vantage points either on the ocean or at the coastline. Only a few explorers such as Metcalf or Menzies ever got far enough inland to describe the view of the shoreline from Kona's heights. Descriptions of views from the sea continued to into the early 20th century, as many visitors passed by Kona on the steamships plying the waters between Honolulu and Hilo. In the 1850s, when the first circle-island horse trails were constructed and the inland areas began to be opened up for coffee and ranching, visitors began describing Kona's scenery from vantage points many hundreds of feet in elevation. The sea became part of the panoramic quality of the view for the first time. After World War I, automobile transport from Hilo became the dominant way visitors entered Kona. This change in mode of transport seems to also have had an impact upon descriptions of scenery. Traveling by car produces a form of tunnel-vision, both from speed and the necessity to watch the road. As a result, scenic descriptions written from memories of car travel have a constrained quality compared to those made when people traveled on horseback. Car drivers tend to focus more on what was at the roadside, and less on the wider panorama.

It cannot be generalized that Kona's landscape, as approached from the sea during the first half century or so of western contact, was perceived as attractive by visitors. Its dry leeward quality combined with the large percentage of land covered by lava contrasted poorly with the lushly vegetated slopes of the windward side of the island. Vancouver (1967,1, 154), for example, commented that Kona's landscape appeared to be "in a great degree destitute of that diversity of prospect which might have been expected here."

There were three areas in particular where domination of the landscape by lava made a negative impression. These were the northern and southern extremities of Kona and the land immediately inland from the coastal villages. With respect to the border areas, the lava desert spilling down from Hualālai's western rift zone and the numerous recent flows carving channels through the forest in South Kona and Ka'u were typically interpreted as "barren" (Iselin nd, 65)

by visitors looking for a spot from which to replenish their much depleted supply of drinking water. This negative impression was particularly strong for the South Kona and Ka'u coastline, much of which was, and is, mostly devoid of life. Ellis (1927, 174–5), for example, called this area "inhospitable", while Macrae (1922, 71) thought the coast "has a horrid and dreary appearance." The area just back of the coastal villages was also mainly composed of bare lava. King (1967, 521) commented on the "miserableness" of the area behind Kealakekua Bay, while Freycinet (1978, 41) found this same area "distressing looking." Stewart was also disappointed with the scenery around the Bay, noting that a "black and desolate precipice of lava immediately overhangs it." Nearby Ka'awaloa village, he noted, "stands upon a bare platform of the same" (both quotes from Stewart 1831, 235). Up the coast, Arago had perhaps the lowest opinion of the scenery. He commented that "I cannot find expressions melancholy enough to give you an idea of the coast off which we are now at anchor," and that because "Not a tree nor a bush, not a single stripe of verdure, not a beast nor a bird, and scarcely an insect, give life to this desolate scene," he felt justified in calling the Kona coast "the empire of the dead" (all quotes from Arago 1971, II, 87).

For whatever reasons, the lens of the visitor's gaze seems to have begun to change during the 1830s. Barrot (1978, 26) wrote during that decade: "Nothing can be more picturesque than Hawai'i, as it appears from the sea." Negative impressions of the lava-scapes did not entirely cease (see Stevenson 1973, 5)⁵⁴ nor did observations of the coastline as rocky and rugged (see Craft 1899, 160; Nottage 1894, 72). What was different was that, as the 19th century progressed, more-and-more of the visitors began to comment favorably on the view of Kona from the sea.

One component of the landscape that received increasing attention was the bays that were interspersed between the stretches of lava bench and cliff. Much of the reason was the essentially tropical nature of the villages located on them. Aspects of the physical environment, however, did play a role. Burnett, for example, wrote that Keauhou village was "one of the most romantic spots that I saw on any of the islands" because "lava flows of great volume made it picturesque and attractive in natural beauty" (both quotes from Burnett 1892, 202). Lyman (1924, 120), arriving at Kealakekua Bay just before sunset, commented on the beauty of the view

looking mauka. Early guidebooks also extolled the scenic virtues of Kona's shorelines. Whitney (1890, 31) asserted that Kealahou Bay was "remarkable for its scenic beauty," while Schnack (1915, 181) described Nāp'opo'o village as a "beautiful spot" with a "beautiful sandy beach."

The lava-covered areas at the northern and southern ends of the district that had irritated early visitors were integrated by later arrivals into the entire panoramic setting that stretched from the sea to the high, distant mountain peaks. Thurston (1934, 93) asserted that "These distant scenes of the mountain, and perpetual verdure of forest and vegetation, are ever to be enjoyed." In the 1890 edition of his guide book Whitney urged visitors arriving at Nāp'opo'o to look south to see the land "stretching upward to the clouds" (Whitney 1890, 32). Burnett, sailing up the coast towards Kailua, noted: "After leaving Ho'okena, the twin summits of Mauna-Loa (Long Mountain) 13,675 feet high, and Mauna-Kea, (White Mountain) 13,805 feet, could be seen from our place on the steamer, presenting, at the extreme height of the gradually rising terraces between us and them, a magnificent spectacle" (Burnett 1892, 206–7).

The upland forests were one particular detail of the inland view upon which more attention became focused. Stewart (1831, 235) commented that the scenery inland was "verdant and refreshing"; based partly on the "rich vegetation" of the interior. Hill (1856, 209) remarked that "nothing could exceed the beauty of the views that the coasts of the island here represented."

The following quote from the first edition of Whitney's guidebook perhaps states best both the ambiguity towards, and the appreciation of, the coastal panorama of Kona:

The bays on this Kona coast, each bordered by the white beach and cocoanut trees, are perfect gems of tropical scenery, in which the back-ground of mountain and fore-ground of ocean, with little villages between, fit like apples of gold in pictures of silver. Kailua is one of these gems. The coast is rocky, hot and uncultivated, but two or three miles from the shore, the mountains are covered with woods, orange and coffee groves and luxuriant vegetation. (Whitney 1875, 97)

The building of a circle-island road for horse travel during the 1850s meant that visitors could travel into Kona by land. During this era, people who rode around the island typically began the trip in Hilo, went first to Kīlauea volcano, then kept going south until they reached the terminus of Mauna Loa's southwest rift zone, at which point they headed northwards into Kona. The Kona district itself was opened up by horse roads during this time, as coffee growing and ranching in the upland areas increased. Once people arrived in Kona, therefore, they could

ascend and descend the steep central slope and crisscross it from north to south. They described the views from wherever they went, but the most distinctive change was that visitors were high up the mountain slope for the first time.

What traveling along these mauka and mauka-makai trails added was a good view of the ocean. While opinions differed on the scenic value of lava flows, the view from horseback down the mountain slope to the ocean from a road a thousand feet in elevation was universally praised. Corwin (1862, 7), leaving Kona on a trip to Kilauea found "road was pleasant...and we had a fine view of the country and the sea on our right hand." Two years later, Anderson (1864, 154) commented on the trip from Kailua to Kealakekua, noting "The distance is twelve miles, and all the way is in full view of the ocean. The Pacific seemed then rightly named." In the same decade, Twain (1966, 207) advised future travelers that "The ride from Kailua to Kealakekua Bay is worth taking. It passes along on high ground—say a thousand feet above sea level—and usually about a mile distant from the ocean, which is always in sight..." Stevenson also described the descent to the sea on horseback:

The sea was on one hand. Our way was across—the woods we threaded but did not cling upon—the vast declivity of the island front. For long, as we still skirted the margin of the forest, we kept an open view of the falling sea board, the white edge of surf now soundless to our ears, and the high blue sea marbled by tide rips, and showing under the clouds of an opalescent milky white. The height, the breeze, the giddy gradient of the isle, delighted me. (Stevenson 1973, 19–20)

Chaney commented most completely on the sight of the ocean below, from the vantage point of his room in one of the early mauka boardinghouses:

So high were we above the sea, that great ships sailing over it seemed no larger than chips. Only the practised eye could discern them. And yet at this long distance the struggling of ocean currents, the footprints of the winds as they coursed the watery desert, the still reaches where the sunlight spread its oil of gladness and the darkened hue of the cloud-shadows on the face of the deep could be distinctly traced...All this seemed spread at our very feet, albeit fathomless depths below us, because the trees around us shut out all view of the intervening ascent of country. This was our sea view from the hanging chamber in the rear of the house. (Chaney 1879, 202)

Visitors during this era did not only look seaward. They were closer to the mountain peaks, particularly Hualālai, from their mauka vantage points, and thus also came to admire the scenery in the heights above them. Chaney, for example, also noted:

The outlook mauka, as the Hawaiians say, or towards the mountains, was as beautiful as this was grand. But its beauty was a morning glory. To enjoy it, one must look before ten o'clock in the forenoon. After that, the mists trooped up from the sea, and shut out the mountain's majesty till the dawn of the next day. But taken at the right moment, no view could be more lovely than Hualāla, the "Child of the Sun." (Chaney 1879, 202)

In the early 20th century, Charmian London attempted to describe the entire panorama:

There is small need for residents of Kona to plan special entertainment for guests, provided those guests have eyes to see. First, one's imagination is set in motion by this unheard-of sloping vastness of lava so ancient that it has become rich soil covered, in the higher reaches, with swaths of bright sugar cane and coffee, ferns and trees. Below this velt of vegetation, barren seamy lava stretches to the coastline, lost in distance to right and left, all its miniature palm-feathered bays marked by a restless edge of pearly surf in dazzling contrast to the vivid turquoise water inshore...We have never seen anything like this azure hemisphere of sea and sky. For there is no horizon seen from the Kona Coast. The water lies motionless as the sky—a frosted blue-crystal level, no longer a "pathless, trackless ocean," for over its limitless surface run serpentine paths, coiling and intermingling as in an inconceivable breadth of watered silk. Ocean and sky are wedded by cloud masses that rear celestial castles in the blue ether, which in turn are reflected in the "windless, glassy floor"; and the atmosphere and vaporous consummation is best described as a *blue flush*. The very air is blue. (London 1917, 205; italics in original)

Just a few years after London wrote the lines above, the automobile replaced horses as the means by which visitors traveled to and around Kona. Scenery continued to be an important part of the physical resource base for Kona in the early years of automobile travel. Morrill, for example, commented that "As we sped along we discovered some of the best things on the trip—sky, cloud, sea and surf," and stated "It would bankrupt my vocabulary to describe all the beauty of the scenery." From his mauka vantage point he further opined that the "sea vistas...would make a millionaire's villa overlooking the Mediterranean very cheap" (both quotes from Morrill 1919, 113 and 122).

Roughly the same aspects were commented upon by auto travelers as by those who rode horses, though the automobile has raised the scenic value of the South Kona lava flows, by making travel across them less exhausting. What was different was a greater emphasis placed upon the scenery that was at the roadside, rather than on the horizon. There were fewer long descriptions of the grand panoramas, and more of what was being quickly passed by. Nevertheless, scenery has remained important to those visitors who wrote memoirs of auto trips right up to the present (Jansma 1959, 149–50).

This was not the case for contemporary guidebook descriptions of Kona. Nineteenth century guidebooks, such as Whitney's (1875; 1890; 1898), pay considerable attention to pointing out aspects of scenery, as do early 20th century guidebooks such as *The Courtland Guide* (1917) and *All About Hawai'i* (1928 and 1938). In the post-World War II era, however, most guidebooks do not mention Kona's scenery at all. Those few that do tend to simply state scenery exists, without elaboration.⁵⁵ Guletz (1955, np), for example, merely notes Kona is a "scenic paradise," while Cochard (1972, 91) generically noted: "What attracts the visitor to the island aside from the natural scenery and volcanic eruptions are the fine resort facilities, particularly along the island's west Kona Coast." To the extent that contemporary guidebooks actually guide tourists, the latter may be traveling through Kona handicapped by the very sources that purport to open their eyes to the region's uniqueness. To the extent that tourists use their eyes, a visit to Kona makes available a great deal of attractive scenery to experience.

CURRENT AVAILABILITY AND QUALITY

The regional description and citations of tourists' experiences of Kona's environment, taken together, illustrate well the concept that there is a total stock of elements which have the potential to become resources. The discussion showed just as clearly that not all elements are resources at any one time, however. They wax and wane in importance to tourists. Further, the availability of those that are considered resources at a particular time may change, for a variety of reasons. Figure 4.8 sorts Kona's environmental element types into the three levels of availability discussed in Chapter 2. The placing of each element has been done by combining the tourist-related literature with field observations. As a device to show contemporary levels of availability, it is thus somewhat impressionistic. The comments made in the right column, however, generate some ideas about availability.

The figure indicates, first of all, that very few of the resource sub-types in Kona have reached a degraded state. It is noteworthy that the two listed, bullock hunting and native birdlife, became degraded due to wider development processes, not tourism impacts. Herds of wild cattle no longer roam the slopes of Hualālai and Mauna Loa. There is little chance of them returning.

DEGRADED	
• Bullock Hunting	⇒ Wild herds decimated
• Native Birds	⇒ Endangered species (tourism contraindicated)
UTILIZED	
• Coastal Climate	⇒ Generically appreciated
• Game Fish	⇒ Kona's major environmental resource
• Reef Topography and Ocean Fish & Mammals	⇒ Fast-growing component of tourism industry
• Lava Flows	⇒ In South Kona only; North Kona's go unappreciated
• Game Hunting	⇒ On a few private ranches only
RESERVES	
• Mountains	⇒ Inaccessible
• Lava Tubes	⇒ Inaccessible, except views from Kealakekua Bay
• Beaches	⇒ Inaccessible, on private land, except beach parks
• Climate: upland; purity and Kona specific features	⇒ Seemingly no longer appreciated
• Forest and Tree Ferns	⇒ Inaccessible
• Endangered species and ecosystems	⇒ Inaccessible (tourism contraindicated)
• Land viewed from ocean	⇒ Mostly inaccessible
• Uplands viewed from coast	⇒ Seemingly unappreciated
• Lowlands, from on high	⇒ Seemingly unappreciated

Figure 4.8 The level of availability of Kona's environmental resources.

Native bird species have become endangered through introduction of avian diseases and through loss of habitat. If the latter were somehow restored, numbers might increase. However, the high sensitivity of these species to human presence contraindicates tourism development to any great extent.

There are really only two environmental elements that are currently fully utilized in Kona: coastal climate and game fish. Yet, the former seems mainly appreciated only generically. Kona is a destination in the tropics, and a day there is "just another day in paradise"; warm and sunny, like the multitude of destinations lying south of the Tropic of Cancer. The presence of many species of game fish in calm waters close to shore is an invaluable resource for certain visitors to Kona. These days of world-wide species extinction make it necessary to wonder about the continuing availability of tuna, marlin, swordfish, etc. During field research, no indication could be found that over-fishing had begun to occur, in spite of a fishing fleet that is now much larger than in the past. So far, the annual catch seems sustainable. A third element, the oceanic environment, involving the exploring of the reef

topography and watching fish, turtles, and porpoises, was noticed during field research to be increasing rapidly in popularity. Entrepreneurs had taken the lead in utilization of these resources. The other two resources listed were being utilized at a much smaller scale. South Kona lava flows have been interesting to look at while driving by; some tourists were observed to stop and look upslope. But there is no real touristic activity associated with them. Game hunting is an activity in which only a small percentage of tourists take part.

Most of Kona's environmental resources currently exist mainly in a state of reserve. Figure 4.8 indicates there are two main reasons. First, lack of accessibility makes it difficult for some types of resources to be experienced. Tourists are pretty much forced to stay near the coast; they cannot easily get into the mauka regions to enjoy the topography or the forest. Second, a group of resources currently does not seem appreciated. This pertains mainly to scenic views and mauka climate. Overall, the status of being in reserve indicates under-utilization, meaning there should be opportunity for the region to develop its environmental resources, particularly in the mauka areas.

With respect to quality, an approximate "rating" of Kona's environmental resources can be quickly done by sorting them into the categories of the tourist resource diamond. Figure 4.9 shows where each would fit, based upon the way they are currently experienced (no attempt was made to assess potential quality).

The coastal climate and the presence of game fish are currently the two "strong attractors" of the region. Ocean recreation, in all forms, was seen to be approaching this status during field research. Beaches is a more difficult type to place within a single quality category. Tourists come to Hawai'i expecting to use beaches for recreation, and certain beaches in Kona are so used. However, the beaches tourists find, while adequate, are perhaps not up to the standards of other islands. Hence tourists use them, but seldom rave about them. Further, the lack of beaches, and the travel distance required to get to them, are both irritant-level factors. Kona's beaches thus perhaps fit best in two quality levels, but the ones that are used are of gratifier quality.

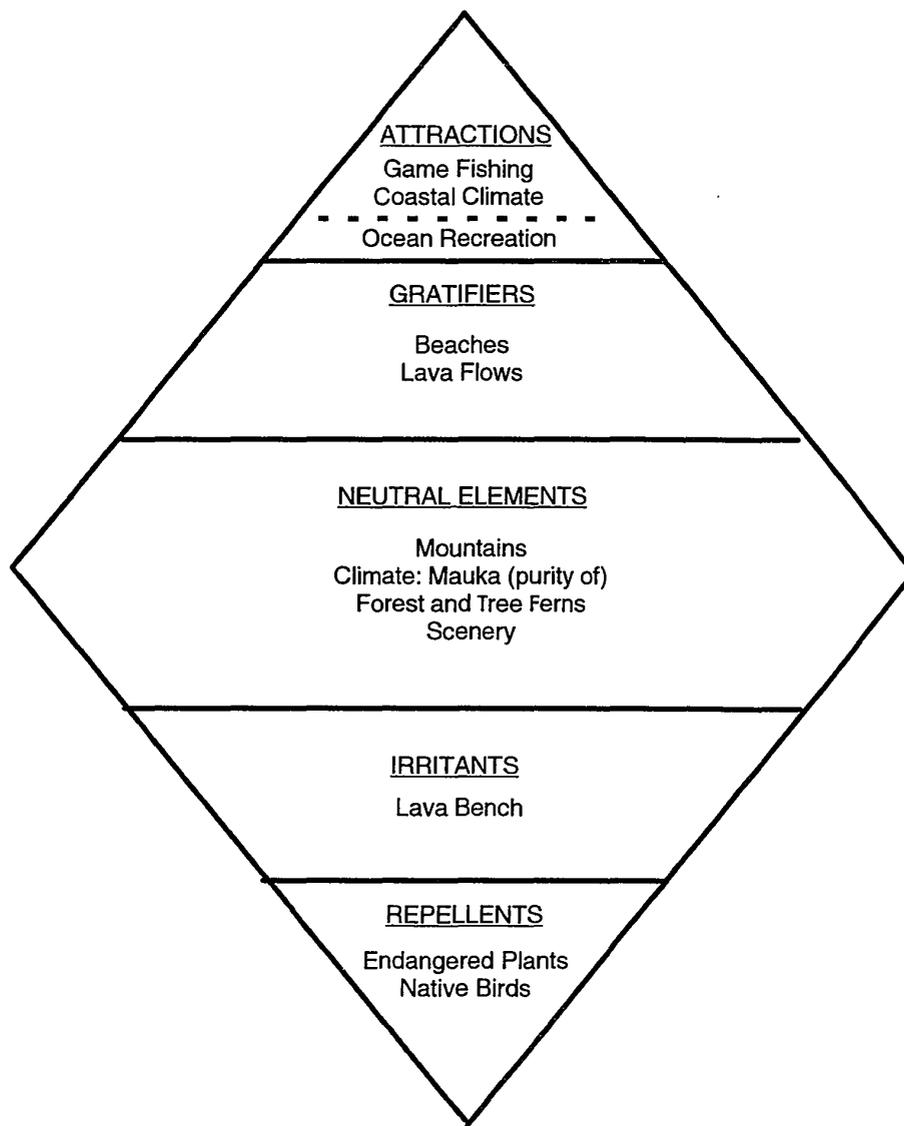


Figure 4.9 Appraising the quality level of Kona's environmental resources.

Many of Kona's environmental resources have a "reserve" status, in terms of availability, and are not used by tourists. This forces them to be subsequently listed as "neutral elements" in terms of their level of quality. The set shown in Figure 4.9 is rather substantial, indicating that several major aspects of the environment are currently not being experienced, and appreciated, by tourists.

In the negative range, lava bench has been listed as an "irritant." This was certainly true in the past, as travel narratives indicated. Perhaps this is less true today. Much of Kona's accommodation stock is built along the coastline, back from the lava bench. When tourists stay in Kona, they are able to experience the ruggedness of the coast. Lava bench, like beaches, thus simultaneously exists as an irritant and a gratifier. At the absolute bottom of the figure, native birds and endangered plant species and ecosystems represent a variation of "deterrent," in that sensitivity to humans contraindicates the presence of many tourists, or development of facilities for tourists. Active volcanoes have the potential to erupt, and thus create a "hazard," but so far Kona has been lucky.

The chapter text and the figures above permit two conclusions about Kona's environmental resources can be reached. First, the resource base perceived and utilized by tourists seems to have been narrowing since about World War I. Nineteenth century visitors writing of their interactions with Kona's environment reported a much wider range of experiences than have been described in guidebooks or more recently written travel narratives. The main reason was simply that more of Kona was accessible to them. A second reason, however, is that the tourism industry has chosen to promote certain resources—particularly climate and coastal scenery—but ignore most others. Hence, use of Kona's environment might be said to have achieved a certain "specialized" status. The entrepreneurial expansion of the oceanic environment is becoming a major thrust away from this, but little is being done on land.

The second conclusion, extending from the first, is that Kona has considerable potential to expand tourism by diversifying the set of environmental resources that tourists can experience. For example, Kona's two mountains, Hualālai and Mauna Loa, are not utilized at all. As was described, the summit of Hualālai has topographic features that were considered of "national" quality, and a plan was publicized to expand Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park to

include this area. But community opposition led to this plan being withdrawn. Such an example points to the benefits of the concept of contraindication; such a concept is proactive in imagining the origins of problems of resource development. Other types of development might be considered less controversial. Kona's topography produces spectacular scenery, yet there are only two roadside "scenic viewpoints" in the district. Neither face Hualālai, yet Twain's comment is as true today as a century ago. Conversely, other projects might be more controversial than development of the Hualālai summit. The increasing demand for ecotourism experiences would seem to favor development of forest areas in Kona. This will happen only after entrepreneurs find some way to make the private lands available for tourists to explore. However, development of this sort also brings potential for degradation of sensitive endangered species and ecosystems. A level of use representing an appropriate compromise can be envisioned by comparison with the way Kona's climate is currently utilized. That is, generic features of tropicality are emphasized, while Kona-specific features are ignored. In the case of land-based ecotourism, use of areas that represent generic features of Hawaiian ecosystem evolution could be increased, while more sensitive areas could be left in reserve, as ecosystem preserves.

SUMMARY

With the discussion concluded on how tourists have perceived and experienced Kona's physical environment, some general points can be made. First, with some of the prosaic quotations made by tourists still perhaps lingering in the reader's mind, it is (hopefully) clear that many tourists are regional explorers. This has two aspects. First, people typically thought of as explorers have the same structural relationship of self to experienced environment as people typically thought of as tourists. Thus, Vancouver's travels in Kona in the 1790s were structurally similar to Twain's in the 1860s and Jansma's in the 1950s. Second, the tourists who wrote narratives of their travels were essentially regional explorers. They commented on the topography, climate, fauna, etc., that they experienced. They were basically amateur geographers, taking notice of the environmental topics that professional geographers study scientifically.

The second overall point is that the relationship between "resources" and "tourist resources" has now (hopefully) been established. The citations quoted show that "tourist resources" are assessments, and that the cultural value of these changes over time. Ontologically, this can be further conceived as a change in the institutional nature of tourism.

With respect to resource type, though each tourist's experience is always at least somewhat unique, their "institutional" experience has enough overlap from which to induce categories—aspects of the physical environment—that constitute a subset of resources. For the physical environment, the first level of sub-categories (topography, climate, flora, fauna, ocean environment, and scenery) is rather well-known and obvious. The material used in this chapter has thus in a sense verified earlier research on this topic (and the "old regional geography" approach to environment). This does not mean that case studies from a very different physical environment will not at some point provide additional, complementary sub-categories. It does mean that, in grounded theory terminology, the major category of physical environment is to a certain extent "saturated" and that these particular sub-categories can be used as starting points in future research.

Placing types of environmental tourist resources into levels of availability and quality has been done much less often, particularly with respect to availability. These theoretical categories would seem complimentary, in that regional planners can combine them to make assessments about which resources, and how much of them, should be developed. The locations of resource development could be ranked, and thus prioritized. Such an attempt for any particular type of environmental resource in Kona was considered beyond the scope of this dissertation. Given the heavy political dimension to resource use that pervades Hawai'i, development of a system that prioritizes on the basis of availability and quality, as starting points, would certainly seem helpful.

ENDNOTES

¹ The logic of grounded theory is utilized to advance this discussion on tourist's perception of resources. This asserts that because theoretical concepts emerge from data, the best method of elucidating these concepts is through use of examples chosen from the data. Hence, tourists' own words are used to the greatest possible extent to most clearly show how the physical environment has acted as a means towards the end of having successfully explored Kona.

² Hawai'i Island, the youngest, consists of five shield volcanoes. In order of age (oldest to youngest), they are: Kohala, Mauna Kea, Hualālai, Mauna Loa, and Kilauea.

³ In the shield building stage Hawaiian volcanoes extrude tholeiitic lava; but in the declining stage this changes to alkali lava. Hualālai is thought to have passed through the active shield building stage because for the past 100 ka all the lava flows have been alkali in nature (Peterson & Moore, 1987, 185).

⁴ The occurrence of several hundred earthquakes in 1929 may have indicated a near-eruption occurred (Peterson and Moore 1987, 185).

⁵ King Kamehameha is said to have stopped the flow by cutting some of his hair and throwing it into the molten lava as a sacrifice. Several Hawaiian legends exist concerning the appearance of the goddess Pele just before the onset of the eruption.

⁶ The surface of Mauna Loa covers 50.5% of the area of the Big Island (Stearns 1985, 143). It is in fact the largest single mountain on earth, with a volume of about 40,000 cubic kilometers (Walker 1990, 331, citing Bargar and Jackson 1974).

⁷ Moore et al. (1989) have mapped the "prodigious" landslides that extend off the Kona Coast from Kailua to the Ka'u border. The "South Kona slump" occurred between 31–13 ka. This landslide seems to have removed so much material that the magma conduits of Mauna Loa were exposed, resulting in undersea eruptions. The "Alika debris avalanche" occurred in two phases, but both are younger than the South Kona slump. The underwater topography of the remains of these avalanches indicates a similarity with those resulting from the 1980 Mount St. Helens eruption. The authors map a fourth landslide extending out from Kailua but neither name nor discuss it.

⁸ The status of "major" beach was derived from the descriptions of Nolan and Cheney (1981 and 1981b) and Clark (1985). In some cases, these beaches were visited during field research. In others, this was impossible because of lack of access. A different inventory, for North Kona beaches, was done for the *West Hawai'i Regional Plan* (Office of State Planning 1988). This inventory (Tables 7 and 8 in the *Plan*) listed 10 beaches of "high value" for recreation, and 11 of "moderate value."

⁹ Derived from the Greek for "near the sea" (Maciolek and Brock 1974, 1, citing Holthius 1973), anchialine ponds form in areas where depressions in a lava flow reach below the water table. The highly porous nature of lava permits the seepage of sea water into the rock where it mixes with fresh water. The result is mixohaline (brackish) water of widely varying degrees of salinity. Some ponds contain nearly potable water while others are almost as salty as the nearby ocean. Age of the lava, as well as slope are important

determinants of whether anchialine ponds will form along the coast. Ponds do not occur in flows older than the Holocene or where slopes are steep. Resultingly, 75% (235 of a total of 313) occur in North Kona. Most ponds have a small surface area less than 100 sq m; only 9% (29) are larger than this. Most are "pools" rather than "ponds".

¹⁰ Chaney (1879, 217) described the volcanic surface over which he rode to the summit of Hualālai as "the most forsaken region this side of Sahara."

¹¹ Several major problems, including acquisition of land, were insurmountable. While some 30,000 acres of land proposed for inclusion into the park were owned by the State, about 80,000 were not. There were evidently problems involving land acquisition: obtaining it from private sources, getting the US Congress to approve the funds for purchase, etc. (*HTH* 1968b, 1). Also, local opposition to the project was evidently considerable, based on the notion that this would be another federal "land grab" in Hawai'i (Alan 1970, 1).

¹² No memoir was read in which it was claimed that Mauna Loa had been climbed from the Kona side.

¹³ A major portion of Hawai'i Volcanoes National Park includes the summit area of the mountain, but access is from the Hilo side. Very little of the summit area falls within Kona district. The summit of Mauna Loa has attracted visitors since the mid-19th century, both as a climbing destination and for the opportunity to see Mokuaweoweo Crater, which sometimes has contained an active lava lake. But virtually all the people who described this trip state the ascent was made from the Hilo side. A group of Cook's men attempted to reach the summit from Kealahou Bay but failed. No one seems to have found an easy path, either for hiking or for horses, on the Kona side.

¹⁴ Anderson (1864, 156) citing Ellis, noted that the flow "filled up a deep bay twenty miles in length." The large fish pond built by Kamehameha at Kīholo Bay, was utterly destroyed by this eruption (Faris 1929, 292).

¹⁵ John Young, then advisor to Kamehameha, was perhaps the only westerner to witness this eruption. No first hand description of the eruption was found in the research done for this dissertation.

¹⁶ The Kekaha area of North Kona, north of Kailua town, also contains several lava flows and is perhaps even more desolate in appearance, since rainfall is less than in South Kona. Visitors have been intrigued by the vulcanicity of this area (London 1917, 233; Morrill 1919, 99; Wriston 1926, 60; Gessler 1937, 245), particularly the 1800–01 flow, but less so than by the flows in South Kona and Ka'u.

¹⁷ Anderson's daughter, Mary, had a different opinion. In her memoir of the trip, she called this road over the a'a an "apology" and, after growing "weary of the dull black scene," noted "I never knew the meaning of desolation before" (Anderson 1865, 109–10).

¹⁸ The great difference of opinion between Mary Anderson, traveling in 1864, and Morrill, traveling in 1919, shows how a change in mode of transport can affect the resource value of a region. Traveling on a horse over the sun-baked a'a flows of Ka'u and South Kona was misery; seeing them while speeding along in a covered automobile was a pleasure.

¹⁹ The "lava waterfall" is located on land within Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park. It is not marked in any way, though park personnel will divulge its location if asked.

²⁰ The lava tubes exposed in the side of the Kealakekua pali became particularly interesting to visitors after it was learned many were burial caves for Hawaiian chiefs (Lisiansky 1968, 109; Wilkes 1970, 90; Howell 1892, 76). Baker (1916, 81) made a trip into Hoaekeu cave with three Hawaiians. He described in detail the multitude of bones and variety of articles that had been buried with the deceased. He noted the entire cave had been ransacked. Many tourist guidebooks have pointed out the fact that the caves in the Kealakekua pali were used for burials. This fact has helped perpetuate the caves as a tourist resource, though the practice of burying the dead in them ceased long ago.

²¹ Laniākea Cave is not mentioned as an attraction in Kinney's (1917) guidebook of the Big Island, nor by Baker in his overview's of the sights of the Kona Coast (1916, 1918, 1921). In her research on Kona, Kelly (1983, 12) found out that parts of the lava tube have now collapsed and the entrance is choked with debris. Dr. Lloyd Soehren, working as a consulting archaeologist, was hired by a Mr. John P. Dinsmore to examine the cave. In a subsequent letter to Mr. Dinsmore, Soehren (1980) noted that a "rockfall" blocked the passage at the makai end. It was evidently no longer possible to reach the pool which had so refreshed the Hawaiians a century earlier. In the letter, Soehren stated that: "Closure of the tube would not appear likely to cause any major loss to our knowledge of Hawaiian history." During the field research done for this dissertation, several people were asked if they knew the location of this cave today. No one did. Hence it is not known if the cave entrance has been closed.

²² Since field research was completed Mahai'ula Beach has also been opened to the public.

²³ The lack of good beaches in and around Kailua town would seem to have been a major factor in a number of resort companies deciding against developing in Kona. This will be further discussed in Chapters 6 and 9.

²⁴ This precise question—"Where's the beach?"—was asked by a European visitor while the HVB office staff was being interviewed for this research. The response, that the nearest good beach was several miles down the road, did not make this particular tourist happy. He noted he was not renting a car, and was obviously dismayed that he would not be able to easily get to the beach from his hotel.

²⁵ The isolation of anchialine ponds in Kona may soon end. Since the late 1980s developers have sought permits for several major resort projects that would be located near most of the existing ponds in North Kona. The controversy over preserving these ecosystems would seem to have had an impact; several development plans call for preservation of the ponds. Perhaps the South Kohala solution—modification of the pond areas into a viable tourist attraction with walkways and numerous signs explaining the origin and ecological sensitivity—points to a way in which these ponds can co-exist with whichever of the resorts are ultimately approved and constructed.

²⁶ The State's "trade wind climate" results from the existence of a stable high pressure center to the northeast (*Atlas of Hawai'i* 1973, 54). The simultaneous stable presence of a thermal inversion layer at between 4,600–6,300 feet (Jacobi 1990, 53, citing Blumenstock and Price 1972) limits the heights to which the trade winds can climb the Big Island's volcanic peaks. The summits and saddle areas between Kona and the ocean to the

northeast are sufficiently high to completely prevent the trade wind weather that prevails across the state to exist in Kona.

²⁷ The daily alternation of land-sea breezes makes Kona's climate distinctive in another way—it is not stereotypical "Kona weather." The latter occurs when the normal air pressure patterns in the North Pacific fail, resulting in the cessation of the trade winds. During these periods, air temperatures and humidity are higher than normal for the time of year (*Atlas of Hawai'i* 1973, 58). This muggy weather is very different from the weather quality in the Kona region.

²⁸ Days of fairly uniform length throughout the year, the clarity of the atmosphere overhead, and the Pacific Ocean acting as a large "thermostat", function to ensure that level ground on clear days in Hawai'i will receive two-thirds the amount of solar radiation in winter as in summer (Wagner, Herbst and Sohmer 1990, 37).

²⁹ Ground frost can occur above 8,500 feet in summer and as low as 4,000 feet in the winter months (Jacobi 1990, 53 citing Price 1983 and Mueller-Dombois 1966).

³⁰ The small area of "As" ("summer-dry") climate is an anomaly. Outside of Hawai'i, "As" climates occur only in Sri Lanka and southeast India. In all cases, these are regions of fairly low elevation. On this particular slope of Hualālai, some orographic precipitation does occur but rainfall totals are augmented by the mid-latitude cyclonic storms that come through Hawai'i in the winter months. Hence, summer is the dry season for this small piece of land (Juvik et al. 1978, 131).

³¹ Cox (1987, 89) studied the perceptions of missionaries of Hawai'i as part of her dissertation. Her research showed that missionaries made no attempt to adapt to their new tropical climate by removing some of their clothes. They therefore found the climate too hot; it was "enervating" to them. The mission station at Waimea was established precisely as a rest and relaxation spot for those who were forced to suffer in the hot coastal stations. Cox concluded missionaries found climate an obstacle in the way to perfecting the people of Hawai'i, while other types saw in it proof that Hawai'i was already perfect. She has also concluded from her research that the Hawaiian climate assumed greater importance in visitor's views as the 19th century advanced. By mid-century, it was contributing to Hawai'i's image as "paradise". Discussing Cracroft's letters from Hawai'i to her family in England, Cox (1987, 217) quotes her view that Hawai'i's climate is "one of the luxuries of existence."

³² Twain was also one of the people who took note of the change in climate zones from arctic to tropical as one descended Mauna Loa. His reflection was very prosaic:

One could stand on that mountain (wrapped up in blankets and furs to keep warm), and while he nibbled a snowball or an icicle to quench his thirst he could look down the long sweep of its sides and see spots where plants are growing that grow only where the bitter cold of winter prevails; lower down he could see sections devoted to productions that thrive in the temperate zone alone; and at the bottom of the mountain he could see the home of the tufted coco palms and other species of vegetation that grow only in the sultry atmosphere of eternal summers. He could see all the climes of the world at a single glance of the eye, and that glance would only pass over a distance of eight or ten miles as the bird flies (Twain 1966, 201).

³³ Bob Herkes, a former manager of the hotel, noted in an interview that the Inter-Island Steamship Navigation Company, the builder of the hotel, had also originally been of the opinion that the makai area of Kona was too hot for tourists' tastes, and had wanted to build a hotel mauka, where the others were. The consultant they sent to Kona to select a site, however, spent the night in Kailua. During the evening, the cool drift of air coming down from the mountain heights convinced him that a seaside location for a hotel could be profitable, and thus the Kona Inn was built at the shore (Bob Herkes, personal communication, 12-13-91).

³⁴ Hill (1856, 207) commented:

"This coast of Owhyhee appears to be the most healthy of any portion of the islands. Whether this be owing to the inhabitants having retained more of their ancient customs, or from its position in respect to the mountains, and the direction of the prevailing winds which so much influence the climate in all latitudes, we found that the sickness, during the prevalence of the epidemics above mentioned, had been less here than anywhere else in the group."

³⁵ Jacobi's (1990) research on potential vegetation included just under half of the land area of the Big Island; a considerable portion of Kona was included. He did not map most of the land at elevations less than 2,000 feet because of the extreme amount of human disturbance that has occurred. He also did not map above the vegetation line on the upper slopes of Mauna Loa. Utilizing the variables of rainfall, elevation and physiognomy, Jacobi created a taxonomy of 17 potential plant communities for the island; these were mapped individually in his study.

³⁶ This forest type, which would exist between 4,000–6,000 feet, would be shorter than the forest in the wetter areas below, but taller than the forest at higher elevations, which grows above the thermal inversion layer.

³⁷ In areas where these mixed forests remain undisturbed, Jacobi noted the prevailing opinion that they contain the greatest degree of species diversity among the different forest types seen on the Big Island.

³⁸ After realizing many of Kona's plants were endemic, Menzies looked for their flowers and fruits so he could take them back to England. He found most were not in season, however. This was very frustrating: "I could not help considering my situation as the most vexatious and tantalizing that a scrutinizing botanist could ever be placed in, surrounded on all sides by new and rare objects and yet destitute of the means of obtaining knowledge of them" (Menzies 1920, 82).

³⁹ The change to auto travel caused this to occur to an even greater extent on the route between Hilo and Kilauea Volcano. There is a voluminous literature of visitor's trips to Kilauea during the 19th and early 20th century. The same sequence occurred there as at Kona. Getting through the forest was a hardship until bridle paths were put through the trees and over the lava flows. After this people marveled over the quality of the forest, almost as much as over the volcano. This level of interest peaked during the 1890s, when a carriage road was built and people could travel comfortably, but still went slowly. After the first auto road was built, the forest, and particularly the tree ferns, were still close enough to observe. After high speed roads were built, however, the objective simply became getting to the volcano from Hilo, without noticing anything along the way.

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- ⁴⁰ Carlquist (1970, 86) suggests that as few as seven colonizations could account for all the species of land birds known to have existed in Hawai'i. Walker (1967, np) puts the figure at "sixteen original immigrants."
- ⁴¹ Polynesian faunal introductions may also have included a species of rat (*Rattus exulans Hawaiiensis*), a mouse (*Mus musculus*), as well as at least one species of skink and gecko (Walker 1967, 2).
- ⁴² Olmsted (1969, 132) discussed one animal that was a distinct irritant—the flea. Traveling overland from Puna to Kona in 1840, his leg was badly bitten by fleas while in Ka'u. It subsequently became infected, he managed to get to Kailua where he had to spend several unanticipated weeks because he was too lame to walk. In tribute, he wrote a long ironic poem to the fleas of Hawai'i.
- ⁴³ Nolan and Cheney's (1981) inventory of oceanic resources included assessments of localized turbidity in Kona.
- ⁴⁴ Edmondson (1928, 5) studied coral reefs in Hawai'i and learned the set of conditions necessary for reef development. These conditions include: water depths extending to 45 m below sea level; firm bottom conditions and an absence of silt; good water circulation, food supply and light source; a minimum annual temperature above 17°C and salinity levels between 27–38 percent.
- ⁴⁵ Dollar (1975, 109) has hypothesized that coral planulae in island chains to the south and west of Hawai'i are unable to successfully swim against the east-to-west currents of the central Pacific Ocean. He additionally suggests that the cooler waters of sub-tropical Hawai'i may prevent some tropical species which do arrive from successfully reproducing.
- ⁴⁶ This "depauperate" status is in comparison with the relatively nearby Line, Phoenix and Marshall Islands, tropical groups which have respectively two, three and four times as many species as does Hawai'i (Dr. James Maragos, personal communication, May 21, 1993).
- ⁴⁷ Dr. James Maragos (personal communication, May 21, 1993.) noted that the Big Island is sinking at a rate of 3.5–4 mm per year; this is too rapid for coral to produce a reef platform. Moore and Clague (1987, 752) use a figure of 2 mm per year for the subsidence rate of the Big Island. In a study on underwater lava flows from Mauna Loa and Hualālai, they note the existence of a reef 150 m below sea level that extends from beyond 'Upolu Point at the northern end of the Big Island south to Mauna Loa, where its existence becomes speculative because of the many lava flows which overlie it. This reef "drowned" through a combination of subsidence and sea level rise, according to these authors.
- ⁴⁸ A coral community grows upon the substrate while a reef grows upon a limestone platform of its own making (Dollar 1975, 24).
- ⁴⁹ The US Army Corps of Engineers funded a project which mapped these communities; this data has been aggregated into Figure 3.6. This project resulted in the creation of the *West Hawai'i Coral Reef Atlas* (1981). Not all the coral communities were shown, however. Popular areas where tourists view coral, such as Kailua and Kahalu'u Bays, were not identified.

⁵⁰ Studies of Kona's coral communities (Dollar 1975; Ocean Research Consulting and Analysis, Ltd. 1978; Dr. James Maragos, personal communication) indicate that several zones exist extending seaward from the coastline. Each zone is distinguished by a dominant coral type that is growing in a particular depth range. For the Kona coastline, where there typically is considerable wave action and the substrate is basaltic, the species *Pocillopora meandrina* dominates. This species is also the first to colonize new lava flows. Also fond of shallow water is the species *Porites lobata*. In Kona, this species is found seaward of *P. meandrina*. This coral typically displays two different forms. Where surge conditions exist the coral simply forms a crust over the basalt surface. When growing in greater depths however, the coral forms large lobes and plates. Further seaward, the species *Porites compressa* grows in a branch-like form and creates dense thickets that may completely exclude other species over hundreds of square meters. Coral cover is most dense in Kona waters between about 20–45 feet.

⁵¹ Those which have arrived tend to have atypically long larval periods, a necessity for survival across the great span of open ocean (Hourigan and Reese 1987, 187).

⁵² The Marshall Islands have over 800 species of fish while the Philippine Islands have over 2,000 species (Hourigan and Reese 1987, 188).

⁵³ These whale species include the sperm whale (*Phyceter macrocephalus*), pygmy sperm (*Kogia breviceps*) and dwarf sperm (*Kogia simus*), Blainville's Beaked whale (*Mesoplodon densirostris*), and Cuvier's Beaked whale (*Ziphius cavirostris*). These species tend to live in deep water and do not stay at the surface for long.

⁵⁴ Stevenson's first impression of the Kona coast near Ho'okena, though colorfully written, was not positive:

And yet even on my first sight, beholding so little and that through a glass from the deck of the *Casco*, the rude Plutonic structure of the isle was conspicuous. Here was none of the accustomed glitter of the beach, none of the close shoreside forests of the typical high island. All seemed black and barren, and to slope sheer into the sea. Unexpected movements of the land caught the attention: folds that glittered with a certain vitreosity; black mouths of caves; ranges of low cliffs; vigorously designed a while in sun and shadow, and that sank again into the general declivity of the island glacis. Under its gigantic cowl of cloud the coast frowned upon us with a face of desolation. (Stevenson 1973, 5)

Traveling through Kona earlier in the decade, Coote (1883, 111), looking at the "scoriated lava," stated his opinion more directly: "There is nothing of interest in the appearance of this south-west coast of Hawai'i."

⁵⁵ *Hawai'i. A Holiday Magazine Travel Guide* for 1962 (np) was the major exception, where it was noted: "Kona's beauty lies partly in its majestic shoreline and partly in its brilliant vegetation; between the blue sea and the haze-purple mountainside almost every possible shade of green is represented, from the dark leaves of coffee plants to the lighter colored *kukui*, or candlenut, groves."

CHAPTER 5

HANGIN WITH THE LOCALS—NOT !

Tourists exploring destinations are curious about the residents as well as the physical environment. This interest in people as people—who they are, what they do, how they live—is here termed “social” resources. It is certainly obvious that people are interesting in-and-of themselves. Virtually all contemporary travel programs and literature devote considerable time and text to describing the locals. Yet very little academic research could be found on this major component of tourism. Thus the typological categories for how locals function as resources to tourists who visited Kona had to be almost completely abstracted from the data, because virtually nothing could be transferred from existing theory. For this reason, the chapter has a different structure than the last. The regional description is separate from tourists’ impressions of local people. The former is developed first; the focus will be on demography and ethnic variety. This is followed by discussion of how tourists have perceived locals as resource elements. The categories shown in Figure 5.1 structure the material. This chapter, like the last, ends with some comments on the current levels of availability and quality. A conclusion is that very little of this resource—local people—remains available for tourists to experience. The population of Hawaiians, with whom tourists formerly observed and interacted, has dwindled and become invisible. Currently, tourists’ chances to “hang” with the locals are slim.

PEOPLE, THEMSELVES		
<i>SOCIETAL ASPECTS</i>	<i>INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS</i>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic • Ethnic variety 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appearance • Character • Status • Role 	
NATURE OF LOCAL LIFE		
<i>SOCIAL RELATIONS</i>	<i>DAILY ACTIVITIES</i>	<i>EVENTS</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Religious sanctions • Class relations • Distinctive life styles • Gender relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work • Domestic • Leisure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sporting • Holiday-related • Ethnic • Cultural

Figure 5.1 A typology of social resources, based on visitors’ experiences with locals in Kona.

TABLE 5.1
Estimates of Kona's Population 1779–1990

1779	15,000 ^a	1896	5,388
1825	20,000 ^b	1900	6,191
1832	12,300 ^c	1910	6,568
1835	10,954	1920	7,412
1853	7,223	1930	9,405
1860	6,171	1940	7,948
1866	5,717	1950	7,330
1872	4,134	1960	8,743
1878	3,728	1970	8,836 ^d
1884	3,595	1980	19,662
1890	3,565	1990	30,352

- ^a Estimated by Ledyard (in Munford 1963, 129) in 1779, for the villages of Kealakekua and Ka'awaloa only.
- ^b Holland's (1971, 20) estimate for the central Kona area only, based on compilation of several sources, including Ellis (1927) and Thurston (1934).
- ^c Schmitt (1977, 12–15) compiled the estimates for the years between 1831–2 to 1960 from several sources.
- ^d Estimates for the 1970–1990 period are from the US Census data (*State of Hawai'i Data Book 1991*, 20).

DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

Table 5.1 provides data on population change for the Kona region since western contact occurred in 1779.¹ Four trends can be discerned. First, there was a period of relatively high population, from initial western contact until the first thorough count of the population was made by Ellis in 1823. A dramatic decline began shortly thereafter, and lasted until 1890. A third period of slow population growth occurred between 1890 and 1970. Most recently, a huge increase has occurred in the past 20 years, restoring the regional population to numbers above the level estimated at the time of initial contact.

When Cook and his crew dropped anchor in Kealakekua Bay in 1779, they encountered a region which, for a Pacific island, had an enormous population. Though rough estimates were made for the population totals of the individual islands and the Hawaiian group in total, neither Cook's expedition nor others that followed during the next half century took precise counts for Kona. Several visitors did take house counts for individual villages. A member of Cook's expedition, Ledyard (1963, 103), counted the houses along the shore on both sides of

Kealakekua Bay. He noted there existed about 1,100 houses in "Kealakekua village" (today Nāpō'po'o), and an additional 100 in Ka'awaloa village (on the northern side of the bay). From this count he extrapolated an estimate of 15,000 people.

The first real attempts to count the population of Kona were made in the mid-1820s, by the recently arrived Christian missionaries. Ellis and Thurston each estimated a population of 20,000 "souls" inhabited the region at that time (Holland 1971, 65–6). Bishop (1916, 12) described Kailua village, which had been the political capital until 1819, as "a large native village, of about 4,000 inhabitants rather closely packed along one hundred rods of shore, and averaging twenty rods inland." Thurston (1934, 82), reminiscing on her childhood in Kona as a missionary's daughter, estimated Kailua's population to be 3,000 people. Thus, while the original population of the district is unknown, it can be concluded that Kona continued into the 1820s decade to be home to a large number of Hawaiians.²

During these early post-contact years, Kona's Hawaiian population was not evenly distributed throughout the region. This was due to the influence of local physiographic factors. Recent volcanic activity on both Hualālai and Mauna Loa had made large areas of Kona virtually uninhabitable. The Kekaha area north of Kailua was mostly composed of recent flows; no soil at all has yet formed. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, the windward Kohala Mountains and Mauna Kea entirely obstruct the trade winds, hence all of Kona is technically within a rain shadow. Only areas a few miles inland from the coast in the central part of the region receive sufficient orographic rainfall to permit agriculture. Additionally, the massif of Mauna Loa is so great that elevations reach above the limits of orographic rainfall, creating a large cold lava desert in the saddle region between that mountain and Hualālai. Finally, South Kona seems never to have been heavily populated even in areas where soil and rainfall were sufficient to grow crops. This was probably due to lack of surface water, the soil formed from recent flows of Mauna Loa are highly porous, and the recency of vulcanism has prevented the development of streams and valleys. In sum, these physiographic factors limited the potential for habitation in Kona primarily to a central area.

At the northern extremity of this central core, Kailua village would seem to have been the most heavily populated of the central Kona villages. The early explorers walking south between there and Kealakekua Bay found the coastline to be almost continuously inhabited (Tyerman and Bennett 1832, Vol. 2, 16; Ellis 1927, 103). Hōnaunau village, four miles south of Kealakekua Bay, seems to have been the southern limit of the densely populated central region of Kona.

Early post-contact accounts agree that nearly the entire Hawaiian population lived in villages along the coastline. This was rather remarkable, given that it meant, first, that people had to walk uphill for several miles to reach their fields, and second, that they had to learn to drink brackish water since there were no perennial streams and few good fresh water sources anywhere along the coast in Kona. In the only explicit statement found on this, Tyerman and Bennett (1832, vol. 2, 16) reported a conversation with long-time resident John Young, who told them that "comparatively few inhabitants" lived inland because of lower soil productivity and colder climate. While the first reason would be true for the saddle areas of Kona, and the second would apply to night-time temperatures at lower elevations where agriculture was practicable, the travel memoirs of the early post-contact years point towards an alternative explanation.

In this literature, there are many references to the great amounts of time that Hawaiians spent engaged in recreational activity in the ocean. To capability of Hawaiians to swim around the ships for hours at a time, of their lack of fear of sharks, and most importantly, of their skill in surfing, became legendary.³ Many of these accounts portray the people as nearly amphibious from an early age. Perhaps it is therefore appropriate for a dissertation on tourism to assert that it could have been the recreational resources of the ocean that ultimately motivated people to reside at the coast. They chose to live near where they could have fun, rather than inland, where they could be close to work.

In addition to being large, the Hawaiian population was also stratified when Captain Cook made first contact. A group of chiefs—*ali'i*—controlled society and the lives of the commoners—*maka'aina'a*. The *ali'i* were a royalty class that ruled on the basis of hereditary position, though a certain social mobility was possible, through effective use of agency

(charisma and capacity) (Handy 1965, 35). Kamakau (1961, 4–6) has described eleven distinct levels of ali'i, for the most part this was based on the each having a different level of kapu. The highest level was the title of *Ali'i Nui*, a position that could be achieved not only through heredity, but also by a high ranking chief having sufficient strength of personality to rule. A considerable portion of the history of Hawaiian society before western contact, as compiled by Kamakau, I'i and others, would seem to be the history of the efforts of high ranking ali'i to achieve the position of Ali'i nui, through battle and intrigue. One of the major powers conferred by this title was the ability to designate the *ahupua'as* on an island to loyal chiefs.

Each island typically was ruled by a single Ali'i Nui. The Big Island however, was large enough to have two of them—one ruling the eastern side of the island from Hilo district, the other ruling the western side from Kona. Kona had been the seat of power for the west side of the Big Island since the time of 'Umi, who united the entire island under his rule in the late 15th century, then moved to Kona to enjoy the weather. When Kamehameha united the island during the 1780s and 1790s, it was only the second time this had occurred. His further successful efforts to bring the entire island chain under his domination were unprecedented. Like 'Umi, Kamehameha returned to Kona after successfully completing his conquests; he ruled from Kailua from 1811 until his death in 1819.

In summation, Hawaiian society in Kona during the first half-century of western contact was stratified into distinct social classes and very heavily populated. This population was very unevenly distributed. Environmental conditions limited agricultural success to a narrow zone a few miles inland from the shore in the central section of the district. Fishing was good along the entire coastline, but it was possibly the additional recreational use the Hawaiians made of the ocean that provided them with a compelling reason to live in villages at the edge of the sea, rather than further inland near their crops.

Table 4.1 clearly indicates that Kona's population underwent a dramatic decline shortly after the first missionary censuses of the mid-1820s were taken. The total for 1835 was only 50% of what it had been about a decade earlier. The rate of decline after this was slower but still steep. Ultimately, by the time Kona's population reached its low, in 1890, only about one-sixth

of the 1825 total remained. A full explanation for the causes of this decline in the Hawaiian population is beyond the scope of this dissertation, but a short discussion of population decline is appropriate because this was an aspect of people as resource that was noticed and commented upon by the visitors of the time.

The decade between 1825 and 1835 would seem to have been the worst for the Hawaiian people living in Kona. Schilt (1984, 24) read through missionary letters of the period and reached a conclusion consistent with the data in Table 4.1, that about half the population died during the decade. The main reasons, according to her researches, were drought-induced famine and sandalwood collection.⁴ With respect to the former, the missionary letters are reinforced by the journal of Sereno Bishop, son of Artemas Bishop, one of the original missionaries. He reported how the missionary families had, during the 1820s, endured "a severe experience of famine with the people, and were unable to procure the ordinary food" (Bishop 1916, 16). Lyman (1924, 121) visited Kona in 1846 and also noted there was an on-going drought which had resulted in fire and a "great famine"; the result was "a dispersion of the people."

Reasons for the population decline in Kona between the late 1830s and 1890 have been difficult to pinpoint because travel narratives of these times were vague on the matter. Two factors which undoubtedly did have an influence were disease and emigration. Cook's men had spread venereal disease to Hawaiian women upon landing (Cook 1967, 476),⁵ thus by the 1830s it had been with the Hawaiian population for two generations.⁶ Venereal disease is not often fatal by itself, but reduces fertility levels in women, and would have had the effect of reducing population growth rates in Kona (Dr. Nancy Lewis, personal communication).

Other western illnesses, to which the Hawaiians had no immunity, must have had some role in Kona's population decline.⁷ The size of this role however, is uncertain because no discussion by an explorer, missionary, or 19th century traveler could be found that explicitly described the impact of any particular epidemic on Kona's population. Hill (1856, 207) in fact noted the opposite: that there seemed to have been fewer epidemics in Kona than elsewhere.⁸

Later in the century, Hansen's disease no doubt also played a role in population decline in Kona. Stevenson (1973, 26) noted during his one week stay in the South Kona village of

Ho'okena that a boat had arrived to take lepers to Molokai. Jack London (in Day and Stroven, eds. 1968) wrote a short story (fictional?) entitled "The Sheriff of Kona", about a Hawaiian man who became afflicted with the disease.

Emigration from Kona must also have been partly responsible for population decline. Famine caused by drought has already been mentioned as one reason for emigration. A second reason had to do with the departure of royalty from Kona. After Kamehameha I died in 1819, Liholiho quickly moved the capital away, first to Lahaina, then to Honolulu. Liholiho's retinue would have been large, as Hawaiian kings tended to insist their chiefs live near them, and his departure would have meant that quite a few people would have followed. Additionally, from 1831 to 1833, the governor of the Big Island, Kuakini, was called to Oahu. Kelly (1983, 17) has noted that many people were forced to move with him, while others went voluntarily.

A third reason for emigration is more speculative. After 1820, the whaling industry established itself in Hawai'i and as time passed an ever-increasing percentage of the sailors were Hawaiian. Kuykendall and Day (1948, 196) cited a report of the Ministry of the Interior for the Kingdom for 1846 that: "The number of those sailing about the ocean cannot be much less than 3,000..." Day (1955, 134) has concluded that about twenty percent of the whaling crews were Hawaiian men. No mention was found in the literature of men from Kona leaving to join the crews, so it is difficult to estimate the impact this might have had on population decline.

While the precise impact of each of these factors is impossible to calculate without a thorough study, the overall result is not. Kona went from being a highly populated, productive area that had been one of the centers of Hawaiian political power for centuries, to a peripheral hinterland, in about 30 years. Such a state of affairs was to last over a century, until regional development spurred by tourism potential began to occur in the early 1970s.

Table 4.1 shows that the regional decline in population ended in the 1890s. This was unfortunately not due to the revitalization of the Hawaiian population, but was mainly because of immigration resulting from the expansion of the coffee industry. Coffee had been brought to Kona by the 1820s (Bingham 1981, 399) and Hawaiians had grown it on a semi-commercial

basis for much of the remainder of the century (Jean Greenwell, Kona Historical Society, personal papers).

The intensive labor requirements of coffee led to the gradual increase in Kona's population during the 1890s decade. Japanese contract laborers, imported mainly for the sugar industry, began to come to Kona during this time to work on the plantations (*Paradise of the Pacific* 1899, 6). By World War I, about 1,000 Japanese families were farming a total of 5,000 acres in Kona (Jarrett 1933, 95). Of these, 249 were less than three acres in extent, and only 18 were larger than 15 acres (*HA* 1932, 7). These workers and their families, who came to Kona looking for independence from the plantation laborer's life, raised the population of Kona to about double what it had been at the lowest point. They also gave a distinctively new ethnic character to the landscape. By 1920, the district population had stabilized, and nothing much happened to change this for half a century.

The most recent phenomenon shown in Table 4.1 is the large increase in Kona's population that began to occur in the 1970s. Over the course of the past two decades, the regional population has roughly quadrupled, and regained a level approximating the numbers Manby estimated were surrounding his ships in Kealakekua Bay in 1793.

The cause of the rapid increase was related to the expansion of the tourism industry that occurred in the 1960s. Kona regained its former status as the dominant center of West Hawai'i, which led to more broadly based regional development. Population increase occurred because immigrants perceived the possibility of successfully making a living in Kona. Additionally, numerous condominiums and subdivisions were built during this time period. Many of these housing units, particularly condominiums, were purchased by "snowbirds," mainland residents who escape the winter in Kona. Others were purchased by retirees, who reside year-round.

The increase in number has also meant a change in ethnicity. According to data from the 1990 US Census, Kona has taken on a decidedly Caucasian cast; over 50% of the residential population is now white. This is more than three times the percentage of the next largest ethnic group, the Hawaiians. This is a remarkable change from earlier days. Corwin (1862, 6) noted there were 30 foreigners living close enough to attend church at Ka'awaloa. All 30 were men.

The spatial distribution of recent immigrants has changed the landscape of Kona considerably. Whereas the coast was the popular place for Hawaiians to live, and the farmers and ranchers tended to live in a narrow elevation zone in the mauka that was favorable for coffee, the recent immigrants have moved into a widely scattered assortment of subdivisions that have been built. A recent map (Time-Wise Publications 1987) listed 70 of these extending from the western slope of Hualālai south to Kealahou Bay, a distance of nearly 20 miles. Nearly all of these are constructed off Kona's main roads, with large areas of cattle pasture and coffee acreage in between them. Kona's residential character has now become exurban, scattered around the Kailua village and mauka farming cores.

PEOPLE AS RESOURCES TO VISITORS

The travel narratives and other memoirs that served as data sources for this dissertation showed repeatedly that the local population is an important resource to tourists in the overall experience of traveling. The challenge was to create a typology of how this was so. The categories that were induced are quite substantive, in that almost all emerged from the Kona case data and have thus far seen no broader application. The two major categories that emerged were: the nature of people, and the nature of local life.

PEOPLE, THEMSELVES

When travelers described the residents of Kona, their observations fell into two broad categories: observations about the local society and observations about individuals. These are the two main components of the larger category about the nature of people.

Aspects of Society

Comments about Kona society tended to focus on either the number of people, or the ethnic variety that existed. As will be seen, the range of comments have varied greatly over time. The first section of this chapter overviewed the changing demographics of Kona, i.e., the number of people, and the fall and rise of population. This property has also been of interest to tourists. Hence, just after western contact, the great number of Hawaiians was considered

remarkable, but by the mid-19th century population decline had typically become the focus. For visitors during the 18th and 19th centuries, the Hawaiian population was not great in any ubiquitous sense (as might be said to be the case for India and China, today). Rather, Hawaiians congregated during certain occasions; it was the size of these groups that visitors found remarkable.

Chronologically, the first observations that travelers made concerning the size of the Kona population described the vast numbers of people who came to Kealahou Bay to greet them. Nearly all the explorers who landed at Kealahou Bay or Kailua in the late 18th and early 19th centuries commented upon this. Hawaiians would seem to have been even more curious about westerners than vice versa. This curiosity wore off after ships began arriving regularly, hence the observations were of the 18th century explorers were the most remarkable. Cook (1967, 490) himself wrote in his journal that he had "no where in this Sea seen such a number of people assembled at one place..." His officer, King (1967, 503), estimated there were about 10,000 people either on board ship, swimming around it, or on the nearby shore. Manby, a mate on Vancouver's expedition in 1793, made perhaps the most thorough description of the remarkableness of the population at Kealahou Bay:

On the following morning, long before day broke, canoes began to assemble round us; they flocked into the bay from all parts; by noon you could scarce see the water in any part of the bay, as the canoes formed a complete platform. The number of people then afloat could not be less than thirty thousand. The noise they made is not to be conceived; everybody loudly speaking and being assisted by the musical cries of some scores of hogs and pigs absolutely stunned us on board the brig. (Manby 1959, 23)

Reactions such as Manby's to the curiosity and friendliness of the Hawaiian multitudes were typical throughout the first several decades of contact. As late as the 1830s, writers commented upon the large number of Hawaiians who had come aboard the ship and the heavy canoe traffic in Kealahou Bay (Tyerman and Bennett 1832, 273; Boelen 1988, 23; Barrot 1978, 4).⁹

After 1820, as the influence of Christianity began to take hold, the numbers of Hawaiians who congregated to hear the missionaries' sermons were perhaps almost as remarkable as the numbers who had gone out to greet the ships 30 or 40 years earlier. Several of

the Hawaiian chiefs and chiefesses of Kona, including Kuakini, governor of the island, and Kapi'olani, were early converts to Christianity. Bingham (1981, 300) noted in his journal that Bishop seems to have spoken to 20,000 people during two sermons in a coconut grove in Kailua. Kuakini took the initiative to build a large wooden church in the mid-1820s. Forbes (1984, 42), visiting Kona in 1832, noted that this church held 3,000 worshippers. Olmsted (1969, 223) observed between 2,000 and 3,000 people worshipping in the stone edifice that replaced the original wooden structure. Hawaiians also seemed to like to travel to worship. Stewart (1831, 241), staying at Ka'awaloa village on Kealakekua Bay, watched one Sunday as 5,000 people arrived for a service held under a grove of trees in front of chief Naihe's house.

During the last quarter of the 19th century a transport innovation was responsible Hawaiians congregating in numbers. After 1875 or so, inter-island steamship travel became regularized, and once each week the steamship would pass the Kona Coast from Honolulu, on the way to Hilo. This became known as "steamer day" and Hawaiians living mauka would ride down for the event. Visitors during this era were much amused by the spectacle of the Hawaiian crowds watching them, and many commented on it (Stevenson 1973, 8; LaFarge 1912, 38; *Coronet Memories* 1899, 99; Craft 1898, 154). Whitney (1890, 29-31) remarked upon how crowds of locals "come galloping in" on steamer day for "a sort of holiday" at Kailua. Then, as the steamer docked down the coast at Keauhou, he saw "the same crowd, who have galloped overland to meet the boat."

During this era, Ho'okena seems to have become the major village of the Kona coast, particularly after the 1890s, when coffee developed as an export crop.¹⁰ Burnett made the following observation about steamer day there:

Steamer day, at all of the ports of landing, invariably empties the surrounding country, bringing in the people from the kulianas, or farms, by hundreds; and this little village of only two stores exemplified the general rule. I counted from the dock, ninety-eight horses and donkeys, barebacked and saddled, fastened near by, that had been ridden in by the natives to see the steamer arrive. (Burnett 1892, 204)¹¹

The rapid decline in the number of Hawaiians began to be noticed by visitors during the 1830s decade. After the missionary censuses showed the magnitude of depopulation, the opinion began to be publicly expressed that the Hawaiian race would soon be extinct. Bingham

(1981, 486), in a missionary report for 1836, stated the following: "According to the present ratio of decrease, it will be but a few years before the pall of death will be spread over the whole land, and these valleys, once full of people, will be solitary." This sort of opinion influenced tourists' observations. Barrot (1978) entitled the book describing his stay in Hawai'i *Unless Haste is Made: A French skeptic's account of the Hawaiian Islands in 1836* because of his belief the Hawaiian race would soon be extinct.

Similar observations were made by visitors of population decline in Kona. These tended to be comments regarding how the villages had changed. Anderson (1864, 154), visiting in the early 1860s, stated that the once populous Kailua "is but now but a poor remnant of its former self."¹² With respect to other villages, Hill (1856, 194) noted "Keauhua" [probably Keauhou] village contained only about 8–10 huts by about 1850. Coote (1881, 114) noted the Kealakekua Bay area was not prosperous, and had a residential population of perhaps 100 people. Whitney (1890, 69), author of what was perhaps Hawai'i's first travel guide, advised visitors that Ho'okena village in South Kona was "probably the last specimen on the islands of a purely Hawaiian community."

In a telling commentary, Mark Twain, while visiting Kona in 1866, spoofed the idea that there had ever been a large number of Hawaiians living in the islands in the first place. Commenting on the custom of Hawaiians of having more than one building within the larger household compound, he asserted:

It was this custom, no doubt, which has left every pleasant valley in these islands marked with the ruins of numerous house enclosures, and given strangers the impression that the population must have been vast before those houses were deserted; but the argument loses much of its force when you come to consider that the houses absolutely necessary for half a dozen married men were sufficient in themselves to form one of the deserted "villages" so frequently pointed out to the "Californian." (Twain 1966, 202)

In addition to the interest tourists took in population numbers, a second demographic interest has been with ethnic variety. For Kona, this property has changed considerably over time, but has never been a major aspect of social resources..

In the first half century after contact, explorers interested in ascertaining distinctions among Pacific Island populations could not find much variation among people in the Hawaiian

islands as a whole. King (1967, 611), on Cook's expedition, observed: "The Differences in Colour, form, height, & in natural dispositions, between the Natives of the Different Islands, are so trifling, that it would be repeating the same Words, to describe them under these heads separately." This remained the case for Kona for over a century. Craft (1898, 145), visiting in the 1890s, commented on how Kona had Hawaiians of the "purest blood" who had managed to mix less with other races. Some tourists were not comfortable with this. Austin, a Honolulu resident traveling around the Big Island in the decade before craft, commented that Kona was "really a very picturesque spot, but as none save natives live here, it is not a comfortable stopping place for white folks" (Austin 1927, 62).

The development of coffee agriculture changed the situation, as different ethnic groups, particularly Japanese and Filipinos, immigrated and established small farms. This gave the region a new melting pot flavor, which was attractive for tourists to observe, particularly during the 1930s (Musick 1898, 219; Jarrett 1933, 46). Franck summed up this impression of a harmonious melting pot:

Roundabout our Keauhou hosts' home ... live Chinese in real Chinese garments, Japanese with matted floors, their shoes, even wooden *getas*, outside their doors, Hawaiians at home in neat little flowery patches, Filipinos, Koreans, Portuguese, even Puerto Ricans ... all living side by side, each his own type of life, in perfect harmony with his neighbors; each with ground enough for privacy; no one giving the impression of overlooking or questioning his neighbor, unlike so many communities on the mainland. (Franck 1937, 45-6)

The interest in the ethnic groups that settled in Kona is now mostly gone. Lately, the dominant immigrant group has been the tourists themselves, settling into Kona's new condos and sub-divisions. The result is a residential population that is ever-less different from its visitors.

Aspects of Individuals

Complimenting interest in groups of locals is interest in features of individuality. In Kona, this interest has been manifest in several basic ways. Visitors are interested in what the locals look like; i.e., their appearance. What they act like—their character—is also of interest, particularly when it is known that cultural differences in behavior exist. Third, when traveling

people can sometimes meet locals who are at a different social level than those at home. This has been abstracted as the property of "status." Finally, locals can take on certain "roles" in their interaction with tourists.

The general appearance of the Hawaiian people during the first era of contact was quite pleasing to western eyes. Samwell (1967, 1178) noted the "Indians" were "in general above the middle size, strong and well made & of a dark copper Colour, and are upon the whole a fine handsome sett of People." Arriving some 20 years later, Shaler (1935, 90) commented similarly on their robustness, noting additionally: "generally, their features are rather blunt and harsh: they would be disagreeable, were they not animated by good nature, and the finest eyes in the world." King (1967) noted that the general state of health was high (p. 598), but also observed the effects of several diseases: "The Venereal is certainly now the Worst" (p. 629), and "Boils are very general"; he also mentioned the existence of blindness, dwarfism, and mental illness among the population (p. 629).

Visitors before about 1840 observed three distinct characteristics in the appearance of the Hawaiian people. The first of these was that nearly all adults were missing their front teeth. This was due to a cultural practice, as King explained:

They have naturally very good teeth, but upon various occasions they knock them out, such as upon the death of their Chief or any extraordinary accident befalling him his Subjects take out a tooth; by this unhappy mode of complementing you hardly see a compleat set of Teeth among them, but in many of their mouths vacancies for at least ½ a dozen, for they always take the Fore teeth out first. (King 1967, 599)

The second remarkable physical feature was having tatoos. This was common among Pacific Islanders but Hawaiian practices were distinctive. Both Samwell, with Cook's expedition, and Arago, forty years later, noted that only certain parts of the body tended to be tatoosed. Arago (1971, 76) stated the most common locations were "the inner part of the arm, of the leg, and of the thigh," though the feet, palms of the hands, or even the tongue might also be tatoosed. Designs tended to be of "Men and other Animals" (Samwell 1967, 1178); Arago (1971, 76) noted "birds, fans, draft-boards, and circles with several diameters; but more frequently numerous rows of goats." Von Chamisso (1986, 313) observed that goats were a "foreign" image, he also saw others: "muskets, even letters and their names and places of birth." Samwell

and Arago observed people who had tatoos on only one side of the body, Arago (1971, 76) thought this "produced a very singular effect; they looked just like men half burnt, or daubed with ink, from the top of the head to the sole of the foot."

The third distinctive physical feature was the way Hawaiian men and women wore their hair. For men, there seems to have been a variety of styles over the time period. On Cook's expedition both King (1967, 612) and Samwell (1967, 1179) observed that some men wore long hair. Samwell observed that Hawaiians, especially chiefs, would "tye this part of the Hair or rather tuck one portion of it under the other & leave that behind loose to flow down their backs." He noted indirectly that his reaction to this style changed from negative to positive: "Strange as this Custom might at first appear it soon became familiar to us & we thought at last it had a more elegant appearance than any method of dressing the hair among Europeans." King also observed the Hawaiians liked to wear wigs, which created this impression: "... it flows down their backs in distinct Cords twisted, & has a very droll appearance." One other style was to "have it cut so as to resemble their feather'd caps ..." (all citations King 1967, 612). Fifteen years or so later, Lisiansky's (1968, 123) observation indicates this last style had evolved somewhat, he noted: "the prevailing fashion at present, is that of a Roman helmet."

Women's hair styles were different. They tended to "crop theirs close, leaving a ridge, about an inch and-a-half long, sticking up, and extending from side to side on the forehead" (Lisiansky 1968, 124). Von Chamisso noticed another style: "Often a fine long lock in the middle of the forehead is singled out, dyed violet, and combed back. To please the Europeans, some let their hair grow and tie it into a braid in the back similar to that which was regulation in the Prussian Army in 1800" (Von Chamisso 1986, 313).

Both men and women tended to bleach their hair with "a sort of pomatum...made of shells and corals." Women would bleach the ridge of hair around their foreheads, while: "The men do the same with theirs, colouring only the hair which forms the crest of the helmet" (both citations Lisiansky 1968, 124).

Hawaiian society was more interesting because of the presence of the ali'i. Merely having the chance to gaze upon a royal class, to scrutinize the Hawaiian ali'i's features, clothing

and social carriage, was stimulating to visitors. Comments in narratives ranged from complimentary to scathing, but the most common impression the chiefs made was of being dignified, of being members of a true royal class.

Von Kotzebue's remarks showed this range of opinion. At one point during his visit he was introduced to Kamehameha's brother and a companion. He commented that: "They were two extremely tall Herculean figures, whose dress, in the newest fashion of Owyhee, struck us very much, as it merely consisted of a black frock, and a small white straw hat." Later, upon meeting Liholiho, Kamehameha's heir, he remarked that the name meant "dog of all dogs," and continued that "and such we really found him ... a tall, corpulent, and naked figure...stretched out on his stomach", who "indolently raised his head to look at his guests." He concluded by commenting that Kamehameha ought to have a better successor (all citations Von Kotzebue 1967, 299, 309).

The appearance of the royal women also caught the attention of westerners. Vancouver (1967, 3) was introduced to one of Kamehameha's wives who had come on board the ship, and noted she "did credit to the choice and taste of Tamaahmaah, being one of the finest women we had yet seen on any of the islands." This was not the typical reaction. Most of the visitors were introduced to ladies who had gained much weight. Samwell (1967, 1160) noted that the chiefess Kaheana was "exceeding fat & unwieldy." Arago was introduced to five of Kamehameha's queens, including Ka'ahumanu. He observed the latter "weighed at least thirty stone" and "was the smallest." The others he described as "rather shapeless masses of flesh than human beings," who "bore a great resemblance to the hippopotamus..." (all citations Arago 1971, 92). Most western reactions to the physiques of the royal women were of the latter variety. Only Von Chamisso (1986, 116) had a different opinion noting that the queens were "tall, stout, almost beautiful women."

A second component of their appearance that could astonish western visitors was the relative nakedness of the queens and chiefesses. Manby (1959, 25) observed this rather objectively: "The only clothing they had on was many folds of thin cloth about their waste reaching nearly to the knee; every other part of them remains uncovered, with few ornaments..."

Freycinet (1978, 7), however, arriving much later and probably aware of toplessness among Hawaiian women, was still obviously unprepared for the sight: "Just imagine an enormous woman exhibiting, without ceremony, her robust, naked breasts to our astonished eyes..."

Besides the physical appearance of the Hawaiians, western visitors were intrigued by their clothing. At contact, the Hawaiian style of dressing for daily life was simple. Men wore the *maro*, "a piece of Cloth... about 2 hands broad, tyed round the waist." The dress of the women was similar, but "the better sort have large Pieces of Cloth brought several times round their middle, which comes as low as the Knee & makes them very bulky but does not cover the Breasts" (all quotes Samwell 1967, 1178). In addition:

The generality of the young women have a piece of Cloth which they call Paw round their Waist which descends something lower than the Knee, it is lapt four or 5 times round them and tucked in behind, and whether it is that we think every thing beautiful about young women or that a fine shape and air can assimilate every thing to themselves, certain it is that we thought this Paw had a very becoming and not an inelegant appearance. (Samwell 1967, 1178)

These articles of clothing continued to be the typical Hawaiian dress throughout the era, causing Von Chamisso (1986, 313) to observe: "In general the O-Waihians have wisely remained true to their native costume as well as their way of life." However, as with hair styles, the Hawaiians were susceptible to notable fads in fashion. As was mentioned in the section on trade, western made cloth was eagerly sought after during barter; cast off western clothing was similarly highly valued. Lisiansky (1968, 125) noted the Hawaiians would "receive with pleasure" the sailors' "old shirts, jackets, and trowsers"; that the westerners were only too glad to exchange for provisions. However, the sight of such clothing on Hawaiians was often humorous, particularly on the large chiefs: "One of the ministers had the waist half way up his back; the coat had been buttoned with the greatest difficulty; he perspired in his tight state dress; his distress was very evident, but fashion would not suffer him to relieve himself of this inconvenience" (Von Kotzebue 1967, 302).

Certainly, valuing foreign-made clothing is something that remains understandable today. And, just as now, clothing fads were then also just as much a part of life: "All now wear a mirror and a pipe bowl tied in a European cloth around the neck" (Von Chamisso 1986, 313).

The feathered capes and helmets that the ali'i wore on ceremonial occasions were considered spectacular forms of apparel to some visitors. King (1967, 626) commented that these made "perhaps the most Splendid & Striking dresses in the South Seas." Samwell (1967, 1179) went even further: "A more rich or elegant Dress than this, perhaps the Arts of Europe have not yet been able to supply." Vancouver watched Kamehameha as he made his entrance onto the western ship and commented the chief was wearing "the most elegant feathered cloak I had yet seen, composed principally of beautiful bright yellow feathers, and reaching from his shoulders to the ground on which it trailed. On his head he wore a very handsome helmet, and made altogether a very magnificent appearance" (Vancouver 1967, Vol. 2, 126).

After the 1820s, comments on the appearance of Hawaiians in Kona become infrequent. Robert Louis Stevenson, visiting Ho'okena village for a week in 1889, made these observations about the continuity of attractive racial features of the Hawaiians:

I know no race that carries years more handsomely, whose people, in the middle way of life, retain more charm. I recall faces, both of men and women, with a certain leonine stamp, trusty, sagacious, brave, beautiful in plainness; faces that take the heart captive. The tougher struggle of the race in these hard isles has written history there; energy enlivens the Hawaiian strength. Or did so once, and the faces are still eloquent of the lost possession. The stock that has produced a Caesar, a Kamehameha, a Ka'ahumanu, retains their signature. (Stevenson 1973, 15)

As for dress, the relative nakedness of Hawaiians continued to startle (Barrot 1978, 7). Men in Kona evidently did not adopt western fashions quickly. Thurston (1934, 30) noted Kamehameha had forbidden people from wearing imported fabrics; Hill (1856, 167) noted that men continued to wear only the maro. He also observed women went about scantily clad for daily activities, but when attending Christian church service they were obliged to put on more than the kapa shawls that served to keep them warm. They were required to wear dresses, which Hill (1856, 167) commented were identical to the "loose blue chemise worn by their sex in Honolulu."

The second major characteristic of local individuals has to do with their character. When 18th and early 19th century visitors arrived in Kona, they seemed to have a keen interest in interacting with the Hawaiians. This interest would seem to have originated in the lively discussions of the character of "uncivilized" people the world over, with whom Europeans and

Americans had been interacting during explorations. This led to visitors having certain negative preconceptions regarding the character of Hawaiians, which were typically dispelled by the latter's behavior towards the visitors (see Manby 1959, 31). It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to deconstruct visitors' mental baggage, other than to observe that it seemed to lighten as the 19th century progressed. What will be attempted here is a substantiation of certain character traits that were repeatedly described.

Initially, the only negative character trait associated with Hawaiians was that of stealing (Cook 1967, 490; Colnett n.d., 138–9). As has been mentioned, the first several ships that reached Kona found Hawaiians to be fascinated with iron. They would evidently go to great lengths to obtain it, as well as other items of western material culture that were innovations to them. This practice of stealing was evidently reported widely after these ships returned home, but its occurrence began to taper off after trading vessels began to ply the North Pacific on a regular basis. Shaler (1935, 90), visiting just after the turn of the 19th century, wrote a spirited defense of the Hawaiians on this matter.

Except for stealing, western visitors had mostly high praise to bestow upon the Hawaiian character. Such praise centered around several characteristics that, when combined, practically ensured that the visit by each ship would be remembered fondly. Friendliness towards visitors was the trait most often noted (Lisiansky 1968, 137). King observed that: "Their extraordinary attention and friendship to us...was I believe without all precedent..." This was particularly true, King asserted, because of the total absence of "lawless rascals" who, in every other island group that Cook stopped at in the Pacific Ocean, were always waiting just out of sight of the "principle People" to do mischief (all citations King 1967, 593). Other characteristics conducive to showing visitors a good time included being "generous" (Shaler 1935, 90), "hospitable" (Samwell 1967, 1188), and willing to "go any lengths to serve those they think their friends" (Shaler 1935, 90). It would thus seem to be the case that the "Aloha Spirit," so necessary to the perpetuation of tourism today, was in fact bestowed in abundance upon visitors from the beginning.

Kona's transformation from a seat of power to rural hinterland was mostly complete by 1850. With the corresponding departure of royalty, the maka'ainana began to attract more of the visitor's attention than had been the case earlier. The latter half of the 19th century, in particular, was the best time to visit to obtain undiluted impressions of Hawaiian character. Travel was slow and visitors often walked or rode horses from Kailua to other major villages; they often met a large number of the people who lived in-between. There were few facilities for travelers, thus they were had no choice but to impose upon the hospitality of the Hawaiians. Memoirs from this half century thus discuss interactions in greater detail than during any other time period (Hill 1856; Anderson 1864; Anderson 1865; Bird 1966).

The generally high appraisal of Hawaiian character was reasserted in many of the writings from this period. As examples, Bird (1966, 253), visiting in the 1870s, stated: "Their mirthfulness and kindness are most winning..." and "the more I see of them the more impressed I am with their carelessness and love of pleasure, their lack of ambition and a sense of responsibility." Robert Louis Stevenson (1973, 11–13) was most impressed with their honesty, noting: "I should have to know a white man well before I trusted him...I trust Hawaiians without fear."

An altogether different side of the Hawaiian character initially made Kona quite a desirable port-of-call. For the first several decades of contact, the village women seem to have been only too happy to oblige the love-sick sailors in a way that quickly became famous in Europe. Women would first attempt to gain admittance to ships as they sailed along the coast of the Big Island; then again upon anchorage at Kealakekua Bay. A scene such as the following seems to have been typical: "In a moment our decks were crowded with young, good-natured girls, whilst the surface of the water around us was covered with some hundreds soliciting admittance" (Manby 1959, 32). These women "did not wait to be presented to us" (Arago 1971, 60), but made their wishes explicitly known in a way that astonished the westerners. Samwell summed up women's behavior with these comments:

As to modesty it is not to be looked upon as a Virtue nor the want of it as a Vice among these people; brought up from their youth in the most unbounded Liberty both of Words & Actions the beautiful Nymphs of Owyhee make that which is the chief object of their pleasure the general Subject of their Discourse, &

feel no Shame in inviting you to their Embraces by lascivious Gestures and every female blandishment...
(Samwell 1967, 1181-2)

Of course, such interaction was highly uplifting to the morale of the crew for, as Manby (1959, 23) noted: "Our bark instantly became a scene of jollity and all was pleasure and delight." This was occasionally interrupted during a kapu period, when the women were required to leave the ships and stay in their homes. Once the kapu was lifted: "Joy and delight were ushered in with the newborn day. In an instant our decks were covered with lovely women. Every tar folded in his arms youth and beauty" (Manby 1959, 32). Samwell (1967, 1159) contentedly observed that "We now live in the greatest luxury, and as to the Choice & number of fine women there is hardly one among us that may not vie with the grand Turk himself."

As mentioned in the section on population decline, such interaction did not go without the expected spread of venereal disease. By the early 19th century, ship's captains would not allow "the female troop" on board for fear of spreading it back to the crew. Yet such denial was not easily accomplished for the women "seemed resolved upon intrusion, if not admitted freely to our society" (both quotes Lisiansky 1968, 103). Arago (1971, 60) noted a similar reaction after women from canoes had managed to get aboard in spite of the injunctions against this: "they appeared piqued at the continued but not very meritorious refusal of the crew."

As western ships arrived in increasing numbers during the early 19th century something of the innocence of the interaction between Hawaiian women and the sailors seems to have been lost. Sex began to be a bartered item, just like other goods. Von Chamisso reacted in disgust to the state of social relations he observed: "Certainly we have contributed to the development of vice, to the arts of corruption that are so outrageous in these childlike people." He continued on in Latin, which was translated as the following:

One big brothel of the natives! Every woman, even every matron, is well versed in all the vilest vices of whores, all the filthiest, dirty tricks of prostitutes. They all lack shame; openly and avidly sex is offered for a fixed price. Openly every husband offers his wife, presses her upon one for a price. (Von Chamisso 1986, 312)

The state of sexual abandon between Hawaiian women and sailors seems to have ended earlier in Kona than in Lahaina or Honolulu. Kona, as noted, was not a main rest-and-recreation

spot for whaling vessels. Chiefess Kapi'olani was an early convert to Christianity, and by the 1830s had forbidden local women to go to those ships that did anchor in Kealakekua Bay. The last mention of a sexually charged interaction found in a memoir was by Hill (1856, 173); he couched what actually happened in the indirect wording typical of the mid-19th century.

These aspects of the character of the Hawaiian people were mainly discussed in the 18th and 19th century literature. After the turn of the 20th century, tourists seldom seem to have interacted with enough Hawaiians in Kona to form a general impression. Those individual Hawaiians whom tourists did meet and come to know were treated as "celebrities" in the narratives; this is discussed below.

In addition to what the locals looked or acted like, the status they held in their own societies was induced to be an important aspect of their individuality. Tourists sometimes get the chance, as outsiders, to meet and mingle, or at least observe, locals who have a status that is higher than the tourist's own. Two properties of this status were apparent. These have been abstracted under the terms "peerage" and "celebrity."

The presence of royalty in a location has been documented as a pronounced reason for the development of such tourist towns as Bath and Brighton in England (Gilbert 1954). It would seem to be the case that the royalty of Hawai'i had something of the same effect in Kona. Visitors to Kailua and Kealakekua Bay had the opportunity to mingle with a class of Hawaiian that was, in terms of its structural social position, as high as, or higher than, their own class. This category of interaction has thus been labeled "peerage," as a way of stressing the fact that the interest came from social structural factors. The specific interactions that occurred were not random. Rather, visitors would typically describe several situations that would arise during the visit of a ship. These might include: a grand welcome; exchanging presents; a formal paying of respects; wining and dining; meeting the royal women. The enthusiasm with which these interactions were often described indicates they were highly meaningful experiences for visitors.

The first type of interaction, occurring chronologically from the time of arrival, was the "grand welcome" with which chiefs would meet the captain in Kealakekua Bay. Only the first few western ships to arrive experienced this situation (particularly Cook and Vancouver). It

would seem that the Hawaiians rather quickly got over the shock of learning there were other people living outside the boundaries of their known world, and they scaled down the initial ceremonies accordingly. However, the first to reach Kealakekua Bay literally got the "royal treatment."¹³ King (1967, 512) described the grand welcome the Hawaiians gave Cook's ships. He noted there was a procession of three great canoes, with the Chief "Terreoboo" in the first, the second containing images of the gods and a choir, the third filled with "hogs & Vegetables." Vancouver undoubtedly received the grandest welcome. Kamehameha had just recently finalized his conquest of the Big Island and seemed to want to prove both his supreme status and his friendship to Vancouver, who he had first met during Cook's expedition. After ascertaining it was in fact Vancouver who had arrived, Kamehameha officially met him with an elaborate display of precision canoeing. Vancouver described the welcoming ceremony this way:

... eleven large canoes put off from the shore with great order, and formed to equal sides of an obtuse triangle. The largest canoe being in the angular point, was rowed by eighteen paddles on each side; in this was his Owhyhean majesty, dressed in a printed linen gown, that Captain Cook had given to *Terreoboo*... His canoe was advanced a little forward in the procession, to the actions of which the other ten strictly attended, keeping the most exact and regular time with their paddles, and inclining to the right or left agreeably to the directions of the king... In this manner he paraded round the vessels, with a slow and solemn motion... He now ordered the ten canoes to draw up in a line under our stern, whilst, with the utmost exertions of his paddlers, he rowed up along the starboard side of the ship; and though the canoe was going at a very great rate, she was in an instant stopped, with that part of the canoe where his majesty was standing immediately opposite the gangway. (Vancouver 1967, 126-7)

There typically were also formal occasions when the captains and officers and the Hawaiian chiefs would "pay respects" to each other. Sometimes these would be on board ship, when the captain or one of the officers would receive the Hawaiian chief "according to his Quality" (Samwell 1967, 1168). At other times the western visitors would go to the chief's residence on shore. During these occasions they would sometimes get a tour of the village area by the chief or an attendant. Lisiansky (1968, 104) received such a tour of the village area on the south side of Kealakekua Bay; it included inspection of the chief's and the king's residential compound.

Certain members of the royalty made good impressions during these interactions. Lucy Thurston, wife of one of the original missionaries, had a chance to meet Chief Kalanimoku just after finishing her 160 day trip from Boston in 1820. She was obviously positively taken aback

by his manner and bearing: "In dress and manners he appeared with the dignity of a man of culture" (Thurston 1934, 31). After Kalanimoku had been introduced to the men, she noted:

He then turned to the ladies, to whom, while yet at a distance, he respectfully bowed, then came near, and being introduced, presented to each his hand. The effects of that first warm appreciating clasp, I feel even now. To be met by *such* a specimen of heathen humanity on the borders of their land, was to 'stay us with flagons, and comfort us with apples.' (Thurston, 1934, 31, italics in original)

Part of the ritual of paying respects involved a formal exchange of presents (Lisiansky 1968, 103; Freycinet 1978, 5, 11). Samwell recounted several situations of present exchange between Cook and the chiefs and priests, including the following: "To day Kariopoo made a large present of Cloth, Hogs, Cocoa nuts Y Roots to Captⁿ Cook, and another to Captⁿ Clerke, and iron Toiees were given to him in return and before we left this Harbour Captⁿ Cook gave him among other Things a complete Tool Chest" (Samwell 1967, 1170). Von Chamisso (1986, 117) recorded that Captain Von Kotzebue gave Kamehameha "Two little mortars with the appropriate filled grenades and powder," iron bars, "a cask of good Teneriffa," and some apples. In return, Kamehameha made a present of a feather cloak to be given to Czar Alexander. Von Kotzebue (1967, 311) himself reported that Kamehameha presented him with "a collar of colored feathers, of admirable workmanship, which the king had worn himself on solemn days; as, for example, in time of war." Clerke observed that the Hawaiians were very generous. One night, after eating dinner with "King Terre' oboo," Clerke noted that the King had had his people collect a departing gift for him: "this present consisted of thirty Hogs and as much Fruit as my people could destroy in a week" (Clerke 1967, 595).

Wining and dining with the ali'i was another common social situation. The Hawaiian chiefs seem to have initially attempted to teach the visitors to like 'ava, the Pacific-wide liquid narcotic (made from the *Piper mythicum* plant), but were without much success since the method of preparation involved chewing the bark, taking a mouthful of water, then spitting the liquid into a bowl. The chiefs were more open-minded to western innovations and quickly took a liking to wine. They received presents of it from the visiting captains and it was served to the next visitors who came along. Toasting to the health of the guests seems to have become a regular feature at such occasions (Freycinet 1978, 7). After a dinner with Kamehameha, Von

Kotzebue noted: "He is fond of wine, but does not indulge in it to excess; and was always anxious to fill our glasses. After having severally drank the health of all his guests, after the English fashion; he desired us to drink the health of our emperor in a bumper" (Von Kotzebue 1967, 11).

Meals taken at chief's residences on land were usually learning experiences for the western visitors. Samwell (1967, 1163), the guest of honor at a dinner given by the priest Ka'imiki'i, observed that "their manner of killing a Hog is rather cruel." A few days later Samwell attended a breakfast given in honor of Captain Clerke by Parea; he described the ways in which Parea clothed his guests with feathered cloaks and pieces of cloth, and the detailed method in which Parea "stood Carver" by disjuncting the hot, roasted hogs, then tearing the meat into small pieces with his bare hands. Served with cold sweet potatoes and washed down with coconut milk, Samwell (1967, 1166) pronounced they made "a hearty breakfast of it."

The reactions of visitors to the quantities of food consumed by Hawaiian chiefs and their way of eating it tended to go beyond being learning experiences, into the category of culture shock. Kamehameha, as Ali'i nui, was not allowed to eat with others, hence he had food brought with him when he visited the western ships. This he ate whenever he felt hungry. Manby (1959, 22) was present at one such occasion; he observed Kamehameha eat "a roasted dog, two fish, and a calabash of taro pudding," and noted "the quantity he consumed would have been a profusion for three moderate men." Roughly a quarter of a century later, Von Chamisso (1986, 117) and Von Kotzebue had the same experience. After first eating a dinner set in European style as the guest of the king, it was their turn to watch. Von Kotzebue noted Kamehameha was self-conscious about this, saying "I have seen how the Russians eat; now you may satisfy your curiosity, and see how Tamaahmaah eats." He then dined on "boiled fish, yams, taro-roots, and a roasted bird, a little larger than a sparrow, which lives on the summits of the mountains." Von Kotzebue described Kamehameha's method of eating poi, then noted it was "slovenly" but was consumed in that manner "from the king down to the lowest menial." Kamehameha, however familiar with European table manners, was not ready to either concede

superiority or abandon the method, saying to Von Kotzebue: "This is the custom in my country, and I will not depart from it!" (all citations Von Kotzebue 1967, 313)

Having the chance to meet and socialize with the Hawaiian queens and princesses was a special social event for many early visitors. The lifestyle of the royal ladies was of much interest; their social status in a rigid class society customarily required them to live lives of extreme ease.

The physical positions from which they entertained was sometimes the first thing that struck the western eye. There were no thrones or pieces of elaborately carved furniture. The royal women would meet and greet visitors while sitting on the ground under a tree (Manby 1959, 26), laying face down on mats (Arago 1971, 92), or stretched out on a bed (Freycinet 1978, 7). They were almost never seen engaged in any kind of physical activity. Von Kotzebue (1967, 306) observed that: "The chief employment of the royal ladies consists in smoking tobacco, combing their hair, driving away the flies with a fan, and eating." Arago (1971, 93) inquired about their "amusements," and was told their chief occupation was "keeping death at a distance."

It is evident the royal women showed the visiting western men a good time. Upon entering the royal presence, the men were invited to take their ease: "I had the honor to be invited to sit down opposite to them, likewise on the ground" (Von Kotzebue 1967, 306). They were then given beer (Arago 1971, 92) or watermelon, sometimes directly from the hands of the queens themselves. "She was polite enough to cut one, and give me a piece," Von Kotzebue (1967, 306) wrote. After seeing that hunger and thirst were satisfied, they would then socialize pleasantly with the visitors, "acting jolly" (Manby 1959, 25) in an "engaging manner" (Arago 1971, 92).

This behavior could sometimes go beyond what westerners considered purely sociable. Von Chamisso (1986, 116), after being sat down among the queens, found that "the looks that my queenly neighbor cast upon me, the newcomer, made me feel uncomfortable." He quickly followed in the footsteps of his fellow crew member Eschscholtz, "who had already slunk out of the hut." Outside, he learned from the latter that "his queen had expressed herself even more

explicitly." Arago described most explicitly the kind of meeting a westerner could expect to have with the royal chiefesses. Upon meeting the wife and sister-in-law of Chief Kuakini, he noted: "Their familiarity had not that air of licentiousness which characterizes the women of the lower classes. They allowed themselves however to be very freely handled; and he who should lay his hand on the bosom of one, would be thought very deficient in politeness if he were to forget the other" (Arago 1971, 67).

After Liholiho moved the throne from Kailua in 1819, the opportunity for visitors to mingle with the Hawaiian royalty diminished considerably. Chiefess Kapi'olani and Governor Kuakini, and their relatives, became the predominant members of the royalty who received tourists during the 1820s, 30s and early 40s. Descriptions of appearance and character were similar to those made by earlier visitors. That is, both men and women were too fat but dignified. Both were gracious hosts who gave the visitors a degree of attention that was well beyond expectations.

After Kuakini's death in 1844 descriptions of royalty in Kona become scarce. One group of three English women was lucky enough to spend some time with Governess Ke'elikolani at the Hulihe'e Palace during the 1860s (Cracroft in Korn 1958, 43). Perhaps it was a sign of the times that Queen Lili'uokalani did not even bother to come ashore when the steamer carrying her from Honolulu to Hilo stopped at Kailua. Craft (1898, 158), visiting the village at that time, noted that the Hawaiians had to take the luau they'd prepared for her out to the ship.

Only one visiting couple seemed to be lucky enough to meet royalty in Kona during the 20th century. Charmian London (1917, 220), with husband Jack, described meeting Prince Kalaniana'ole at the Hulihe'e Palace in 1907. Referring to him as "Prince Cupid," she noted "he looked a beautiful boy as he stood before us."

The second aspect of "status" occurs when people become "attractions" based on their own achievements, as opposed to social position. The two properties are not uncomplimentary; at times members of a peerage can use their agency to create an identity that transcends their social status. Such persons are here defined as "celebrities."

For tourists, meeting and interacting with a celebrity may be one of the most notable experiences of the trip. Just who is perceived as a celebrity, however, is a perception of each individual tourist, based simultaneously on both the values (individual and culturally-shared) and the social position of the tourist in his or her own society. Thus, meeting a particular celebrity may be a major event for one tourist, but of no importance to another.

As is well understood, certain regions or locales obtain reputations for being the home of particular celebrities or the points of congregation for certain types of them. When this is the case, part of the attraction of the region for the tourist may arise from the possibility of meeting a celebrity during the visit (seeing or meeting a movie star in Los Angeles.)

There are also several spatial scales for which celebrity status can exist. The types of people mentioned in the above paragraph have achieved a reputation that transcends their own region, and may be well-known to the tourist. Others, however, are celebrities only in the "local" sense that they are not famous outside their own region, and the tourist only comes to recognize and label such people as celebrities upon visiting the region.

For Kona, the first 60 years after contact saw the rise of a number of celebrities from the ali'i class. Three—Kamehameha, Kuakini, and Kapi'olani—will be described briefly. After the region became less important politically, there were fewer locals who achieved celebrity status, and those few did not come from the ranks of the ali'i.

Kamehameha was the most famous celebrity who ever lived in Kona, if not all of Hawai'i. Between his ascendance to power in the 1780s, to his death in 1819, he spent much time residing in Kona, including the final seven years of his life, when he ruled his kingdom from his compound in Kailua. Through his valor, wisdom and charisma (i.e., his agency), Kamehameha gained a world-wide reputation and probably became the major "attraction" of Hawai'i for the ship's captains and officers (i.e., those who wrote memoirs) during his own lifetime.¹⁴

Vancouver's writings were probably the most influential in establishing Kamehameha's reputation. Vancouver had met Kamehameha during Cook's expedition of 1779 and, on returning in 1793, expected to recognize him on account of his having "the most savage

countenance we had hitherto seen amongst these people." However, "his riper years had softened that stern ferocity...and had changed his general deportment to an address characteristic of an open, cheerful, and sensible mind; combined with great generosity, and goodness of disposition" (both citations Vancouver 1967, 807).

The following comment by Shaler indicates how an individual such as Kamehameha may become a celebrity through his own agency:

The natural ascendancy which great minds have over those of a common mould, enables him to do many things that would not be tolerated in other men; his known character has given him unbounded popularity with the common people, and his equally well known energy and decision prevents any murmurs from the chiefs ... Thus has Tamaihamaiha, whose name literally signifies a lone, friendless man, by his own superior talents, reduced the whole of these islands, under his dominion. (Shaler 1935, 84–5)

Von Kotzebue and Von Chamisso were on an exploring expedition from Russia that visited Kona in 1816, towards the end of Kamehameha's life. The degree to which Kamehameha had become distinguished world-wide can best be seen through quotes by these explorers. Upon their arrival at Kailua, the king came down to the shore to greet the Russians as they stepped onto land. Von Kotzebue's reaction reflects his consciousness that he not only was in the presence of a distinguished individual, but one who had earned that reputation: "I now stood at the side of the celebrated Tamaahmaah, who had attracted the attention of all Europe, and who inspired me with the greatest confidence by his unreserved and friendly behavior (Von Kotzebue 1967, 300–01). Von Chamisso described the events at the landing, he first noted Kamehameha "directed the salutation of peace toward us, shook hands with us, and invited us to partake of roasted pig." He then chose to include, in parenthesis, his feelings about the meeting: "I am proud that I had the honor of shaking hands with three of the outstanding men of these old days, Tameiameia, Sir Joseph Banks, and Lafayette" (both quotes in Von Chamisso 1986, 115).

Kuakini, a chief who was appointed governor of the Big Island by Kamehameha's son, Liholiho, was also a well-known figure during the 24 years he held this position. Kuakini's rise in status was based initially on several factors: his adoption of the nickname "John Adams;" his remarkable corpulency; and his knowledge of the world outside Hawai'i, combined with a shrewdness in dealing with westerners that was unequalled among Hawaiians after

Kamehameha's death.¹⁵ He also became one of the first of Hawaiian chiefs to convert to Christianity, and provided much aid to the missionaries in the 1820s and 1830s (Olmsted 1969, 218). In the 1830's Kuakini was responsible for building the two architectural monuments that would later come to define Kailua as a center of historical tourism: Hulihe'e Palace and Mokuaikaia Church. Throughout his life Kuakini was one of the most important men in Hawai'i. He carried on Kamehameha's legacy of distinction in Kailua, until his death in 1844. After this, no one replaced him, and the town and region quickly sank into a peripherality that lasted until the 1920s.

The last full-time resident of Kona who could be considered a celebrity was Chiefess Kapi'olani. She was Kuakini's sister; she and her husband Naihe were the ruling chiefs at Ka'awaloa, on the north side of Kealakekua Bay. She was mentioned by visitors arriving between the mid-1820s and 1840 as a gracious hostess who gave them an audience with her in a royal and dignified manner (see Boelen 1988, 19–20 and Barrot 1978, 6), though her large size affected them negatively. She lived in houses the westerners thought surprisingly civilized, with a retinue of women at her side (Wilkes 1970, 92). Like Kuakini, she converted to Christianity, and held Sunday services in a grove of trees not far from her home. Stewart (1831, 241) estimated attendance at one of these services at 5,000 people.¹⁶

After Kuakini's death in 1844 the chance of meeting a celebrity in Kona was much less likely. Other locals who tourists invested with celebrity status were much less important. In 1889, Stevenson (1973) resided with an ex-Judge, while Morrill (1919, 109–10) met a man named Tommy White, the "big chief of Keauhou," who took them for an auto tour of the area. Franck (1937, 45) stayed with the post-master of Kealakekua, who formerly had been a state representative. These obviously were people who had no reputation that extended very far outside of the Kona community. Yet they were celebrities to the particular tourists because they stood out in some way from the other locals met on their trip.

The final aspect of individuality that became apparent in the literature concerns the specific roles that locals play when interacting with tourists. Two identifiable roles that depended upon situation contexts were found to exist. These are the roles of business transactor

and culture broker. Both of these are service roles, in that locals help tourists to get things or understand better what is going on.

Business transactors fulfill the first role; they sell to the visitors those things needed to survive away from home. This is an ancient role that predates the existence of a tourist industry, as shown by the Kona case. During almost the entire first century of contact with the west, Hawai'i served as a crucial provisioning spot for explorers, traders and whalers. Successful trading with Hawaiians was crucial; nearly all ships "commenced the necessary and important business of traffic" (Lisiansky 1968, 102) immediately upon weighing anchor, if not before. Kona was the original destination to which these ships would steer a course, and all early visitors who went there mentioned trading with the Hawaiians.¹⁷ Unfortunately, how the trading between parties actually occurred seems to have been taken for granted as common knowledge by the travelers, for no detailed description of the interaction between the crew and the Hawaiians was found in the literature read for this research. As a result, the actual behavior of trading—making signs to each other, using interpreters, etc.—is unknown.

Success of the trading interaction was measured in two ways: by how plentiful a supply of provisions was obtained, and the cost of obtaining them. Neither were static over time, however, because of attitude changes among the Hawaiians. While Portlock (1968, 63) had a relatively easy time obtaining provisions cheaply, later visitors often had to work harder. Vancouver, reaching Kona in 1792, noted a different attitude on the part of the Hawaiians than what he had expected to find, based on Portlock's memoir:

Several canoes came off with a supply of pigs, and vegetables; amongst the latter were some very excellent water melons: the natives, however, demanded a very exorbitant return for these refreshments, and seemed very indifferent about trading, or having any other communication with us. (Vancouver 1967, 155)

That the Hawaiians were skilled at trading was something the westerners quickly discovered; they even practiced an efficient form of price fixing that could have an impact on the general success of the interaction. Lisiansky (1968, 125), arriving a decade after Vancouver, noted that "they are certainly very difficult in bargaining...and, if it happened that we purchased

any thing at a dear rate, it was immediately known to the whole throng, and the article could not be obtained afterwards cheaper.

After Kamehameha consolidated his conquest of the Hawaiian Islands, he "made my islands an asylum for all nations, and honestly supplied with provisions every ship that desired them" (Von Kotzebue 1967, 303, quoting Kamehameha). This policy took nearly all of the uncertainty out of the interaction of trading with Hawaiians, and trading for provisions is mentioned much less frequently in journals after 1810.¹⁸

The topic of trading or buying provisions is not discussed again until the mid-20th century. This indicates the degree to which interaction with business transactors is considered routine and unexceptional by tourists.¹⁹ Since statehood, however, a few guidebooks (e.g., Krauss 1963, 154) have suggested that tourists should shop at small country stores in order to talk to the locals who operate them. Speaking to vendors selling wares along the street (Hazard 1965, 181) or at the beach (Fodor's 1990, 160) has also been suggested. This type of conversational interaction with people involved in the local economy could be considered trivial, were it not for the fact that this has been virtually the only way in which guidebooks discuss ways that tourists can meet locals in Kona. The conclusion can thus be advanced, ahead of further discussion on interaction, that Kona's social resources have become totally observational in nature; tourists essentially must make their own opportunities to interact with locals.

A second group of individuals with whom tourists interact have been labeled "culture brokers" in tourism literature (Nash 1977, 41). These are people, sometimes local, sometimes not, who, provide tourists with information about the destination, thereby breaking through tourists' ignorance of local culture and events. In Kona, at least three types of people have filled the role of culture broker over the years. They include traveling Hawaiians, western residents, and tour guides.

In the early years of western contact, there were Hawaiians who wanted to see the world; they crewed with the exploring and trading ships as they left Hawai'i for China, North America or Europe. On their return to Hawai'i, they would act as culture brokers for the captain on whose ship they were sailing in two ways. First, while on the return trip itself, they provided

pertinent knowledge of life in Hawaiian society. Then, upon arrival, they also acted as translators, and apprised the westerners about recent events. The ali'i Kaiana, for example, helped Meares (n.d., 17) in these ways, likewise Hawaiians named Kualele and "Harry" provided these services to Vancouver (Menzies 1920, 15) and Iselin (nd, 65).

From the 1790s, there were westerners living in Kona and throughout Hawai'i; these men learned the Hawaiian language and were able to glean much about Hawaiian culture. They also lived through the tumultuous political events of Kamehameha's reign. John Young was by far the most famous of these culture brokers. His own story of being prevented from returning to his ship, on which he had been a boatswain, was high drama (see Lisiansky 1968, 134).²⁰ Afterwards, John Young became a trusted advisor to Kamehameha and was given land in Kawaihae (Kohala district). He lived on the Big Island most of the time, until his death in the 1820s, acting as governor between 1804 and 1811 while Kamehameha was attempting to conquer Kauai from his base on O'ahu. During these decades Young learned much about Hawaiian society; he also took an active role in its history.²¹ He passed on his knowledge of culture and events to westerners as they arrived; their subsequent descriptions of Hawaiian life based on conversations with him sometimes represent the most important historical documentation available.²² For example, when Vancouver (1967, 825-7) arrived Young apprised him of the character and ambitions of each of the major chiefs. When Lisiansky (1968, 129-30) and Shaler (1935, 79-84) each arrived in 1804 (on separate voyages), Young related the details of the wars Kamehameha had fought across the island chain that resulted in his conquest of all the islands except Kauai and Ni'ihau. These men duly recorded these conversations in great detail providing posterity with the main historical details of the conquest.

Most other people who filled the role of culture broker during in the late 18th and early 19th centuries were not as famous as John Young. Typically, just the reverse was true—their identity was not revealed in the memoirs of the early visitors. What can be surmised from this lack of recognition is that the information that these people passed on was more important than the interaction itself. In this sense, then, the culture broker as a type of person often shares with

business transactors a lack of distinctiveness to the traveler. They are useful to visitors in certain ways, but are not usually considered extraordinary as individuals.²³

Throughout the 19th century, western residents established themselves in Kona and, in the absence of public accommodations, opened their homes to visitors. Subsequently, as part of their role as hosts, these residents acted as culture brokers. Though several "types" of people filled this role, including coffee planters, ranchers, and physicians, the single most important group would seem to have been missionaries. The missionary arrival in Kona in 1820 and their acceptance by Liholiho was itself one of the major historical events of the region. Upon being given permission to establish stations, the missionary presence in Kona was continuous for decades. After their homes were built, they opened them to visitors; these were sometimes travelling people of the church who had come to inspect the state of salvation in Hawai'i (see Anderson 1864). Missionaries were especially important as culture brokers between the late 1820s and the early 1860s. During those decades they were practically the only non-Hawaiian residents living in Kona, and thus were the only people western visitors felt comfortable imposing themselves upon.

During the early years of western contact, the content of information learned by visitors from culture brokers tended to be about Hawaiian culture and current events. By the mid-19th century, the focus was on culture change among the Hawaiians. The missionaries were nearly the only western residents who lived in Kona long enough to acquire a historical perspective, who could see the behavioral changes taking place. They talked about "how things are now" versus "how things were". History thus became an important subject on which missionaries informed the visitors. Little occurred in Kona after 1820; Honolulu was the center of events. The missionaries had to fill tourists in on what had occurred in Kona earlier in the century, and on what "pure" Hawaiian culture was like. In a sense, they became the first tour guides.

During the 1870s travel conditions changed in two ways that affected visitors' utilization of locals as culture brokers. First, inter-island steamer schedules became regularized and many more people began to travel from Honolulu to the Big Island. However, because Kīlauea volcano, on the other side of the island, was the main attraction, many tourists who wrote

memoirs only caught a glimpse of the Kona coast from the ports-of-call. Second, facilities for accommodation were built. There were boarding houses in mauka Kona, and a seaside hotel of sorts built during this decade (see Chapter 6). Hence, travelers were less reliant upon staying with residents. These changes also meant visitors were interacting less with Hawaiians than before, so there was less need of a culture broker to interpret what they were seeing.

In the 20th century, the culture broker role has been played mainly by employees of the tourism industry. Between 1910 and 1920, the circle-island automobile tour, emanating from Hilo, became popular. Typically, the autos used were the large touring cars of this era, capable of holding six or eight tourists. Drivers seem to have often been Hawaiians, and they not only interpreted the cultural landscapes through which they drove the tourists, but also exaggerated the stereotypes of Hawaiian character by talking story, playing the ukelele, etc. (Gessler 1937, 242). This type of tour lasted until World War II broke out, when inter-island travel was suspended.

Most recently, contemporary guides working for tour companies located in Kona have fulfilled this role. During this period, and particularly within the last 20 years, the development and demographic shifts that have occurred in Kona have increasingly made the district more like America-at-large. Tour guides must continue to interpret the landscape through which the bus or limousine is passing, however. There would seem to be less focus on interpreting a different culture as in providing local knowledge about what's outside the windows. Hence, Gould (1969, 58) reports being very impressed by the stories her tour guide related about the Keauhou-Kona golf course.

THE NATURE OF LOCAL LIFE

In addition to being curious about what the local people are like, tourists also want to know about local life. In Kona, this had three major components: the local social relations; the daily activities of the people; the events which are held there.

Social Relations

The social relations of locals is here meant to describe the way they behave towards each other. During the first several decades after western contact, visitors in Kona watched the Hawaiians interacting among themselves, utilizing cultural practices that had been without much outside influence. In essence, these tourists were trying to understand whether the Hawaiians were better or worse people than they themselves were, and whether local society was better or worse than their own. Sets of societal rules thus constitute an important component of social relations.

One of the most important aspects of Hawaiian culture that structured social relations was the *kapu* system. According to Handy, this was "the ancient social and religious law of Hawai'i. It governed everything in the life of the people." It was religious in nature, in the sense that the rules were enforced not only by people, but "by the spiritual or inner dangers people ran if they broke the kapus." The ultimate intent was to prevent "spiritual debasement or defilement" of the individual, but the system also worked in the more secular sense of keeping people's behavior in line (all above citations from Handy 1965, 39–40). The kapu was manifest through the actions of the ali'i and the *kahunas* (priest class). That is, through the sacredness they inherited from birth in the nobility class, they had the power to declare kapus when deemed necessary.

Visitors who arrived before 1819, when the system was essentially overthrown by Liholiho, observed many instances of the effect of the kapu system on Hawaiian lives. One particularly visible manifestation of the kapu was a restriction on activity that was spatial in nature. Frequently, when a ship was at Kealakekua Bay or Kailua Bay for any length of time, the onset of a kapu period meant Hawaiians could not go on or in the water, hence nobody would come out to the ship (Menzies 1920, 70; Lisiansky 1968, 118).²⁴ Women seemed to have more kapu restrictions than men. As mentioned, these days were particularly disappointing to the ships' crews. Manby, for example, commented upon the kapu that was in effect upon his arrival at Kealakekua Bay in 1793:

From Young we learnt that a general Tabooroora [*kapu loulou*] now existed through the island. It had been in force eight days and would not expire till two more were past. This was unpleasant news, as it

precluded both men and women coming afloat... Women at these stated periods are not allowed to quit their houses, or even be seen; and the men lay under very great restrictions. (Manby 1959, 21)

On other occasions, the ali'i might kapu a certain spot, for example, Cook's observatory station next to Hikiau heiau. In cases such as these the western visitors were usually relieved from the pressure of curious on-lookers (King 1967, 507).

One particular aspect of the kapu observed frequently was a constraint on women with respect to food consumption. This first of all involved a prohibition against eating certain dietary items, particularly pork and bananas (Samwell 1967, 1181). King (1967, 624) mentioned that: "A Girl got a terrible beating on board our Ship for eating the wrong sort of Plantain." Von Chamisso (1986, 182) noted that the eating kapu did not extend to fruits, "which are considered to be like drinks." A second, spatial component was that women were not permitted to enter the eating rooms of the men; to do so was to risk death (Corney 1896, 100; Von Kotzebue 1967, 310). This was once observed: "We ourselves saw the corpse of a woman floating around our ship who had been killed because in a drunken state she had entered her husband's eating house" (Von Chamisso 1986, 312).

Westerners mostly considered the kapu system an irritant. They attempted to talk Kamehameha into removing the spatial kapu (see Manby 1959, 31) and the sailors undermined the eating kapu of the women by discreetly offering them forbidden foods. Samwell (1967, 1181) described women's behavior during Cook's expedition: "while they were on board the ships with us they would never touch any pork or ripe plantains except privately & by stealth, but then they would eat very hearty of both & seemed very fond of them." Von Chamisso (1986, 312) likewise noted: "the women, when they know they are unobserved, do not hesitate to transgress the many prohibitions with which they are burdened."

Almost as soon as Cook's ships landed, western visitors learned that they could practice crowd control by directing their requests to clear the ship to whichever chiefs happened to be on board. After this many situations occurred where they observed that Hawaiian society was stratified and that certain individuals held power over others through their social position. Descriptions of this typically involved interactions between the chiefs and/or priests with the common people.

One situation occurred when the common people would prostrate themselves in the presence of royalty. Manby described what was, to him, a humorous example involving the Hawaiian women who were socializing with the sailors on the ship:

In the evening shortly after dark a double canoe came alongside, which threw our female visitors into the greatest confusion. An elderly woman came on board whom we found to be a captive queen taken prisoner at the island of Mowee about three years ago. This unfortunate lady is treated with the greatest respect. No woman can stand in her presence—which created a droll scene, as our decks were full of girls at the time of her unexpected coming on board. They went about on their hands and knees flying from every place the captive approached, scrambling up and down the ladders of the vessel to the great diversion of our sailors, who for an hour laughed heartily at the confusion of their little favorites. (Manby 1959, 28)

Further, while it was necessary for the common people to lower themselves, it was likewise mandatory that people imbued with high status be above the commoner. Corney (1896, 47) for example, invited a priest to go below deck with him, the man responded that he could not, because it meant others would be above him. Von Chamisso (1986, 115) observed in a meeting with Kamahemeha that all other Hawaiians present were required to sit at a level lower than the king, with bare shoulders.

A second set of behaviors by the common people towards royalty and priests was a general characteristic of deference. King (1967, 613) thought this was due to "their absolute Government," which had "a great effect on their tempers, the lower people in their Manners shew their great Inferiority" to the chiefs. He noted this was in fact beneficial for the visitors because: "the common people which are generally the most troublesome, are I am afraid here kept in so slavish a subordination to their Chiefs, that I doubt whether they would venture to give us offence without great encouragement in so doing from their Masters ..." (King 1967, 525).

A third type of observation of local social relations regarded the higher quality of life of the royalty. Samwell (1967, 1184) observed that "they live in great State, have Servants to feed them, have as many Concubines and Wives as they please ..." But in spite of this obvious authority of the chiefs over the commoners, they were observed to reign benevolently. King (1967, 613) noted: "I do not remember that we saw any instance of sour or ill treatment from Chiefs to those very much beneath them ..."

Some observations were made regarding gender relations and the status of women in society. The eating kapu women had to obey and division of labor have already been described. Other obligations of women were to "withdraw for some days to the woods or some solitary secluded spot" during menstruation (Iselin nd, 71), and to "lose their fore teeth" upon the death of their husbands (Samwell 1967, 1181). In addition, King (1967, 624) noticed that the women did not receive "ill treatment" at the hands of the men, but that "it was evident that they had little attention or regard paid to them." It took westerners by surprise, given the sexual laxity prevalent in Hawaiian society, to note that there was however considerable jealousy between men and women. Lisiansky (1968, 127-8) observed that this emotion was "extremely prevalent;" King (1967, 624) described an incident where a chief beat his wife "unmercifully" for walking arm-in-arm with one of the ships' officers.

Daily Activities

The second major aspect of local life revolves around the daily activities of people. This also had three major foci: work, domestic activities; and leisure activities.

By the late 18th century, Hawaiian society had become specialized in terms labor. Oddly, no descriptions of the two main food production activities, fishing and agriculture, were found in literature written by visitors who arrived during the first half-century of contact (for Kona or other locations).²⁵ Several visitors did notice a division of labor between the sexes. King (1967, 624) thought labor in Hawaiian society was "properly divided"; women were involved with "Manufacturing their Cloath, making ornamental dresses &c," while the men had to do "the more laborious parts of Cultivating the land, building their houses & Canoes, making their War instruments, & whatever related to Wood works." Samwell, by contrast thought the women led a "very easy life," having as their main chore "beating the Cloth." He especially thought young women lived a carefree life because they "spend most of their time in singing and dancing of which they are very fond" (both quotes Samwell 1967, 1181).

Fishing was one work related activity of Hawaiians in Kona that did eventually emerge as a topic of interest to tourists. As a component of a semi-subsistence lifestyle, fishing became important for early 20th century tourists who wanted to see Hawaiians living in "primitive"

conditions. Fishing is also relatively easy to photograph, hence photos of spear and net fishing were used frequently in literature on Kona, especially during the 1920s and 1930s, as a way of illustrating Kona's relatively pristine cultural conditions. The practice mostly died out after World War II, as Kona became more modern. Several guidebooks, however, advise tourists to visit Miloli'i Village, in South Kona, on the grounds that this is the last remaining Hawaiian fishing village, hence represents the last chance to observe this component of "old Hawai'i."

Fishing from the seawall in central Kailua continues to be an important component of the town's visual charm, though it is now done for recreation rather than part of a subsistence lifestyle. The fishing in Kailua Bay just off the seawall can be quite good and during field research there were days when over 100 locals were observed casting into the near-shore waters. Tourists strolling along Ali'i Drive took much notice of this fishing, particularly when someone was lucky enough to land a large ulua. Tourists would use such an event as a reason to interact with the happy fisherman/woman; they would ask to have their pictures taken holding the fish, as though they had caught it themselves. Locals were observed to humor tourists on these occasions.

From the late 19th century to World War II, two aspects of work activity that became of interest to tourists visiting Kona were cattle drives and coffee picking. Ranching mostly replaced Hawaiian subsistence agriculture during the middle third of the 19th century. However, the demand for meat was in Honolulu, not on the Big Island. It was therefore necessary for the ranchers to drive the cattle from the mauka pastures down to the ports along the coast. What made this picturesque was the fact that Kona had no adequate harbors where large ships could dock, so the cattle had to be herded into the sea by local *paniolo*s (cowboys) on horseback. Lassoed by the neck, the cattle were forced to swim behind horse-and-rider out to the ship, anchored a few hundred yards off-shore. The "astonished creatures" (Faris 1929, 296) were then hauled out of the water and up onto the deck with ropes.

This procedure seemed to become more interesting over time. Chaney (1879, 206) and Whitney (1899, 99) merely mention the practice. However, as progress occurred elsewhere (particularly as automobile transport replaced the horse), the practice came to seem more-and-

more a part of the past (Thomas 1983, 180), hence more interesting. Castle (1913, 180) and Anderson (1916, 112) both point it out as a sightseeing activity. Interest peaked between the 1920s and 1940s. McSpadden (1939, 107) described the practice as "a sort of marine rodeo" that attracted sightseers. Franck (1937, 60) also appreciated the spectacle, commenting: "It is worth getting up with the sun at Kailua on a cattle-loading day." Thrum's *Annual* (1947, 287) noted that cattle were still "loaded the old-fashioned way" in Kona, where lived "the romance of two ages." The swimming cowboys and cattle were a feature of the Kona ranching landscape until the last inter-island cattle ship, the *Humu'ula*, stopped running in 1952 (Brennan 1978, 89).

With respect to coffee, several work-related aspects of the industry were of interest to tourists. First, watching the Japanese farmers was interesting to the tourists, who were mostly from the mainland (Deubner 1938, 43). Second, the harvest was in the autumn, thus school schedules were adjusted in Kona so children could help pick the crop. Tourists such as Gessler (1937, 241) thought this interesting. Lastly, the use of mules to haul the crop down the mountain to the mills and warehouses was an unusual sight (Musick 1898, 210).

A different aspect of daily life in which early visitors to Kona did take great interest was food preparation and consumption. What was described the most were the unusual qualities to the Hawaiian diet, either strange kinds of food, strange ways of preparing it, or strange ways of consuming it. Among the protein foods, for example, there were several dietary aspects that were observed with keen interest. These included the method of killing and preparing a pig for roasting in an earth oven (Samwell 1967, 1163), the preference of the chiefs for meat from a certain species of dog (Macrae 1922, 71; Boelen 1988, 35), and the habit of eating fish raw, without removal of innards (Barrot 1978, 20; Lisiansky 1968, 126).

Many aspects of eating poi were considered notable. Ellis (1927, 41) remarked upon the custom of using the fingers to eat poi out of calabashes. The communal aspects of passing the calabash around, the hygienic aspects of using the hands, and the taste of poi itself were all interesting (Samwell 1967, 1161). The custom of hand washing after eating was observed with great regard, as this was considered a sign of high civilizedness (Ellis 1927, 41).

The preparation of Hawaiian food was an aspect that became more interesting for tourists to observe as time passed. London (1917, 311), for example, noted the existence of "poi flags" along the road, indicating that an unseen house had prepared some poi for sale. Watching and photographing Hawaiians making poi in a kind of mortar-and-pestle system or drying fish on mats became particularly important in the 1920s and 1930s (Sunset 1930, np).

A third type of observed behavior was the set of leisure activities that Hawaiians pursued. These can be divided in sports and games, and music and dance.

The Hawaiians ability to swim and surf amazed western visitors throughout the 18th and 19th centuries (Cook 1967, 490; Boelen 1988, 24; Barrot 1978, 15; Hill 1856, 194; Cracroft in Korn 1958, 70). Hawaiians were far superior to all other Polynesians in their skill and early descriptions are filled with astonishment that humans could function so well in the oceanic environment. In the 20th century, the sport's reemergence at Waikiki, as well as the ability of tourists to try it with a Hawaiian, probably led to the lessening of its observance in Kona during this time.²⁶

What must surely have been the most unusual of sports, even more so than surfing, was Hawaiian sledding (*he'e holua*) (Kamakau 1961, 242). Unfortunately, no visitor seems to have witnessed such a spectacle. Only second hand reports exist, such as from John Young to Tyerman, who noted:

on great festivals a singular kind of amusement was practised here. A board is conveyed to the highest part of the hill, at which the road terminates. A man throws himself at full length upon this, and, with daring and dexterous force, propels it forward, when the board carries him, with increasing velocity, straight down to the foot of the descent. (Tyerman and Bennett 1832, 18)

The Hawaiians also had the game of *konane* which was similar to western checkers, or, drafts. The fact that the Hawaiians had such a game, and the degree to which they gambled over it, was thought notable (King 1967, 627; Samwell 1967, 1168).

With respect to the performing arts, Hawai'i is of course most famous for the hula. This dance, particularly when performed by women, gained a reputation as being equal to European dances in grace and beauty (Samwell 1967, 1167; Ellis 1927, 85; Reynolds 1938, 6; Von

Chamisso 1986, 314). Singing seems to have been heard less frequently, but was also considered remarkable (Samwell 1967, 1181; Freycinet 1978, 11).

Events

The third major component of local life that has been of interest to tourists visiting Kona is the different events that are held, whether for locals or tourists. This is the one aspect of social resources which has been previously theorized in the tourism literature. As noted in Chapter 2, events have been typologized in the literature as categorically different from "permanent attractions" because of their transient nature. While this is true, in this research they are treated as being an additional type of social resource for tourists to experience. This is for the obvious reason that all events are part of social life; people gather together to do something. Getz's (1991) typology based on "theme" was used as the model for categorizing the events occurring in Kona. None of the events held in Kona date to before World War II. Travel narratives were not helpful here. The data for the typology was obtained from perusal of a set of guidebooks and free tourist literature (published on either a weekly or monthly basis). The free literature and guidebooks focusing exclusively on the Big Island were by far the best sources for information on events. Guidebooks covering the entire state listed only a few for Kona (and some guidebooks had no calendar of activities at all). This difference in coverage is, however, useful, for it acts as a quasi-independent sorting of those events that most tourists would be interested in participating in or observing. The list of events held in Kona is shown in Appendix 1. Five major "themes" were induced: sporting events; holidays; cultural events; commercial events; social group events. Only those most relevant to tourism will be discussed.

Sporting events are the most commonly held type held in Kona. There were four sub-types and a "miscellaneous" grouping. Numerically, the most common were fishing tournaments. Twenty-two were listed, occurring between the months of May and September. All but one were deep sea events; the exception was an island-wide shoreline tournament. The largest and most famous is the Hawai'i International Billfish Tournament (HIBT). This tournament was established in 1959 as a vehicle for promoting Kona as a sport fishing

destination (Peter Fithian, tournament organizer, personal communication, 19 Dec., 1991). The HIBT is thus an example *par excellence* of what Getz (1991) has termed an "image-maker." Over the decades it has grown into a two-week long event and has become so big that a consolation tournament, the "Pro-Am" is held just prior, so that teams who are not chosen for the HIBT can still have a chance to compete. Several other fishing tournaments of the "image maker" variety have been held more recently. None of these was listed in the state-wide guidebooks, whereas the HIBT was listed in all guidebooks that included a calendar of events. This indicates that none of the newer tournaments has yet been considered important enough to publicize to tourists at-large.

The next most widely held type of sporting event in Kona are triathlon-type competitions, combining ocean swimming, bicycling, and running. The original event of this type, now officially called the Gatorade Ironman Triathlon World Championship (hereafter "Ironman"), was first held on O'ahu in 1978. The contest was moved to Kona three years later (HTH 1989f, 1) and has grown steadily since relocating. Over 1,200 contestants entered the 1991 Ironman, witnessed during field research. Most were not Kona residents. As the original triathlon, the Ironman attracts the world's top contestants, who each year have been attaining a higher level of celebrity status, and who can thus draw larger crowds.²⁷ The Ironman has been successful as an image maker to the extent that a number of athletes have moved to Kona and train there throughout the year.²⁸ As with the HIBT, the Ironman has spawned a number of other contests: triathalons, biathalons, marathons, and long distance ocean swims. Kailua town has now achieved a certain reputation as a fitness center, due to the success of this contest. "Fitness" and triathlon training are now transcending the status of individual events, and are becoming a component of the regional ambience.

After "Sporting Events," the most commonly occurring type of event revolved around "Holidays and Annual Celebrations." Three sub-types were distinguishable. The first includes those holidays institutionalized by government—Memorial Day, at the federal level, and King Kamehameha Day, at the state level. Parades would seem to be the major event available to tourists. The second sub-type consisted of two events that were "uniquely Hawaiian"—Lei Day

and the Aloha Festival. The former is celebrated on May First; the celebration takes the form of locals wearing aloha clothing and leis. The Aloha Festival was begun shortly after World War II and now consists of several weeks of activities; each island celebrates during different times.

This Week Big Island listed the following activities for Kona during the 1993 Aloha Festival: a senior citizens arts and crafts display; a ceremony performed by the "Royal Court" at Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau; a steel guitar festival and *ho'olaulea* (Hawaiian music festival); an art festival that included Japanese dancing; a Japanese arts and crafts festival, a lei contest, and a formal ball. Lei Day and the Aloha Festival are thus trans-cultural events in which all residents of Hawai'i can participate, and can be observed by tourists.

This is not the case for third type of event, which is an aggregation of ethnic and religious holidays and celebrations. With one exception, these events revolve around cultural meanings held by the different ethnic groups living in Kona. Some are rather private celebrations (Wesak Day, Bodhi Day), that occur inside temples and churches, and thus have little attraction value for tourists. Others have little public visibility because the celebration is subtle. Boy's Day, for example, a Japanese holiday, is celebrated only by the flying of paper carp outside the home—one for each boy in the family. The "exception" is the *Cinco de Mayo* festival, which is Mexican in origin. Initiated in 1985 and adapted into a "Hawaiian Style" festival (*This Week Big Island* 25 April-to-2 May 1994, 52), events for 1994 included a swimming contest, a chili cook-off with live salsa music, and a parade.

The other major types of events—"cultural," "commercial," and "social group"—are less numerous than "sporting events" and "holidays." Of these three types, cultural events are the most common. Three sub-types emerged: ethnic Hawaiian, "capital "C" cultural, and uniquely Konan events. Two "uniquely Konan" events are held on an annual basis: the Captain Cook festival, and the Kona Coffee Festival. Other than being listed, no information on the former was disseminated in the tourist literature, hence it must be interpreted as an unavailable neutral element to most tourists.

The Kona Coffee Festival, on the other hand, is becoming better publicized, and is approaching "image maker" status, at least at the scale of the state. This festival lasts for a week

after the harvest has ended; it includes a beauty contest, coffee tastings ("cuppings"), historical displays, and a block party. Some of the events of the 1991 Kona Coffee Festival were attended during field research. At the block party and historical displays, the majority of people seemed to be locals rather than tourists. The block party, held along Ali'i Drive in Kailua, filled the street for several hours. This event seemed to function more to heal community wounds than to attract tourists. Several locals were overheard to say how well the party had brought together the mauka coffee community and the makai tourist community.

Overall, there are quite a number of events held in Kona. Most are held annually, the rest varied from the daily sport fish weigh-in to the intermittent performances of the Hulihe'e Palace Band. The great majority of events would seem to be held for the benefit of locals. Only two—the International Billfish Tournament and the Ironman Triathlon—would seem to bring in large numbers of tourists. Most of these tourists would seem to be either contest participants or their family and friends, although the Ironman does draw a number of Big Island "day-trippers." There does not seem to yet be any event which has the power to pull large numbers of tourists from abroad, the mainland, or even O'ahu.

SOCIAL RESOURCE AVAILABILITY AND QUALITY

In the discussion of types of social resources just concluded, it is notable that most of the case material was from travel narratives written during a time when the Hawaiians were the dominant social group of the region. Visitors enjoyed observing and interacting with Hawaiians, in a way that is very similar to contemporary ethnic tourism. Hence, their experiences could be abstracted into a typology that has relevance today. The availability of this resource for tourists visiting in the 1990s is another matter. Certain features of Hawaiian society, such as the kapu system and the presence of the peerage, have not been available in Kona for 150 years. Hawaiians themselves seem to have become rather invisible on the tourist landscape in the post-World War II era. In essence, this capability to observe and interact with Hawaiians has become degraded. Further, since Hawaiian society has constituted most of the total stock of this resource, the interpretation must be that most of Kona's social resources are also in a degraded state, in the sense of limited availability. The one location where Hawaiians are still present in

concentration, and live something of a traditional lifestyle, is Miloli'i Village in South Kona. Yet even this remote location is not "unspoiled" for tourists. Though some travel writers have mentioned it as a place for tourists to see Hawaiians, conversations during field research (and the personal experiences of friends) indicated that tourism has already had a negative impact on residents of this village—people driving through in rental cars can get an unexpectedly negative reception. From the tourists' perspective, this quality level of interaction is clearly an "irritant." From the resident's perspective, these responses are a clear sign that tourism is contraindicated. Tourists who do visit thus take the chance of having irritating, if not quite hazardous, encounters with the Hawaiians they meet.

DEGRADED	
• Interaction with Hawaiians	⇒ Population decline eliminated much availability
• Ethnic variety	⇒ Locals have become more mainstream
UTILIZED	
• Business Transactors	⇒ As part of the tourist industry
• Culture Brokers	⇒ As tour guides
• Image-maker events	⇒ Part-promotional; part-local enthusiasm
RESERVES	
• Events at-large	⇒ Increasing, from regional population increase

Figure 5.2 Availability levels of Kona's social resources.

The other type of social resource that appears to have reached a degraded condition is ethnic variety. This has less to do with tourism than with the mainstreaming of the population, particularly since the 1960s. Again, this has occurred in two ways. Locals of an ethnic background that was interesting to mainland tourists have integrated into the population at-large. Second, immigration of tourists has resulted in a local population that is more Caucasian than most of Hawai'i.

Today, tourists mainly are able to meet only locals who work in some aspect of the tourist industry; it is thus the "role" that is important. Many tourists visiting Kona's shops can interact with the salespeople, who fill the contemporary role of business transactor. Those tourists who take guided tours have the guide as their culture broker. Thus, social resources are mainly institutionalized within the tourism industry. "Image-maker" events also constitute an

industry approach to social resources. This is particularly the case for the Hawai'i International Billfish Tournament, and also the Kona Coffee Festival.

The increasing number of annual events held in the past two decades is the one aspect of social resources that is still in reserve. This seems especially the case for sporting events. Festivals such as Cinco de Mayo have the potential to easily go into the "utilized" level. Of course, as structured activities, events will always be at least partially industrialized.

The paucity of available social resources is also reflected in the tourist resource diamond, measuring resource quality. Virtually the only social attractions now available are the image-maker events and the lesser known events they have spawned. The public events that are serendipitously encountered by tourists exist mainly at the gratifier level; some of the more interesting ones are probably weak attractors. On the whole these events are seldom an important part of a tourist's visit to Kona. Given the large amount of cultural and historical resources in the cultural landscape, this lack of availability of associated events can be interpreted as an underdevelopment of the event resource base.

Since World War II, ethnic variety seems to have become less interesting for tourists to observe. The few travel memoirs written do not mention experiences of this sort; the few guidebooks that do mention ethnicity tend to focus on how coffee is an ethnically-grown crop. Since ethnic variety still exists, however, the interpretation is made that this resource property has gone from an attraction to a neutral element. The only irritant that could be identified related to tourists driving through Miloli'i in rental cars, and having to endure the verbal wrath of Hawaiians who thought they were gawking.

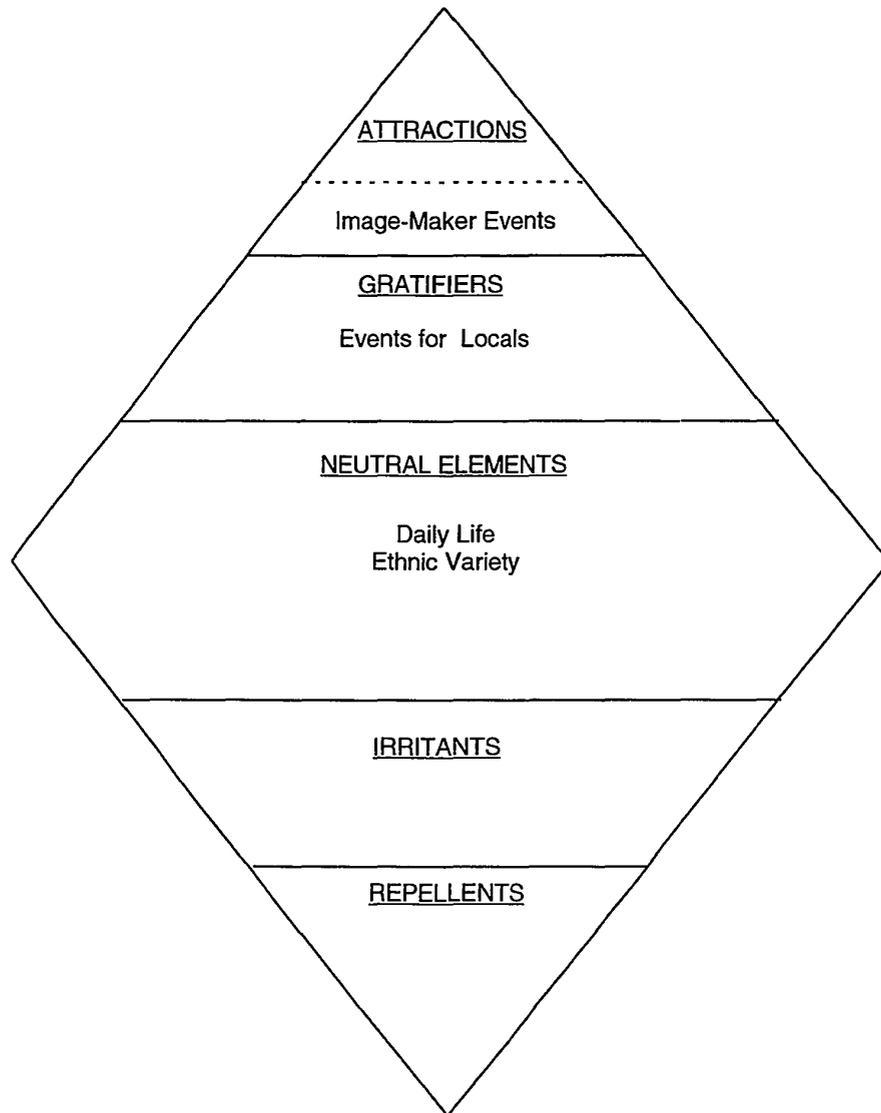


Figure 5.3 Appraising the quality level of Kona's social resources.

SUMMATION

The major objective of this chapter has been to establish definitively that local residents are resources to tourists as much as is the physical environment, local culture, or the tourist industry itself. It is obvious that tourists want to meet locals, see how they live their lives, etc. Yet extremely little research has been done on this area. The categories that were induced from travel narratives on Kona thus represent first approximations. Only further comparative research can establish their general applicability. A fair variety in types of social resources could be identified for Kona, however most discussion in travel narratives dealt with the Hawaiian population that was living long ago. This population, along with its specific social features, is now much reduced and the pockets remaining seemingly have little tolerance for tourists' presence. The contemporary local population does not seem to have much social resource potential for tourists; Kona would thus now seem to be a destination where very little social interaction occurs, other than in commercially related situations. The business transactors obviously interact with tourists who go shopping, and tour guides continue to act as culture brokers. Otherwise, not much seems to happen there. As a category, social resources—people—are almost completely a neutral element for tourists visiting Kona.

ENDNOTES

¹ In one of the only attempts to establish pre-contact population levels, Kirch (1984) has modeled the expansion of the Hawaiian population before contact. According to him, archaeological evidence indicates West Hawai'i as a whole was first populated around the ninth century AD. To get population estimates, Kirch analyzed archaeological evidence from several West Hawaiian sites. He concluded that there have been three main trends in the population of the pre-contact era. Evidence indicated the population of Hawaiians peaked around 1650, and then declined somewhat during the century before Cook's arrival. Kirch makes no explicit claim to know why this decline occurred, but one major theme of his book is the relationship between the natural resource potential of a region and population carrying capacity. For West Hawai'i, including Kona, Kirch seems to be saying that the population had exceeded the capability of the land to provide resources. It should be noted, however, that because of contemporary disturbance in heavily populated regions, three of the four field sites Kirch analyzed were in very dry areas of North Kona that could never have supported large populations. The decision seems questionable to project population changes from marginally habitable areas onto nearby areas which provide

abundant agricultural yields. An obvious counter-conclusion would be that people living in dry North Kona simply moved back with relatives in the more habitable areas, either to the south or north.

² In another attempt to estimate the pre-contact Hawaiian population, Stannard (1989) has modeled the possible impacts that disease could have had on them. Basing his model empirical data from other populations that lacked immunity to western diseases, he asserted that if Hawaiians had died in the same ratios that were typical in other areas, the pre-contact population for the entire island group must have been close to one million people. This estimate is far larger than that made by early explorers. Stannard's model seems well-designed and the conclusions reached not unreasonable, but one problem encountered in research for this dissertation was that no textual material was read for Kona from the 1779-1823 period supported Stannard's idea of catastrophic disease. For example, the explorer Lisiansky (1968, 112) visited the islands during the famous epidemic of 1804, which took many lives. Lisiansky mentioned that he was unable to meet Kamehameha on O'ahu because there were reports that an epidemic was taking a heavy toll among the soldiers the king had assembled in preparation for attacking Kauai. However, Lisiansky had sailed to O'ahu after leaving Kona. He had made no mention of such an epidemic earlier in his journal when describing his trade with Hawaiians at Kealakekua Bay (see also Iselin nd, 68, 73). This general point—that there was no case found in which a traveler described an epidemic in Kona—is stressed in order to point out the need for more regionally-focused research on Hawai'i Island, as opposed to the dominant, extremely Honolulu-centric focus.

³ Meares visited Kona in 1788 and reported an incident where a ship's cable was lost underwater. He tells of several Hawaiians diving to try to recover it. All emerged except one, who was spotted near the surface, but sinking. Then: "three of the divers ... plunged instantly after him, and brought him up, but in a senseless state, and with streams of blood issuing from his mouth and nostrils." He had been under water for "the space of seven minutes and a half" and "had not only got hold of the cable, but had cleared it" (Meares n.d., 16).

⁴ Sandalwood collection began during the later years of the reign of Kamehameha I, while the monarch was residing in Kona. Until his death in 1819, Kamehameha kept a monopoly on the trade. His son and successor, Liholiho, was forced to cede trading rights to the major chiefs as a condition for their support (Kuykendall and Day 1948, 42; Kelly 1983, 77). The way sandalwood was collected was very hard on the Hawaiian *maka'ainana*. Holland (1971, 12), cites the Reverend Ely, the missionary at Ka'awaloa, on how Chief Naihe and Chiefess Kapi'olani took a "large number" of planters from that area to Ka'u district for a span of two to three months for the purpose of collecting sandalwood. These trips involved staying at elevations which were typically much cooler and/or wetter than the coastal zone climates where people lived. Little food grew; people were sometimes forced to eat the cores of tree ferns for nourishment (Porter 1930, 2). What was perhaps most disruptive was that family gardens had to be abandoned while people were in the hills. Famine could result (Kuykendall and Day 1948, 42). Hopkins (1862, 368) cites a Mr. George Simpson, who in 1842-3 had written that the gathering of sandalwood had caused "a great waste of life." Few references to the sandalwood trade were found for Kona. None of the memoirs that were read for this research depicted the terrible working conditions the Hawaiians were reported to have endured. Those works that do note the presence of sandalwood ships in Kona (Tyerman and Bennett 1832, Vol.2, 15; Corney

1896, 47), or that describe the loading of sandalwood onto a ship (Boelen 1988, 18) discuss this matter-of-factly.

⁵ Venereal disease was first passed to the Hawai'an population during Cook's initial visit to Kaua'i in January, 1778. The following November, when he reached Maui on return from mapping the Pacific Coast of North America, Cook (1967, 476) saw unmistakable symptoms among the Hawaiians there and realized the disease had reached this island, on the other side of the chain, ahead of him. Pirie (1978) has however noted Cook could have been confusing syphilis with yaws, which was endemic to Hawai'i Island.

⁶ Lisiansky (1814, 103), reaching Kealakekua Bay in 1804, refused to let local women on board, for the knowledge that venereal disease was rife among Hawaiians had by that time reached Europe.

⁷ Hopkins (1862, 366) discussed a survey done in 1846 by Wyllie, then Minister of Foreign Affairs for the Kingdom. This survey noted the high prevalence of influenza, and the fatalities it caused throughout the islands. In some places, annual death rates exceeded birth rates. Epidemics occurred every other year on Oahu, during the rainy season. Day (1955, 189) has noted that, for the entire island group, there were measles epidemics in 1848 and 1849, and 10,000 people died from a combined epidemic of measles and whooping cough in 1850. Smallpox hit in 1853 and 1881.

⁸ Hill (1856, 207) speculated this might have been either because of climate or retention of native custom.

⁹ It is apparent that the numbers of Hawaiians these later visitors saw could not match those of half a century earlier. Barrot (1978, 4) noted for example that 200 canoes, none containing any women, came out to meet the ship. This is only a small fraction of the canoes observed by visitors on Cook's and Vancouver's expeditions.

¹⁰ LaFarge (1912, 38) found interesting the sight of the coffee planters who had ridden down to the village on steamer day to pick up supplies: "They wear enormous hats, and have a planter-like appearance that suggests our being different."

¹¹ For other villages, depopulation had been so severe that nothing helped. After describing Ka'awaloa as it was in the old days, Whitney (1890, 32) noted: "Even on steamer day Ka'awaloa is a desolate looking place."

¹² Kelly and Barrère (1980, 43) noted that the population of Kailua had declined to 200 by the 1880s.

¹³ Cook of course received something even beyond the "royal treatment," because the Hawaiians may have believed him to be their god Lono. Being worshipped as a god by the locals is undoubtedly the quintessence of experience in this category of resource; being murdered by them is its antithesis. Cook thus managed to experience both extremes of people as social resources.

¹⁴ For the sailors and others further down the social ladder, who often did not have a chance to meet with Kamehameha, he would probably not have been considered the biggest attraction in a trip to Hawai'i. That honor would have undoubtedly gone to the Hawaiian women.

¹⁵ Freycinet described him as being 6'3" tall "and was even heavier than his gigantic stature might indicate." He startled Freycinet by asking in "tolerably good English" if the captain had come to the Sandwich Islands via Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope (Freycinet 1978, 4).

¹⁶ Kapi'olani's conversion to Christianity led her to defy the traditional gods with a brave act—descending into the crater of Kilauea, home of the goddess Pele (Kuykendall 1926, 108). As far as history is concerned this may have been her most famous act. Most of the visitors who were received by her, however, did not seem to know she had done this (descriptions of her actions were lacking), and thus she attained celebrity status with visitors who met her in Kona through her kindness as a hostess.

¹⁷ In the first decade of the 19th century Kona was surpassed by Honolulu as a trading center because of its better harbor and infinitely greater access to potable water. Kona remained an important spot for obtaining provisions only into the 1830s.

¹⁸ Reports of Hawaiians paddling out to ships to trade provisions do go into the 1830s and beyond (Wheeler 1844, 181; Hill 1856, 164). However, around 1812 the sandalwood trade commenced in earnest, and the variety and volume of goods traded increased dramatically.

¹⁹ The first mention of interaction with business transactors in the 20th century was in a story by Sarton ("Sukiyaki on the Kona Coast" in Day and Stroven, eds 1968). This story described the serendipitous interaction she had with a local family who cooked a special dinner for her.

²⁰ John Young was detained at the same time that the incident of the *Fair American* incident (which resulted in another western sailor, Isaac Davis, also being held on the Big Island) occurred. Other than Cook's death, there was no other single "incident" between Hawaiians and westerners on the Big Island that was more hostile. Versions of the incident of the "detention" of Young and Davis were written by Vancouver (1967, 819–21), Menzies (1920, 65–6) and Manby (1959, 20–1). Although these do not exactly concur; all three highly emphasized the incident.

²¹ Young played an important role as adviser to Kamehameha. Vancouver (1967, v.2, 122) noted Young "appeared to be not only a great favourite, but to possess no small degree of influence with this great chief."

²² The editor of Reynolds' (1938, 7) manuscript notes Young had been resident in the islands since 1790 and was "mentioned by every visitor for thirty years."

²³ Though not usually considered to be extraordinary individuals by visitors, culture brokers, by being residents and having had the chance to learn and experience more, have served a vital role in the increase of knowledge of Hawaiian culture and historical events. Often the topics concern aspects of society that are not observable, such as mythology. In other cases, they have information on topics that visitors are not privileged to observe. For example, many of the early western visitors discussed the Hawaiian practice of human sacrifice. Not one of the travelers who wrote about this actually saw one, yet a reasonably complete knowledge exists of who the victims were, and when and why the sacrifices occurred, in spite of the lack of first-hand witnesses. What is unfortunate is that none of the early culture brokers seems to have written his or her memoirs of life in Hawai'i.

²⁴ Menzies (1920, 94) obtained information on "*Kapu pule*" days. He concluded these were similar to Sundays in western culture, i.e., a day when activities are limited. He also got a rough idea of their regularity, which was determined by the moon. A decade later, Lisiansky (1968, 118) was able to learn there were four kapu days every month.

²⁵ Descriptions of the fishponds Hawaiians had built, and of the upland agricultural systems, were much more complete than descriptions of people engaged in the corresponding activities related to these sites. Likewise, descriptions exist of the salt works along the shore, and of canoes being built at the sites of the felled trees, but these failed to contain further descriptions of people making salt, or building the canoes. This lack of descriptive material related to aspects of work is perhaps evidence that this general topic is considered too mundane by visitors, and therefore goes unappreciated.

²⁶ Surfing is now practiced widely throughout the Hawaiian islands, but none of the best spots are on the Big Island. In Kona, the best location, a break known as "Pine Trees," is almost unknown to tourists, hence few observe surfing there.

²⁷ In turn, the Ironman and other events like it require certain resources to remain successful. These include community support and a limited level of development of the landscape. With respect to the latter, clean water, and lack of traffic are necessities for a high quality race. As long as these continue to exist, Kona can maintain its status as a good place to race and to train.

²⁸ Kona, and particularly Kailua town, have established images as fitness centers. Local sporting goods shops cater to the needs of triathletes. Each day a large number of people can be seen jogging along Ali'i Drive or bicycling along Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway. By itself, watching this daily spectacle of joggers has become something of a gratifier component of the social resource base.

CHAPTER 6

HISTORY IS FASCINATING, I COULD SPEND WEEKS HERE

The names of categories for social resources had to be invented, while those for environmental resources were mostly familiar. Kona's cultural resources fall in the middle; the categories induced were somewhat familiar (Figure 6.1). As a term, "culture" has a broad meaning. It is used even more broadly here because tourists, like geographers, have placed a high value on Kona's cultural *landscape*. This was definitely the most developed cultural resource of this type in Kona, hence it is placed in the center position of Figure 6.1. The two other major categories, labeled "material culture" and "high culture," have had only weak development, thus are placed in flanking positions. With respect to this category, most of the individual resources were contained within a single sub-type, the "built environment." In addition, a part of the cultural landscape has been the "regional ambience," in Kona. This is a synthetic category; it has roughly the same relation to cultural resources that "scenery" had to environmental resources. Throughout the 19th century, and during much of the 20th, Kona's history as a center of Hawaiian culture has been its most notable tourist resource. These have been experience mainly through seeing the built environment. The remains of structures from the Hawaiian era have given history a tangible quality that has fascinated tourists. Since World War II, the quality of this experience has declined, as development has made the landscape opaque with respect to its historical features.

MATERIAL CULTURE	CULTURAL LANDSCAPE	HIGH CULTURE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Agricultural * Residential 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • BUILT ENVIRONMENT * Religious * Historical Event Sites • REGIONAL AMBIENCE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Recreational * Infrastructural

Figure 6.1 Cultural resource types in Kona.

(HAWAIIANS') MATERIAL CULTURE

The material culture of a society includes all objects that are human-made rather than natural. This of course includes an extremely broad set of objects. In Kona, the indigenous material culture of the Hawaiians was of interest to the explorers and visitors who arrived in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Certain explorers made a point of recording and describing the material culture of the indigenous peoples of the places they visited. For example, Freycinet (1978) published a highly detailed description of the material culture that he found in use during the second decade of the 19th century. No such inventory is attempted here. Rather, an attempt will be made to tease out the different ways that tourists appreciate material culture. These constitute the resource properties of this element.

Initially, explorers reaching Kona found the Hawaiian people in a state of cultural homogeneity, i.e., there had been no influence from non-Hawaiian cultures for at least several hundred years.¹ The material culture was thus "pure" in the sense that objects were constructed from local materials, they were designed to meet local needs, and their design itself represented a structural relationship between cultural forms and artistic expression.²

The choice of raw materials used to make objects was interesting to early visitors. Several commented about the beauty of the koa (*Acacia koa*) wood used to make table utensils. "They make, besides, of a very beautiful species of wood peculiar to these islands, a great variety of table utensils, such as bowls, platters, and vessels of different sizes, in the form of calabashes, &c" (Shaler 1935, 89). The beautiful feather capes and hats worn by the high chiefs (mentioned in Chapter 4) were another example.

The degree of craftsmanship involved in producing material objects was also important. Again, citing Shaler (1935, 89): "The form and size of their canoes are well known, therefore it is sufficient to observe, that the workmanship is inimitably well executed." Samwell (1967, 1182) remarked: "The bowls are of various sizes from two Gallons to a quart, they are made of the red Koa tree exceedingly neat and well polished & to appearance are as perfect a round as if they had been formed in a lathe." Arago (1971, 65) commented favorably on the use of an indigenous adze, the *toë*, noting: "Our cabinet-makers do not polish the most costly furniture better; and

better; and without planes or any of the tools employed by our workmen, those of Owhyhee are capable of competing with the best artisans of Europe."

A third property is the artistic creativity of the design. Samwell (1967, 1186) also commented upon this with respect to Hawaiian clothing: "They have a great many sort of Cloths of different thickness & Colour...They have some White, black, red, yellow, green and gray & they have some striped in an infinite Variety of patterns & some of them exceedingly beautiful, bearing a very great resemblance to the printed Cottons in England; this is all thick Cloth & the most common being in universal Use among them." Manby (1959, 27) discussed this resource property with respect to religious idols, which were a common detail on the landscape before 1819: "The Oroona is a huge figure cut out of wood to resemble a man's face, with an enormous large mouth, stuck full of teeth, with two large mother-of-pearl eyes." He further noted (p. 28): "To distort the countenances the artists of these figures particularly attend to, and I believe the deity most deformed in features gains veneration by his hideous appearance."

As time passed, Hawaiians traded with the western ships, both for raw materials and finished products. With new raw materials, particularly iron, Hawaiians were able to improve upon objects already in their cultural repertory. The use of imported finished products in innovative ways not found in the place of origin could sometimes produce amusing sights in the cultural landscape. One such sight, already referred to, was the Hawaiian adoption of western clothing, worn in combinations perceived as truly remarkable by westerners.

Having access to new materials, Hawaiian craftsmen also imitated western technology, resulting in copies of western material culture. For example, Hawaiians quickly learned the technology needed to construct European-type sailing vessels, and westerners thought notable both the yards where these were built and the finished products (Freycinet 1978, 5, 8). Another example was rope used in sailing. After noting the form of western rope, Hawaiians learned to make it from native materials. Shaler (1935, 89) observed: "The New Zealand flax plant ... flourishes here: of it they manufacture excellent white cordage, of all sizes: for running rigging, there is no better rope."

With the passage of still more time, adoption of western material culture reached the point where at least some Hawaiian houses were furnished quite like western homes. Stevenson (1973, 10) described the house in which he rented a room: "The parlor was fitted with the usual furniture, and ornamented with the portraits of Kamehameha the Third, Lunalilo, Kalakaua, the queen consort of the isles, and Queen Victoria. There was a Bible on the table; other books stood on a shelf." This was not always the case, however, Stevenson (p. 21) also noted that, while there were few grass huts any more, and the new houses were very nice on the outside, inside there was no furniture, just mats on the floor and photos and lithographs on the walls.

The material culture is also a resource in the sense that it, along with certain components of the natural environment, is collectible, and thus provides the underlying basis for the souvenir trade. Numerous Hawaiian objects were traded by sailors during the explorational period between 1779 and 1820. A unique situation (appalling by contemporary standards), allowing visitors to obtain religious idols and holy relics, occurred for several years after Kamehameha II abandoned the *kapu* system (see below). Dampier arrived during this time and recounted one such chance while visiting the Hale o Keawe reliquary at the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau:

I had begun to sketch the inside of the Morai, having already finish'd one of its exterior appearance, when the rapacious inclinations of our party, suddenly began to manifest themselves. I threw aside my pencil, & regardless of the divine punishment attending such shameless sacrilege, took ample share in the depopulation of this ancient sanctuary...Two frowning Gods, about twelve feet high, stood exactly opposite the door: at the feet of these the natives were accustomed to lay their offerings; these were quickly plucked up by the roots, & sent down as prizes to our boats...I succeeded in appropriating to myself, a beautiful spear...a couple of Gods, & a few other curious articles within my reach...(Dampier 1971:67-8)

As the 19th century progressed and Kona's Hawaiian population simultaneously declined and adopted western material culture, less was available for tourists to see. Nevertheless, with the stabilization of the Hawaiian population, and the retention of some facets of the traditional lifestyle, Kona actually became a good place to see people using the traditional material culture objects. Guidebooks and articles written before World War II photograph this, especially with respect to fishing activities and making poi (Castle 1913; *A Picture Tour of the Hawaiian Islands* 1930).

With the passage of time and the development of Hawai'i into a tourist destination, idols and other objects from the Hawaiian material culture have been copied and reproduced for sale in souvenir shops. Authentic traditional material objects are now nearly non-existent. Other than the traditional material objects used by Hawaiians, there seems to be no other aspect of material culture that has had resource value in Kona.

When it was present and available, the material culture of the Hawaiians obviously was considered to be of varying quality. Many of the objects traded for by sailors were evidently not kept for long. Obviously, large idols, such as those collected by Dampier's group were of museum quality. Yet, even those objects used by Hawaiians in the early 20th century must be considered as resources to the tourists of the time. Given the prevalence of mass produced Hawaiian souvenirs, it must be concluded that any objects found at old habitation sites would have considerable resource value today.

KONA'S CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Kona's cultural landscape, in its totality, has been an important element to visitors since the first phase of explorers were replaced by 19th century tourists. It has waxed and waned in importance over this time span, however, because particular components have been valued differently by different generations of visitors. The cultural landscape of Kona has here been divided into two major components, the built environment and regional ambience.

FEATURES IN THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Although Kona's borders have remained stable, the built environment within has undergone substantial change since western contact. At the scale of the village, the built environment created by Hawaiians was composed of coastal villages and mauka agricultural areas. These features dominated the landscape less-and-less during the course of the 19th century because of population decline and changes in land tenure practices. A new pattern, composed of mauka coffee farms and cattle ranches, with Hawaiian and immigrant residents living in low densities along the mountain roads, had developed by the early decades of the 20th century. After World War II, the known potential of Kona, and particularly Kailua, for tourism,

gradually began to lure people back to the coast. The population boom of the 1970s resulted in Kailua town again becoming the central place of the district, but with the majority of the population living in subdivisions widely scattered along the slopes of Hualālai and Mauna Loa. The district of Kona now resembles the exurbias that exist around major mainland cities; what is missing in Kona is the central city. That may change, if recent state and county plans for regional development are fulfilled.

This section will trace over time how the built environment has been perceived as a resource to tourists. The discussion will be sub-divided into sections on the agricultural and habitational built environments. The latter term was chosen to convey the change from village to urban landscapes, and incorporates the urban economic functions that now exist in Kona.

The Agricultural Built Environment

Agriculture has always been a significant component of the Kona cultural landscape. Before western contact and for the first half century afterward, Hawaiians practiced agriculture over a large area of Central Kona just inland from the coast. With the decline in population, followed by the redistribution of land during the Great Mahele, this agricultural heritage was completely lost. In its place on the landscape were cattle ranches and coffee farms. These have remained on the landscape until the present but both face difficult economic pressures and uncertain futures. Kona's cultural landscape would look vastly different if both were gone. This section of the chapter focuses on how visitors have perceived Kona's agricultural landscape. There has been change in perceived value to tourists over time. This has been a gradual change, however, due to the long-term stability of agricultural practices.

The Kona Field System

Kona was settled somewhat later than other districts on the Big Island, probably because it was more arid and there were no streams to use as sources for irrigation water (Kirch 1984, 107). As the population grew, the mauka areas of central Kona were gradually converted from native forest to dry land agriculture, taking advantage of the adequately heavy and usually consistent afternoon showers. Kelly (1983, 99) has asserted that it was likely that when 'Umi,

the first chief to unite the entire Big Island, moved from Waipio Valley to Kona he greatly expanded the division of labor, and consequently intensified agricultural practices.

The Hawaiian land use system, as is well known, was defined by areal units that ran vertically up from the sea in narrow bands called *ahupua'a*. These incorporated a range of ecozones and enabled people working the land to achieve subsistence independence by cultivating different crops at different elevations (Holland 1971, 26; Kirch 1983, 258).³ Kelly (1983, 71) has noted that in Kona, Hawaiians had names for four distinct zones extending back from the coast.⁴ Of particular importance was the *kalu'ulu* zone, where breadfruit trees were planted in groves, and the *'apa'a* zone, further up slope, where vegetables were cultivated.

While these gardens ran quite a ways up from the seashore into the mountains, the most remarkable feature was their lateral extent. The agricultural zone of central Kona was roughly three miles wide, but 18 miles long! Literally the entire stretch of land from Kealahou Bay to the north of Kailua town was under cultivation. This agricultural zone was over 50 square miles in areal extent. Kelly (1983, 71) has made the observation that the complexity of this large garden rivaled that of major Central and South American civilizations.⁵

According to some researchers (Kirch 1984, 195–216; Schilt 1984, 292–4)), such a garden did not come to exist merely because individual Hawaiians needed food to survive. Rather, subsistence economic factors, based on local population pressure, the political aspirations of chiefs, and cultural mandates, made necessary the cultivation of surplus crops.⁶ Hence, Kona society became organized under the ruling chiefs around the task of expanding the amount of land under cultivation, then farming this intensively to achieve maximum yields. Because of this organizational element, this large garden area has been called the Kona Field System by the researchers cited above.⁷ Its approximate area is shown in Figure 6.2.

During the first half century or so of contact with westerners the Kona Field System remained intact and fully worked. The return of Kamehameha and his large entourage to Kailua in 1811 undoubtedly contributed to the need to keep crop production under full labor. In the latter half of the 1820s decade, production within the Kona Field System probably began to

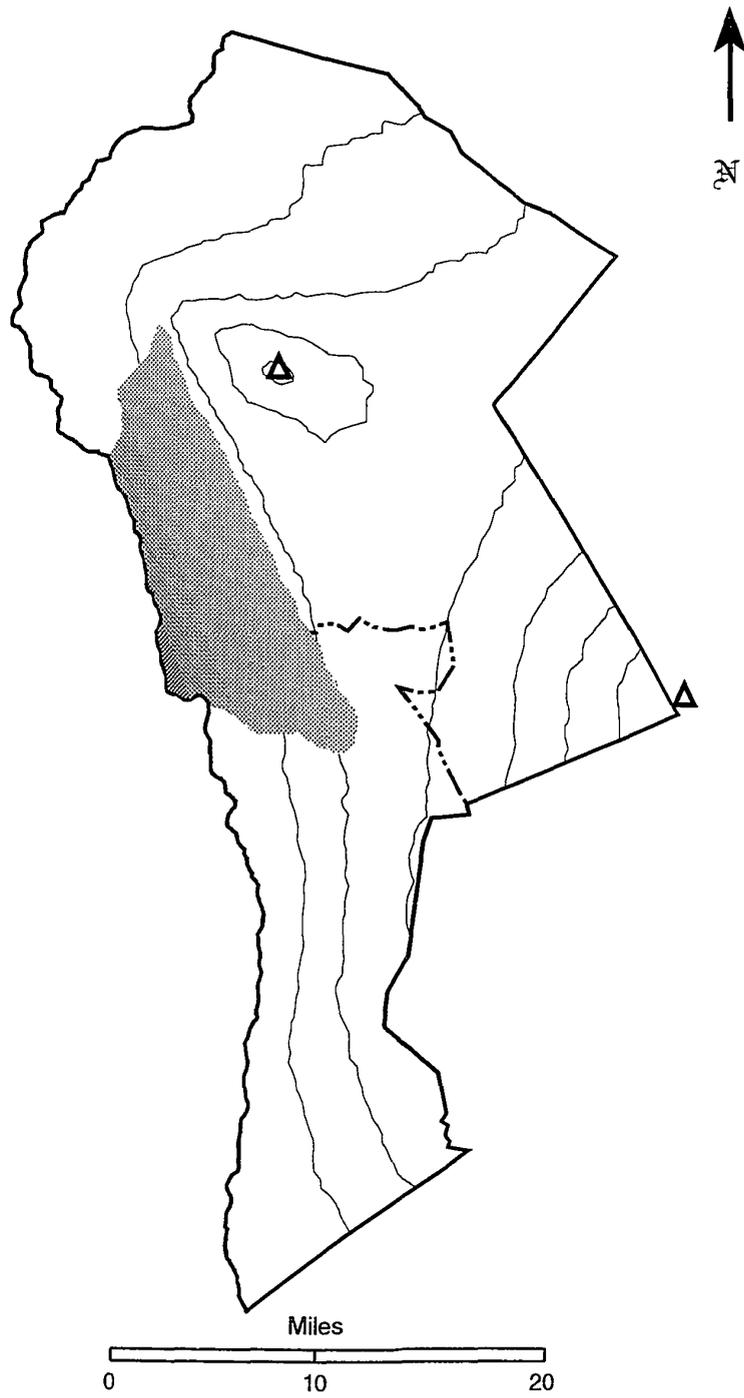


Figure 6.2 The Kona Field System.
Redrawn from Schilt (1984).

decline. This was caused by the corresponding population decline in Kona, described earlier. Overall, the period between 1825 and 1850 was transitional for Kona agriculture.

After the Great Mahele was implemented through the *Kuleana Act* of 1850 (Kelly 1983, 70), the transition in agricultural land use occurred quickly. The results of the Mahele were not in accordance with Kamehameha III's intention of providing secure land holdings to the *maka'ainana* (Lind 1938, 45). Few common Hawaiians in Kona received awards; most acreage went to the chiefs, the Crown, or the Government.⁸ Once these land ownership changes went into effect, however, the Kona Field System, as a working agricultural system, was abandoned. It was replaced by ranching at both lower and upper elevations, where grazing was best, with residents working small family gardens in a middle zone, several hundred feet above sea level, where rainfall was higher (Schilt 1984, 168, 276; Strazar 1988, xv).

Because the Hawaiian population decline and the conversion to a more westernized land tenure system both occurred early in Kona's post-contact history, only the earliest set of visitors, mostly explorers, were able to see and experience the Kona Field System when it was under full cultivation. The descriptions these writers left indicated it was a remarkable landscape feature, one that was altogether unexpected in a "primitive" culture such as Hawai'i's.

The first mention of the agricultural landscape came from King as he recounted the story of the expedition that tried unsuccessfully to climb the slopes of Mauna Loa behind Kealahou Bay, in their attempt to reach the summit. He stated: "By their accounts it is hardly possible that this Country can be better cultivated or made to yield a greater sustenance for the inhabitants; they passed thro fields of hay, with which they cover the young Tarro Grounds, to prevent the suns drying it up" (King 1967, 524).

In addition to being intensively cultivated, the way the hilly landscape had been modified also was notable. These early visitors seemed to know nothing of the *ahupua'a* system of land tenure. However, the way this system manifested itself on the landscape, through the construction of boundary walls, was remarked upon several times.⁹ King (1967, 521) also noted that "these walls separate their property & are made of the Stones got on clearing the Ground; but they are hid by the sugar cane being planted on each side, whose leaves or stalk make a

beautiful looking edge." About 20 years later, Iselin (n.d., 68) made a similar observation: "The land is much divided into small lots, or parcels, carefully separated by stone walls or a hedge of sugar-cane, which grow to immense size." Shaler (1935, 86) also noticed the walls enclosing the fields but also commented that, because of the breadfruit and plantains that surrounded the fields, the country had "an exquisitely beautiful appearance." One other property of the Kona Field System that impressed visitors was the variety of crops grown. King (1967, 521) mentioned "The Tarrow or Eddy root & the sweet Potatoe with a few cloth plants are what grow in these cultivated spots." Ellis (1927, 46), commenting on a hike taken by missionary colleagues "through a beautiful part of the country, quite a garden..." noted the cultivation of bananas, sweet potatoes, mountain taro, paper mulberry plants, melons and sugar cane. Ledyard, arriving on Cook's expedition, wrote a particularly eloquent passage concerning the abundance of breadfruit trees. Contrasting agriculture in the temperate zones, where "Man eateth by the sweat of his brow" (Ledyard 1963, 119) he noted that food was produced effortlessly in Kona:

But behold now these bread-fruit plains thine eye cannot discern their limits, and the trees are like the cedars of Lebanon in number and in stature—can the groveling swine trample them under his feet, or are they destroyed in a gust of rain. Here is neither toil or care, man stretcheth forth his hand and eateth without parsimony or anticipated want. (Ledyard 1963, 119)

The explorer Wilkes, arriving in Kona in 1840, gave perhaps the last description of the Kona Field System before it was abandoned and the land used for ranching.¹⁰ He commented that there was "little inducement to raise any thing more than for their immediate wants, as there is no market, except one of limited extent at Kailua, which is fifteen miles distant" (Wilkes 1970, 91). This perhaps indicates the state of decline, caused by the reduced needs of a smaller local population, that had occurred on the agricultural landscape during the 1820s and 1830s.

The Kona Field System was an attraction to early visitors because its size was well beyond their expectations of what Hawaiians could reasonably create, because of its production intensity and diversity, and from its beauty as a landscape feature. Population decline caused abandonment of production and land tenure changes following the Mahele resulted in conversion to other practices. There has been no area of Kona under production in anything resembling the traditional method since the Mahele, at least that was commented upon by tourists. The only

location where remains of the ancient boundary walls can be observed by contemporary tourists is at the Amy Greenwell Ethnobotanical Garden, though this is not widely publicized. The remains of the Kona Field System have thus become a neutral element, invisible to tourists.

Ranching

As noted in Chapter 3, Vancouver introduced cattle to Hawai'i at Kealahou Bay in 1793. Within a few years the population had greatly increased and many had escaped, in spite of the fact that Kamehameha had a large pen built to contain them.¹¹ Wild herds roamed the mountain sides, causing considerable destruction to gardens (Day 1955, 173). This led Kamehameha III, around 1830, to send a chief to California to bring back some *vaqueros* to teach Hawaiians to ride horses so they could round up these cattle (Day 1955, 173; Strazar 1988, xiv). As is well known, this was the origin of the *paniolas*, as the Spanish-speaking cowboys were called.

A small industry in bullock hunting began after this; the sandalwood decline that occurred about that time necessitated the chiefs find some other way of paying off their debts. Selling cattle products to the whaling ships was one way to do so. Cattle were killed in the forests, the meat was salted in barrels, then brought down to the sea. Hides and tallow were also profitable. Most of the meat was exported as the local Hawaiians continued to prefer pork and fish (Brennan 1978, 43).¹²

Ranching as such did not exist before the division of land in 1850, though cattle had been grazed in the arid *kula* zone just inland from Kona villages since the 1820s (Kelly 1983, 78). After the Great Mahele, defined ownership of ahupua'as by individual chiefs facilitated ranch development. Major efforts were put into constructing boundary walls to prevent cattle from straying. Domesticated cattle were imported; wild cattle were also caught to increase herd size. The Royal Agricultural Society became actively involved in improving the quality of Kona's herds (Strazar 1988, xv; Kelly 1983, 81).

By the 1870s, ranching operations run by foreigners had begun in Kona (Kelly 1983, 81). These were larger operations, on both fee simple and leased land. Over the next several decades, these ranches grew in size and expanded up and down the slopes, particularly up into

the cool mauka areas, above the elevations feasible for other agricultural products (Strazar 1988, xv). The ability to control land running makai-mauka enabled ranchers to graze cattle in the uplands, then bring them down to the sea to fatten on the lowland vegetation before being shipped to Honolulu (Jean Greenwell, personal communication, Nov., 1991).

The large ranches of Kona have now been a stable feature of the cultural landscape for a century. However, since Statehood a variety of economic problems has caused many of the owners to sell some or all of their lands.¹³ This has resulted in different types of land uses, particularly subdivisions and, lately, golf courses, being developed or proposed. Such urban forms of land use may severely alter the Kona cultural landscape in the future. Ranching is not likely to entirely die out in Kona, as there are numerous small ranches scattered among the large spreads. However, it may become nearly invisible.

For tourists, the day-to-day existence of ranches on the landscape in Kona has not been a feature of excitement. Virtually no favorable tourist comments were found. One of the only tourists who mentioned it at all, Franck (1937, 49), commented simply that cattle roaming under trees along the shore had replaced the Hawaiian homes of a century earlier. An obvious reason for this lack of comment would be that ranching was an introduced practice, hence there was nothing uniquely local about it. An additional reason is that Kona has always been located next to the Parker Ranch, in South Kohala. The Parker Ranch has been considered the second largest ranch in the world for some time. Compared to this extremely large ranch, Kona's are not notable.

The cattle drives to boats anchored off-shore have been described in Chapter 4. One landscape feature of this practice was a notable irritant for tourists. During the early 1950s, cattle holding pens were built on part of the pier in Kailua, an action which local tourism boosters did not favor. The Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* (1953) commented that opponents were arguing that Kona was a tourist destination, and that the "noise at night," the "splatter" on the streets, and the "smell" were not conducive to a growing tourist town. Other newspaper articles of the time indicated these cattle pens were neutralizing the resource value of the tourist landscape in Kailua (HA 1954; Edwards 1954b; Gaspar 1955). Use of the pier for this activity

also seemed to prevent it from being fully utilized for sport fishing. This led other locals to call for the development of a yacht harbor by the mid-1960s, for the burgeoning sport fishing industry (Carter 1965). The pens were removed from the pier in 1966 (Clark 1985, 107), ending the existence of an irritant on the landscape of downtown Kailua. Since that time, there has been no real connection between ranching and tourism in Kona.

The availability of ranching, a commonplace feature on the Kona cultural landscape for over a century, is now declining. However, from the tourists' perspective, the sight of cattle grazing on the hills of Kona has mostly been perceived as a neutral element, irrelevant to their exploring and experiencing of the region. Only the swim to the cattle boats had attraction value, and this practice ended partly because it became too inefficient, and partly because the presence of cattle in Kailua had other irritating qualities for tourists. Ranching activity is yet another category that has neutral element status in Kona.

Coffee

Coffee is not native to the Hawaiian Islands; it was imported in the early 19th century by Marin in 1817 and Lord Byron in 1825 (Jarrett 1933, 92). By 1830, the missionary Ruggles had taken plants from Honolulu to Kona and had begun experimentation (Bingham 1981, 399). Hawaiians soon became involved, Mitchell and Melrose (1978, 4) noted that Governor Kuakini was raising it in Kainaliu. By 1854, Kona coffee had established a reputation as "inferior to none in the world" and both Hawaiians and "coolies" were being paid in wages and housing to pick the crops for the early plantation owners (Kelly and Barrère 1980, 42).¹⁴

The economic potential for coffee improved dramatically in the late 1880s, when the price nearly doubled, and a boom continued into the 1890s (Greenwell, 1985). Several documents from the 1890s hint that Kona was considered a kind of agricultural frontier that had just then opened to the first wave of pioneer coffee farmers. One such document, entitled *Coffee: the coming staple product*, called for the "enterprising brains of the men of the temperate zones" to develop coffee areas (Hawai'i Republic. Department of Foreign Affairs 1896, 5).

The coffee boom of the 1890s was not destined to last. Though soil and climatic conditions were excellent, the landscape, formed from still-active volcanoes, was altogether too

difficult for less ambitious settlers to work. Some owners had already begun to sub-divide their holdings into five acre plots; these were leased to the first wave of Japanese who had come to Kona seeking an agricultural life independent of the plantations.

Other economic problems also faced the larger plantation owners. Kelly (1983, 83–7) reported that the large capitalist interests which had bankrolled the sugar industry were never very attracted to coffee because of the severe cyclical swings in world prices that occurred. This made financial backing impossible to obtain. Just such a crash did occur in 1898, wiping out profits and ending the dreams of the haole plantation owners.¹⁵ By the turn of the century, plantations were totally broken up, and the five-acre plot became the standard arrangement on the mauka Kona landscape. The Japanese agricultural laborers hired to work on the sugar plantations continued to immigrate into Kona to lease these, perhaps even before their contract had expired.¹⁶ Ethnographic works by Embree (1941) and Lind (1967) have described the history of the development of the coffee industry during the first two-thirds of this century. It is a moving story of the successful struggle of an independent people to eke out a living from the harsh land conditions that proved ruinous to other endeavors.¹⁷

The landscape of central mauka Kona took on a distinctive appearance during the first quarter of the 20th century, and much of this has remained intact up to the present. The coffee growing region is essentially a strip of land about 25 miles long, running roughly parallel to the coastline between about 800–2,000 feet in elevation (Kelly 1983, 83). The limitations of the productive capacity of the single coffee farming family formed a constraint on the size of the land leases obtainable and created a fairly uniform landscape of small farms.¹⁸ This uniformity extended itself across the mauka landscape. Embree (1941, 21) noted: "From the road this district is one broad expanse of coffee trees with here and there at intervals the metal roof of a farmer's house reflecting the rays of the sun."¹⁹

A decade of continuity ensued after the end of World War II but since then the hegemony of coffee as a force in the district has been almost continuously challenged. Tourism development led the way in this attack. As early as 1955, speeches were being made that tourism was the future for the region, not ranching or coffee (Gaspar 1955). A competition

ensued between tourism and coffee, though there were times when coffee prices became sufficiently depressed that at least a portion of the growers wanted tourism development for the jobs it would bring (Whitten 1959).²⁰ Tourism development has in fact brought jobs, both in construction and in services, that paid better than coffee.²¹ This helped create a labor shortage that, by the early 1970s, had become so severe that the crop was not being picked even though world prices had risen to a premium (Smyser 1972).

By the 1980s tourism had also brought with it increasing urbanization in the form of residential sub-divisions, housing both immigrants working in tourism and retirees who came first as tourists. This development force has threatened the existence of the coffee industry perhaps more than any of the other factors mentioned. Exploding land prices had made the land by itself more valuable than it was with the coffee grown on it (Yim 19811; Harada-Stone 1989 and 1989c). In spite of these pressures, coffee continues to survive on the Kona landscape. Acreage under production expanded during the decade, from about 2,100 acres in 1980, to 3,000 in 1989–90 (*Statistics of Hawaiian Agriculture* 1990, 11). The increase in appreciation of Kona coffee as a gourmet drink that occurred in the 1980s may make the future of the industry sustainable.

The presence of coffee on the Kona landscape has been conspicuous to tourists practically since people began growing it. Throughout the 19th and 20th century, travel narratives discuss several properties of coffee growing that were interesting to tourists. Guidebooks to Hawai'i and the Big Island have almost universally pointed out coffee as something to see in the Kona landscape. Yet, coffee agriculture's tourist properties have not been static but have changed over time.

Initially, it was the planters, more than the crop, who were the center of attention. Cheever (1851, 35–7) discussed his visit to the plantation of a "Maine sailor" who was growing coffee "extensively" on the "prolific" soil with his son-in-law. Hill (1856, 209) disembarked at a schooner landing near Keauhou so he could climb mauka to meet a planter named Hall. Chaney (1879, 201) noted that part of the daily life for a tourist in Kona was riding the mule owned by the guesthouse to visit nearby coffee planters. The "celebrity" status of these planters seems to

have ended during the 1890s. On steamer day at the Ho'okena landing, Musick (1898, 216) observed that: "The dock was crowded with men, many of them white coffee-planters, ready to boast of their own enterprises and decry all others." He then noted these "plantations" were "four-acre plots, plus visions of more-to-come."

Many visitors to Kona have noted they observed coffee growing on the landscape. Some thought the plant had aesthetic appeal, such as London (1917, 203), who mentioned the "spreading miles of glossy, green shrubbery sprinkled with its red, sweet berry inclosing the blessed bean." Most writers (e.g. Sabin 1921, 37; Yost 1925, 50; Walker and Speiss 1931, 65; Fergusson 1960, 15) however, simply stated they saw the coffee growing as they rode or drove through Kona. Morrill (1919, 111) and Harlow (1928, 175), among others, noted they had seen the "famous" Kona coffee growing on the mountain slopes. Coffee had become a part of the Kona image projected to the outside world by the turn of the century (see Wait 1897 and *Paradise of the Pacific* 1899), and even of the image of Hawai'i at-large.²² As such, it was something tourists expected to see as they explored the district.

Additional aspects of interest to tourists have been ethnic and children's involvement. Musick arrived in Kona while haole plantation owners were still employing the first wave of Japanese immigrants to the region. He commented that there were "vast forests of wild coffee" and that "hundreds of Japanese were busy picking the berries" (Musick 1898, 219). Goodhue (1900, 105), arriving after the failure of the plantations, noted the Japanese and Portuguese had "taken lands on fifteen year leases, at from \$1 to \$5 an acre, and are making a success of the venture." Gessler (1937, 241) and Drake (1948, 113) noted the fact that, because coffee ripens in November, the local school vacation schedule had to be modified so children could help pick the family crop. At the industrial level, a visit to a coffee mill has also been considered an interesting experience (Griffiss 1930, 275; Deubner 1938, 42).

The above paragraphs have mostly cited travel narratives, yet guidebooks to Hawai'i and the Big Island have also marked the presence of coffee on the Kona landscape. Many note that Kona is the only location in the United States where coffee is grown, therefore tourists are seeing a unique phenomenon. Guidebooks are of course written by travelers who visit the destinations

first. Discussion of coffee in the Kona landscape by travel writers reproduced almost exactly the tourist resource properties mentioned in travel narratives written by tourists. Guidebooks did differ in that they tended to provide more information for the tourist: the number of acres planted, the size of the harvest, the value of the coffee crop, etc. In other words, guidebooks added facts about the *regional geography* of Kona coffee. This is thus one instance where the overlap between geography and tourism is great.

During field research, coffee was perceptibly re-asserting itself—through the opening of retail outlets along the mauka highway that is still the only way to travel through the district.²³ In these shops, run both by coffee farming families and entrepreneurs, Kona coffee and the coffee lifestyle were being marketed as a regional feature of the tourist landscape.²⁴ Several dozen local farmers had begun to sell their coffee directly to these shops. In some cases, coffee from several farms was blended and sold as the distinctive product of a particular shop, in other cases the coffee from each farm was packaged and sold under that farm's unique label. In all cases, Kona coffee was being marketed as a gourmet item and sold for top prices that reflected its reputation as one of the world's best coffees.²⁵ These shops would seem to be the first attempt to incorporate the mauka region into the tourist commercial space. Certain shops had established connections with bus tours, and received hundreds of visitors each day.²⁶ All shops had set up mail order networks, enabling them to maintain business connections with tourists after the latter had returned home.

There thus seemed to be a very tardy, but increasing, understanding among locals that both Kona coffee and the Kona coffee region were of interest to tourists. At the very least this change in perception should go some way to lessening the animosity between mauka and makai that ran so deep in the 1960s and 1970s. If successful, this new way of marketing Kona coffee as a premium product worthy of consumption by itself, rather than simply as a flavoring additive to inferior brands, could permit the expansion of coffee farming that has been occurring since 1980. In this way, this agricultural industry may perpetuate both a product and lifestyle, rather than be driven to extinction by the urbanization forces that now put pressure on the coffee lands.

Residential Aspects

As a category, “agriculture” is often taken as the opposite of “urban.” This was not done here because no real urban setting existed in Kona until recently. However, this section, and the next several, mostly describe features of the built environment that were used in daily life, in close proximity to the place where people spent most of their time. The sections describe specific types of sites but most of these also have a historical quality, in that they are features built and used by Hawaiians before 1840. This overall pervasiveness of history in the cultural landscape of Kona has given tourists gratification for over a century.

From the time Hawaiians first settled the region until very recently, the village has been the dominant form of the residential built environment for Kona. Considerable change has occurred in the last two centuries, resulting mainly from population and occupational changes. Three distinctive residential built environments have existed: the traditional Hawaiian village; the mauka agricultural village; the contemporary exurban setting.

Tourist interest during this time has focused either on villages as entities in and of themselves, or in the residences of particular individuals. The level of interest has changed considerably, indicating that residential aspects have waxed and waned as resources. Visitors have focused on two of the village environments just mentioned—the traditional and the modified Hawaiian village (the latter as a component of regional ambience). Interest in the houses of particular inhabitants overlapped roughly. Several houses of the chiefs who resided in Kona were described, again until about 1840. After this, only the home of Governor Kuakini, which was used as a get-away home by the Hawaiian monarchs throughout the century, retained tourist interest.

Villages

Hawaiian coastal villages, traditional and modified, contained features that visitors saw fit to describe, from the time of western contact until just after the turn of the 20th century. The overall initial interest in villages, between 1779 to about 1840, cannot be said to be great, however. Between about 1840 and 1870, there seemed to be no interest in villages at all. After this, tourists traveling past Kona on steamships were irritated by the reduced stature of the

villages, compared to earlier in the century. Little has been noted about them since, at least as places of residence.

The villages of central Kona, particularly Kailua, Ka'awaloa and Kealahou (including the present village of Nāpo'opo'o) were initially heavily populated and were visited by many ships between 1789 to about 1840. The visitors from these vessels were most impressed with the size of the population, and thus the size of the villages, as has been noted in the last chapter. These early visitors, including a number of the early missionaries, had the opportunity to observe the Hawaiian villages in their traditional form (although during this half century there was considerable change as Hawaiians adapted to and adopted western ways).

Several features of these villages that caught the attention of the visitors. First, the fact that the villages were built on lava flows, rather than areas with soil, struck some visitors as notable (King 1967, 506; Lisiansky 1968, 110). This habitation was made the more remarkable by the degree to which the Hawaiians had cultivated what little soil that did exist among the lava flows (Manby 1959, 30; Ellis 1927, 45). Holman (1931, 21) commented that "even the cracks in the rocks have been planted." Ledyard spoke of the "little streets" between the houses and noted that "a very agreeable and uncommon circumstance to be found among these rude sons of nature, was, that these little avenues were generally paved."²⁷ He also described features of Kealahou village not mentioned by other writers: "... in about the middle of it there is a level course for running and other exercises, which is very beautifully skirted with trees from end to end, and is kept very clean" and that there existed "square elevated yards for bleaching and otherwise manufacturing their cloth" (all citations Ledyard 1963, 128). This provides an impression that there was more to the landscape of the traditional Hawaiian village than most of the explorers thought worthy of mentioning. By this interpretation, the villages of Kona would seem to have been a neutral element during this period.

Beginning in the 1850s, water travel was regularized between Honolulu and Kona. Ships initially were sailing schooners, but by the 1870s nearly all passengers traveled on steamers. Most were on their way to or from Kīlauea volcano, and simply sailed past the Kona district. This enabled passengers to view the coastal village landscape from an oceanic vantage

point. Such travel was the typical mode until around World War I, when improvement in circle island roads enabled tourists to reach Kona by auto. During this period, the population of Kona remained almost entirely Hawaiian, though the numbers were much lower than earlier. Changing political fortunes enabled Hilo to replace Kailua as the seat of the island governors. The result was that Kona became a peripheral backwater region. What is most remarkable about the period was the absence of development of any new features in the habitational built environment. Certain existing features continued to have resource value; others acquired value as historical sites.

With population decline greatly reducing the size of Kona's villages, and causing the abandonment of some, they were no longer impressive to most tourists visiting in the second half of the 19th century.²⁸ Anderson (1864, 154), for example, citing population decline, stated that Kailua was "now but a poor remnant of its former self." Twain, visiting in 1866, was the most disparaging:

We landed at Kailua ... a little collection of native grass houses reposing under tall coconut trees—the sleepest, quietest, Sundayest looking place you can imagine. Ye weary ones that are sick of the labor and care, and the bewildering turmoil of the great world, and sigh for a land where ye may fold your tired hands and slumber your lives peacefully away, pack up your carpet sacks and go to Kailua! A week there ought to cure the saddest of you all. (Twain 1966, 202)

In the last decade of the 19th century, opinions had not much improved. Burnett noted the villages were "pretty much alike"; they had "small docks for handling goods to and from whaleboats" and there were also "a few cheap houses nestled among tropical foliage" back from the shore. Most villages had "a store or two...usually Chinese" (all quotes Burnett 1892, 203). Nottage (1894, 72) concurred: "Kailua, our first stopping place in Hawai'i, is chiefly remarkable for its absence of houses and the conspicuousness of its churches." Burnett (1892, 204) also thought all Hawaiian coastal villages had a generic quality; he referred to Ho'okena as "a characteristic Hawaiian village." Finally, Craft (1898, 159) observed: "Unless one is interested in kingly relics, there is not much at Kailua."

Once the Mamalahoa Highway became passable for circle island auto traffic, just before World War I, tourists began arriving in Kona by auto rather than sailing past along the coast. Initially, they stayed in hotels in the mauka coffee villages that had developed along the road

since the turn of the century. These villages did not inspire comment from tourists, either positive or negative. The villages seem to have been neutral elements, in the most basic sense of this category. During the 1920s, Kailua village was re-discovered by tourists. What they described was the "old Hawai'i" they had looked for in vain elsewhere. This was essentially an ambient composite, little was mentioned regarding villages. After World War II, there would seem to have been no features of villages described by tourists.

Residences

The other aspect of the residential built environment that has been experienced and described by tourists has been the residences of individuals. Similarly, these were mostly resources as *residences* mainly during the early period of visitation. Afterwards, nearly all were abandoned and fell into a state of total decay.

First of all, a great distinction was drawn between the houses of the royalty, which were generally approved of, and of the commoners, which were criticized. Houses of the royalty inhabiting Kona were sometimes described in great detail (Manby 1959, 30; Lisiansky 1968, 105; Arago 1971, 65; Boelen 1988, 36). Three compounds, belonging to King Kamehameha (Von Kotzebue 1967, 300), Chiefess Kapiolani (Dampier 1971, 65; Boelen 1988, 19–20; Wilkes 1970, 92), and Governor Kuakini (Arago 1971, 70; Boelen 1988, 35; Wilkes 1970, 96; Bishop 1903, 12) were particularly admired. The houses of the lesser royalty living in Kona continued to be notable (Hill 1856, 207; Cracroft in Korn 1958, 66, 69; Anderson 1864, 154) but these were reduced in number as the century progressed.

During the 19th century, the most important residence was *Kamakahonu*, where Kamehameha lived in Kailua. After uniting the island chain under his rule in 1811 he retired to Kailua, where he lived until his death in 1819 (Kuykendahl and Day 1948, 38). *Kamakahonu*, meaning "eye of the turtle" (Clark 1985, 109), was at the north end of the village, where the land extended out to the west. Kamehameha had constructed a crescent-shaped stone wall (Clark 1985, 109), which constituted protection from sea attack and turned the residence into a fort. Behind this wall were the several separate dwellings and eating rooms of Kamehameha and his Chiefesses; at least 20 cannon; an arsenal; Ahuena heiau; and miscellaneous other buildings

(Barrot 1978, 30; Kelly and Barrère 1980, 7).²⁹ Kamehameha would sometimes honor visitors by giving them personal tours of the premises (Von Kotzebue 1967, 300). After his death, the fort became notable as the site where Liholiho broke the eating kapus by sitting down and taking a meal with his wives (Craft 1898, 155). "Plymouth Rock," where the missionaries stepped ashore (see below), is also within the site (Clark 1985, 109).

Kamakohonu was a major historical attraction during the first half century or so after Kamehameha's death. Barrot (1978, 30) and Wheeler (1844, 184), visiting in the late 1830s, each commented that the heiau still had idols on it. Gradually the structures deteriorated into ruins from exposure to the elements. By the 1850s, Kamehameha's own house was "bare walls" (Hill 1856, 207); by the next decade the fort itself had been "dismantled" (Twain 1966, 202).

For the next 80 years or so, tourists continued to mention the presence of the fort, but all noted it had fallen into total ruins. At the end of the 19th century, Craft (1898, 155) reported that the locals referred to it as the "Place of Ghosts," and avoided the area after dark. Tourists such as Morrill (1919, 106) were regaled with anecdotes regarding the possible location of Kamehameha's bones. These sorts of references end with Davis's and Armitage's (1941, 242) visit just before the start of World War II.

In the 1960s, interest in the compound returned. Clark (1985, 109) has noted that in 1964, the U.S. Department of the Interior designated the whole Kamakohonu area as a National Historic Landmark. Ahuena heiau has been restored (described in the next section).³⁰ Other features of Kamakohonu were restored when the second King Kamehameha's Kona Beach Hotel was constructed. Yet in spite of the intentions of the developers to restore the setting authentically, they were unable or unwilling to dissociate it from the commercial establishment. Krauss (1976) made the following observation upon the re-opening of the hotel: "This ancient setting serves as a backdrop for commercial luaus and dinner-time torchlight ceremonies that no other hotel in Hawaii can match."³¹ Field checking in 1991 showed that Ahuena heiau had been restored to a condition very like that seen in old drawings, but other features of the complex were obscured by the hotel gardens.

Kamakahonu thus continues to exist in a partially-restored form. Most of the physical features are now completely gone, though the spirit of place remains at least partially alive through the activities of the hotel and of local Hawaiians.³² It seems unlikely that most tourists to Kona have had sufficient knowledge of the existence of Kamakahonu to visit the site. Few guidebooks mention it anymore. The hotel does not seem to promote the residential area as another site of major historical importance, in addition to Hulihe'e Palace and Mokuaikaua Church, except to its own guests. Considering the site has been a National Historic Landmark for 30 years, Kamakahonu would thus seem to represent another major resource in Kona that is under-developed.

Kuakani's house, the "Hulihe'e Palace", has been the other residence which has maintained its attraction value to tourists. The Palace seems to have fallen into disrepair several times during the second half of the 19th century; it was restored just as often by the reigning monarchies, who used it as a retreat from Honolulu. Whether from the sturdiness of construction or the good taste in furnishings (Olmsted 1969, 218; Cracroft cited in Korn 1958, 67), the house was a major attraction in Kailua to many tourists during the 19th century. Its association with royalty, particularly King Kalakaua during the 1880s, was an added element of attraction. Craft (1898, 156), for example, noted the residence was where "Kalakaua gave famous luaus and hulas, and where all his celebrated red chairs were set in rows." This use of the residence helped enhance the reputation, half a century later, that Kona was the place at which the Hawaiian royalty preferred to vacation. During the first decades of the 20th century, the house again fell into disrepair. It was ultimately rescued and restored by the Daughters of Hawai'i in the 1920s. Since then it has become one of the major historical attractions of Kailua, but as a museum, not a residence.

The houses of the commoners were typically not praised, just described. Ledyard (1963, 128) contrasted them with Tahitians houses, noting their tent-like construction, that they were generally 30–40 square feet in size, and that they had no rooms. He also noted a low doorway, requiring the occupant to crawl. Samwell's (1967, 1176) estimate of size is similar to Ledyard's,³³ he also commented that many of the houses had walls surrounding small courts. He

concluded with respect to the size of the doorways and the necessity of crawling, but also described the interior as covered with mats which were all "kept clean and sweet". An additional feature, the nature of the building materials used, caught the attention of Arago:

"There are some houses built of stone, cemented with mortar; the others are made of thin deals, with mats or leaves of palm-trees, closely tied together and made impenetrable to wind and rain. The roofs are in general covered with sea-weed, which makes them wonderfully strong; while they are also very durable, owing to a few beams closely fitted and fastened with cords of the plantain tree." (Arago 1971: 64)³⁴

Houses of the Hawaiians seemed in general to be made of "grass" until fairly late in the 19th century. Hill (1856, 178), for example, noted that Nāpo'opo'o village seemed to consist of about 60 grass huts. During this time and throughout the rest of the century, this feature of the habitational built environment was not mentioned by tourists. Rather, certain writers commented on the degree of progress the Hawaiians had made in adopting western style houses. Stevenson, for example, was much impressed with the house of his host, a Hawaiian judge living in Ho'okena. Regarding the interior, he had this to say:

The parlor was fitted with the usual furniture, and ornamented with the portraits of Kamehameha the Third, Lunalilo, Kalakaua, the queen consort of the isles, and Queen Victoria. There was a Bible on the table; other books stood on a shelf ... all that I found in that house, beyond the speech and a few exotic dishes on the table, would have been familiar and exemplary in Europe. (Stevenson 1973, 10)

From around the turn of the 20th century however, tourists visiting Kona did not seem to want to see such adoption of western styles by the Hawaiians, they came to see primitiveness. This meant seeing people living in grass huts. Craft was one tourist who was hoping to see dwellings of this sort, and Kona's villages pleased her. She described Napo'opo'o as "a charming little hamlet, very warm and fragrant, with grass houses, and roads that are but lanes." Keauhou, furthermore, was a place where "there are enough grass houses to fill the eye for once..." (both quotes Craft 1898, 160-1). This was not the case during the next decade, when London (1917) would visit. Her report that the grass houses were now gone was perhaps the first, but would not be the last. During the late 1920s, the *Standard Tourist Guide* (1928, 138) noted that grass houses did exist in Kona, there was "one" located near a church. In the 1930s, Franck went to some length to inform potential visitors as to exactly why there were no grass houses left: only a few craftsmen were alive, *pili* grass no longer grew in sufficient quantities;

the cost of making one now exceeded that of a wooden house. "Which explains the disappointment of many visitors to Hawai'i," he concluded (Franck 1937, 54–5).

The residential built environment overall has never been one of the major tourist resources for Kona. Most of the time the residences of the inhabitants, either singly or clustered together in villages, have been gratifier level at best. The only real exception has been the Hulihe'e Palace, which was a model residence during the 19th century and has become an important historical site in the 20th century. For the past one hundred years or so, tourists seem to have come looking for an "old Hawai'i" landscape of grass houses, a form the Hawaiians abandoned on their own some years before tourists began to want to see this. In recent decades, travel narratives and guidebooks have had little to say. The mauka villages were ignored and so have the homes of the residents. This element thus has been mostly a neutral element for tourists visiting Kona.

Religious Sites and Structures

The cultural landscape of Kona contains built environment features from two religions: the traditional Hawaiian religion and Christianity.³⁵ The traditional Hawaiian religion developed over the centuries and was a highly institutionalized feature of Hawaiian society when Cook arrived in 1779. Forty years later, Liholiho, Kamehameha II, "ceremonially" declared a large part of it obsolete by sitting down to dinner with a group of women in his residential compound, and taking food with them. This act broke the back of the *kapu* system, one of the central features of the religion. Proponents of the religion fought a battle against Liholiho's forces shortly thereafter, at Kuamo'o, but were defeated.

A religious vacuum was created but was soon filled when, only a few months later, missionaries from New England stepped ashore at Kailua, on a piece of lava that became known as "Plymouth Rock." Liholiho moved the political capital to Honolulu, leaving the island in the hands of Governor Kuakini. Kuakini and Chiefess Kapi'olani were important early converts to Christianity. The missionaries established themselves in Kailua and other places in Kona and, over the course of the next several decades, converted nearly all the Hawaiians to at least a semblance of Christianity. Their work seems to have been accomplished by the 1860s. There

have been five components of the religious built environment that have been discerned by tourists. These are: heiaus, the Place of Refuge, Plymouth Rock, churches, and burial sites.

Heiaus

With respect to religion, the Hawaiian people had for centuries centered their religious practices at or on structures known as *heiaus*. The definition of heiau is a stone or earth terrace (Pukui and Elbert 1964). Yet a discussion by the 19th century Hawaiian scholar Kamakau (1976) indicates that the heiau was something more than a platform.³⁶ The platform was simply the base upon which additional edifices were constructed and objects placed. These might include walls or fences, houses, a scaffolding-like tower, and large wooden idols. The ensemble constituted the heiau. It was not always a structure that stood separated from daily life, to be visited only on special occasions, or at established time intervals. Kamakau points out that the main prayer of the Hawaiian people was for the health of the body, and this prayer could be done at any time of day or night. One component of this prayer was observed during eating, hence the man's eating house within the household compound was a sacred place, and considered a type of heiau. This religious reason is why women were not allowed into men's eating houses (Kamakau 1976, 132).

Having been a center of Hawaiian civilization for several centuries by the time of western contact, Kona contained numerous heiau in its built environment. Unfortunately, many were intentionally destroyed by Hawaiians after Liholiho ended the eating kapu in 1819 (Jarves 1843, 217; Withington 1953, 121). Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha's widow and "guardian of the realm" (Loomis 1937, 327), had convinced Liholiho to end these restrictions by eating in the presence of women. After he did so, and these particular kapus were done away with, Ka'ahumanu "systematically desecrated" the heiaus by having the buildings and images burned (Bailey 1975, 17).³⁷ Thus the majority of the religious elements of the Hawaiian cultural landscape were destroyed before many western visitors had an opportunity to see them (Apple 1990). Only the heiau platforms remained. Those that were not destroyed during the overturning of the kapus quickly fell into disuse as the Hawaiian population converted to Christianity during the 1820s.

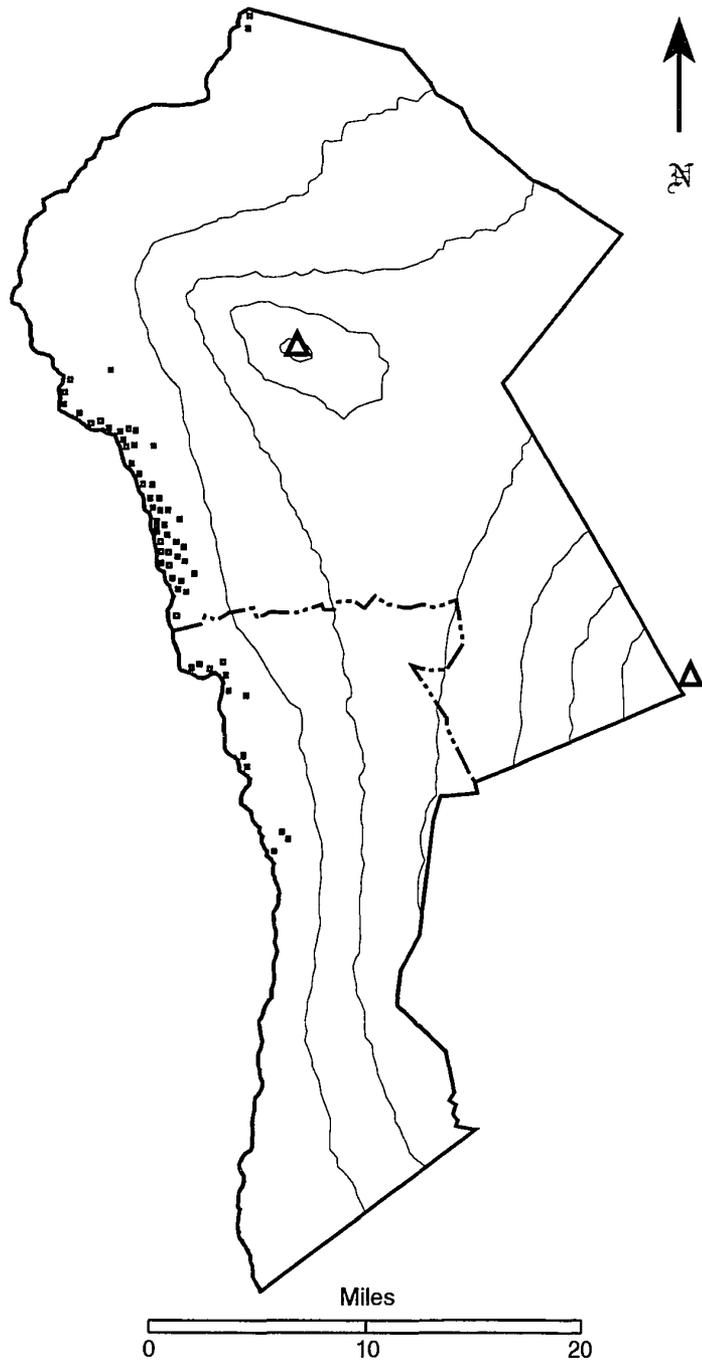


Figure 6.3 Heiaus in Kona.
Redrawn from Stokes and Dye (1991).

No really systematic attempt to map and document the heiaus that remained was made until 1906 when Stokes, working for the Bishop Museum, undertook the task of locating and sketching all the heiau on the Big Island (Stokes and Dye 1991).³⁸ Stokes began his work in Kona, attempting to retrace the route of Ellis's 1823 trek around the island. In all, he spent nearly two months in Kona and identified, precisely located, and sketched nearly 60 heiau. The location of these is shown in Figure 6.3, which provides a clear indication of the importance of the central coastal area of the region.³⁹

Stokes was able to obtain relatively little information about the function each heiau served. By the time of his field research, the Hawaiian religion had been overthrown for over 80 years, and the reasons for many of the heiaus' existence had been lost to antiquity. In a more recent study, Hammatt et al. (1981, 24–7), have described heiau in the Keauhou and Kahalu'u ahupua'as as being associated with the following functions: agriculture; the high chiefs (*luakini*), human sacrifices and execution of chiefs captured in war; priest's (*kahunas*) religious prayers; refuge (*pu'uhonua*); the introduction of vegetables to Hawai'i; surfing; and fishing. This variety probably just begins to cover the great diversity of functions served by heiaus in the Kona region.

Beginning with Cook's expedition, visitors described heiaus in great detail. Most descriptions were of Hikiau heiau at Kealakekua Bay, where Cook was worshipped or, later, Ahuena heiau in Kailua, which was located on the royal compound of Kamehemaha. Several aspects of heiaus were notable. First, the "grotesque" nature of the idols was often mentioned (Von Chamisso 1986, 114; Bishop 1916, 12).⁴⁰ Treating the wooden statues as living entities by clothing them and giving them daily food offerings of pork, fish and fruits was also perceived as remarkable. The presence of large numbers of skulls and bones (both human and animal) remaining after sacrifices, disturbed visitors beyond impressions of remarkability—they were "affecting to the Christian mind" (Ellis 1927, 51). The bones of deceased chiefs, held in ossuaries (Boelen 1988, 22) built on top of the heiaus, to which the visitors were not permitted entrance, were less disturbing (see Manby 1959, 27–8).⁴¹ Lastly, the heiau platform itself was notable as an architectural and cultural element (Lisiansky 1968, 106; Arago 1971, 72).

During the 1820s, after the overthrow of traditional Hawaiian religion, some of the features on heiaus were still intact, though as noted many were destroyed by Hawaiians themselves. After this decade the "living" component of heiaus was completely gone and they became one of the elements of "old Hawai'i" that has induced feelings of nostalgia in visitors for 150 years.

Of the hundreds of heiau that were built in Kona, only a few have been noticed in any detail by tourists. The most important has been Hikiau, at Kealakekua Bay. This heiau achieved fame for tourists by being the sacred place where the Hawaiians worshipped. Most tourists have been non-committal in their interpretations of Cook's allowing the Hawaiians to do this; they simply state they visited the heiau where Cook was worshipped. Others, such as Twain, (1966, 236) thought that "the pagan temple of Lono" was "desecrated by Capt. Cook when he pretended to be that deity." Still others, such as Corwin (1862, 6), were reminded of the Hawaiian practice of human sacrifice.⁴²

By the end of the 19th century, Hikiau heiau had deteriorated from the effects of the elements. Craft (1898, 161) commented that the structure was composed of "piles of weather-beaten stones." Yet it was in good shape compared to many others. Wriston (1926, 57) pronounced the heiau "well preserved." At present, Hikiau heiau remains in probably much the same shape as when Wriston, Craft and other tourists saw it. There seems to have been no effort made to restore it, even after the impact of storm damage. It is not particularly well-marked (see Chapter 9) and but for the fact that the heiau is noted in most guidebooks, it would have become a neutral element of the Kona built environment.

Though Hikiau heiau has not been restored, three others in Kona have been. The first, chronologically, was Kauakaiakaola heiau, built originally by Chief 'Umi (Doyle 1957, 30). This was restored in 1947 by a private land owner.⁴³ Because of its location right at the shore, however, the restoration efforts were unsustainable. During field research, ruins of a heiau were found, but storm damage was considerable. There was no discernible evidence that any attempt at restoration had ever been made. The location of the heiau is still marked on a popular map of the Big Island (Bier). Access is currently difficult, however.⁴⁴

The second restoration was Ahuena heiau, on part of the former site of Kamehameha's residential compound at Kamakahonu in Kailua. This work has been done in conjunction with the construction of King Kamehameha's Kona Beach Hotel, as described above.⁴⁵ Now containing grass huts, scaffolding, and carved wooden images, this heiau has provided the only opportunity for tourists to experience what heiaus looked like when the traditional Hawaiian religion was practiced. Its value as an attraction has been noted in most guidebooks written or up-dated since it was restored.

Field research showed that small Kuemanu heiau, situated just north of Kahalu'u Bay, was restored by the County in about 1980. A small marker notes it was originally used to pray for good surf conditions. Only the platform was restored, no attempt was made to recreate the structures that once existed on top. This has limited its attraction value for tourists, though the restoration efforts have helped provide tourists with the chance to see a heiau in something approaching its original form. It's location adjacent to St. Peter's church has also made for a unique juxtaposition of religious structures.

Several other heiaus are located on government-owned land at the Place of Refuge, Kamoia Point, and Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historic Site, and hence are protected from development. A group of five heiaus, found just recently near the botanical garden operated by the Kona Outdoor Circle, are also now protected (Taylor 1985). The many others that have not completely deteriorated are slowly being destroyed by the forces of erosion. Morrill (1919, 109) took a day trip between Kailua and Keauhou with some friends. He remarked that there were 19 known heiaus located along this stretch of road. To see them however, it was necessary to scramble through the bushes. They didn't. This exact situation prevails today. The many heiaus in Kona are mainly a neutral element, a part of the cultural reserve for tourists.

The Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau

About four miles south of Kealahou Bay lies the *Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau*, a "place of refuge" where Hawaiians in danger could find escape from their enemies or persecutors. The *Pu'uhonua* was also the site of the most important Hawaiian reliquary, the *Hale o Keawe*, where bones of the deceased chiefs were laid to rest. This was one of the most religious sites on the

island, which allowed it to escape the destruction that occurred after Liholiho overthrew the kapu system and eliminated the Hawaiian priesthood (Withington 1953, 121). The site was purchased by the Bishop Estate, later turned over to the county for use as a park, then acquired by the federal government and turned into a National Historical Park in 1961 (Clark 1985, 94). Through its "national" status, the site is arguably Kona's most important tourist attraction.⁴⁶

From the perspective of tourists, the Pu'uhonua has been important as a site where historical events achieve a virtual reality. Stevenson (1973, 29), for example, commented that "the past becomes more vivid than the present." Past cultural practices of Hawaiians have also become attached to the Pu'uhonua. The kapu system, in particular, is often described to readers when the writer is describing the physical features existing there (Hill 1856, 183; Twain 1966, 253; *Courtland Guide* 1917, 83; Deubner 1938, 44). The concept of "refuge" itself, and how the Hawaiians shared this cultural idea with the Biblical Jews, is an example. Human sacrificial practices by Hawaiians are also described when writers tell of their visit to the Pu'uhonua. The overthrow of the kapu system, by Liholiho in 1820, actually occurred in Kailua, but because his residential compound fell into ruins and has now been occupied by other structures, the Pu'uhonua has become the preferred site from which to tell this story.

Many of the physical features at the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau did not appreciably deteriorate through the 19th and first half of the 20th centuries. After the U.S. National Park Service acquired the site, restoration was done. This site is an attraction complex that holistically serves as a resource repository of Hawaiian religion and culture. This is particularly true for tourists, but also for locals, since the Park Service sponsors several programs dedicated to preserving Hawaiian culture. The Park is thus the best example of a site that fulfills its potential for providing a high quality attraction to tourists.

Kona's Plymouth Rock"

Even as Liholiho ended the eating kapus and brought down the traditional Hawaiian religion, Christian missionaries were on their way to Hawai'i. They arrived off of Kailua in April, 1820. Eventually, they received permission to go ashore. They stepped onto a lava outcropping in the beach at Kamakahonu in Kailua (Clark 1985, 109). This rock was later

christened the "Plymouth Rock" of Hawai'i, named after the more famous rock in Massachusetts.

During the 19th and early 20th centuries this rock was pointed out to tourists as a notable feature in the history of Kailua. Its value seemed to decline locally, however. By 1919, tourists were reporting that a stone wharf had been built on top of part of it (Morrill 1919, 101). By the late 1960s it was completely buried under the pier (HA 1969c). This "first" has thus been neutralized with respect to its tourist value.

Churches

Aside from residences, the only buildings which have gotten much mention by tourists were churches. As noted, Kuakini and Kapi'olani were important converts to Christianity. Both of these influential Hawaiians built large churches during the 1820s; they held between 3,000–5,000 worshippers (Forbes 1984, 42; Bingham 1981, 298). Kapiolani's church evidently did not last long.

Mokuaikaua Church in Kailua has always been the most famous. Built in 1826 by Governor Kuakini (Bingham 1981, 207), it was, according to Bishop (1903, 12), "a wholly native structure, framed with immense timbers cut and dragged from the great interior forest by Kuakini superintending his subjects in person. The thatch was of the very durable la-i or ti leaf." The original church burned in 1835 (Jones 1937, 60) and was replaced with the stone building that stands today. This second building could not by any stretch of the imagination be called a "wholly native structure." It was almost totally western in design, but projected a Hawaiian feeling through use of local building materials. It was evaluated as a western building even before completion; Barrot (1978, 27) noted the elegant pulpit, made of koa wood, and commented the church was better than a typical one in his native land. A few years later, Olmsted (1969, 223) compared it favorably with New England churches. Anderson (1864, 154), who arrived in the 1860s, labeled it "respectable." Thus initially it would seem that the resource value of the church to visitors came from the fact that it represented the spread of architectural progress, the diffusion of western design into the Hawaiian built environment.

This value was not enduring. Tourists in the latter part of the century did not comment much on the church. It was only during the 1890s when interest began to pick up again. At that time, interest became more focused on the historical value of the church, as Hawai'i's *first* church. Whitney's (1890, 29) guidebook noted there were two churches in Kailua, one Congregational, one Roman Catholic, "both built some forty or fifty years ago." By the end of that decade the historical component had coalesced in the minds of visiting tourists. Craft (all citations 1898, 156) noted that what was important was its age. Even though it had been "lately restored," it was "still ancient-looking enough to satisfy the most exacting antiquary." This was in spite of its appearance, which to Craft had "all the hideous bareness of New England."

Since Craft's appraisal, the opinions of tourists and guidebook writers has been fairly consistent. Mokuaikaua Church is notable for its status as Hawai'i's first church, and for the beautiful quality of the interior. Opinion is divided, as to whether such a New England-looking church has any architectural merit in a Hawaiian setting. On the whole, however, it became a major tourist resource in Kailua by the 1920s, and has remained one since.⁴⁷

Two other churches, located outside of Kailua, have become part of the religious built environment resource base for tourists in the post-World War II era. St. Peter's Church is a tiny structure with a bright blue roof "picturesquely perched" (Automobile Association of America 1959, 35) on a piece of lava bench right at the shoreline. It is much photographed by tourists driving by, because it is 'the smallest' church most people have ever seen. St. Benedict's Church is located mauka of the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Park. It is notable for the colorful paintings of biblical scenes which entirely fill the walls of the interior. The paintings have a Hawaiian quality in both choice of color and interpretation of Biblical stories that makes them interesting to tourists (Clark 1961, 333). Group tours on busses sometimes stop. Both churches are described in nearly all guidebooks to Hawai'i or the Big Island.

Burial Caves

The final example of religious sites are the numerous burial caves in Kona. In traditional Hawaiian culture, the burial of the dead in lava tubes—caves—was a fairly common practice. At Kealakekua Bay and at Ho'okena, these caves were in cliffs above the sea. Crossing Kealakekua

Bay between a visit to Cook's death site or Hikiau heiau, many visitors remarked on their observation of the caves in the pali above. The Bay has therefore been associated not only with the death of Cook, but also of the many Hawaiians whose remains lay in the caves. Guidebooks continue to point out the existence of these, hence they remain part of the contemporary tourist's cultural resource itinerary. No particularly exciting legends were told however,⁴⁸ with regard to the burial caves, and most of the truly important Hawaiians were buried elsewhere (their bones rested in the Hale o Keawe at the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau). The caves are thus probably of gratifier quality to most tourists.⁴⁹

Sites of Historical Events

The fourth major component of the built environment is the set of historical sites in Kona. The basis for the resource quality of these sites is a combination of age plus cultural meaning. It follows that attraction value typically rises with increasing age, but may either rise or fall depending on the meaning of the site to later generations. Thus a rise from neutral element to attraction can occur simply by a site becoming older, but its continuing to be an attraction requires that the cultural meaning remain significant. Kona has had a large number of historical elements become tourists resources. These will be discussed along two themes: those sites related to specific people and/or events, and those with a more generalized cultural and archaeological significance.

Kealakekua Bay

The first and most important historical event to occur in Kona, from the perspective of world history, was the arrival and subsequent death of Captain Cook at Ka'awaloa Village, on the north side of Kealakekua Bay, during his third voyage of exploration in the Pacific Ocean.⁵⁰ The events that occurred over the month's time the expedition was anchored in the Bay, leading up to Cook's death at the hands of the Hawaiians, are well known and will not be re-described here. Suffice to say that, from the perspective of world history, the demise of this famous explorer seems unequivocally the most important event to have occurred in Hawai'i until the

Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. Kealakekua Bay has had major attraction value to tourists ever since Cook fell.

Shortly after publication of several of the crews' memoirs (including Cook's own posthumous memoirs), the site of his death, and Kealakekua Bay as a whole, became a beacon and pilgrimage spot for the other exploration vessels that crossed the Pacific over the course of the next several decades (Jarves 1843, 129). Explorers from Vancouver in the 1790s, to Wilkes in the 1840s, paid homage to Cook (see also Lisiansky 1968, 109; Dampier 1971, 65; Boelen 1988, 19). Ellis (1927, 117), the missionary, commented that: "Few intelligent visitors leave Hawaii without making a pilgrimage to the spot where he fell." Twain's (1966, 214) statement reveals the widespread fame the incident had acquired: "Shortly we came in sight of that spot whose history is so familiar to every schoolboy in the wide world—Kealakekua Bay—the place where Captain Cook, the great circumnavigator, was killed by the natives nearly a hundred years ago."

The pilgrimage to honor Cook has involved going to several specific sites around Kealakekua Bay. These have included: the site he was killed; the heiau where his body was ritually dismembered and burned; the monument that was constructed to honor him; other, less formal monuments;⁵¹ a coconut tree that had a hole in its trunk from a cannon ball fired during the incident; another coconut tree Cook rested against as he died;⁵² the site from where Cook had done his astronomical observations; and Hikiau heiau. Over time, many of these have deteriorated, and some no longer exist.

For the first century after the event, the most important site to visit was the spot where Cook was killed. There, the momentous events were contemplated. Nearly all wrote of this as a moving experience.⁵³ In the years just after his death there was also quite a social dimension to the pilgrimage. Ka'awaloa village was still populated with the very same inhabitants who had risen against Cook, and members of expeditions commented on how they had met these people, perhaps including the very man who had dealt Cook the mortal wound (Manby 1959, 29; Barrot 1978, 7; Wilkes 1970, 92).

On such a visit in 1825, Lord Byron had his men construct the first memorial to Cook; this was a copper engraving set into a cross that was placed at the heiau where his body had been burned. According to Macrae (1922, 70), this site was known as *Kapuhiolono*. Dampier (1971, 70) noted the cross was visible to passing ships. *Kapuhiolono* was on the tourist itinerary for the next few decades; it was mentioned by a quite a number of visitors, leading to the conclusion that the site had become elevated in importance by the presence of the memorial cross. This memorial did not last, and by the 1860s there was talk of building a better one (Cracroft in Korn 1958, 65).⁵⁴ This was eventually done and Byron's memorial site declined in importance.

The monument that was constructed in 1874, under the direction of the British Commissioner (Whitney 1875, 97) was more substantial and continues at present to memorialize the event.⁵⁵ "A plain obelisk of concrete surmounting a solid pedestal of the same material," (Burnett 1892, 204), it is located just back of the shoreline. Though only about 200 feet from the actual spot where Cook fell, it has, since its completion, replaced the latter as the focus for tourists visiting the Bay to re-live history.⁵⁶ It was particularly accessible during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when the coastal steamships would stop at Ka'awaloa to service the coffee planters. Tourists traveling on these ships would disembark and be given a tour. During these years tourists did not seem to share earlier visitors' reverence for Cook. As mentioned, several disliked the fact that Cook had allowed himself to be worshipped, considering this to be very non-Christian.⁵⁷ Craft (1898, 161) asserted the Bay was where Cook got "his just desserts." Several other tourists simply noted the site as "a place of interest" (Godfrey 1898, np).

With the completion of the circle-island auto road after World War I, the Cook Monument became less accessible. Since this time it has been viewed either from across the bay at Nāpo'opo'o village, a mile away, or by looking down 1,000 feet from Mamalahoa Highway, far above. Though it is possible to walk down a dirt jeep trail to the monument in just under an hour, this road is difficult to find, and the trail is steep. The monument has been accessible to those tourists who take a sail/snorkel cruise on the tour boats leaving from Kailua and Keauhou. Seen this way (as part of a tour emphasizing ocean recreation), or from a distance, the Cook Monument has been diminished in value as a tourist experience.

This could be written off as the expected result of the passage of time; the event is now more than two centuries old, and Cook's remarkable explorations have been replaced in history by the deeds of astronauts. Nevertheless, the events of his arrival, stay and death at Kealakekua Bay are still fascinating, and still remain the second most important event to have occurred in Hawai'i, from the perspective of world history. The Monument and the surrounding Ka'awaloa area have declined in value from being Hawai'i's foremost cultural resource to little better than a gratifier. It will probably not be reduced to a neutral element, as nearly all guidebooks advise tourists to make a trip Kealakekua Bay to observe the monument from a distance. Guidebooks also recount the discovery of Hawai'i by Cook and note the historical details leading to his death.

Since the 1960s, several plans have been advanced to develop the Kealakekua Bay region, for residences, golf, or a state park (Bilby 1963; *HSB* 1968b; Tau 1968; *HTH* 1969b). These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9. To conclude here, the resource value of Captain Cook's visit to and death at Kealakekua Bay has not yet been improved through implementation of these plans, and the Bay overall remains far underdeveloped in terms of its attraction potential.

The Kauikeaouli Birth Stone

There is one important birth site in Kona, this is a stone associated with the birth of Kauikeaouli, who later became Kamehameha III. It is located at the edge of Keauhou Bay. According to legend, the future king was delivered stillborn on March 17, 1814 (Clark 1985, 99; Morrill 1919, 109). He was quickly taken outside, placed in the depression of a large rock, sprinkled with water, and fanned. A chant was recited, and the infant came to life. The site seems to have been completely unknown to tourists during the 19th century. London made the earliest mention of it; in her discussion of her 1907 trip to Kona she noted that Lili'uokalani had a stone wall put up around the spot (London 1917, 210). As part of the centennial, the Daughters of Hawaii (1979, 12) placed a plaque on what is now officially called the Kauikeaouli Stone.

After the construction of the wall and the emplacement of the plaque, the birth site was marked and has been visited by tourists ever since (Morrill 1919, 109; Faris 1929, 309; Townsend 1930, 279). It continues to be mentioned in a fair number of guidebooks. There is

almost nothing remaining of the other Hawaiian cultural features, such as the dwelling where the delivery took place, or the village that was once located at the bay. Folklore, such as the story about the existence of a kapu prohibiting the Hawaiian commoners from allowing their shadows to fall on the site, cannot be learned except by reading travel narratives (Morrill 1919, 109). Newspaper articles indicate that during the initial construction phase of the Keauhou Resort there were plans to develop the land near the birth site (Bryan 1966). Community pressure, particularly from the Daughters of Hawai'i, seems to have prevented this (*HSB* 1973), and the Bishop Estate has maintained the site since. The birth site thus remains protected, but it has never been enhanced in any way that would make it more attractive (but see Chapter 9 for a note on possible development plans).

Battle Sites

There have been two famous battles fought in Kona during the historical era. The earliest, known as the Battle of Moku'ohai, was a power struggle between the ali'i of Hilo, and Kamehemaha (Jarves 1843, 137). It was fought near the village of Ke'ei, just south of Kealakekua Bay, in 1782 (Boelen 1988, 21). Kamehameha's forces prevailed, and the battle was an important stepping stone in his rise to power. The Battle of Kuamo'o was fought in December, 1819 (Kuykendahl and Day 1948, 41) in response to Liholiho's breaking of the eating kapus. Opponents wanting to preserve the traditional religion unsuccessfully fought against the monarch just south of Keauhou Bay. Both of these battle sites were visited by tourists during the 19th century. The Battle of Kuamo'o had particular significance, for it had come to represent the laying of the way for Christianity to triumph over paganism (Anderson 1865, 151). Very few tourists during the 20th seem to have known of the existence of these battle sites, and only a small number of contemporary guidebooks mention either one.

Field checking showed that neither had locational markers. The Battle of Kuamo'o site was relatively easy to find, however, because the fighting occurred on an a'a flow, which has remained unvegetated. Grave mounds are conspicuous when the intent is to find the battle site. The site of the Battle of Moku'ohai could not be determined precisely. These historical battle sites are thus neutral elements on the Kona cultural landscape.

Recreational Sites

Among their recreational activities, Hawaiians participated in a very obscure and unlikely sport—sledding. This was known as *he'e hōlua*, and has been described by Kamakau (1961, 242–3) and Emory (1965, 150). For the course—the *hōlua*—was first constructed on a suitable lava flow. This usually had a level runway as a take-off, then sloped down towards the sea. The flow was "paved" with small stones to form a fairly smooth surface, then covered with oiled pili grass. The sled was about 15 feet long, but only about six inches wide, and four inches high.⁵⁸ The two runners were fastened together with coconut fiber. The contestant laid on a fine mat woven between the runners. Contests were held around midday, when the sun was hottest, because the grass became the most slippery, and the sled could attain the maximal speeds. Only chiefs and chiefesses could participate.

There are a number of *hōlua* throughout the Hawaiian Islands. Several exist in Kona.⁵⁹ The largest, by a great deal, is the Kaneakua *hōlua* at Keauhou. When originally constructed, it was nearly a mile in length, 50–60 feet wide, and had a vertical drop of 620 feet (Ching 1980). Clark (1985, 100) noted Kamehameha ordered the construction as part of the festivities surrounding the birth of Kauikeaouli. Today, only the upper portion, about 3,000 feet (brochure, Keauhou Visitors Association), remains intact.⁶⁰ The *hōlua* has been listed on the National Historic Register since the 1960s. No improvements have been made on the portion that remains, though archaeologists who have done site evaluations have made explicit recommendations to do so (Ching 1980; Hammatt 1981).

The sport of *he'e hōlua* was probably practiced after the arrival of Cook, but none of the journals read made mention of the authors' having witnessed it. Oddly, none of the visitors arriving shortly after the birth of Kauikeaouli even comment on the *hōlua* itself, though nothing else in Kona even remotely approached its size, or could have made anywhere near as great a landmark from the sea. This lack of knowledge carried on through the first generations of tourists to visit Kona. Hill (1856, 163) noted that Hawaiians on the boat with him pointed it out. This was the only reference found until about the turn of the 20th century. At that time, it began to be noticed by tourists, and was mentioned rather frequently until World War II. There was a

remarkable lack of curiosity about the nature of the sport, most tourists simply noted they saw the hōlua (Morrill 1919, 110; Faris 1929, 308; Franck 1937, 52). Beginning with Castle (1913, 177), guide books also mention its existence. Fewer and fewer seem to do so lately, however.

Thus, on the basis of lack of tourist awareness, and lack of enthusiasm on the part of those who did observe it, the Kaneakua hōlua has been a gratifier at best since the early 19th century. Of all the resources for tourism discussed in these chapters, however, this feature of the cultural landscape would seem to have the most potential for attracting tourists to Kona. On the basis of size alone, it is undoubtedly one of the largest archaeological remains in Hawai'i. When the novelty value of its function is also considered—sporting Hawaiians sledding down lava covered slopes—its remarkableness to contemporary tourists would seem indisputable. Yet it remains "in disrepair" (Clark 1985, 100) and completely unmarked (see Chapter 9 for details of development plans). Each day hundreds of tourists drive past on Ali'i Drive without being aware of the archaeological wonder they are missing.

Infrastructural and Miscellaneous Archaeological Sites

Though virtually no houses or buildings remained intact from the days when the Hawaiian population was large, there are many archaeological features made of stone that have been mentioned by tourists, guidebook writers, or in newspaper articles. Perhaps the most notable infrastructural site is the Paokamenehune breakwater which protects Kahalu'u Bay. This is a line of large boulders, several hundred yards long, that once completely enclosed the bay (Clark 1985, 102). Other archaeological features include heiau platforms, habitation sites, or rock walls located between Hōlualoa Bay and Keauhou (*All About Hawai'i* 1928, 147; Gessler 1937, 242; Kekahuna 1956; Ketchum 1969; Seaman 1971). These sites are nearly all in advanced states of deterioration. They thus barely qualify as gratifier quality for tourists. Nevertheless, in their totality they constitute a historical resource.

REGIONAL AMBIENCE

Regional ambience is the second major sub-type of cultural landscape. As noted in Chapter 2, this is a synthetic concept, incorporating elements of the physical environment and

the observed daily lives of the residents, as well as the material culture and built environment. The result is more of an intangible feeling, a flavor perhaps, that the region exudes, and which tourists pick up.

Cox (1987, 186) has asserted that Hawai'i during the mid-19th century was "a civilized portion of the globe which had the added attraction of offering man the chance to bask in a physical environment which offered special natural attractions." This combination of ambient elements did not extend to Kona. Kailua was but a shadow of the place it had been just 30 years earlier. The seat of power had shifted to Honolulu, and Kona's population had declined drastically. The result was a region where not much was happening; Kona had become a rural periphery. Visitors arriving between about 1850 and 1890 noticed this but did not much like it, and made wry comments about it. When Kamehameha IV stayed at the Hulihe'e Palace for four months during 1858, for example, his secretary, Henry Neilson accompanied him. Neilson (cited in *Daughters of Hawai'i* 1979, 12) noted of Kailua: "the place itself is so desolate that ennui was the order of the day." Twain (1966, 202) arrived less than a decade later and was even more sarcastic, describing Kailua as: "the sleepest, quietest, Sundayest looking place you can imagine. Ye weary ones that are sick of the labor and care, and the bewildering turmoil of the great world, and sigh for a land where ye may fold your tired hands and slumber your lives peacefully away, pack up your carpet sacks and go to Kailua! A week there ought to cure the saddest of you all." Chaney visited in 1879 (p. 208) and had similar comments. He asserted that "Kona had all the impressiveness of a pause in the oration of life," and was "the one place in the world where we were delivered from the consciousness of our besetting sin, – procrastination."

Appreciation of ambience began to change during the 1890s. Burnett (1892, 202-03), for example, traveled past Kona on a steamer. He thought that Keauhou village was "one of the most romantic spots that I saw on any of the islands," because of the setting of the tropical village surrounded by lava flows, and because of the friendliness of the residents (see also Preston 1894, 149). During the following decade, London made the first of her two visits. As noted in Chapter 3, she admired the scenery of Kona greatly, particularly the "sloping vastness" (London 1917, 205). She also was taken with the atmospheric quality of Kona caused by the

lack of trade winds. Whereas Chaney disliked the repetitive quality of the weather, London liked the effect it had on the scenery. Looking out over the ocean from 1,000 feet in elevation, she described the lack of horizon, the water lying motionless beneath her. She called this effect the "blue flush" and noted "The very air is blue" (London 1917, 205). This interpretation of Kona's climate as an ambient factor was to become more-and-more common during the next 50 years.

The combination of climate and the slow paced life style it seemed to produce, which had so irritated 19th century visitors, became more-and-more appreciated during the first half of the 20th century. Castle's (1913, 177), guidebook observed that: "On reaching Kona one cannot help feeling a change in the atmosphere that seems to produce a change in the whole aspect of the country." He went on to tell prospective tourists that even though there were no tradewinds "the climate is even pleasanter." De Vis-Norton (1925, 13–5) echoed these sentiments after a visit in the 1920s: "Kona is one of the most soul-satisfying districts on earth. There is a peace and a calm beauty over the western mountain slope that makes one think of Paradise."

An additional component of Kona's ambience was the "old Hawai'i" feeling it exuded. This seems to have been produced from the local combination of history and daily life. The basis for the former were Hulihe'e Palace and Mokuaikaua Church, twin landmarks of Kuakini's reign, the Cook Monument, and the multitude of archaeological ruins (including the Pu'uhonua) that remained a part of the cultural landscape. Restoration of the Palace and Church in the 1920s and 1930s, respectively, helped preserve the past glory of Kona (*Paradise of the Pacific* 1924, July, 4). The "stirring episodes" (De Vis-Norton 1916, 20) that had occurred in Kona could be more easily imagined. Discussing historical features, Deubner (1938, 45) noted: "There are so many things of interest in this vicinity, it would take days and days to see them." The *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (1933) described a set of day trips tourists could make in Kona, in an article entitled "Old Hawai'i Still Exists on Kona Coast." From a tour of Hulihe'e (Daughters of Hawai'i 1979, 9), tourists also learned that the Palace had been a get-away retreat of the Kings of the previous century—the place where they went to vacation. A vicarious element of celebrity status was thus added to tourists' own vacations in Kona.⁶¹

The capability of seeing Hawaiians living semi-subsistence lifestyles perhaps created "old Hawai'i" ambience even more than architectural features. Though there were few, if any, grass huts left by the 1920s, the declining population had stabilized, and tourists visiting Kailua or the (unrestored) Pu'uhoonua had ample opportunity to observe Hawaiians. Travel narratives and newspaper articles written between World Wars I and II urged tourists to go to Kona for this reason (De Vis-Norton 1916, 19; *HSB* 1933). Tourists could get "priceless glimpses of the fast disappearing native life" (De Vis-Norton 1925, 14), "vestiges...which you have vainly sought elsewhere" (McSpadden 1939, 104). As a reassurance, Thrum's *Annual* (1940–41, 269) advised tourists that, though this way of life was "old-fashioned", it was also "entirely civilized."

A particular interesting aspect of Hawaiian daily life was fishing. This was done from shore using nets, spears, or hand lines; Hawaiians also used outrigger canoes to fish in deeper waters (Welty 1938, 13). The canoes of course were hauled up on the beach when not in use, where they became an interesting part of the material culture. After being caught, fish were dried on mats, or sold along the Kailua waterfront. Photos of Hawaiians engaged in these activities were the most common subject found for the Kona region in the literature written before World War II (see photos in Castle 1913; *A Picture Tour of the Hawaiian Islands* 1930; Hawai'i Tourist Bureau 1938; *Paradise of the Pacific* 1941 and 1946; Homsy 1942; *Aloha from Hawai'i* 1973).

By World War II, Kona's ambience had become its most important resource. Yet the place itself had not changed much, tourists had simply learned to appreciate what was there. One element that was added during this period, however, provided the "finishing touch." This was the Kona Inn, a hotel built in Kailua by the Inter-Island Steamship Company (a fuller discussion of this hotel is in the next chapter). The hotel opened in 1928 and provided the modern conveniences that were the perfect complement to the "old Hawai'i" tourists had spent the day sightseeing. McSpadden summed this up:

I wish I could convey to you some idea of the sense of peace and quiet which came over us as we reached Kona Inn, at Kailua, after a long day's drive. What a delightful day, it had been crowded full of constantly changing impressions. Here was kindly shelter and food and rest. Kona Inn is a comparatively new hostelry, but the owners widely refrained from making something modern and garish. (McSpadden 1939, 106)

After World War II, the perception of Kona's ambient qualities continued to change. Historical landscape features and the subsistence practices of Hawaiians seem to lose importance. The climatic influence on behavior and that behavior itself, however, were perceptually congealed into an entity that became known as the "Kona Way of Life."⁶² Perhaps this was because the pace of life had quickened after the war, in Honolulu and on the mainland. Whatever the reason, Kona after World War II became known as the place to go to relax. In an article describing to Honolulu residents how Kona was a place to which tourists were "flocking." Coll (1950) noted: "Primarily, Kona is a place to get a quiet rest amid soothing tropic surroundings but if you feel a bit lively one can find plenty to do. Kona and Kona Inn are where one can go native fast and in a big way." In another article the district was labeled the "capital of the state of relaxation" (MacMillan 1954). Tourists interviewed during these years made such statements as "the most exciting thing about Kona is its complete lack of superficial excitement," and "you don't just sit down in a chair here in Kona, you melt into it. I never felt so relaxed in my life." (both quotes from Edwards 1954).

This relaxed quality existed in its purest form between about 1946 to 1954. One of the main reasons was the lack of tourist industry resources, except for the Kona Inn. Kailua was still a small village, where the houses and few shops along the waterfront had not yet converted to tourist businesses, and where there were almost no hotels. Chegaray (1957, 88), a French tourist, would opine: "The obsolete little port of Kona is as un-American as can be. It wears a rather unexpectedly intimate and provincial air. Small houses, snugly pressed one against the other, contemplate the waves which roll in to break on the rocks." Kona was still off the beaten track. The children who let him take a turn casting their fishing nets told him they had never heard of France. He concluded: "Yes, I really was at the end of the world, here..."

MacMillan (1954) had asserted Kona would always be "every bank president's and stenographer's starry-eyed dream of Hawai'i" because "it has the three priceless ingredients of a tropical paradise—perfect climate, comparative isolation, and friendly native people." Yet these were not enough to save Kona's ambience. Demand from tourists for facilities led slowly to the demise of the relaxed "Kona Way of Life." Tourists arrived in sufficient numbers to create an

acute shortage of accommodation. By 1955, newspaper articles were announcing "'Sleepy' Kona Wakes to Tourists' Call" (*HSB* 1955d). New hotels were constructed and opened (see next chapter), yet "with all the new accommodation, hotels are completely full; people stay on lanais waiting for the old customers to move on" (Scott 1957b). Kona, particularly Kailua, had become an "overcrowded overnight stop" (Burtinett 1957) by the late 1950s.

This was not enough to destroy the overall ambience, initially. In an article entitled "Hawai'i's Very Own Eden," Stermer (1958) describes a Kona that was still essentially unspoiled. She noted the climate: "There's a softness in the atmosphere that often makes a distant scene appear viewed through gauze. The greens of the land are lovely, the blues of sky and sea are pure and perfect, conducive to serenity." After describing the flowers, fruits, and (overall) uncrowded conditions, she proclaimed Kona was "one of the most enchanting places to live on earth—clean, quiet, beautiful. People lose their hearts for it. They come and go, longing for it till they can return." She closed with an invitation, one that was pregnant with awareness of the dangers tourism can bring: "Yes, if the world is too much with you, you might try Kona. But please don't bring the world with you. We're a little old-fashioned here, simple and unhurried. We'd like to keep Kona this way."

Other locals felt similarly, and a conflict developed over Kailua's ambience and identity that would not be settled until the mid-1970s. As early as 1955, certain groups among the local population were "not sure they like what they see" (*HSB* 1955c) with respect to new hotel construction. The Honolulu *Star Bulletin* editorialized that, because Waikiki had lost its charm, it was Kona's "challenge" to preserve some: "The constant, urgent, yet unsolved problem is to provide ample tourist accommodations and yet retain the simplicity, the unaffected hospitality, of old-time Hawaii" (both quotes from the *HSB* 1955d). This view, and task, was countered by those who thought tourism development would provide the economic "shot in the arm" (Burtinett 1957) that the Big Island needed badly. Throughout the early and mid-1960s, the latter group gradually won out, resulting in a decline in ambience from the changeover into a tourist town. Most of the remainder of the district, however, saw little development, and hence little change in

ambience. Tourists who left town were thus able to experience an ambient quality similar to that felt in the 1950s.

For Kailua, the late 1960s to mid-1970s saw the worst decline in ambience. This was caused by the largest boom in tourist development that had yet occurred. Hotels built during this time were far larger than those of the 1950s. Small shopping malls were constructed, replacing most of the housing along the waterfront. Keauhou resort took shape to the south. Along Ali'i Drive, early condo units were constructed among the vacation cottages. The destruction of ambience in Kailua was summed up by a Honolulu newspaper columnist in 1974. Comparing Kailua to Lahaina, Krauss (1974) noted that 15 year earlier each "were sleepy, palm-shaded villages clustered around historic buildings." But whereas Lahaina had capitalized on its past, through preservation, Kailua was "rapidly losing its identity, is crowding out its charm with concrete hotels and tacky signs, and faces increasing competition from nearby Keauhou Resort for the tourist dollar."

Yet what was built seems to have been only a small part of what was proposed. There were many plans for development floated during the 1965–75 decade, but much was never constructed. Two issues became major battlegrounds over the nature of development. Both were extremely contentious (see Chapter 9). The first was the proposal to turn Ali'i Drive into a pedestrian mall. This issue seemed to pit large business interests (particularly Inter-Island Resorts, owners of the Kona Inn) against small businessmen and women (the owners of the smaller hotels and shops along Ali'i Drive) (*HSB* 1965c; *HTH* 1966b; Price 1966; Vaughan 1966). The second involved granting a condominium project permission to construct a seven-story building (*HSB* 1968d; Southward 1969; Benham 1970e). Both projects were fought over for years. Each obviously had major implications for Kailua's ambience—would it remain a "village", or become a major resort center, like Waikiki? Eventually, the forces against large scale development more-or-less won out, although several large hotels were built. The condo was constructed, but was only four stories tall (Ketchum 1970). The pedestrian mall never became a reality (*HTH* 1974). By 1975, Kailua was definitely a tourist town, but not a large one. It had preserved something of its ambience, though it was no longer "old Hawai'i."

Since 1975, Kailua's fate, and ambience, have been somewhat "sealed" through the workings of a committee (Shapiro 1974). The battles over the pedestrian mall gradually metamorphosed into a debate over whether to create a historic district along Ali'i Drive (*HA* 1973). This was never resolved, what did eventuate was the creation of the Kailua Village District Commission (Frank Zuzak, personal communication, Dec., 1991), a group of citizens who were given the authority to create and impose design standards over downtown Kailua.⁶³ A "design plan" for Kailua was completed and passed in 1976 (Crichtlow 1976b; *HTH* 1976). The *Kailua Village Design Plan* (Wolbrink & Associates 1976) argued against creating a historical district, on the basis that there was not all that much left that could be included. Instead, the plan focused on keeping the more generic "old Hawai'i" feeling that still existed. Since that time, old structures cannot be greatly modified, and new structures must pass design standards. The result has been that Kailua's ambience has been somewhat frozen in time.⁶⁴ To the extent that pleasant features of the village have remained in the built environment and been enhanced, this has been perceived as good. Fodor's (1985, 201), a guidebook that has published an annual edition on Hawai'i since the early 1960s, has noted that "something is left of the relaxed peacefulness" of Kailua. Arthur & Arthur (1978, 186) commented that Kailua "remains an attractive coastline settlement." Axelrod (1989, 97), while admitting the "low-keyed commercialism," nevertheless asserted: "What Kailua doesn't have is that feeling of too many people." Negative comments in guidebooks about the ambience of Kailua since 1975 could not be found. Overall, then, the standards imposed by the design plans seem to have succeeded in perpetuating a positive ambience for Kailua.

HIGH CULTURE

During field inspection it was found that Kona has two museums, a garden, and a performing arts theater. Together, these constitute an eclectic resource category, here labeled "high culture." The sites are all relatively new and hence were not found in either travel narratives or guidebooks.

The Kona Historical Society was founded in 1976 (Herkes 1986, 7), but the museum only opened in 1984 (Clark 1986b). It is located in an old general store in mauka Kealakekua

Village. The museum specializes in artifacts and photographs of the ranching and coffee history of Kona; there is also an archives. Tours to (sometimes) inaccessible historical sites and along the coast between Kailua and Kealahou Bay are conducted on an occasional basis. Field inspection indicated that some tourists did find the museum and did go on the coastal tour.

Ellison S. Onizuka, one of the astronauts killed in the Challenger space shuttle disaster, was a native of Kona. A museum dedicated to him has been opened at Keahole Airport. In addition to biographical materials, the museum contains displays and hands-on exhibits based on the theme of space exploration and NASA's space program.

The Fuku-Bonsai Center is located mauka, near Honalo Village. The owner's personal love of bonsai gardening inspired the development of this collection. In total, nine themed gardens are on display. Field research observation indicated group tours were visiting this garden; it has become a recent addition to the overall tourist itinerary of Kona.

Finally, the Aloha Theater is also located mauka, in Kainaliu Village. This venue stages a variety of theatrical entertainment, on an intermittent basis. As these are advertised in local media, it would be expected that a certain number of tourists would attend the performances, particularly given the dearth of competition in Kona.

AVAILABILITY AND QUALITY OF CULTURAL RESOURCES

Environmental resources in Kona currently exist mostly in a state of reserve, while social resources experienced severe degradation. For cultural resources, the overall level of availability is somewhere in the middle. They are the most utilized of the three types. During the first half of this century, a visit to Kona was essentially a cultural experience for tourists, though not of "high culture." In the past 30 years, with the decline in ambience of Kailua Village and the expansion of the tourist industry, tourists generally focus less on culture and more on services.

Figure 6.4 indicates the relative mix of cultural resource availability. Material culture, the first sub-type of cultural resource discussed, exists entirely at the degraded level. This is due to cultural homogenization and the diffusion of western technology into Hawai'i, which occurred long ago. The level of availability is thus a function of a cultural shift; one that had nothing to do with tourism. What is perhaps more interesting is that local handicrafts makers have not

utilized the stock of implements as inspiration for souvenirs. The rest of the elements listed under degradation came to exist in that state through changes in habitation and land use, followed by deterioration of the older physical structures. Such a situation leaves open the possibility of restoration, whether for tourism or a more general appreciation of the past. Several individual facilities—the Hulihe'e Palace, Ahu'ena heiau—have been restored; these sites currently comprise a major portion of the cultural resource base in Kona.

The cultural resources which are utilized mainly have a historical quality to them. A visit to Kona continues to thrust tourists into "old Hawai'i." Currently, the set of historical resources listed have varying degrees of availability. The Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau has been completely restored, at least the area that was used as a refuge. This is also the case for several of Kona's more famous churches. The historical sites at Kealakekua Bay, however, are mainly inaccessible and unrestored. Reputation is maintained through the fame of the site, not its current situation. Lastly, Kailua's village ambience has also been perpetuated, through land use codes, and a commission to oversee them. There is certainly a "tourist town" element to Kailua, but some of the old village ambience has remained intact.

Kona also has many cultural resources that currently in a state of reserve. Some of these exist more-or-less in the open, but are not as visible as they could be. This is particularly the case for the coffee landscape in Kona. Tourists have described this for decades, yet it is only now beginning to be developed as a landscape resource, in addition to its agricultural value. Much of the remainder of Kona's reserve is in the form of archaeological sites that have not been restored. There are thousands of these in the district, but tourists have shown interest in certain types of sites and specific places. This is the case for burial sites in particular. These, however, are held sacred by Hawaiians, hence most development is contraindicated. The same situation exists for battle sites, because Hawaiians are buried there. Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park, however, will someday perhaps advance to the utilized level, if its problems can ever be solved. This might also be the case for the Kaneakua hōlua, if Bishop Estate continues with current plans. As possibly the largest archaeological remain in Hawai'i, the latter's reserve status seems unnecessary.

DEGRADED	
• Material Culture	⇒ Cultural homogenization
• Kona field system	⇒ Land ownership changes
• Ranching	⇒ Local in decline, due to unprofitability
• Coastal villages	⇒ Population decline and migration
• Residences	⇒ Deteriorated, except Hulihe'e Palace
• Heiau	⇒ Deteriorated, except Ahu'ena and Kuemanu heiaus
• Plymouth Rock	⇒ Covered over by seawall
UTILIZED	
• Kealakekua Bay historical sites	⇒ Declining in popularity, due to inaccessibility of Cook Monument and lack of restoration
• Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau	⇒ Partially restored; attained National Park status
• Churches	⇒ Several are attractions; others in reserve
• Kailua Village ambience	⇒ Still exists, though at reduced level of quality
RESERVES	
• Coffee landscape and culture	⇒ Promoted more lately, but mainly invisible
• Kaloko-Honokōhau Nat. Cul. Park	⇒ Unrestored; land ownership in dispute
• Hawaiian battle sites	⇒ Invisible; tourist use contraindicated
• Hawaiian burial caves	⇒ Invisible, except at Kealakekua Bay; contraindicated
• Hōluas	⇒ Invisible
• High culture	⇒ Mostly small scale facilities; Onizuka museum is the exception

Figure 6.4 The current availability of cultural resources in Kona.

Figure 6.5 approximates where Kona's cultural elements fall, in terms of resource quality. In comparison with environmental and social resources, a major point is that there are more cultural attractions and gratifiers. Kona remains a good place to sightsee.

All of the specific element listed in "Attractions" should probably be considered "weak attractors," hence are placed below the dotted line. Though not impossible to imagine, it seems unlikely that very many people make the trip to Kona to see these particular sights, in the same way they come for the tropical climate, to catch gamefish, or to run in a triathlon. Of course, this was not always the case; the death site of Captain Cook was a major reason to visit Kona for over a century. Several specific sites remain on the Kona landscape, functioning as attractions for tourists. In Kailua, the Hulihe'e Palace has remained as a monument to the reign of Kuakini. The former is the only residence from the old royal days to survive. It is, however, now one of the best places in the State for tourists to gain exposure to the life of Hawaiian royalty. Since the 1950s, three churches have also been part of the religious built environment resource. Mokuaikaia Church has status as the 'first' church; it has been a resource at least since it turned

100, now some decades ago. St. Peter's is the "smallest" church, while St. Benedict's is notable for its unusual paintings. These churches are well maintained (though St. Benedict's must actively promote itself to raise enough cash to keep the paintings in good shape), and would seem to be part of the tourist resource base for the foreseeable future.

Kealakekua Bay remains an attraction for tourists, yet this multiple-site area has been allowed to decline considerably, in terms of resource quality. The site of Captain Cook's death is the second most important international event to occur in Hawai'i, but most tourists must gaze at the monument on the site from over a mile away. It is now very difficult for tourists to feel the history of Kealakekua Bay. Hikiau heiau, the most important Hawaiian site of the Bay, goes virtually unnoticed by most tourists.

The regional ambience in Kona has undergone drastic changes in perceived quality over the decades. Considered boring by 19th century tourists, Kailua came to epitomize "Old Hawai'i" during the 1920s and 30s when the features considered so mundane appreciated in value. Just after World War II, Kona had risen to the second best known destination in Hawai'i, on the basis of the "Way of Life" of the residents that was an integral part of the local ambience. Tourism development itself quickly neutralized this quality; by the early 1970s Kailua was mostly considered spoiled. Attempts at preservation of ambience have halted the decline, and enough ambience remains to keep the town an attraction in-and-of itself.

In addition to its attractions, Kona has a number of cultural gratifier elements. Any of the elements shown could easily be upgraded to attractions were they restored or promoted somewhat more. Three Hawaiian heiaus, for example, have been restored and are now part of the tourist landscape. These are not quite attractions by themselves, however. Hale o Keawe at Pu'u honua o Hōnaunau is just one part of the overall "refuge." Ahu'ena heiau is within Kamakahonu, right in Kailua town, authentically restored but not promoted. Kuemanu heiau has been "resurfaced," but is likewise not promoted. The rest of the many heiau in Kona have been allowed to deteriorate through the action of natural forces. The historical value of the built environment in Kona could be greatly increased with the restoration of several of the more important heiau and the marking of others.

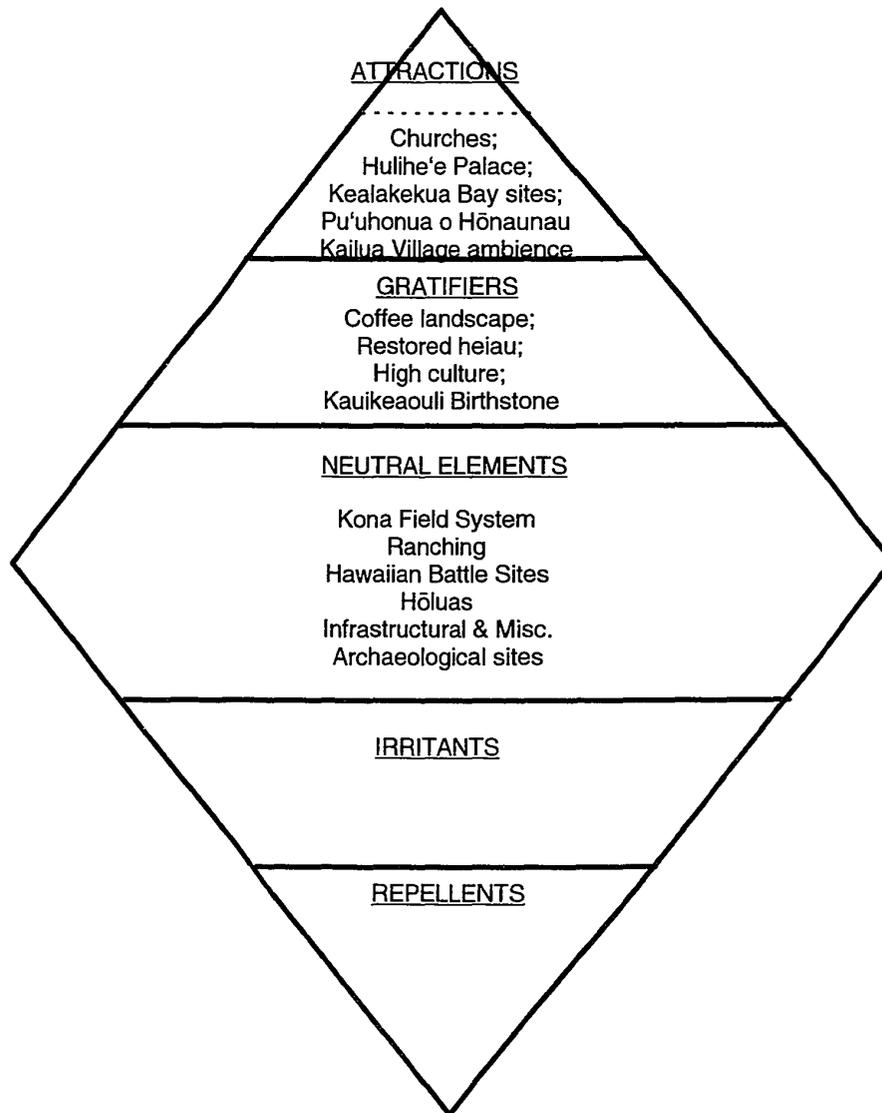


Figure 6.5 An appraisal of the quality level of Kona's cultural resources.

Coffee, now mostly grown on the old Kona Field System lands, has developed into the notable agricultural landscape feature of the 20th century. Cultivation of this crop has created a landscape that is attractive because of its national uniqueness and because of an unusual ethnic history; the landscape in its present form has been appreciated by thousands of tourists for nearly a century. The linkages between coffee as an agricultural resource and as a tourist resource have been extremely slow to develop, however. Several generations of Japanese, Filipino, and other ethnic coffee farmers have lived out their lives without understanding the possibilities their crop and their lifestyle held as a tourist resource. There has been a total failure, until recently, to market Kona coffee and the coffee lifestyle, to tourists who have been drinking Kona coffee in hotels and observing the crop and the farmers in the landscape. This is now changing somewhat, with the direct marketing of pure Kona coffee to tourists as a gourmet item. If these efforts are successful, perhaps coffee as an agricultural industry will survive the competition it faces from other potential land uses. This chapter has indicated that Kona has a number of tourist resources that have not been adequately exploited, but, of all of them, perhaps coffee, as a gourmet item and as a lifestyle, is the most under-exploited by Kona residents.

The vast majority of archaeological remains in Kona are neutral elements, hard to find, and slowly deteriorating. This includes specific sites, with considerable attraction potential, such as the Kaneakua hōlua, as well as countless unnamed heiaus, garden walls, etc. The Kona Field System was a marvel of agricultural development for a culture with only stone and wooden tools. Though many walls are left as reminders, change in land use has made it very difficult to see anything at all of this former subsistence garden.

SUMMARY

Overall, the cultural resources for Kona were induced into three major sub-types: material culture, "high" culture, and cultural landscape. Today there is very little of the material culture that is unique to Kona in any way. Degradation occurred in coincidence with the decline in Hawaiian population, and their gradual adoption of western material culture. Conversely, because Kona is still primarily a rural region, there are few examples of "high culture." Those that do exist have mostly not been discovered by tourists. They primarily exist as resource

reserves. Kona does, however, have a vast stock of elements that comprise the cultural landscape. Most of these are slowly degrading archaeological sites, and considerable potential exists for locals to exploit these resources more, without damage to quality. Not much effort has been put into this, other than the restoration of three heiau. So, as it stands, Kona's cultural resource base, like its environmental resources, seems to be shrinking, rather than widening. The history that fascinated earlier generations of tourists is slowly being forgotten, perhaps by locals as well.

ENDNOTES

¹ This is assuming the Spanish never landed in Kona (see Restarick 1930). There were a number of reports that they did (see Jarves 1843, 98–106; Hopkins 1862, 78; Anderson 1960, 14).

² The idea of cultural form of course means that Hawaiian material culture was not totally "pure", because it shared features with other Polynesian cultures that had been reproduced over the centuries of isolation. This shared aspect was quite noticeable to early visitors who had visited other Pacific Island societies, especially Tahiti.

³ Kelly and Barrère (1980, 34) have studied the Hawaiian land holding system for Kona and noted that the ahupua'a lands were further subdivided into sections known as *ili*. Holland (1971, 26) has observed that the ahupua'a in Kona reached only to the tree line, the practical extent of the food production zone, rather than to the tops of the volcanoes, as is commonly thought. He also noted that the boundary went 1.5 miles out to sea.

⁴ Earlier, Newman (1968, 128) had described three zones in the Kona Field System. The lowest was devoted to cultivation of breadfruit, sweet potato and *wauke*. Elevation was between 500 and 1,000 feet; rainfall was 30 to 60 inches per year. The middle zone again had sweet potatoes, but also dry land taro. This was between 1,000–2,500 feet and received 60 to 80 inches of rain per year. At the most elevated level, plantains and bananas were cultivated up to 3,000 feet. Rainfall levels increased to about 100 inches per year. Holland's (1971) study of agriculture in Kona showed agreement with the Kelly's (1983, 47) and Newman's, but his "upland jungle" zone, where plantains and bananas were cultivated, extended to 4,000 feet in elevation. This is in greater accord with Newman's map of the Kona Field System than is Newman's own text, which states the plantain zone extends only to 3,000 feet.

⁵ This agricultural area is now on the Hawai'i Register of Historic Places (Site 10-37-6001).

⁶ Schilt (1984, 296, 299–300) has discussed the development of Kona agriculture in relation to the *makahiki* festival. This was "a lengthy, complex observance" in honor of the

Lono, the Hawaiian god of rain, fertility, and agriculture. Lono was in legend originally a fisherman resident of Keauhou, Kona, who, spent time at the bottom of the sea and eventually returned to Kona bearing propagules for several of the most important plants cultivated in Kona. The festival was originally held at Kealakekua, meaning "the pathway of the god" from sea-to-land. During this ritual/festival, agricultural tribute (*ho'okupu*) was collected from the Hawaiian commoners, which was then redistributed by the dominant chiefs to their supporters. Additionally, the meat from hundreds of pigs was required for the festival. Thus the culture-specific needs of Hawaiian society for surplus produce required that ever-greater areas of Central Kona that were agriculturally viable had to be brought under cultivation.

⁷ Newman (1968) was in fact the researcher who invented the name "Kona Field System" for this area. Newman, however, seems to have invented it by adapting the term "ecosystem"; this was simply the agricultural ecosystem of the area. There were no political economy connotations to the term. At least one other archaeologist, Soehren (personal communication) disputes using of the term Kona Field System on the basis of the existing Hawaiian political economy.

⁸ Kelly (1983, 78) has noted that, for the kingdom as a whole, 245 of Kamehameha III's chiefs received about 1,600,000 acres, the Government about 1,500,000 acres, and Kamehameha III himself kept about 985,000 acres as Crown lands. In contrast, about 11,000 *maka'ainana* received only about 28,000 acres (Lind 1938, 47). Kelly (1983, 67–71) and Greenwell (Kona Historical Society, unpublished) have done extensive documenting of land awards given in Kona during the Great Mahele. By both accounts, it would seem that fewer than 100 Hawaiian *maka'ainana*, out of a total population of approximately 7,500 living in Kona in 1850, received *kuleana* awards. Land grant maps (see Kelly 1983, 59) for Kona show that entire *ahupua'a*s were given to individual chiefs, without any *kuleana* awards being given to the *maka'ainana* under that chief. Additionally, some land went to the Crown, while much went to the Government. Lind (1938, 41–48) and Kelly (1983, 67–71) have documented the several institutional changes in land relationships between the king and the chiefs, as well as the codification of the traditional relationship between chief and *maka'ainana*, that occurred between the late 1830s and 1850. It would seem the case that severe social pressure was brought to bear at the local level to perpetuate the serf-like relationship between the chiefs and the *maka'ainana*. The result of the change to a system where individuals could own land, for Kona, was that most of its Hawaiian residents were left out.

⁹ The most significant wall in Kona was built by Governor Kuakini to keep pigs and dogs out of the gardens (Kelly 1983, 75–6). This is commonly known as the "Great Wall" and extends for several miles from Kailua Village to Keauhou Resort. This wall still exists and is located and named on a variety of tourist maps. By being marked in this way it constitutes an attraction of the contemporary cultural landscape. It is completely unmarked on site, however, and is often difficult to identify because of the multitude of other walls that have been built in Kona. Because of this unmarked status, the wall is in reserve as a cultural landscape feature; it is essentially a neutral element even though marked distinctively on tourist maps.

¹⁰ During his hike through Kona, the missionary Cheever (1851, 35–6) almost completely failed to mention any evidence of a large-scale agricultural system. He commented on the prolific quality of the soil and also on certain species of trees—*kukui* nut, *ohias*, breadfruit. These observations would seem to indicate the nearly total abandonment of the land by this

time. The agricultural practices Cheever did mention concerned the efforts of an old sailor who was attempting to grow coffee.

¹¹ According to Kelly's (1983, 79) research, Kamehameha had a large cattle pen built in a single day, to hold Vancouver's cattle. He gave an order for everyone living on the island who could carry rocks to come to Kailua to build the pen. It was built above Kainaliu, three miles mauka of the coast. The cattle reproduced there.

¹² Brennan (1978, 45) has observed that this occupation was so dangerous that the early cattle hunters lived lives comparable to the tiger and elephant hunters of 19th century Africa and India. The profession was underpopulated by 1850, in spite of the fact that the wild herds on Hawai'i's volcanoes were quite large. In 1858, Mauna Kea's herd alone was estimated to contain 10,000 wild cattle. Strazar (1988, xv) noted there were still about 5,000 wild cattle, mostly on Mauna Kea, as late as 1899.

¹³ A slowly declining market and much increased labor costs have been the main reasons why the large ranches have not been able to survive economically (Jean Greenwell, personal communication, 11-22-91).

¹⁴ Drought and blight seemed to have been considerable problems during most of the second half of the 19th century, wiping out many plantations after several years effort had been invested (Thrum 1876). Fukunaga (1958, 84-5) has noted that the coffee blight was a form of "white scale insect" that hit the Kona area hard in 1858. Plantings further mauka were not much affected by this insect. In 1893 a new type of ladybug was introduced to Hawai'i which effectively consumed the scale and made production feasible again.

¹⁵ Fukunaga (1958, 85-8) noted that prices for green coffee had been as high as 40¢/lb in 1887 but had dropped to 15.8¢/lb by 1898. Prices then stabilized at the unprofitable rate of about 15¢/lb until World War I. This doomed the Kona plantation owners after a couple of years, and most plantations had been sub-divided by 1900.

¹⁶ The region as a whole became identified with coffee production by Japanese; Lind (1967, 51) noted that even in the mid-1960s people still had "a tendency to make a three-fold identification—Kona, coffee, and Japanese." As an underpopulated district relatively far from plantation lands, Kona had gained a reputation as a "hideout" for deserters even before the price crash of 1898 (Lind 1967, 52). During the next decade, it's status as a frontier district appealed to the Japanese men, who, having rural home country roots, liked the sense of independence that was brought from farming coffee. Coffee was evidently an appealing crop for two reasons; it could be farmed independently, but also because, as a type of crop, its production was similar to the type of farming the Japanese had done before coming to Hawai'i. Embree quoted Coulter on this latter point: "The small scale coffee industry appeals to the technique of the Japanese. The care of each tree, picking the berries, pulping at home—all compare with agriculture in Japan where hard work, patience and perseverance are necessary" (Embree 1941, 20, citing Coulter 1936).

¹⁷ Some were forced to leave, but a surprising number of families hung on, through thick-and-thin, and perpetuated the lifestyle of the Kona coffee grower. The number of families who have farmed coffee has stayed relatively constant over the course of this century. Jarrett (1933, 95) reported there were 1,000 families in coffee in 1918; the Honolulu *Advertiser* noted almost the same figure—1,077—in 1932. The depression took its toll, as Embree could count only 800 in 1941. What is perhaps most surprising is that with all the

changes that have occurred in Kona since World War II, there were still 635 farms counted for the 1989–90 season (Hawaii Agricultural Statistics Service 1990).

¹⁸ Embree (1941, 21) noted: "They live on leased farms of a few acres each, the rocky lava soil of which is thickly planted with coffee trees right up to the edges of the little rough shacks in which the farmers dwell."

¹⁹ The harshness of the land on the slopes of Hualālai and Mauna Loa has prevented a monocultural landscape from ever emerging in Kona. Yet, over the course of the 20th century the amount of land farmed remained almost as constant as the number of families (compare Fukunaga 1958, 85, Coulter 1933, 50 and Hawai'i Agricultural Statistics Service 1990, 11).

²⁰ The most intense debates seem to have revolved around the unique coffee school schedule, which gave children a "summer vacation" in October and November so they could help harvest the family crop. This schedule was finally abandoned in the late 1960s, by which time tourism had become a larger industry, economically, than coffee (see Lind 1967).

²¹ A struggle went on for years over the need to preserve a labor supply mauka for coffee production, versus the needs of the tourist industry makai, particularly since the school coffee schedule was no longer in effect (Bryan 1970b).

²² Bixby (1930), writing the introductory text for a photographic book on Hawai'i, noted that the photos represent the images people think of "when the words 'Hawaiian Islands' are mentioned." Subsequent photos of coffee (and game fish being weighed on scales) indicate that this crop represented one of the major images by which Hawai'i was known to the world.

²³ Previous to this retail development, one of the coffee mills had served as a museum, with a short movie and numerous photographs telling the story of regional coffee development. This mill sold coffee as well as coffee-oriented souvenirs. Located along the mauka-makai road to Kealakekua Bay, quite a few tourists visited, but the location was still somewhat out of the way.

²⁴ Information on the business practices was obtained from interviews during November and December, 1991 and January and February, 1992, with Linda Ross (Kona Coffee Factory), Vicki Sayrs (Kona Plantation).

²⁵ In addition, these shops sold various souvenirs, oriented towards coffee, the Kona region, or Hawai'i at large.

²⁶ At the time of field research, Japanese and Chinese tour groups were considered very profitable (Linda Ross, Kona Coffee Factory).

²⁷ Other early visitors described the villages differently with respect to "streets". Freycinet (1978, 40) asserted that there was no order to the villages and no paths at all between the houses. Samwell (1967, 1176) and Arago (1971, 64) agreed with the first point but also asserted the villages did have paths.

²⁸ One tourist who was impressed with Kailua was Cracroft (cited in Korn 1958, 66); she thought it to be " a village of considerable pretensions..."

²⁹ Twain (1966, 202) had the most thorough account of the number of dwellings at Kamakahonu: "I was told that an adjacent ruin was old Kamehameha's sleeping house; another, his eating house; another, his god's house; another, his wife's eating house—for by the ancient tabu system, it was death for man and woman to eat together."

³⁰ This restoration was done much too late. An article in the *Honolulu Advertiser* (1969b, B1), entitled "Gill Says Kamakahonu Now Concrete Sacrilege," reported on a speech made by the Lieutenant Governor. According to the article, Lt. Governor Gill complained that the site had been "defiled by the modifications made to the site, including the construction of the first King Kamehameha's Kona Beach Hotel. He stated the battle to preserve the site had been lost a decade earlier.

³¹ Bob Krauss (1976, A3) wrote up an overview of the restoration process. He noted the State had considerable input as to how the restoration was to be done. He also mentioned that Hawaiians such as Herb Kane and David Roy were involved in the design and restoration.

³² The hotel has several displays and murals inside, however, which in total provide what is possibly the best history lesson of the Kamehameha era that a tourist can get anywhere in Hawai'i. Tours explaining these displays are given on a regular basis (Jones 1991; field research observation). The hotel was also providing space for an informal handicraft market two times each week. This was the only location found in Kona where tourists were able to buy souvenirs made by Hawaiians. The Hawaiian people living in Kona, and other locals as well, seem to have attached considerable value to the authenticity of the hotel. During field research the new owners floated the idea of dropping "King Kamehameha" from the name, shortening it to just the "Kona Beach Hotel." Instantly, there was considerable furor over this, and a spontaneous protest started up. The owners quickly backed down.

³³ Freycinet (1978, 40) however, described the houses as much smaller. Describing Kealakekua, he noted: "It is located on the beach and appears to consist of about four hundred houses, if one can apply this term to the smallest of huts that are not more than two or three feet high." Arago's (1971, 5) estimate of height and size was similar to Freycinet's. Arago also was more sensitive to interior conditions than the other visitors noted. He commented quite negatively on the quality of commoner housing. "The doors are so low, that it is hardly possible to enter without crawling on the ground; and the air, which is breathed within these infected sites, is enough to stifle a person who is not accustomed to it."

³⁴ Bishop (1903, 12) also noted the nature of the materials used to construct house: "Most of the native huts were thatched with the stiff pili grass. The better ones were thatched with lau-hala (pandanus leaf) or with la-i."

³⁵ There is one Buddhist temple—Dai Fukuji—which is also mentioned in certain guidebooks (Bisignani 1990). This is the only temple Buddhists in Kona have built that has been valued by tourists.

³⁶ According to Kamakau (1976, 129–47) there were many types of heiaus; the motivation for their construction seems to have been to influence the deities towards a

certain end. Thus there were heiaus for peace (*hale o ka maluhia*), war (*ka heiau kaua*), population increase (*heiau ho'oulu kanaka*), the health of the nation (*heiau ho'ola lahu*), the success of long voyages (*ka holo 'ana i Kahakī*), and for bringing rain to end a drought (*hale ipu-o-Lono*). Some heiaus for the ali'i nui required the practice of many kapu rituals (*Iuakini*) and even human sacrifices (*'ohi'a ko*), while others (*waihau ipu-o-Lono*) were "comfortable" in the sense that kapu observances were less strict and formal. While many of the heiaus built for the aforementioned reasons might be large, others were small. This depended partly on the importance of the person/s constructing the heiau and partly for the intended purpose.

³⁷ Daws (1968, 67) noted that Ka'ahumanu had fallen sick on O'ahu but had been nursed back to health by the missionary wife Sybil Bingham. From then on she was "the new Ka'ahumanu". She made a trip to the windward islands "and burned a good many carved images of the old gods that had come back into the open there."

³⁸ Stokes had been sent on a mission to prove the hypothesis that walled heiaus had come into existence only after the 12th century, when contact between Hawai'i and Polynesia became regular and a new line of powerful chiefs, led by Pa'ao, immigrated to Hawai'i and brought new customs and religious practices. Stokes ultimately was unable to prove or disprove this hypothesis because of the variety of the heiau he found combined with their deteriorated condition and the lack of local knowledge about them (Stokes and Dye 1991, 9–10).

³⁹ Notably absent from Stokes's work is the *'Ahu a 'Umi*, located on the saddle area between Hualālai and Mauna Loa. He evidently knew this important structure existed, but did not visit it during his field work.

⁴⁰ Reproductions of these idols, containing similar distortions of the human figure, have been sold quite successfully as souvenir items, to the point where they have become kitsch.

⁴¹ Macrae (1922, 71), visiting in the 1820s after the Hawaiian religion had been overthrown, was one of the few visitors who ever described the inside of one of the ossuaries. This was the *Hale o Keawe*, possibly the most sacred of all, at the refuge at Honaunau. His party was escorted there by an old priest, the only one with enough responsibility. Macrae failed to understand the religious significance of the building, noting it was "full of rotting bones."

⁴² An additional feature of note was that the first Christian burial service was performed on the heiau after the death of the sailor William Watman, a member of Cook's crew. A plaque memorializing the event remains on the heiau today.

⁴³ Curtis V. Crellin, owner of the property at the time, restored the heiau with advice of anthropologist Kenneth Emory (Doyle 1957, 30). The heiau contained the graves of three royal princesses, an oracle tower, kahuna hut, image platform, ceremonial platform, storehouse, guard room. Ruins of a bone pit with nine stones and a fireplace for royal body preparation were also there.

⁴⁴ From Ali'i Drive, it is necessary to cross a private lot that is fenced and gated. From the shore, it is necessary to jump over a wall built by the adjacent condominium property.

⁴⁵ Ahu'ena heiau has evidently been restored twice. The first time was about 1960, as the first King Kamehameha's Kona Beach Hotel was being constructed. The first restoration was too small, the anthropologist Emory was cited as saying it looked like "menehunes" did the work (Vertrees 1959; see also Whitten 1959). The second reconstruction seems to have been done in the mid-1970s, when the second hotel was built (the original building was imploded in 1975).

⁴⁶ The supporting village of Honaunau has long been depopulated, though a small Hawaiian enclave continues to live adjacent to the north end of the Pu'uhonua.

⁴⁷ Interestingly, this has not been the case for St. Michael's, the first Catholic church in Hawai'i. Not too much younger than Mokuaikaua, and located just down the street, it has hardly received any comment from tourists or guidebook writers during its long existence.

⁴⁸ Wriston (1926, 57) mentions that there were different caves for the different social classes, that the bodies were often mummified, and there is gold bullion in one cave. Stevenson (1973, 22) noted the Hawaiians sealed the "relic chambers" because "the white man comes and goes upon the hunt for curiosities."

⁴⁹ Writers such as Twain (1966) spoofed tourists who entered the burial caves looking for souvenirs to steal. Stevenson (1973) noted that Hawaiians took this seriously, and had boarded up caves at Ho'okena. These examples point out the obvious, that such activity is contraindicated.

⁵⁰ Cook had actually "discovered" Hawai'i in early 1778, when he reached Kaua'i after sailing north from Tahiti. This visit did not last long, however; he took his ships further north, along the North American coast, only days after reaching Kauai. It was during Cook's second visit to Hawai'i, in January, 1779, that the expedition reached Kealahou Bay (see Cook 1967).

⁵¹ Hill (1856, 156) reported visiting the "little memorials of the visits of others to the bay."

⁵² According to Wilkes (1970, 92) the top of this tree was carried off by the captain of H.B.M. Imogene and had placed in the museum of the Greenwich Hospital. From this point, visitors to Kealahou Bay could only look at the stump of the tree. Some sort of a plaque seems to have been nailed into the tree, which was promptly covered with graffiti. One such entry was: "Give this a coat of tar."

⁵³ Twain seems to have been quite respectful of Cook, yet he could not help spoofing the attempts of tourists of his day to re-live the events:

As the red sun looked across the placid ocean through the tall, clean stems of the coconut trees, like a blooming whiskey bloat through the bars of a city prison, I went and stood in the edge of the water on the flat rock pressed by Captain Cook's feet when the blow was dealt that took away his life, and tried to picture in my mind the doomed man struggling in the midst of the multitude of exasperated savages—the men in the ship crowding to the vessel's side and gazing in anxious dismay toward the shore—the—
But I discovered that I could not do it. (Twain 1966, 215)

⁵⁴ Several visitors noted the degraded condition of this monument. The cross had become a "post" (Barrot 1978, 10) in about a decade or less. The engraving was no longer legible,

but the graffiti was (Lyman 1924, 137). According to Dampier (1971, 67) the heiau was "partially pulled down" by Hawaiians, this left only the wall that had surrounded it (Ellis 1927, 52). By the 1860s, Twain (1966, 236) commented that the site resembled "an inclosure like an ample hog pen." Field research in 1992 indicated that "something" was still at *Kapuhiolono*, though it was impossible to tell what. It thus continues to exist in a much degraded state.

⁵⁵ Whitney (1890, 31) noted Likilike donated the land to the British government.

⁵⁶ At the time of field research there was currently a plaque attached to the rock where Cook died. It was just barely water. The site is difficult to locate from the monument, due to the necessity of scrambling through the underbrush.

⁵⁷ This attitude seems to have been introduced by the missionaries. For example, in the 1860s Mary Anderson (1865, 122) expressed her feeling that Cook was "evil" for allowing himself to be worshipped.

⁵⁸ There are only two holua sleds remaining. A full-sized sled is on exhibition at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and only a scale model is on display at the Hulihe'e Palace in Kailua.

⁵⁹ Clark (1985) mentions holua at Kapu'a, Manuka, and Keauhou. Holua also exist at the Pu'uohonua o Honaunau (personal communication, park staff) and the Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Site (Draft General Management Plan, Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park, June, 1992).

⁶⁰ According to Russ Apple (former National Park Service Director, personal communication, Oct., 1991), rocks from much of the lower portion were used for cattle walls. The holua was also breached for a road. During the construction of Keauhou resort, this degraded portion was removed for part of a golf course. This was done with the approval of the National Park Service.

⁶¹ In addition to knowledge of 19th century kings living at Hulihe'e Palace, knowledge of Chief 'Umi also became more widespread. 'Umi was the first chief to unite the Big Island completely. After doing so, he settled in Kona, because he liked the weather there better than at windward Waipio Valley (Daughters of Hawai'i 1979, 9). This knowledge that a famous chief liked the weather seems to have reinforced tourists' own feelings, which changed from a preference for the mauka regions to makai Kailua.

⁶² Just after World War II ended, a novel entitled *Kona*, by Marjorie Sinclair, was published. In its review, "Enchantment of Kona Lives in New Novel," the *Paradise of the Pacific* 1947, (3), 24 noted: "Mrs. Sinclair makes the distinction between Kona as a geographical location and Kona as a state of mind, way of life, or philosophy of living." This aspect of Kona's regional personality was to dominate for the next decade or so.

⁶³ Calls for the formation of such a committee had occurred at least as early as 1972 (*HTH* 1972d; *HTH* 1973b).

⁶⁴ A recent update of the *Plan* (Chee, 1988) perpetuated many of the ideas of the 1976 *Plan*, indicating their continued relevance.

CHAPTER 7

GOING NATIVE, IN STYLE

Services constitute the fourth major type of tourist resource. These are different from the other three in an essential way, in that they are not really part of the regional resource base. Rather, they complement it; they are built on top of it by people whose economic goal is to successfully provide for tourists' needs. Such resources permit tourists to escape to rustic destinations while at the same time attaining a lifestyle that may be beyond their means on a year-round basis. The set that was induced for Kona is shown in Figure 7.1. Three major categories were found to exist: transportation, "necessities," and ancillary commercial enterprise services, or "ACES." As defined here, transportation is limited to the means of reaching or leaving the destination, not internal travel within it. This is considered a resource for two reasons. First, the means of transportation may itself become a resource through tourists' experiences of having traveled upon it. Second, the transport route sometimes crossed a part of Kona that was inaccessible otherwise. Necessities covers the basic needs of travelers—accommodation and food. The ACES category includes everything that is not a necessity. It was in turn divided into Experiential services and Shopping. The most original subcategory within the former—"Exploration"—aggregates the various ways visitors can travel within Kona.

TRANSPORTATION	
NECESSITIES	
• ACCOMMODATION	• FOOD (AND DRINK)
ACES	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EXPERIENTIAL Exploration Sports Participation Entertainment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SHOPPING Clothing Accessories Souvenirs Real Estate

Figure 7.1 The set of service resources existing in Kona.

Though tourists have visited Kona for a long time, the set of service resources dates only from the mid-1950s. The overall picture showed significant expansion until the late 1980s, followed by a stabilizing of numbers. Recently, the only category continuing to expand has been

the services related to ocean recreation. This is interpreted as a further indication that Kona, and perhaps the rest of Hawai'i, are entering a new phase in the institution of tourism.

TRANSPORTATION TO KONA

REACHING KONA FROM HONOLULU

Kona was the original destination for ships heading to Hawai'i until 1820, when Liholiho moved the seat of government to Honolulu. After this time, ships set sail for Honolulu, and fewer-and-fewer vessels came to call on Kona during the following decades.

Yet the inter-island trade that Hawaiians had always carried on between themselves continued to develop. During the 1840s, a fleet of inter-island sailing vessels was established; the number of "coasters" grew from seven in 1841 to 65 in 1847 (Thomas 1983, 25). These "poi clippers" (Day 1955, 140) were privately owned schooners that did not run on fixed schedules and were not required to carry compasses or charts to avoid getting lost. They were very cheap to operate and the "mosquito fleet" was able to compete economically with steam ships until after the turn of the 20th century (Welty 1945, np). They were typically extremely overcrowded with Hawaiians going "avoyaging" (Thomas 1983, 31).¹

Between the 1840s–1860s, and occasionally until the 1880s, these schooners were also the means of transport for tourists attempting to travel from Honolulu to Kona and the Big Island. The trip was not usually a pleasant one and was referred to as "the haole's horror, the Hawaiians pleasure" (Thomas 1983, 31). Numerous tourists and residents wrote descriptions of the miserable conditions that could be expected during an inter-island voyage on a poi clipper. Coan (1882, 111), for example, noted the ships were "leaky and slow" and passengers had to stay on deck in the scorching sun because conditions below were too filthy to stand. He also observed that travel time could be lengthened dramatically when the winds did not cooperate—a round trip from Honolulu to Hilo could take four to six weeks! Traveling in the lee of Maui, Haole (1854, 330) wrote that his ship only narrowly avoided a disastrous end; it was becalmed twice and the second time got caught in a current heading in-shore. Only the desperate efforts of both crew and passengers prevented the ship from being dashed to pieces on the rocky coastline.

Upon escaping death from lack of wind the ship then entered 'Alenuihaha Channel between Maui and the Big Island, where it was promptly caught in a gale. Traveling in the 1860s and 1870s, Twain (1939, 200), Bookwalter (1874, 194), and Geiger (unpublished manuscript 1874, 7) all commented on the terrible conditions on board ship.² "As a developer of ocean horrors, commend us to a Sandwich Island coaster," Bookwalter (1874, 194) observed. Overall, in terms of resource quality, travel on a poi clipper seems to have typically an irritant, if not an out-and-out hazard for early travelers going from Honolulu to Kona.

In 1860, the steamship *Kilauea*, the first to be constructed specifically for Hawaiian waters, arrived from Boston (Jarrett 1933, 164; Kuykendahl and Day 1948, 123). Although the ship was often laid up for repairs (Welty 1945, np), forcing travelers to take poi clippers, when it was running it was considered a blessing, particularly by locals. In his 1875 guidebook to Hawai'i, Whitney cites a Mr. Herbert, manager of the Hawaiian Hotel in Honolulu, on benefits of travel on the *Kilauea*, which was then 15 years old and nearly worn out:

Every person, who in the past has ever endured the discomforts or horrors of a crowded inter-island schooner passage, will bless the *Kilauea* and steam in a calm; and in a blow will look at the watchful Captain on the bridge and hear the constant revolution of the powerful machinery with most unalloyed satisfaction. (Whitney 1875, 32)

With the arrival of the *Kilauea*, inter-island travel conditions began a period of improvement that would continue into the 1930s. Each new generation of steamer became larger, faster, better appointed, and more comfortable. Competition came in the form of world-class ocean liners which (as part of the itinerary of a Pacific cruise) had since about 1910 included a stopover in Hilo so passengers could take a quick trip up to Kilauea volcano.³ Thus, by World War I travel to the Big Island from Honolulu was often an indulgence in luxury, and the trip itself became an attraction for tourists.

On a steamer voyage, crossing the channels between islands could still be a rough experience, but otherwise conditions were often sufficiently comfortable for tourists to appreciate the tropical island scenery they were passing. For the Big Island, this was particular true of the windward Kohala and Hamakua Coasts.⁴ Though the Kona side was considered less scenic, the calm leeward waters, vistas of high volcanic peaks, and small coastal villages populated by

Hawaiians combined to induce a feeling of tropical tranquility in passengers (Anderson 1864, 130; LaFarge 1912, 35–8; Manson 1896, 67; Castle 1913, 165). As was discussed in the last chapter, ships traveling down the Kona side also stopped at the Cook Monument, giving tourists, particularly during the late 19th century, a chance to go ashore and ponder history. As Burton-Holmes (1910, 73) noted, the visit "recalls the dramatic story of his discovery of the islands and his tragic death here on this very spot."

An additional resource aspect to inter-island travel by ship, either by schooner or steamer but particularly on the early generations of the latter, was the chance for tourists to observe the Hawaiians who were traveling in steerage. These tourists often seemed to be looking for primitiveness in the native peoples of the Pacific Islands, and the crowded quarters of the steerage compartments provided them with an ideal venue that even by the late 19th century was difficult to find on land in Hawai'i. Twain, with his ever-present capability to combine social observation with humor, wrote up the sight the Hawaiians mingling together in this way:

Another section of the deck, twice as large as ours, was full of natives of both sexes, with their customary dogs, mats, blankets, pipes, calabashes of poi, fleas, and other luxuries and baggage of minor importance. As soon as we sat sail the natives all laid down on the deck as thick as Negroes in a slave pen, and smoked and conversed and captured vermin and ate them, spit on each other, and were truly sociable. (Twain 1966, 195–6)

Cargo ships also plied the inter-island waters throughout the first half of this century. One type in particular, the cattle boat, was popular with a certain sort of tourist, a type who was not lured by the ever-increasing luxury and modernity of the passenger steamers (Gast 1936, 14; Deubner 1938, 46). One ship in particular, the *Humu'ula*, made several stops at villages and cattle loading points along the Kona Coast. It had the same leisurely itinerary along the other islands between the Big Island and Honolulu, providing these tourists with an opportunity to travel more slowly and get a better look at the scenery, daily life and cultural landscape. The *Humu'ula* was an institution, for both locals and tourists, during its 23 years of service between 1929 and 1952.

The residents of Kona had first begun asking the Territory to build an airport within the district in 1929 (HNCM 1930). While "urgent" pleas were voiced during the late 1930s (HNCM

1939), the transport situation became critical after World War II. By the late 1940s, steamer service to Kona had been cut from two times per week to once every six weeks (HNCM 1948). Local farmers had become desperate to have a more timely means of getting their goods to the Honolulu markets. They seem to have been the driving force behind the construction of Kona's first airport. This eventually opened on July 10, 1949, just a mile north of town. The short newspaper article announcing the opening (HNCM 1949) also asserted: "The new field is expected to boost the Kona Coast touristwise..." It did have this impact (see Chapter 9). Air service also cut the travel time from Honolulu to the Big Island to about one hour. The major benefit was to give tourists more time to spend on the island (particularly locals going for the weekend). However, by so greatly increasing the pace of travel, the effect was to reduce the scenery viewed along the way to a neutral element (see McSpadden 1939, 120). Thus, reduction in travel time has been countered by reduction of travel experience (note Greene 1959, 111; Jansma 1959, 135). This situation was made more extreme when the larger Keahole Airport was opened in 1970.

REACHING KONA ON A CIRCLE ISLAND TOUR

Between about 1850 and 1960, the majority of tourists to the Big Island went first to Hilo, mainly because of the popularity of Kīlauea volcano. They then typically disembarked from their steamer and made the 30-mile journey, which until about 1924 contained a molten "lava lake" in Halema'uma'u Crater. Because Kilauea is in Puna district rather than Kona, a full description of the development of a trip to this volcano—which was indisputably the most important tourist attraction in all of Hawai'i until the lava lake hardened over—is beyond the bounds of this dissertation.⁵ Points about the development of the road infrastructure and means of transportation, however, are pertinent to Kona.

Kilauea seems to have become a tourist attraction shortly after Kapi'olani converted to Christianity and made history by descending to the crater floor, defying the goddess Pele.⁶ The first visitors were mainly the captains and officers of the many whaling ships that spent the winter in Hilo between the 1820s and 1850s. By the 1860s, a rudimentary hotel had been built—

the first incarnation of Volcano House. As early as the 1880s, steamship companies were offering package tours from Honolulu; including expenses for hotels, land transportation and guides, and food (Burnett 1892, 216; Crampon 1976, 90). By the 1890s, a road for stagecoaches and carriage had been built, making the trip far more comfortable than riding over the lava flows on horseback had been.⁷ A burgeoning auto transport industry in Hilo developed around 1910; this quickly replaced the carriage trade (Castle 1913, 169). Even before World War I it was possible for a passenger on a trans-Pacific ocean cruise to land at Hilo, then hire a car for a day trip to Kīlauea, returning in the late afternoon in time for the liner's departure (Castle 1913, 170). The necessary combination of infrastructure and suprastructure for a quick trip to the volcano has thus now been in place for more than 75 years.

Once tourists had spent time exploring Kīlauea, the next logical step for an ever increasing percentage was to continue traveling around the island. Initially, poor roads, particularly over the Ka'u lava flows, made such a trip too daunting for most. Traveling during the mid-nineteenth century, Hill (1856, 156) dryly noted that a circle-island tour was "not always practicable, without a journey of some months, on account of the natural obstructions to traveling, which a great portion of the rudely-formed country presents." The circle-island road, known as the Mamalahoa Highway, gradually was upgraded, but during the era of horse travel making such a trip remained arduous (Bingham 1981, 289; Musick 1898, 283; Austin 1927, 60–64) and most tourists interested in seeing Kona took the inter-island steamer.

When automobile travel became practical, however, both time and discomfort were considerably reduced.⁸ By the 1920s, road surfaces had again been upgraded, making it possible to leave Hilo in the morning, riding in a chauffeur-driven touring car containing several passengers, visit Kīlauea and have lunch, then head out on the highway for Kona, reaching the populated coffee regions in time for dinner.⁹ Tourists then visited the historical sites in Kona the next day, and returned to Hilo on the third.

By the early 1920s, this itinerary seems to have established itself as an alternative to simply booking round-trip steamer passage, for those tourists who wanted to see more than Kīlauea and the Cook Monument. Three events happened during that decade to make the circle-

island trip a Big Island institution. Chronologically, the first was the discovery of deep-sea game fish (particularly tuna and marlin) in the smooth leeward waters off Kailua. Then, after Kīlauea erupted violently in 1924, and the lava lake in Halema'uma'u crater hardened over, much of the fascination with the volcano was lost. With this decline in resource value, tourists seemed more willing to travel around the island to make up for the missing depth of experience. Last, as was mentioned in the sections on climate and ambience, the Inter-Island Steamship Navigation Company (1930, 5), desiring to open up travel so more tourists would book passage on its steamers, built the Kona Inn at the shore in Kailua. As discussed, this hotel was much better appointed than the smaller, family-owned hotels located up in the mauka coffee country, and was soundly praised as perfectly accommodating the needs of the weary tourist who had just spent an entire day in a car traveling around from Hilo.

Kona's location at the opposite side of the island from Hilo thus made it a resource for tourists who sought to explore the Big Island rather than just view it from the steamer (Jarrett 1933, 253). Location was complimented by a diversified set of resources, particularly fishing, historical sites, an accessible Hawaiian population, and comfortable tourist accommodations. For tourists traveling to the Big Island, the emphasis during the middle-part of this century slowly switched from just seeing Kīlauea Volcano, to making a circle-island tour and also exploring the Kona region. The development of the circle-island tour during the early years of automobile travel thus enabled tourists to explore more broadly; it also helped put Kona on the tourist maps.

NECESSITIES

Once tourists reached Kona they have required the two basic necessities of shelter and food. This section of the chapter overviews how the supply of these has developed. The section on accommodation discusses the changes in the type, location, and quality of accommodation facilities that have occurred as tourism has developed as an industry in Kona. The section on food deals mainly with restaurants, and secondarily with food stores.

ACCOMMODATION

For many tourist destinations, development of accommodation sector resources is a surrogate measure for development of the entire tourism industry. This section looks at where, when, and how this sector has developed in Kona.

For nearly a century after western contact there seem to have been no hotels of any kind in Kona. People who arrived by ship—the explorers, traders, whalers, and people on world cruises—seem mostly to have slept on board. For those visitors who were exploring the island by land, a system of letter writing seems to have been in place. Arriving in Honolulu, the visitor would make friends there, then have these people mail, or supply the visitor, with letters of recommendation to friends and acquaintances on the other islands (see Geiger 1874, 15). With these as referrals, visitors were able go from one residence to the next, making new friends and contacts as they went, and receiving food and companionship as well as a place to sleep. Missionaries, coffee planters, ranchers, local doctors, and if lucky, Hawaiian royalty, were some of the types of residents tourists could expect to meet.¹⁰ As late as 1890, Whitney, in his guidebook to Hawai'i, advised the tourist who was about to set off on a circle-island exploration of the Big Island to do the following:

He should supply himself with letters to some of the plantation managers before starting from Honolulu, as they will greatly smooth his path. He should send notice of his coming before hand, to the friends with whom he intends to stay, and should also write about the purchase of his horse. (Whitney 1890, 57)

For early circle-island tourists, the great distances between towns and mission stations also provided an opportunity to stay at the homes of Hawaiians. The rural area of western Ka'u and South Kona was one such expanse where this was necessary. Needing two days to cover the 60 miles between Waiohinu and Ho'okena, travelers on horseback had to spend one night with a Hawaiian family somewhere near the border between the districts. Whitney informed the tourists that there existed a 2-story house in the village of Ho'opuloa, but no food was available. He also noted several residents of the village of Pāpā would provide accommodation "of a kind." He generalized the situation this way: "almost every village has white residents, but where none exist the natives will always provide for strangers lodging and food—such as they have, trusting to the generosity of their guests for their reward" (both quotes Whitney 1890, 69).

The travelers themselves sometimes noted that they got more out of these stays with Hawaiians than just a night's sleep; this was also an opportunity to observe local society (i.e., an opportunity to utilize social resources).¹¹ Bird, for example, after living some days with Hawaiians on the upper slopes of Hualālai, commented that:

I thoroughly like living among them, taking meals with them on their mats, and eating "two fingered" poi as if I had been used to it all my life. Their mirthfulness and kindness are most winning; their horses, food, clothes, and time are all bestowed on one so freely, and one lives amongst them with a most restful sense of absolute security. (Bird 1966, 252–3)

Institutionalized accommodation establishments—ones that charged money—seem to have opened in Kona during the 1870s decade. Slowly the system involving letters of recommendation, or dropping in unexpectedly on Hawaiians living along the circle-island horsepath, gave way to a system of paying for lodging.

The first lodging establishment in Kona seems to have been the Ridge House, in operation from 1872 to 1885 (Crampon 1976, 148).¹² This seems to have been a boarding house rather than a hotel per se.¹³ During the last quarter of the 19th century, only a few more lodging establishments opened in Kona. This is understandable since most visitors passed by Kona on the steamer. Chaney, arriving late in the 1870s decade, was one of those who did spend time in Kona. He and his family first stayed at Barrett's Hotel, located near the steamer landing in Ka'awaloa, very close to the spot where Cook was killed. This hotel he described as "a good specimen of the better class of grass houses" (Chaney 1879, 186). After a few days he moved mauka where two boarding houses—"One too full and too promiscuously filled for enjoyment; the other wholly empty"—were in operation (p. 201).

A second option that developed during this time was to stay with Hawaiians who rented lodging to tourists. Robert Louis Stevenson (1973, 10) utilized this method; he spent a week in Ho'okena living with a Hawaiian judge in 1889, and wrote stories of the experience. Musick, arriving late in the next decade, utilized both forms of accommodation. He landed first at Ho'okena and lodged with a Hawaiian referred to as "Professor Amalu." He then journeyed by horse to Kailua where, the first night, on "finding no better lodgings, put up with a Chinaman (1898, 223). He then moved out into what was probably the first hotel to open in Kailua. It was:

a large vacant building, called the hotel. It contained a dozen rooms, well furnished, and I was the only person to occupy them. An old *wahine*, who was left in charge of the house, came one morning to close the bargain with me for the privilege of staying there a few days; and after taking the pay, I never saw her nor any other person on the premises during my stay. I subsequently learned that the last occupant of this deserted house had been a fugitive leper, intelligence by no means pleasing. (Musick 1898, 225)¹⁴

London (1917, 229), visiting during the first decade of the 20th century, observed that one had to go far from Kailua to find "any sort of hotel."¹⁵ This situation changed somewhat during the next two decades, when a number of small hotels opened, mainly in mauka Kona, in response to the increased demand by businessmen and circle island tourists arriving by auto.¹⁶ Two of these hotels are still in operation.¹⁷

The lack of a first class hotel for tourists in Kona ended on November 1, 1928, when the Kona Inn opened along the shore in Kailua. It was built by the Inter-Island Steamship Navigation Company, on the logic that more tourists (and Honolulu residents) would travel by steamship if they had a new place to go (Worden 1981, 65). The hotel was an immediate success with both tourists and locals, at just the time when Kona's set of tourist base resource elements was reaching a peak of perceived desirability. The hotel itself also became an attraction—a haven at the end of a day's drive for the circle island traveler, a place from which to base sightseeing or deep-sea fishing trips and, especially, to relax and indulge in the "Old Hawai'i" ambience of the region.

Thrum's *Annual* for 1940–41, though partly promotional, seemed to reflect the common perception of the Kona Inn at the time. The hotel was "the spot in all Hawai'i where you can utterly, completely relax in surroundings of modern comfort. There's a blend of the primitive and the present here that will catch your fancy and drive away all care" (Thrum 1940–41, 267). Thus, after a decade of operation the hotel had achieved such a reputation that a visit to Kona was incomplete if the tourist had not stayed at the Kona Inn. The hotel was as much of an attraction as any other element in the region.

TABLE 7.1
Accommodation Properties in Kona, 1950–1990, by Type^a and Size^b

	1950	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90
Small	6	9	9	13	10	8	5	2	3
Medium	0	1	2	4	5	6	5	5	3
Large	0	0	0	1	2	5	5	5	5
Hotel Total	6	10	11	18	17	19	15	12	11
Small	0	0	0	0	1	6	14	23	19
Medium	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	17	13
Condo Total	0	0	0	0	1	7	18	40	32
Combined Total	6	10	11	18	18	27	33	52	43

Sources: Thrum's *Annual* between 1950–65 and Hawai'i Visitors Bureau *Annual Research Report* between 1970–90.

^a Hotels include apartment hotels, motels, and hostels.

^b Size categories were arbitrarily chosen. Small was considered to be between 1–50 units; medium was between 51–200; large was more than 200.

After World War II the hotel managed to hold on to this reputation for some years. In a 1950 article on tourism in Kona, Coll observed: "Primarily, Kona is a place to get a quiet rest amid soothing tropic surroundings but if you feel a bit lively one can find plenty to do. Kona and Kona Inn are where one can go native fast and in a big way" (Coll 1950). Rooms were added to the main building and two separate structures (the Waiaka Lodge and the Mauna Loa wing) were also built. Room count increased from an original 20 in 1928 (Inter-Island Steamship Navigation Company *President's Report* 1929, 5) to 264 by 1969 (Hawai'i Visitors Bureau *Visitor Plant Inventory* 1969, 23). However, time, the changing ambience of Kailua, and competition from new, master planned (Keauhou and Ka'anapali) resorts, all took their toll on the quality of experience tourists received from staying at the Kona Inn. A plan to replace the original building with a 7-story structure, sufficiently upscale to meet the demands of a new generation of tourists, never materialized (HTH 1968b). The hotel was put up for sale in the early 1970s (Bowman HSB 1973), but no buyer came forward for several years. The hotel eventually closed on April 1, 1978 (Bob Herkes, personal communication), ending an era.

TABLE 7.2
Location of Accommodation Facilities Within Kona

	1950	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90
Kailua	3	6	7	8	6	7	7	7	6
Kuakini	0	0	0	3	3	4	1	2	1
Ali'i	1	1	2	3	5	12	22	39	31
Mauka	2	3	2	3	3	3	2	3	4
Kona									
Kekaha	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	6	10	11	18	18	27	33	52	43

Sources: Thrum's *Annual* (1950–65) and Hawai'i Visitors Bureau *Annual Report* (1970–90).

Locational categories were defined as follows: "Kailua" is the recreational business district running along Ali'i Drive in the central village. The King Kamehameha Hotel is the northern border, the Sunset Plaza mall marks the southern extremity. "Ali'i" runs south along Ali'i Drive, beginning at Huggo's Restaurant; it includes Keauhou Resort and properties along Walua Road. "Kuakini" is the stretch of Kuakini Highway running from the intersection with Palani Road south to the intersection with Walua Road. "Mauka Kona" runs along Mamalahoa Highway from the intersection with Palani Road south to the intersection with Ke Ala o Keawe Road (leading to the Pu'u honua o Hōnaunau). "Kekaha" includes everything along the coastline north of Kailua town. "Palani" runs along Palani Road mauka of the intersection with Kuakini Highway to the intersection with Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway. "Old Industrial" is the warehouse district located at the north end of Kailua Village. Neither the Palani Road nor the Old Industrial areas have accommodation facilities, but will be discussed under "Food and Drink." All of these areas are mapped in Figure 7.1.

For the first two decades or so of its existence, the Kona Inn was the only hotel facility in Kailua and the premier facility for all of Kona. It had the impact, therefore, of anchoring tourism in Kailua. After World War II, as tourism in Hawai'i as a whole increased, Kailua continued to be the town in Kona where tourists would spend time. During the 1950s decade, this presence of tourists would lead to the development of the tourist industry. More hotels, as well as shops, were built. Between then and now, several trends in the development of the accommodation sector have occurred. These are highlighted by the data in Tables 7.1 to 7.3.

Table 7.1 lists data on the development of the accommodation sector in Kona at five-year intervals between 1950 and 1990. The data is first sorted by the type of accommodation provided. Two types are listed: hotels and condos.¹⁸ The reality is more complex than this. With respect to hotels, there have also been a few motels, apartment hotels, lodges, and hostels. None of

these sub-types have ever been very numerous. They were aggregated with hotels here because, from the tourists' perspective, they all permit tourists to simply arrive at the doorstep, book a room on a daily basis, and check in. Condo rental arrangements are more complex. Field survey work done in early 1992 indicated there were two basic types of ownership of condo units: single-owner, or time-share. The latter constitute only a small percentage of total condo units in Kona. Single-owner units have been much more typical. In this case, the owner pays a fee to a property management company, which then puts the unit on the rental market. Owners may choose to keep the unit in or out of the rental market for whatever period of time they want. Tourists then typically reserve a unit in advance, for a stay having a minimum length of a few days or longer. Some condo properties, however, had been purchased (either all the units, or the majority of them) by companies that ran them more like hotels, where tourists could book rooms on a walk-in basis, and paid by the day.

The data in Table 7.1 both reveal and conceal trends, related to availability, that have occurred during this 40-year time period. First, the data for hotels show there was a steady rise, from four to 18 properties, between 1950 and 1965. Initially, these new hotels were nearly all small sized (50 rooms or less). This occasionally produced a problem—a complete lack of available rooms for tourists. Scott (1957) reported that during 1957, Kailua's hotels, which then numbered seven, were completely full and "people wait on lanais waiting for the old customers to move on."

The first 15 years were followed by a decade when there was little change in the total number of properties (from 18 in 1965 to 19 in 1975).¹⁹ This stability in masks what was a particularly active period of development; 10 hotels opened during the decade, while seven closed and two converted to condos. Four of the hotels constructed were large sized—exceeding 200 rooms. The first was the Kona Hilton, built in three phases in the late 1960s. Three of these were part of the master-planned Keauhou resort, while the fourth involved the demolishing and replacement of a medium-sized hotel (the King Kamehameha) that had only opened in 1960! The 1965–75 decade ended with medium-and large-sized hotels outnumbering small

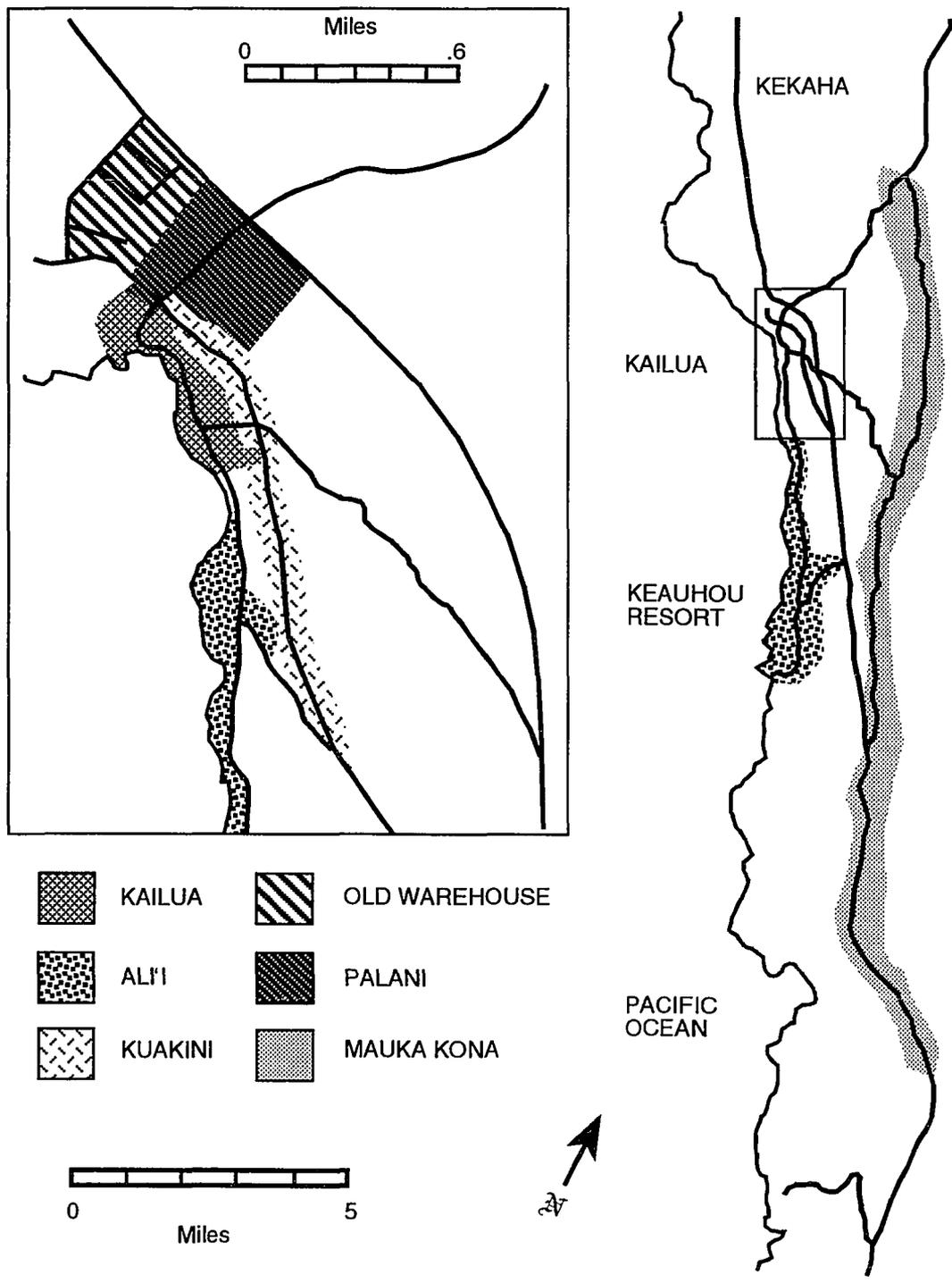


Figure 7.2 Zones of Accommodation and Services in Kona.

Source: Field Survey.

establishments. It was noted at the time that one effect of this change in hotel size was to lower the district's occupancy rates (Williams 1969; *HTH* 1972b).

In the 15 years between 1975 and 1990, hotels have declined substantially in number, down to 11 properties. Most of this decline has come from more smaller properties closing, although one large hotel has also closed.

There was a proposal to build a condominium in Kona as early as 1963 (*HA* 1963), but the first one seems to have opened only in 1970.²⁰ Condos then experienced a boom during the late 1970s and early 1980s; there were 40 that had units available to tourists by 1985.²¹ These were not all new properties for as noted several hotels converted to condos during this decade. After the boom, the total number has declined quickly and considerably. By 1990, only 32 properties let rooms to tourists.²² As with hotels, the first condominiums built were rather small in terms of numbers of units, but tended to be larger as time passed. Many are now medium-sized, containing between 51–200 units. A complicating factor with condos is that, for most properties, not all of the units are rented to tourists. Some units are owner-occupied, others are leased on a long-term basis. Consequently, condos can shift from "small" to "medium" status merely by having more units become available as short term rentals. However, as of 1990 there were no large condo units in operation to tourists. Unlike hotels, there have been no out-sized properties constructed for tourists in Kona.

An additional trend in the accommodation sector involves the location of facilities. This is shown in Table 7.2 for the 1950–90 period, and in Table 7.3, which provides data on the number of available units in different Kona locations between 1970–1990. Figure 7.1 is a map of the locations of the different areas discussed. Two areas—"Palani Road" and "Old Industrial"—have no accommodation facilities but will be discussed in the next section, on "Food and Drink." (Overall development of tourist space in Kona will be discussed in the Chapter 9.)

The data in Tables 7.2 and 7.3 show that, initially, most accommodation facilities were located in Kailua Village. By 1960, seven hotels had been built, along or near the sea shore. This area reached a peak number of eight establishments in 1965. As noted above, there were quite a number of changes, even though the total number has remained roughly the same for 30

years. Several hotels closed and were converted to shopping malls, or were demolished. There have also been consolidations, fragmentations, and additions of and conversions to condos. The number of room units available peaked at 1,018 in 1980, showing that the average size kept increasing after the total number of properties had reached a peak. Since 1980 there has been roughly a 10% decline in room units available.

By the early 1960s, land along the shoreline in Kailua village seems to have become difficult to obtain. Beginning then, a few properties have been constructed on land inland from the coast, along Kuakini Highway. This area seems to not have been able to compete successfully for tourist business, however. It has never had more than a total of four establishments operating at any one time, and those which were built have mostly been demolished or converted to non-tourist use. The number of rooms available has never exceeded 200. By 1990 only one facility remained. At the time of field research this part of Kailua was almost devoid of tourist accommodations.

Ocean-fronting land has been available along Ali'i Drive (beginning at the Kona Hilton, just south of the village proper). Since the opening of the Old Kona airport in the late 1940s, cottages had been built along this road. It was paved in a timely fashion, later the master planned Keauhou resort became a reality, and this intensified development along its entire six mile length. Keauhou Resort, at the opposite end of Ali'i Drive from Kailua Village, has now been the southern anchor of tourism for 25 years. During this quarter century, the majority of new accommodation facilities been constructed in this area of Kona. The great majority of the accommodation properties extend from the road to the ocean, providing tourists with the capability of viewing the sea and the sunset. Paraphrasing one condo manager who was interviewed: "people want to live on the water...why go across the street"? There are few beaches, however; tourists who want to swim or snorkel must typically drive to the four beaches between Kailua and Keauhou.

TABLE 7.3
Change in Available Accomodation Units in Kona: 1970–1990

	1970	75	80	85	90
KAILUA					
<i>Hotel</i>					
Small	2/ 50	1/ 25			
Medium	3/ 410	4/ 529	4/ 496	3/ 348	1/ 145
Large	1/ 222	1/ 222	1/ 460	1/ 460	2/ 681
<i>Condo</i>					
Small		1/ 40	2/ 62	2/ 65	2/ 45
Medium				1/ 75	1/ 65
Total	6/ 682	7/ 816	7/1018	7/ 948	6/ 936
KUAKINI					
<i>Hotel</i>					
Small	2/ 44	2/ 44	1/ 24		
Medium	1/ 95	1/ 70			
<i>Condo</i>					
Small	1/ 30				1/ 15
Medium		1/ 30		2/ 177	
Total	4/ 169	4/ 144	1/ 24	2/ 177	1/ 15
ALI'I					
<i>Hotel</i>					
Small	3/ 36	2/ 25	2/ 31	1/ 15	1/ 16
Large	1/ 452	4/1783	4/1746	4/1750	3/1297
<i>Condo</i>					
Small	1/ 80	4/ 69	12/ 254	21/ 383	15/ 307
Medium		1/ 57	4/ 472	14/1310	12/1093
Total	5/ 568	11/1934	22/2503	30/3458	31/2713
MAUKA KONA					
<i>Hotel</i>					
Small	3/ 70	3/ 70	2/ 54	1/ 11	2/ 19
Medium				1/ 64	1/ 64
<i>Condo</i>					
Small					1/ 10
Total	3/ 70	3/ 70	2/ 54	2/ 75	4/ 93
KEKAHA					
<i>Hotel</i>					
Medium	1/ 70	1/ 70	1/ 90	1/ 100	1/ 125
TOTAL	18/1531	26/3034	33/3689	52/4748	43/3882

Source: Hawai'i Visitors Bureau *Annual Reports* for the years listed.

Numbers before the slash indicate accomodation properties; those listed after show the total number of accomodation units.

In terms of room units, this area boomed between 1965 and 1975, when four large hotels opened (one closed in the late 1980s and has not reopened). By 1975, the number of facilities available along this coastal road had surpassed the number existing in both the Kailua Village and Kuakini areas. Since then this trend has only become more extreme. The great majority of these facilities are condominiums, functioning as “vacation rentals,” and controlled by property management companies. Between 1970 and 1980 most were either small or rented less than 50 units to tourists. In the 1980s, this changed somewhat, and by 1990 there were almost as many medium-sized facilities as small ones. In terms of rooms available, the total has been far higher for medium-sized condos, even though there are fewer of them. When room units in hotels and condos are combined, the total of this area has accounted for over 60% of the total accommodation available in all of Kona since 1970. This six mile stretch of road has thus been the center of tourist accommodations for over 20 years. However, the fact that the number of facilities along Ali‘i Drive has declined between 1985 and 1990 may serve to indicate that this area, like Kailua Village before it, has become saturated.²³

The Kekaha area is defined as the stretch of coastline extending north of Kailua to the South Kohala border. This part of Kona, along with the southern part of South Kohala, was touted as the "Gold Coast" during the 1960s (Chapter 8). Thus early on, anticipation was high that Kekaha would become a major resort area. This never eventuated, due to a variety of problems, particularly remoteness. The Queen Ka‘ahumanu Highway was constructed through Kekaha into South Kohala to address the lack of transport infrastructure, and promote resort development. Before this road was constructed, one facility did open, in the mid 1960s. Initially, it was accessible only by airplane. To date, this resort remains the only one in Kekaha. During the mid-1980s, numerous developers submitted proposals for large resorts built back of Kekaha's small beaches and stretches of lava bench. These “enclaves” were very similar in nature. Most proposed a large hotel, combined with expansive low density condominiums and a golf course. In all, some 12,296 hotel and condo units were being proposed in 1989 (Hawai‘i Visitors Bureau *Visitor Plant Inventory* 1989, 36) for Kekaha. On maps, it appeared that Kekaha would become the third major zone in Kona (after Kailua Village and Ali‘i Drive) to establish an

TABLE 7.4
Changing Level of Accommodation Quality in Kona

Place	Type	1950	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90
Kailua	B ^a	0	3	3	4	2	1	1	1	0
	M	1	2	4	3	4	5	2	2	2
	D	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	4	4
Kuakini	B	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0
	M	0	0	0	2	2	2	1	1	1
	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Ali'i	B	1	1	2	3	1	1	0	0	1
	M	0	0	0	1	1	3	2	2	2
	D	0	0	0	0	3	8	20	37	28
Mauka Kona	B	2	3	2	2	3	3	2	2	3
	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	D	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Kekaha	D	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Totals, by quality level	B	3	7	7	10	7	6	3	3	4
	M	1	2	4	6	7	10	5	5	5
	D	0	0	0	1	4	10	25	44	34
Total Properties		4	9	11	17	18	26	33	52	43

^a B = Budget; M = Moderate; D = Deluxe

Sources: Thrum's *Annual* (1950–1965); Hawai'i Visitors Bureau *Member Hotels* (1970–1990); Fodor's *Hawai'i* (1970–1990).

accommodation sector. There was a feeling that the "Gold Coast" would finally come into existence. However, as of early 1992, none of these projects had been completed. Only one had even begun construction and this had been halted for lack of funding. Thus it would seem that the second incarnation of the "Gold Coast" will not come to fruition as anticipated.

The final location to be discussed, Mauka Kona, is defined as the upland region inland from the coast, along Old Mamalahoa Highway. This was the initial region where tourists stayed, before the Kona Inn was built. Two small hotels that opened well before the Kona Inn have managed to survive. One has successfully expanded and currently is defined as medium-

sized. Besides these two hotels, however, there have been very few accommodations built for tourists in Mauka Kona, particularly since World War II. According to the 1990 data, a small lodge had opened, but this had already closed by the time field research was conducted in late 1991. The other facility is a condominium that has only a few units available for tourists. This area is quite popular for bed-and-breakfast establishments, however, roughly half are located in Mauka Kona (Endnote 18).

In addition to the types of accommodation facilities and the availability of rooms that have been built in Kona, the quality of facilities can also be analyzed. For Kona, data from guidebooks have been used to complement Hawai'i Visitors Bureau data, and enable an analysis to be conducted on the basis of room price. Guide books sometimes divide accommodation properties into the categories of "budget," "moderate," or "deluxe," based on the average cost of a room. Table 7.4 is constructed around these categories; it shows the differential quality of accommodation development between 1950 and 1990.²⁴ The table clearly shows that Kona's accommodation sector has gone through two stages of upgrading. Between 1950 and 1965, budget hotels were the most numerous type in the region. These were scattered throughout Kailua Village, Ali'i Drive, and Mauka Kona. The Kuakini area contained four of them at the peak of the phase in 1965. After this a number of the budget hotels were either torn down or converted to other uses. Since the late 1970s their number has remained stable, at less than five properties.

The change to moderate quality hotels was brief and never fully completed. They were mostly constructed between the late 1950s and early 1970s. Most were, again, built in Kailua Village, secondarily along Ali'i Drive. As with budget accommodations, these rather quickly declined in number after reaching a peak. About a handful have continued to operate since the late 1970s.

Together, the table shows clearly that most of the budget and moderate quality accommodations were constructed in the Kailua Village and Kuakini areas. As mentioned, many of these were ultimately demolished or converted to non-tourist uses. For the years shown in the table, there were 14 hotel properties that were either already in existence or were constructed in these two areas between 1950 and 1965.²⁵ Only three of these remain today as lodging

establishments for tourists.²⁶ Thus, only about 20% of the accommodations in Kona have been budget or moderate quality level since the late 1970s.

The second upgrade, to deluxe quality accommodations, began to occur at the same time as the development of moderate quality facilities. As of 1975, there existed 10 facilities at each quality level. Moderate quality establishments declined in number after that year, but deluxe quality accommodations more than doubled. Comparison of Tables 7.3 and 7.4 shows that this change corresponded to the condominium boom that occurred during the late 1970s and early 1980s, mainly along Ali'i Drive. Since that time there have been almost no facilities constructed in Kona that were less than deluxe-quality. By 1992, Kona could therefore be considered a rather upscale (and correspondingly expensive) destination for tourists, in terms of the quality level of accommodation facilities from which they must choose.

Summing up the accommodation sector, the number of properties in Kona was initially very small right after World War II. The 1950s and early 1960s then saw construction of numerous small hotels, nearly all located in Kailua Village. A scale threshold was surpassed in the late 1960s, as plans for the Keauhou resort came to fruition, and large hotels along Ali'i Drive became part of the coastal landscape. Small hotels declined during and after this time and by 1990 few remained open. By the late 1970s, the stretch of coastline makai of Ali'i Drive came to completely dominate the region as the center of tourist accommodations, after many deluxe condominium units were also constructed. This area may also have become saturated with facilities by 1985, as the number of facilities accommodating tourists has declined afterwards. During the late 1980s it appeared Kekaha would be the third major area to develop, but developer's plans have fallen through for a variety of reasons, and no new facilities had opened by the time field research was conducted in 1992. Kona has thus found itself in a period of "maturity" (see Chapter 9), with existing deluxe facilities slowly aging, mostly gracefully, since the mid-1980s.

FOOD (AND DRINK)

In addition to finding accomodation at the destination, the other necessity for tourists is food (and drink). For Kona, food as a tourist resource category has had three properties: having meals with or prepared by Hawaiians; eating locally grown food, particularly fruits and coffee; and, since World War II, eating at the restaurants that have opened (mainly) as a response to the increasing number of tourists.

The earliest visitors to Kona, on vessels or exploration or commerce, seemed to trade heavily for food. Once it was obtained they then cooked it themselves. Their observations of and interactions with Hawaiians at meals have already been described. Later in the 19th century, tourists sometimes had to rely on the hospitality of Hawaiians in order to get a meal. This was particularly true when they traveled overland through Ka'u between Kilauea and Kona. Often food in these houses was sparse, and dinner might consist of a hastily cooked chicken (Anderson 1865, 109). Bird was one of the few tourists who liked eating Hawaiian food in Hawaiian fashion. Later in the century, when Hawaiians rented rooms in their homes to tourists, having a Hawaiian meal became a part of the overall experience. Musick stayed in such a home for a night in Ho'okena just before 1900 and effused that he had eaten a "genuine Hawaiian supper." This consisted of "a pig baked in the Hawaiian *imu*, poi, tropical fruits, fish, bread, butter, tea, and coffee" (Musick 1898, 218).

For travelers in both the 19th and 20th centuries, a far more commonly described experience was eating locally grown foods. Certain fruits, particularly breadfruit and to a lesser extent *ti* root and *'awa*, were notable for their Hawaiianess—i.e., they were unique to Hawai'i and the South Pacific. Other fruits were remarkable simply because they were tropical. These included coconuts (and drinking coconut milk), bananas, guavas, and pineapples. Having a steak made from the meat of a wild bull, the descendent of cattle brought by Vancouver, was also notable.

The two foods local to Kona that developed a reputation with tourists were oranges and coffee. Twain (1966, 206) pronounced that: "There are no finer oranges in the world than those produced in the district of Kona," while Cracraft (in Korn 1958, 71) stated that: "I never tasted

such oranges in my life, so perfectly ripe and teeming with juice." Orange production seems to have declined dramatically during the 20th century, for virtually no travel narrative described them. This was not the case with Kona coffee, which has been commented upon almost continuously by tourists. Most spoke of seeing it being grown in the landscape, as was discussed in Chapter 6. Twain (1967, 206), however, asserted that he thought "Kona coffee has a richer flavor than any other, be it grown where it may and call it by what name you please."

In the 20th century, and particularly after World War II when tourism began to develop, local foods, with the exception of coffee, do not seem to have made a major contribution to Kona's identity as a tourist region. Even though Kona has an reputation as a sport fishing Mecca, for example, it does not really have a corresponding reputation as a sea food center. Thus, as the tourism industry developed, what occurred was an increase in the number of restaurants, serving an ever-wider variety of food, but not much of it was either grown in Kona or was part of the traditional Hawaiian or immigrant ethnic cuisine.

With respect to eating in restaurants, travel narratives indicate that there have been some in Kailua at least since the 1890s. Musick (1898, 225) described a young Scottish merchant who was also running a restaurant. Most of the other early restaurants seem to have been Chinese. Schnack's (1915) guidebook noted that two were operating in Kailua during that year. Morrill (1919, 100) described a meal at a restaurant by the sea, implying a certain astonishment at being able to eat coconut pie and coconut ice cream at such a remote location as Kailua. In total, however, there seem to have been few restaurants in the district until the 1950s. Several of the others that were operating were part of a hotel, but, besides the Kona Inn, there was no mention of them in travel narratives.

As Kailua developed into the center of tourism for the district during the 1950s, this situation began to change.²⁷ Right along with the increase in hotels came an increase in the number of restaurants. This is shown in Table 7.5.²⁸ The data reveal, first of all, that there has been a huge increase in the number of restaurants throughout the district since 1960; from seven in that year to 94 in 1990. The spatial breakdown shows that the Kailua Village area was the first where restaurants began to open. This occurred between 1960 and 1970, when the number

TABLE 7.5
Restaurants in Kona, by Location

	1960	65	70	75	80	85	90
Kailua	3	9	21	18	20	25	31
Kuakini	0	0	1	2	4	6	9
Palani	0	0	0	1	5	10	12
Old Industrial	0	0	0	1	2	7	9
Ali'i	0	0	3	7	9	13	12
Mauka Kona	4	3	3	2	9	12	17
Kekaha	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Total	7	12	28	31	49	74	94

Source: Hawai'i Island *Yellow Pages* for years shown.

increased from just three to 21. A decade of stagnation followed, when the number actually declined slightly. Between 1980 and 1990, however, there was another period of development, when the number increased from 20 to 31.

Other areas of Kailua were slower to develop. The area along Kuakini Highway had no restaurants until about 1970. Since then there has been a slow increase in the number, to nine as of 1990. The shopping areas along Palani Road and in the light industrial section were not built until the early 1970s, hence their development is more recent. Palani Road mauka of central Kailua has become the central shopping district for locals, hence the restaurants there serve a dual clientele (see Chapter 9). The greatest expansion in this area of Kailua occurred between 1980 and 1985, because of an increase in the amount of available shopping center space. The Old Industrial area caters far more to locals working there than to tourists, though some of the restaurants do advertise in tourist promotional literature. The increase in restaurants in this part of town is probably more indicative of demand by locals, however.

Outside of Kailua, the data in Table 7.5 show that Ali'i Drive has had a slow increase in the number of restaurants. This has occurred as the accomodation facilities in Keauhou resort, which includes a shopping center, have been constructed, and the condominium units along the road have been put in. The area reached the highest number of restaurants in 1985 (13); this

TABLE 7.6
Cocktail Lounges and Nightclubs in Kona

	1960	65	70	75	80	85	90
Kailua	0	1	6	4	5	10	7
Kuakini	0	0	1	1	2	2	1
Palani	0	0	0	1	2	1	1
Old Industrial	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Ali'i	1	0	1	0	2	4	1
Mauka Kona	1	0	2	0	0	1	3
Kekaha				none			
Total	2	1	10	6	12	19	13

Source: Hawai'i Island *Yellow Pages* for the years listed.

dropped slightly in 1990 (to 12). Mauka Kona, however, grew steadily between 1975 and 1990. The area had 17 restaurants in 1990. As with the Old Industrial area, this growth is more indicative of demand by locals than by tourists (as determined by field inspection). Lastly, the Kekaha area had four restaurants as of 1990. Three of these were at Honokohau harbor, indicating demand by locals (particularly fishing and tour boat operators) as well as tourists.

In terms of variety, as mentioned above there has not been much emphasis on serving local food to tourists. In the Mauka Kona and the Old Industrial areas, restaurants serving plate lunches and saimin are more numerous, but that is the extent of local cuisine. For ethnic Hawaiian food the tourist must attend a luau (see section below on entertainment). The restaurants in Kailua Village now serve a wide variety of foods, but these are standardized variations of typical American dishes. That is, steaks, sea foods, ethnic cuisines, all are served in abundance. Overall, the eating experience for tourists in Kona is mostly divorced from its locational base.

While the consumption of alcohol is hardly a necessity for tourists, establishments that serve liquor are discussed here because many of them are restaurants as well. The data shown in Table 7.6 thus overlap that in Table 7.5 somewhat (the numbers were obtained from different *Yellow Pages* categories—"cocktail lounges" and "nightclubs"). This table does not attempt to

show exhaustively every establishment that over the years has served liquor or had entertainment. Rather, it highlights those establishments that distinguished themselves from ordinary restaurants and advertised this in the *Yellow Pages*.²⁹

The numbers in Table 7.6 indicate that the increase in the number of nightclubs and cocktail lounges has nowhere near matched that growth of restaurants. Furthermore, it might be the case that a peak was reached, at 19 establishments, in 1985. As will be seen in Chapter 8, the lack of development of this resource sector has implications for the type of destination Kona has become, and for its stage in the resort life cycle. With regard to location, the table shows that since 1965 most of the drinking establishments have been in Kailua Village. Yet field research confirmed what is obvious in the table: Kailua is not a party town. Just the opposite is true, the town is nearly as dark and quiet by 10 PM as Mark Twain accused it of being back in 1867. There does not seem to be any trend changing this. Along Ali'i Drive there were four drinking establishments in 1985, but only one in 1990. The Mauka Kona area had three in 1990, but field inspection revealed these were primarily for locals. None were advertised for the Kekaha area.

ANCILLARY COMMERCIAL ENTERPRISE SERVICES (ACES)

The final resource component of the tourism industry is the set of ancillary commercial enterprise services (ACES). These are businesses that supply tourists with goods and services. Smith (1988) has typologized such shops into "tiers." "Tier 1" businesses cater mainly to tourists, while "tier 2" establishments also serve the needs of locals. Because this chapter concentrates on tourist resources, the focus will be primarily on tier 1 shops.

For Kona, there are two types of ACES provided to tourists. The first enables tourists to have experiences. Businesses in this category essentially exploit commercially, and/or develop, the local environmental, social and cultural resources. Within Kona, there have been three types of experiences for which tourists can utilize business services. The first discussed is explorational in nature—businesses provide rental vehicles and tours that enable tourists to successfully explore Kona's sea, land and aircapes. The second type enables the tourist to participate in sports and physical conditioning. Deep sea game fishing is the major component, though there are a variety of land sports and fitness centers available, as well. The third type is

constituted by entertainment, or nightlife, experiences. This category is represented primarily by the provision of Polynesian reviews at the major hotels.

The second major component of the ACES consists of facilities where tourists purchase tangible products. Several sub-categories were induced: clothing, accessories, souvenirs, sporting goods, photo and perishables. Real estate agencies, a shop where tourists purchase a piece of the destination itself, will also be discussed.

EXPERIENTIAL SERVICES

Exploring Kona

Once tourists reached Kona, whether by ship, horse or, later, auto or plane, they have required transportation resources in order to successfully explore the region. These resources have changed over time, and so has the potential to explore Kona.

The earliest visitors, those arriving before about 1850, had to travel through Kona on foot unless they chose to go by canoe.³⁰ Either way, the steep slopes in south and central Kona, and desert conditions north of Kailua, inhibited much of the desire to travel inland. After 1850 the availability of horses increased considerably and visitors rode extensively through the forested mauka regions that had been too difficult to penetrate on foot. As mentioned, the opportunity to explore Kona was definitely the greatest during the latter half of the 19th century and first decade of the 20th, when riding on horseback was the dominant mode of travel. Trails criss-crossed the mountain slopes as well as the coastal regions, there was a lack of human-made barriers, and the local population, both Hawaiian and immigrant settlers, was generally receptive to meeting visitors and permitting them to ride over their private property.

While automobile travel helped to open up Kona to visitors arriving on circle-island tours, it also constrained the area which tourists could explore the region. Autos required roads, not trails, and so the auto tourist was limited to traveling on roads. In particular, tourists could mainly drive on the public roads which the territory and county had constructed or upgraded; they had much less access to the many private roads built for local travel through the coffee and

TABLE 7.7
Vehicle Rental Proprietorships in Kona

	1960	65	70	75	80	85	90
AUTO^a	6	12	21	16	20	18	16
Independents	5	7	15	7	8	7	8
Hawai'i Chains	0	0	1	2	3	2	1
National Chains	1	5	5	7	9	9	7
MOPED	0	0	0	0	0	3	4
TOTAL	6	12	21	16	20	21	20

Source: Hawai'i Island *Yellow Pages* for years listed.

^a Includes truck, van and 4-wheel drive rentals, but not establishments that lease vehicles.

ranching regions. This constraint further tended to limit tourist exploration to the coastal areas, the circle-island Mamalahoa Highway, and the few roads that connected these. As mentioned with regard to experiencing scenery, the situation has not been improved since tourism became the dominant industry in Kona.³¹

Although the area tourists can explore in Kona is small compared to the total area of the district, distances between places of importance in Kona and in the other Big Island districts has required that tourists rent vehicles, usually passenger autos, to successfully get around. Table 7.7 traces the expansion of rental vehicle businesses in Kona between 1960 and 1990. The data show that there was a dramatic increase in rental vehicle proprietorships between 1960 and 1970, but this has remained constant. With respect to auto rentals, independent businesses expanded greatly in number during the 1960s, but many were no longer open by 1975. Hawaiian-owned auto rental chains reached their greatest number, three, in 1980. Since then, two of these companies have gone out of the car rental business, focusing on group tours.

Since 1980, there has been an expansion of the types of vehicles that could be rented in Kona. With respect to autos, vehicles with off-road capability such as dune buggies, 4-wheel drives, vans, and pickup trucks (having high clearance) have become available. This variety has

enabled the tourist to explore more of the region, particularly along the coast, than is possible by renting a passenger car. Mopeds are also now increasingly available.

For tourists who do not wish to explore by driving, there has come into existence a large number of businesses that provide tours. The expansion of this sector is shown in Table 7.8. Land, air and ocean tours of Kona have been offered since 1970. The lack of independent capability to explore Kona by automobile is in some measure countered by the variety of tour types.

The data for land tour companies show that this sector, like auto rentals, increased between 1960 and 1970, but then declined in number between 1970 and 1975. However, unlike auto rentals, this sector continued to expand in the ensuing 15 years. There were 21 companies advertising land based tours during 1990. They provided these in a variety of vehicle types. In the first half of the period covered, many of the tours were conducted by taxi companies for small parties of tourists. This type of small group tour would seem to reflect a continuity with the circle-island tours emanating from Hilo in the 1920s and 1930s. Such tours are still provided today, though for the past decade a more stylish vehicle type has been promoted for small group tours—the limousine. Most companies, however, use vans or specialized buses in order to operate tours at a larger scale. Guidebook descriptions of these tours indicate that they last either a half or whole day, and focus on both the sightseeing of Kona's cultural landscape attractions and general exploring of the region by road. They go to few places that the more independent tourist does not also reach in a rented auto.

Beginning between 1975 and 1980, a variety of "specialty" tours have become available. These have focused on getting off the beaten track and/or using a variety of alternative transport methods. Horseback riding is now possible, enabling exploration of the high mauka country on several of the large private ranches. Contemporary tourists can thus again see some of the mountain landscapes that so fascinated visitors a century ago. Hunting trips on some ranches are also available. There are guided treks along remote stretches of coastline, as well as tours on bicycle of Kona's lower mauka public roads. These "specialty" tours have opened up Kona to

TABLE 7.8
The Tour Provision Sector in Kona

	1960	65	70	75	80	85	90
LAND	3	6	10	7	12	17	21
Sightseeing ^a	3	6	10	7	11	15	15
Specialty ^b	0	0	0	0	1	2	6
AIR^c	0	0	2	1	3	4	7
OCEAN	1	2	3	8	12	14	29
Sightseeing ^d	1	2	3	6	8	6	15
Diving ^e	0	0	0	2	4	8	14
TOTAL	4	8	15	15	27	35	57

Source: Hawai'i Island *Yellow Pages* for the years listed.

- a Includes tours by taxi, limousine, van, etc. that concentrate on explorational sightseeing.
- b Includes tours which have a particular focus, such as hunting or ecotourism, and also those tours which use alternative means of transportation, such as bicycles, horses, or hiking.
- c Includes both airplane and helicopter tours.
- d Includes tours that provide an ocean recreation experience, such as snorkeling or snuba, but where a major focus is a cruise along the Kona Coast. Also includes whale watching tours.
- e Focuses on scuba diving, though other types of equipment are also typically provided.

a certain extent and have provided tourists with the opportunity of purchasing a broader range of exploration activities.

Tours over Kona by airplane or helicopter serve the same function. These tours began in the late 1960s and the number of businesses providing them doubled during the 1980s. Though these tours originate within Kona's borders, most of them advertise their destinations as either Kilauea volcano or the valleys forming the North Kohala coastline. Kona's scenery, even Hualālai volcano, would seem to be uncompetitive with these other locations, from the vantage point of a small airplane or helicopter.

Ocean tours typically offer both the chance to view the coastline from off-shore and the ability to explore areas where coral communities have developed or where ocean bottom rock formations are especially interesting. The number of tours operating increased slowly from 1960 to 1985 but then doubled in a five-year period. As of 1990 there were 29 sightseeing and diving tours operating out of Kona. It is notable that this is considerably more than the 21 land tours

that can be taken. There has obviously been a distinct shift in the value of ocean resources held by tourists, and their demand for oceanic experiences was being met by entrepreneurs.³² Given the present state of resource development, it may be speculated that oceanic resources are now more important than, or at least as important as, land resources are for contemporary tourists.

The types of craft available for ocean tours has been at least as varied as the type of auto available for land tours. At least one glass bottomed boat has usually been in operation between 1960 and 1990. There have existed surface cruises in different types of motorized and sailing craft, everything from zodiac inflatables to luxury sailing yachts.

Initially, tours originated exclusively from Kailua Bay, and the primary destination was the Cook Monument at Kealakekua Bay. This type of tour often included narration about historical sites that were being passed. To a certain extent, this was an equivalent of a land tour in an auto, although the chance to swim and snorkel in Kealakekua Bay were also typically included. The majority of types of ocean tours, dinner cruises being the main exception, have involved more than passive sightseeing.

After Honokohau Harbor opened about 1970, many operations shifted base away from Kailua Bay to take advantage of the improved facilities, and ocean tours now typically originate from there. Located several miles north of Kailua, this harbor has helped enable the North Kona coastline to be opened up, particularly for diving tours. A series of mooring buoys, placed to prevent damage to coral, indicates that there are 20 preferred diving spots between the Kona-Kohala border at Anaeho'omalu Bay and the Old Kona Airport just north of Kailua Village. There are an additional 13 buoys marking dive sites along inaccessible stretches of coastline between Keauhou and Kealakekua Bay.³³

Overall, between the tour boats that focus on showing off coastal scenery, particularly between Kailua and Kealakekua Bay, and the dive tours that enable tourists to explore many underwater sites between the North Kona-South Kohala border and Kealakekua Bay, the ocean resources would now seem far more accessible to tourists than land resources. Only the coastal waters south of Kealakekua Bay would seem to be unexploited, and therefore in a reserve status.

One final type of tour service is a booking agency, sometimes called an "activity center." These businesses typically do not run their own tour operations, but link up with others, enabling tourists to choose from a variety of tours. Activity centers in Kona are often strategically located at desks in shopping malls and hotels, i.e., places where they have the greatest accessibility to tourists. In the past, certain activity centers seem to have handled nearly all the bookings for sport fishing boats, but this arrangement seems to have broken down. The number of activity centers has been stable, about seven at any one time, since the mid-1970s.

Participation in Sports

In addition to exploring Kona, tourists are able to enjoy their stay through participation in a variety of sports and physical fitness activities. Some of these are done in combination with exploration; hunting, hiking, snorkeling and scuba diving have been mentioned in this regard. An additional set, however, have little or no explorational component. The most highly developed of these in Kona is undoubtedly sport fishing. Tourists have also had the opportunity to participate in the rather wide variety of sports typically associated with tropical resorts. Some of these, such as swimming and snorkeling, are either done through tours or through use of community beach and water resources. A tourist industry is not required to develop resources for these sports, except to provide equipment (discussed below in the section on shopping facilities). Other sports and activities—racquetball, miniature golf, use of fitness centers—do require development of facilities; tourists share these with the community. The two sports that have required development of facilities resources especially for tourists are tennis and golf.

In Kona, this set has been the most important has been deep sea game fishing. This has been an extremely important part of tourist development in Kona, for the coastal waters to the north and south of Kailua represent one of the most important game fishing areas in the world. Kona's game fish resource seems to have been "discovered" around 1920; Sabin (1921, 37) noted that the district had become a "rendezvous for game fishermen." Species of large tuna were the most important sport fish of that time. The region's reputation was spread quickly by the print media; by the 1930s nearly all the promotional literature mentioned that Kona was a world center for big game fishing. During these years a ritual developed surrounding the arrival of the

fishing boats after the day's outing. If a catch had been made the ship's horn would be blown as Kailua Bay was entered. This informed the tourists and townspeople that fishermen had had success, and a crowd would gather at the pier to see the fish unloaded and placed on the scales for weighing. The persons who had made the catch would then typically pose next to the fish, which was often longer than they were tall. In photo books of Hawai'i, this image has been one of the most common chosen to represent Kona.

The number of boats available to tourists initially grew slowly after World War II, mainly because of the lack of an adequate harbor. This situation was ultimately corrected by the State, which built Honokōhau Harbor a few miles north of Kailua village; it opened in 1970. Since then, the number of fishing boats has expanded dramatically. Data taken from the Hawai'i Island *Yellow Pages* show that the total number of individual boats advertising went from eight in 1975 to 61 in 1990. Employees at activity centers who were interviewed during field research had the opinion that the total number was well over 100 boats.³⁴ Thus game fishing, like other components of the ocean recreation industry, is expanding rapidly in Kona. As of the period of field research there was no indication that this rise in popularity had yet led to over-fishing. With the great proportion of boats moored at Honokohau Harbor, however, Kailua pier lost the ritual of fish weigh-ins. Most fish are now brought onto shore and weighed in an isolated location and this popular aspect of the fishing resource has been lost.

Tennis facilities are of course fairly simple to provide. Most tennis courts in Kona are located on hotel or condominium grounds; tourists simply play tennis wherever they are staying. One hotel specifically advertises itself as a tennis resort and has a larger than average number of courts available, to the public and tourists staying elsewhere, as well as to its own guests. One condo facility also is indirectly named as a tennis center.³⁵

In the past, there have been plans to make Kona into an internationally known tennis center. When Keauhou resort was first being built, one of the heads of development proposed construction of "a first rate tennis operation" (Cook 1967). This plan later grew, in the hands of another of the developers, into a tennis stadium. It was constructed and served as the venue for the 1976 Avis Cup challenge (Crichtlow 1976); the timing was set to match the opening of one

of the condo subdivisions of the resort (Rothrock 1981). The condo project, however, never really got off the ground. By the time of Rothrock's article, five years later, "the stadium has fallen prey to vandals, thieves and nature." It seems never to have been used since and Kona has never achieved any kind of reputation as a tennis center.

In contrast to tennis facilities, golf courses require large tracts of land and large amounts of water. Both of these have been hard to come by in Kona. Additionally, placement of planned golf courses has been controversial with Kona residents. Hence only two had been built by the time field research was conducted, though a third was under construction.

The perception by residents that golf courses were necessary to attract tourists to Kona dates to the mid-1950s. The developer Henry Kaiser proposed building one as part of a project that was to be constructed on land at the Old Kona Airport (*HSB* 1955). This project never materialized. The next year, there was a four-point development program that was put forth and backed by a large number of community organizations. One of the four points was construction of a golf course (*HA* 1956).³⁶ This golf course was never built, either.

In the 1960s, however, two courses were constructed. The first of these was a nine-hole course attached to a hotel built along Kuakini Highway just back of Kailua village.³⁷ This hotel, however, was only in business for about five years. When it closed, the golf course was abandoned. The second golf course was built at about the same time as part of the master planned Keauhou resort. It was laid out over a lava flow and getting the grass to grow on essentially bare rock was perceived as something of a horticultural success story at the time.³⁸ This course has remained open since the late 1960s and has recently been expanded to 36 holes.

Other golf courses that were subsequently planned in the late 1960s and early 1970s met with extreme levels of community opposition and were never built (chapter 9). A decade then passed without any serious plans for more golf courses being advanced by developers. In the mid-1980s this began to change when the mega-resorts in the Kekaha area of North Kona were put forward. All of these projects included at least one golf course, and all used the argument that the project could not be successful if a golf course were not permitted. Community opposition to the resort projects in their entirety was again fierce and, as of early 1992, had

prevented all of these golf courses from being constructed. One golf course, not associated with hotel and condo construction, was being built on former ranch land along the Mamalahoa Highway on the western ridge of Hualālai. This course opened after field research had been completed.

In 1990, a third phase of plans for golf courses began as a wave of development proposals swept over the entire Big Island during the year. At that time there were 13 courses extant on the entire island, but there were plans and/or proposals for between 31 and 53 more, depending on the source (Breedon 1991; Smith 1990). Most of these projects were for stand alone courses not associated with hotels. The clientele was to be predominantly Japanese tourists, who would buy memberships for upwards of \$50,000.

This developmental wave had taken county and state government officials by surprise and some officials had begun stating in public that there would be a need for more regulations and permits required before a golf course could be built (see Smith 1990b).³⁹ From a tourist resource perspective, the cross-cultural nature of these proposals threw into question whether these golf courses could be considered recreational resources at all. Walsh (1992) documented the process involved, in Japan, of obtaining a membership in a private golf course. The nature of the process threw grave doubt into whether many of the golf courses were more than quick land development projects.⁴⁰

During field research it could not be precisely determined how many of these stand alone golf course proposals were intended for Kona. Public meetings were, at that time, being held for a course near Pāpā, near the South Kona/Ka'u border. New plans for a course just above Kealahou Bay had progressed to the point where an environmental impact statement had been prepared and disseminated for public comment. The Kona community was again vigorously challenging these proposals, and the construction outlook was highly uncertain either course, as well as others only in the proposal stage.⁴¹

As a resource, golf has not yet developed fully for tourists visiting Kona. The community has put up considerable opposition to nearly all of the courses proposed, and thus the necessary permits to build have been denied. With the onslaught of permit requests that

occurred around 1990, it remains to be seen whether the Kona landscape will become more oriented towards providing golfing experiences for Japanese playing on private courses.

Entertainment

Entertainment is the third type of experiential resource that has been available to tourists visiting Kona. Seeing a performance of the hula is of course the quintessential entertainment experience in Hawai'i. Those early visitors who saw "authentic" performances were mentioned in Chapter 4. The missionary Bingham (1981, 123) also described the performances he witnessed in some detail. The last tourist to witness a non-commercial hula in Kona may have been London (1917, 223); she and husband Jack saw some local women dancing while attending a luau.

By the 1930s, the Kona Inn was putting on semi-commercial hulas for its guests. McSpadden witnessed one such performance; it was held on a Saturday night in a grass hut on the hotel grounds. The moon was out, the surf was "murmuring," and singers were leading the dancers. He commented: "It did not require much stretch of the imagination to transport oneself back a hundred years or so to the Hawai'i of the Past" (McSpadden 1939, 108). Afterwards his group gave money to the teenage girls who had danced.

Since that time it has probably been continuously possible for tourists to see hula dancing at a Kona hotel, particularly as part of a nightly luau. Guidebooks typically point out which of the major hotels is providing these shows. Yet the descriptions in these sources would suggest there is little that is unique about seeing the hula performed in Kona. Bone (1977, 426), for example, recommending one hotel venue that he had liked, noted: "On the Kona Coast, there is one big luau/Polynesian extravaganza for folks who have not yet seen a luau/Polynesian extravaganza."

Hearing music has been the other major entertainment experience available to tourists visiting Kona. Perhaps because of the small local population during the early years of tourism, there never seem to have been many places where this was possible. Two restaurant/taverns were described as providing tourists with worthwhile musical entertainment during the 1950s and 1960s; they were the Kona Steak House and "Akamai Barnes" (Doyle 1957, 30; Krauss

1963, 111; Frommer's *Hawai'i* 1968, 169). It was difficult to discern that Kona has ever developed much in the way of musical entertainment since that time. *Yellow Pages* categories were inconclusive, while guidebook writers usually did not display much enthusiasm for this resource. They noted a few venues, some in hotels, some in clubs, without expending more words than necessary in description. Overall, in any given year there exist a few places featuring rock, disco, social dance music, karaoke, or Hawaiian nostalgia. However, Kona does not seem to have ever had many local bands, and has not participated much in the Hawaiian music renaissance that has been occurring since the 1980s. Thus, compared to exploration and sports participation, however, this resource sector has been quite underdeveloped. Kona is a daytime destination for most tourists.

SHOPPING

The second major type of ancillary commercial enterprise service in Kona are the stores where tourists can shop. These stores serve three major functions. First, they provide products tourists can buy or rent that permit them to enhance their trip as they are taking it. Second, they sell souvenirs, which—in the future—will provide them with memories, or which they can give as gifts. Third, they sell investments such as real estate, which enable tourists to own a piece of the destination, and to become residents if they so choose. While these functions are distinguishable in the abstract, separating individual shops of the first two types is impossible because of the product mix often carried. Also, such items as clothing and jewelry are both trip enhancer products and souvenirs. Hence, the shop types discussed in this section were separated on a substantive, rather than functional, basis.

The development of the shopping sector resource for Kailua, based on data obtained from listings in the Hawai'i Island *Yellow Pages*, is shown in Table 7.9.⁴² Perusal from left to right indicates the magnitude of the change that has occurred in Kailua as tourism has increased. Six types of shops are listed but the town had only two of them in 1960, and these were mostly souvenir shops. By 1990 there were well over 150 shops from which tourists could choose to make purchases. The years showing marked increases signal the opening of the major malls and shopping centers, in which the great majority of tourist shops are placed. The data also show

that three types of shops are particularly numerous. These are clothing, accessories, and souvenir shops. The other three—sporting goods, perishables and photo—are far fewer in number.

Clothing

Clothing shops have been particularly numerous since the late 1970s. The data from which the numbers in the row were obtained were also sorted by type of clothing shop. In the 1970s, the *Yellow Pages* categories of "sportswear" and "Hawaiian wear," taken together, were slightly more numerous than the "women's wear." This reversed in 1980, however, and since then "women's wear" shops have been the most numerous. There were 21 advertised in 1990, as opposed to 15 "sportswear" shops.

Field research revealed that two local themes have emerged in the sale of clothing in Kailua. The most broadly based is the placement of the word "Kona" on shirts. Merchants interviewed during field research noted that this locational term was now more popular than "Hawai'i", while "Kailua" had hardly caught on at all. This would seem to indicate that ("at long last"—from the industry's perspective), Kona has come out of obscurity at least somewhat and has developed a regional identity. The second theme in clothing retailing was to sell items related to triathalons. Within the world of athletics, Kona's regional identity as the home of the Ironman Triathlon is perhaps now secure. This has had the usual transfer to retailing. The "sportswear" advertising category for the Kailua area now comes close to actually referring to clothing worn for sports participation, rather than being a euphemism for casual wear. There were grades of authenticity to this type of clothing, with "Official Ironman" products promoted by those shops having access to this line.

A third trend seen in the advertising classifications was the decline in shops listed under the category of "Hawaiian wear." This category had 10 shops listed in 1980, but none a decade later. In Kailua's tourist shops there seemed to be plenty of this clothing available, but the lack of promotion may indicate the Aloha shirt and other types of clothing associated with Hawai'i are now either suffering from image fatigue or are being dominated by the newer themes just described.

TABLE 7.9
Store Types in Kailua

	1960	65	70	75	80	85	90
Clothing^a	2	5	16	18	38	48	53
Accessories^b	0	3	3	6	23	25	32
Souvenirs^c	8	10	12	21	41	33	49
Sporting Goods	0	0	0	0	3	7	5
Photo	0	0	2	4	2	5	9
Perishables^d	0	2	2	2	4	5	8
TOTAL	10	20	35	51	113	123	156

Source: Hawai'i Island *Yellow Pages* for years listed.

^a Clothing includes both men's and women's, sportswear, Hawaiian wear, hats, and swimsuits.

^b Accessories includes jewelry, perfume, handbags, luggage and sunglasses.

^c Souvenir shops are aggregated from these categories of shops: antiques, art galleries, books, candy, crafts, curios, gifts, Hawaiian goods, *lauhala*, nuts, pottery, souvenirs, and wood carving.

^d Perishables include fruit shops (such as papayas and pineapples, that ship the product out of Hawai'i) and florists.

Accessories

Accessories shops are defined as those that sell wearable items such as jewelry, perfume, and sunglasses. Shops specializing in handbags and luggage were also placed here. These shops were initially rather scarce in Kailua. That changed suddenly in 1980, when the number of them nearly quadrupled over the 1975 total. In Kailua, accessories as a category is dominated by one particular type of shop: the jewelry store. Of the 23 accessories shops in existence in 1980, 18 sold jewelry. An even higher percentage held in 1990, when 30 of the 32 accessories shops were advertised under jewelry.

Jewelry obviously will last long after the trip is over, thus has something in common with more standard types of souvenirs. Salespeople and owners interviewed had mixed opinions on whether jewelry is in fact a type of souvenir. Some said "no" unequivocally. Others thought items made from materials such as shell or coral, and to a lesser extent scrimshaw, were associated with the tropics, and this reminded people of their trip to Kona, and to Hawai'i. Jewelry made from these materials did not dominate store displays, however, most was made of

gold or silver, and many items contained gemstones. These did not have any clear association with Hawai'i or Kona, and some merchants stated explicitly that writing a place name on a piece of jewelry didn't work as a marketing technique.⁴³ An opinion sometimes voiced in interviews was that it was the value of the jewelry that was important; that the trip to Kona was associated with the expensiveness of the purchase. This would suggest that there is a positive correlation in relation to the quality of a vacation trip and the mementoes tourists purchase by which to remember it. Perhaps a trip to Hawai'i, and to Kona, is still so highly valued that only an item that transcends the usual definition of "souvenir" will do as a memento. The fact that so many jewelry shops survive in Kailua indicates there is a sizable demand for this type of product.

Souvenirs

The third type of shop that is well represented in Kailua is the souvenir shop. This type was aggregated from *Yellow Pages* listings under: antiques, art galleries, books, candy, crafts, curios, gifts, Hawaiian goods, lauhala, nuts, pottery, souvenirs, and wood carving. Souvenir shops dominated the small shopping areas of Kailua in the 1960s, but since 1970 they have been slightly outnumbered by clothing shops for most of the years listed in Table 7.9. The numbers of shops across this type increased steadily except for 1985, when there was a conspicuous drop that was not matched by corresponding drops in either the clothing or accessory categories. The reason for this is unknown.

For the souvenir category, there was no dominance by any one type of shop, the way jewelry shops have dominated accessories. The *Yellow Pages* category of "gift shops," was however, the most common way to advertise souvenirs. The level of detail required to adequately describe this category is beyond the scope of this dissertation; suffice to say that field research found a wide range of quality in products for sale. Everything from stereotypic Hawaiian kitsch to exquisite locally made and/or imported handicrafts was available.

One theme that is important to trace, however, is the degree of localness in products. As the original destination for explorers and traders in the 18th and 19th century, the material culture of Hawaiians in Kona (discussed in Chapter 5) provided the basis for early souvenirs. Sailors involved with trade for provisions also exchanged small presents with Hawaiians, but

this practice mostly died out with the shift of the Hawaiian royalty to Honolulu. After 1820, and the demise of traditional Hawaiian religion, presents could be exchanged for small human idols (Ellis 1927, 128). A souvenir for early tourists, showing definitively that one had visited Kona, was a piece of the rock Captain Cook had been killed upon. Ellis (1927, 128) also described an excursion made by friends to obtain some fragments from this rock. Later in the century, Hill (1856, 168) also noted he took some rocks from the site as souvenirs.

After this, tourists made no notes of souvenirs obtained in Kona, neither did pre-World War II guidebooks. In the 1950s, however, some guide books (Clark 1956, 340) and feature articles began to describe the types of shops that were springing up in Kailua. Doyle (1957, 7), for example, noted that shopping in Kailua was "fun", because of all the Hawai'i-made items that could be obtained. These included wood carvings made from koa and 'ohia, and Hawaiian items such as miniature poi pounders, drums, and different kinds of "ali'i symbols." Shell jewelry was in abundance, as well as *lauhala* mats and hats. Coral was brought up from the ocean bottom by children, bleached, then sold. In addition to local items, imports were plentiful. These included Indian saris, Italian mosaic jewelry, Hong Kong baskets, Japanese pottery and glass fish-net floats, and Chinese broaches.

From Doyle's examples, it would seem that Kailua's shopping district developed in step with the accomodation sector, and initially sold a combination of Hawaiian and tropicana items that might be considered typical souvenirs for a developing tropical resort town. Perusal of many guide books and the *Yellow Pages* listings indicated that since then there have not developed any categories of locally made souvenirs. Field inspection of shops established the varieties of clothing mentioned above; it has also been noted that Kona coffee was now being sold locally as a food product. There were in addition a number of shops that carried arts and craft items made by local artists, and clothes designed in Kona. However, the overall impression was that Kailua's souvenir base was not distinctive from other places in Hawai'i where tourists shop, such as Waikiki or Lahaina. Tourists must, for the most part, select from generic items also obtainable elsewhere.

Three other categories of shops are listed in Table 7.9: sporting goods, photo, and "perishables." These are much fewer in number than clothing, accessories, or souvenirs. Sporting goods and photo stores essentially sell or rent products that tourists use while in Kona, or somewhere else on the trip. "Perishables" as a category consists of florists, flower shippers, and shippers of Hawaiian grown fruit, such as pineapples and papa. Field research indicated these shops served a local clientele as well as tourists.

Real estate

The final type of shop to be considered in this section is the real estate agency. These could not be tabulated by five-year interval and shown in Table 7.9 because of the great number of independent agents who listed only their telephone in the *Yellow Pages* (making it impossible to pinpoint their location). The number of real estate agents in Kona, however, has grown perhaps even more dramatically than the number of shops in Kailua. In the 1960 *Yellow Pages*, just three were listed; two in Kailua, one in mauka Kealahou. By 1975 there were 21 listed for Kailua; this increased to 68 by 1985, and to 83 by 1990. Of those who provided addresses, the greatest numbers have been located along Kuakini Highway. During field research in 1992, only six offices were operating in the tourist shopping areas of Kailua, along Ali'i Drive.

The great number of real estate agents indicates the importance of this aspect of the tourist shopping resource to Kona. The fact that the most common location for real estate offices is outside of, but nearby, the regular shopping areas for tourists indicates that this is a special type of purchase, one that does not have to be made in a high rent district of town.

SUMMATION

This chapter has looked at the development of Kona's "service" resources, the resources of the tourist industry itself. With respect to transportation to Kona from elsewhere, it was shown that several major improvements have occurred. These have enabled more tourists to reach Kona, but have also reduced the resource value of the scenery on the way. This was particularly true when auto travel replaced the horse and when airplanes replaced steamships.

With respect to Necessities, the accomodation sector has also undergone several major transitions in location, type, scale, and quality. First, the Kona Inn, located makai in Kailua, immediately made the older mauka hotels out-of-date. After the Old Kona airport opened in 1949 a generation of small inexpensive hotels opened, most located in Kailua Village. By the mid-1960s, these had also lived through a relatively short life span. They were replaced by larger, higher quality facilities and by a spate of condominiums. Ultimately, Kona became a fairly high priced destination, as facilities that could be considered "deluxe" came to far outnumber all others by the mid-1980s. Since then there has been a marked stagnation in facilities development. A newer generation of mega-resorts in the Kekaha area of North Kona has so far been almost completely halted by community opposition, though several facilities were completed in South Kohala, to the north.

The food (and drink) category has shown a different pattern of development. First, restaurants seem to have opened after preceding bursts in accomodation facilities, but for all five year periods except 1975-80 there has been great expansion in numbers. Field research showed that restaurants catering to tourists were still located mainly in the Kailua recreational business district. Other parts of town which have developed since tourism became dominant (Kuakini, Palani, and Old Industrial), as well as residential areas (Mauka Kona) have more recently also had large increases in the number of restaurants; these cater to both tourists and locals, or mainly to locals. With respect to drinking establishments (and entertainment), it would seem that Kona has never shaken its sleepy image, in spite of all the tourism development that has occurred. No threshold was ever passed, when Kailua became a town noted for nightlife. It does not look like this will occur in the immediate future, either. If anything, Kona will become sleepier as its facilities age.

The ancillary commercial enterprises sector (ACES) has shown a development pattern more like restaurants than hotels. This was not the case initially, shops for tourists sprang up practically as soon as Old Kona airport was completed, and seem to have taken over the residences in the central part of Kailua, forming a small recreational business district by the mid-1950s. Data from the past four decades indicates there has been a shift in the major type of

tourist shop; clothing and accessories shops have replaced more standard souvenir shops as the dominant type in Kona. Perhaps what is most notable is the large number of jewelry shops in Kailua. With respect to clothing, Kona would seem to be developing a distinctive destinational identity, both through the name of the place "Kona," and because of the spreading fame of the "Ironman" triathlon. Shops would thus seem to be pushing lines of clothing noting these elements, rather than traditional "aloha" style Hawaiian wear. Real estate is the other element of Kona's shopping sector that has undergone dramatic expansion. These were mostly located outside the tourist districts, probably indicating a lower required market threshold. The fourfold increase in number of agencies listed, between 1975 and 1990, shows the importance that this sector has attained in the local economy. Selling a piece of Kona has become an important part of the tourism economy.

The experiential component of the ACES sector shows that different elements are following different development curves. The vehicle rental sector hit a peak in 1975, which it had not surpassed by 1990. The ownership of these, however, had changed—independent auto rental businesses were often replaced by Hawai'i-wide or national chains. For the tour provision sector, a much different pattern is evident. This sector expanded greatly between 1975 and 1990. In particular, the ocean exploration tour has come to dominate, indicating a major change in the nature of Kona's underlying resource base. This is complemented by large increases in the number of sport fishing boats available for hire (partly due to the increased availability of docking facilities since 1970 at Kaloko-Honokōhau Harbor). Other sports such as golf and tennis have not enjoyed nearly the increase in number of facilities. For golf, this has been due in great part to community opposition to those courses that have been proposed.

Lastly, some points will be made relating to availability and quality properties. First, Kona's industrial resource sector, as a whole, shows several internal patterns of development. With respect to accommodation resources, while they have risen in quality, most have not achieved the "attraction" status the Kona Inn attained between the 1920s and 1950s. (The only exception is probably the Kona Village Resort, Kekaha's only facility, which has kept its exclusivity through its isolation.) This sector is now aging slowly. The failure to construct the

mega-resorts in Kekaha during the 1980s may ultimately speed up the pace at which Kona's accommodation sector deteriorates from gratifier quality to a neutral element. This might not occur, however, if some new trend in accommodation facility becomes popular, one which the Kona community can better accept.

The expansion of ocean tours, particularly underwater, is a clear indication that an environmental resource that was long a neutral element is now becoming a major attraction for an increasing number of tourists. As noted in Chapter 4, the ocean environment is an element which tourists have been almost totally dependent on entrepreneurs to explore and experience. Given the increasing worldwide popularity of ecotourism, Kona's pristine conditions would seem a true contemporary asset. This changing aspect of tourism would not seem to be well understood by certain land-based developers, particularly those who would place golf courses along the coastline without any thought to the environmental impacts of run-off. At the time of field research there was no indication that scuba operators and land developers had done more than sporadically argue at public hearings. Placement of golf courses in Kona will obviously continue to be a sensitive issue (one seemingly based in part on regional identity of the residents); this could only be exacerbated by the potential negative opportunity costs that would occur if a golf course were to cause degradation of oceanic resources. Given the amount of empty land that still exists in Kona, it would seem easily possible to locate golf courses so that no degradation to any other type of resource would result.

Finally, the fact that Kona's identity is being increasingly projected through clothing probably indicates more than current trends in fashion. The presence of the "Ironman" and Kona's newly developing identity as a place of convergence for triathletes was mentioned in Chapter 6 as a changing component of Kona's cultural resource base for tourism. This would seem to be reinforced by the impact this athleticization of the region is having on Kona's industrial resources. That is, triathlon-related clothing is slowly becoming a meaningful element, in the same way that surfing fashions are for Hawai'i as a whole. The triathlon as a sporting event is of course still in its infancy, barely 15 years old. If nurtured properly, this type

of event would seem to have great potential to expand. Seeing that it does is to a large extent the responsibility of Kona's tourism industry.

ENDNOTES

¹ Hawaiians could go avoyaging because deck passage to travel between islands on "poi clippers" was cheap; it ranged from 50¢ to \$1 (Thomas 1983, 31).

² Unfortunately for this research, Twain's voyage on a poi clipper in 1866 was so miserable that it temporarily killed his curiosity. He disembarked in Kailua and, after making a number of wry comments on the sleepy quality of the town, he remarked:

"I was told a good many other things concerning Kailua—not one of which interested me in the least. I was weary and worn with the plunging of the *Boomerang* in the always stormy passages between the islands; I was tired of hanging on by teeth and toenails; and, above all, I was tired of stewed chicken. All I wanted was an hour's rest on a foundation that would let me stand up straight without running any risk—but no information; I wanted something to eat that was not stewed chicken—I didn't care what—but no information. I took no notes, and had no inclination to take any." (Twain 1866, 203)

³ By the 1930s, Honolulu and Hilo were on the itineraries of every important world cruise (Thrum 1936, 73).

⁴ In addition to the means of transport becoming a resource by being an indulgence in luxury for travelers, the larger, more stable ships of the 20th century permitted tourists going to Hilo and Kilauea to comfortably experience the spectacular scenery of the windward sides of the Kohala Mountains and Mauna Kea. In numerous travel narratives the huge valleys of Waipio and Waimanu were lauded. So was the changing scenery on Mauna Kea—from the many waterfalls and valleys at the base, to the sugar cane plantations, to the native forest, to the snow-capped peak (Stoddard 1901, 34; Holmes 1910, 73; Castle 1913, 166). After Kilauea itself, this coastline was indisputably the second biggest attraction of the Big Island for tourists between about 1900 and World War II. After that, the advent of air travel reduced this scenery to a neutral element. Tourists now fly by too high, too fast, and with too few windows to properly experience the beauty of the windward side scenery.

⁵ Many tourists and early promotional writers described the trip to Kilauea from Honolulu. As the island became more developed, the nature of the trip changed, though not until the lava lake in Halema'uma'u crater hardened over did the volcano's quality as an attraction decline. A short list of tourists, promotional writers, and others who described the experience in detail includes: Macrae (1922); Hill (1856); Anderson (1864); Twain (1966); McCully (1870–71); Bird (1966); Nordhoff (1986); Geiger (1874); Bookwalter (1874); Whitney (1875); Chaney (1879); Gordon-Cumming (1883); Thrum (1885, 1886 and 1895); Thurston (1891); Burnett (1892); Jones (1893); Craft (1898); Stoddard (1901); Burton Holmes (1910); Castle (1913); Sabin (1921); Elder (1922); Anderson (1922); Griffiss (1930); U.S. Army (1930).

⁶ Jarves (1843, 262) recounts the story of Kapi'olani's descent into Kilauea crater.

⁷ The route to Kilauea became an attraction by itself as soon as it had been upgraded from an ancient Hawaiian footpath to a horse trail. The reason was that it went through the dense windward rain forest. Tourists from temperate climates were enthralled at the abundant vegetation, particularly the tree ferns, and the singing of birds (see Nordhoff 1863; Gordon-Cumming 1883; LaFarge 1912; Thrum 1895; Stoddard 1901, among many others). This road also became one of the most widely photographed features of the Big Island (Thurston 1891; Stevens and Oleson 1894; Hawai'i Promotion Commission 1902; Burton Holmes 1917; Robyns 1938). After being improved sufficiently to permit high speed automobile travel, however, the road to Kilauea and the surrounding forest areas lost their appeal to tourists, and became neutral elements.

⁸ Thrum's *Annual* for 1911 reports of a circle island trip made by four women, with a driver. Travel time on the unpaved roads was only 16 hours, though the trip itself took three days and included many stops for sightseeing. See also Anderson (1916) and Gessler (1937). De Vis-Norton (1916) commented that many people who visited Kona owed their thanks to the automobile for making the trip possible.

⁹ Mamalahoa Highway was completely paved, at least one lane, by the early 1930s (*The Friend* July, 1933, 147).

¹⁰ For descriptions of stays with local Kona residents, see Hill (1856, 212), Lyman (1924, 120), Cracroft (in Korn 1958, 64), Corwin (1862, 4), Forsyth (1940, 102), Anderson (1864, 142), Anderson (1865, 127), Musick (1898, 219) and London (1917, 207).

¹¹ Anderson (1865, 110) stayed with a Hawaiian family in Ka'u. At bedtime, she and her group were highly amused when two teenage Hawaiian girls made room for their large pet pig to sleep under the covers with them.

¹² Crampon (1976) lists the Ridge House as the second hotel on the Big Island, after the Volcano House, which opened in 1866. Crampon also tracked down the existence of several other hotels in operation in Kona between 1870 and 1920. They included: the Paris House (Captain Cook, 1894–1937), the Kona Hotel (Kailua, 1895–1896), and the Central Kona (Kealahou, 1900–1902). This list omits the Barrett Hotel at Ka'awaloa, which operated from 1875–1894 (Alvarez 1990, 3.16).

¹³ Bird had this to say about the lodgers at the Ridge House:

This is the only regular boarding house on Hawai'i. The company is accidental and promiscuous. The conversation consists of speculations, varied and repeated with the hours, as to the arrivals and departures of the Honolulu schooners *Uilama* and *Prince*, who they will bring, who they will take, and how long their respective passages will be. A certain amount of local gossip is also hashed up at each meal, and every stranger who has traveled through Hawai'i for the last ten years is picked to pieces and worn threadbare, and his purse, weight, entertainers, and habits are thoroughly canvassed. (Bird 1966, 250-1)

¹⁴ This hotel that Musick had all to himself was probably the "Kona Hotel," (Crampon, 1976).

¹⁵ Mrs. London omitted mentioning the Paris Hotel, which, because of its location in Captain Cook, over 10 miles from Kailua, may have seemed a considerable distance to her. The omission is unusual because the Paris Hotel had then been in operation for over a

decade, if Crampon's dates of operation (Endnote 12) are correct, and would seem to have been the best known in the district during the early 20th century. Run by "Miss Paris," missionary daughter, and located on land that had been in the family for decades, the hotel seems to have been steeped in local history. Visiting in 1918 or 1919, Morrill (1919, 111) commented that the hotel was "a museum containing spears, calabashes, lava specimens and a hula skirt of hula hair." The building was located during field research; it was occupied by homeless people and the grounds were completely overgrown.

¹⁶ Mauka hotels in operation between 1910 and 1930 included, by location: Paris, T.Abe, Manago, Otsuka, S. Okimoto and Yamashita (Kealakekua); S. Okamura, Yonezaki and Wall (Kainaliu); M. Kimoto and Kona (Holualoa). Makai, in Kailua, were the Ah Lap, Anui Anna, Ako and Kaelemakule, and Kim Chong hotels, in addition to the Kona Inn (sources: *Polk's Directory* [1910, 1916, 1920, 1923]; Schnack [1915], *Courtland Guide* [1917]; *All About Hawai'i* [1928]; *Hawai'i Island Yellow Pages* [1930]).

¹⁷ In an interview for this research, Harold Manago, retired owner of the Manago Hotel, noted that the Manago and Kona hotels catered mainly to businessmen, while the Paris and Wall hotels catered to tourists. The Kona Hotel has never catered mainly to tourists, but this situation has changed gradually for the Manago since the 1960s. With the development of modern, high priced accomodation in Kona, the hotel filled a niche for lower budget tourists seeking to find something of "Old Hawai'i." Currently, the Manago is a favorite for European travelers to Hawai'i (see also Sodetani 1985).

¹⁸ An additional type of accomodation which has become available in Kona in the past five years or so is the bed-and-breakfast establishment. Hawai'i Visitors Bureau data for 1990 listed three of these in the Kona region, however, field research revealed there were a total of 34 in operation in early 1992 (Adrienne Batty, Director, Hawai'i Island Bed and Breakfast Association, personal communication). In location, about half were in the coastal areas of Kailua Village or along Ali'i Drive; the other half were in Mauka Kona. They have proliferated partly because they cater to a different type of tourist and partly because retirees found their fixed incomes insufficient in the face of escalating property taxes. Often these establishments are not really "public," the owners rely on mainland connections to fill vacant rooms on an occasional basis.

¹⁹ Data on occupancy rates indicate that between 1965–69 Kona's hotels were also very crowded—exceeding 75% and peaking in 1967 at 80.8%. (Occupancy rate data are collected by the accounting firm Pannell, Kerr, Forster, and subsequently supplied to the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau—see Hawai'i Visitors Bureau's *Annual Research Report*.) Since 1969, no year has reached even a 70% occupancy rate; during the recessional years of the early 1980s, Kona's occupancy rates hit bottom—between 40–50%.

²⁰ This is according to "The Casa De Emdeko Story," an unpublished history of this particular condominium that is provided to owners.

²¹ Field interviews with condo managers, building managers, condo association presidents, and long-time owners indicated that condo properties often opened and were renting units to tourists for one or more years before making the HVB Visitor Accomodations list. The HVB data have been used intact, however, for purpose of analysis, because the above-mentioned individuals often did not clearly know how many units in their condos were currently on the rental market, much less how many were on it 20 years or more ago. An additional possibility is that none of the units were on the rental market initially, which

would make the HVB data more accurate. The conclusion reached from this is that the condo boom in Kona occurred earlier than the HVB data indicate, but by less than five years.

²² A second discrepancy uncovered through field interviews was that several of the condos that were not on the 1990 HVB Visitor Accommodation list had in fact been renting units to tourists continuously up to 1992. However, the data have not been corrected; property managers often had no clear idea of how many units were being rented in 1990.

²³ There are more condos renting to tourists than the HVB survey accounted for. There was still a decline in number, however, from 1985.

²⁴ Table 7.4 was created in the following manner. A list of hotel properties for the years shown was constructed from Thrum's *Annual*, the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau *Member Hotels*, and Fodor's *Hawai'i*. In its 1980, 1985, and 1990 issues, Fodor's ranked some of the hotels on the list. These were condensed into the three categories—budget, moderate, and luxury—which were then used as a basis for ranking those hotels that Fodor's did not discuss. These subsequent rankings were done by comparing room rates, supplied in the HVB data, and through knowledge of the comparative quality of facilities gained through field research in 1991 and 1992.

²⁵ The 14 accommodation facilities in Kailua Village and Kuakini areas that were constructed before 1965 were: Kona Inn, Waiaka Lodge, Ho'onanea Apartments, Kailua Motel, Kailua-Kona Hotel, Kona Palms, Lihikai Motel, Kona Hukilau, Lei Aloha Apartments, King Kamehameha, Kona Plantation, Kona Sunset Motel, Pacific Empress, Kona Tradewinds.

²⁶ The budget and moderate quality hotels in Kailua that remain open for business are: King Kamehameha, which was demolished then rebuilt as a deluxe establishment; Kona Hukilau, which was consolidated with the Kona Seaside; Kona Bay, which was originally the Mauna Loa wing of the Kona Inn (the main buildings of the Kona Inn have been converted into a shopping mall).

²⁷ It did not change immediately. Grey (1965) reported that William D. Holmes, heir to Fleischman Yeast fortune, was planning to build a 40 room hotel that served meals 24 hrs/day. The reason evidently was his anger at not being able to get breakfast in Kona before 7 AM.

²⁸ Data for this table were obtained by counting the entries listed in the Hawai'i Island *Yellow Pages* under "restaurants" for the years listed. Every category conceivable related to prepared food was checked. The list thus also includes businesses serving snacks, such as ice cream, and grocery/convenience stores that advertised serving prepared food. (Grocery stores that did not advertise the serving of prepared food were not included.) However, there were never more than a handful of businesses in these additional categories listed for any of the years shown in Table 7.5.

²⁹ One particular type of establishment that did not advertise its drinking facilities was the restaurants in Kona hotels. It was impossible to verify through this data source that the hotels had cocktail lounges and/or entertainment facilities. Field research indicated that it was only the major hotels that have probably had these facilities continuously since opening. This table thus slightly underrepresents the number of drinking establishments.

³⁰ For descriptions of travel by foot, see Ellis (1927), Bingham (1981), Cheever (1851), and Hill (1856). Visitors who described canoe trips up and down the Kona Coast included: Menzies (cited in Hitchcock 1909); Coan (1882); Bingham (1981); Bishop (1916).

³¹ There still exists only one primary mauka road leading out of Kona in a north-south direction—the Hawai'i Belt Road, a.k.a. Mamalahoa Highway. In North Kona, the coastal Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway became open to traffic all the way into South Kohala (north of Kona) only in the mid-1970s (Shapiro 1977). There is still no road heading directly mauka towards Hilo and, as noted in Chapter 3 (see the section on development of the summit area of Hualālai by the National Park Service), little chance of one being built soon. In addition to the lack of through roads, there are still only a small number of paved roads connecting the populated coast with the mauka Hawai'i Belt Road. As for the coast itself, there is little access by road for tourists except along Ali'i Drive, which runs between Kailua town and the Keauhou resort complex, in central Kona. To the north and south, the coast is accessible to tourists only in a few places, such as Ke'ahole Point, Old Kona Airport, and the south side of Kealahou Bay. The situation is even more constrained for the mauka areas above the Belt Road. Virtually the only road that can be said to "go anywhere" is Kaloko Drive, which winds up the western slope of Hualālai to a height of over 4,000 feet. There are numerous residential roads in the coffee district but these tend to become private very soon after leaving the highway.

³² With respect to diving tours, operators interviewed for this research indicated that the technology of scuba diving equipment became much more user-friendly in the late 1970s, and the sport has been rapidly gaining in popularity since then. The timing of these technological advances indicates that they have been put to use almost immediately.

³³ This information was gleaned from an unpublished map put out by several Kona dive tour operators. These entrepreneurs were also responsible for getting the buoys placed in the ocean, enabling the coral communities to escape damage from anchors, and thus preserving the resource.

³⁴ The opinion of activity center employees involved in booking tourists on fishing boats was that no one knew precisely how many fishing boats there really were. No one activity center had a complete list of boats, and owners were often involved in the business intermittently.

³⁵ The Keauhou-Kona Surf and Racquet Club.

³⁶ In addition to building the golf course, the other development points supported by community organizations in the mid-1950s were: bringing in water from Kamuela, building a new airport, and building a new boat harbor (HA 1956).

³⁷ This was the Pacific Empress hotel; it had a nine hole golf course. The hotel facilities are now used by the University of the Nations, a private religious educational institution. The golf course land seems to have remained idle since the hotel folded, and the individual holes are nearly impossible to identify.

³⁸ Somewhat later it became common knowledge that the archaeological damage done by the bulldozers in constructing the golf course had been excessive in the extreme. A survey to find which archaeological sites remained had to be conducted by the development corporation. For the resort as a whole, it was concluded that 90% of the archaeological

sites having historical value had been lost (*HTH* 1971, citing Jean Martin, state archaeologist). When the second 18 hole course was due to be built, mauka of the first, an archaeological survey was completed before construction. Final plans called for preserving 25 of the 63 sites found by the survey (Clark 1989).

³⁹ Particular importance was being placed by government officials on obtaining larger fees from a development that netted the developer millions, but from which the community benefited little.

⁴⁰ According to Walsh (1992), individual investors purchase membership shares in a golf course from the developers. This provides the latter with both start-up cash and, hopefully, a considerable profit. The investor, however, has essentially purchased a share in a corporation, equivalent to purchasing shares in an initial public offering of a U.S. stock. Once purchased, these memberships may then be subsequently re-traded on the Japanese stock markets. It would seem to be the case that the final members are seldom the people who purchased the membership initially. The actual members are people who have paid considerably more than the initial price. The irony is that developers are only bound by the rules of profit and loss to finish the development. That is, if financing is insufficient, the course may never be completed. The risk of this is entirely borne by the holders of the memberships. Thus, at any given stage of the process, the development of a golf course is driven more by economic motives than the desire to provide recreational facilities.

⁴¹ With respect to the proposed golf course above Kealakekua Bay, there were two major community concerns. First, there was worry that ground water would become polluted from fertilizers and pesticides and would contaminate the Bay, killing the marine life and negating the Bay's status as a marine life conservation district. Second, the existence of a golf course above such a historic locale was considered inappropriate by many members of the community. This view was advanced most thoroughly by Chase (see Chapter 9).

⁴² Only shops located in the recreational business district and central business district tourist areas of Kailua are included. These areas are along Ali'i Drive and Palani Road. See Chapter 9 for elaboration of these spatial definitions.

⁴³ Hawaiian Heirloom jewelry, which typically has patterns of tropical flowers and plants carved into gold rings and bracelets, was not popular with tourists, according to merchants.

CHAPTER 8

WE DON'T WANT ANOTHER WAIKIKI

The focus of the study will now shift away from resources to time. The chronological development of tourism will be interpreted within the guidelines of the destination area life cycle model that was developed in Chapter 3. As a locale where the institution of tourism has flourished, Kona has undeniably begun, and gone some way through, a destination area life cycle. Several forms have been built on the landscape; existence of individual stages have been partially interpreted from these. Some specific forms have also failed to develop. In the late 1960s, opposition to high rises in central Kailua galvanized because many in the community were opposed to Kona becoming a second Waikiki. This opposition arrested the growth of Kailua. Since then, there has been little possibility of the village ever growing upward and reaching the International form and scale. Kona took a different path.

The task undertaken in the chapter will be more complicated than is usually the case for a DLC study. Kona as a resort destination simultaneously exists at three different scales. It is a destination within an archipelago and also on an island; it is thirdly a district composed of a resort city with a hinterland. Chapter 3 discussed how the life cycle model is really only appropriate for analyzing Kona at the regional (i.e., the latter) scale. Thus, Kona will be studied at the larger scales as a way of generating new objectives and methods. The chapter will initially focus on these. Kona as a destination within the Hawaiian archipelago will be examined first, followed by discussion of its role in tourism development on the Big Island. The more traditional analysis of Kona-the-region will conclude the chapter.

KONA WITHIN THE HAWAIIAN ARCHIPELAGO

It was shown in Chapter 3 that when a large-scale region is chosen for a destination area life cycle study, the objective must change because of the likelihood that several locales within the region will be going through their own distinctive life cycles. To date, only Miossec (1977) and Weaver (1986) have attempted to work theoretically at a large scale. Both modeled what happened as islands developed. Miossec attempted to grasp the "*dynamisme de l'espace*

touristique". He described the evolution of four elements of tourism through five numbered "phases," by pictographically showing what each should look like during each phase. The elements included: (1) resort ("stations") hierarchy and specialization; (2) transport; (3) tourist behavior; (4) attitudes of authorities ("responsables") and the local population. Weaver (1986) did case research on Antigua. He divided the tourist development process that had occurred into four stages: (1) "pre-tourism"; (2) "transition"; (3) "tourism dominant-early"; (4) "tourism dominant-mature." He then modeled what each would look like through the use of "choroplethic" tourist space. By the tourism dominant-mature stage, concentric rings of primary, secondary and tertiary tourist space surrounded a core of non-tourist space in the center of Antigua. He noted conditions had not yet reached this degree of development.

Unfortunately, neither author really specified a set of objectives for future research. Miossec (1977) discussed his model as if it were complete and future research was not necessary. Weaver (1986, n.p.) noted that his models of zones of space would be subject to real world "distortions" and suggested: "A useful avenue of research exists in the more rigorous categorization and geographic distribution of these distortions." This "avenue" was kept in mind throughout the stages of data collection for Kona. Unfortunately, as will be seen, the zonation of tourist space on the Big Island turned out so completely different than what Weaver proposed in his model that it was not considered to be an appropriate topic of analytical discussion.

Because these existing guidelines for research at this scale are so sketchy, a rather narrow objective was defined for the first analysis. This was simply to try to trace the life cycle of resort tourism in Hawai'i as a whole. Kona today is but one resort among a dozen or so in the archipelago. The objective thus will be to look at total development to see whether any parallels exist between this larger scale and what has been shown to occur at individual resorts.

Figure 8.1 maps certain important aspects of the relationship between resort tourism development for the State and Kona. Five "phases" of spatial development have occurred; a planning stage is also portrayed. These stress transportation development, as well as the build up of resorts. Map years were chosen by adapting Weaver's concept of "representative years"; i.e., years characteristic of the phase.

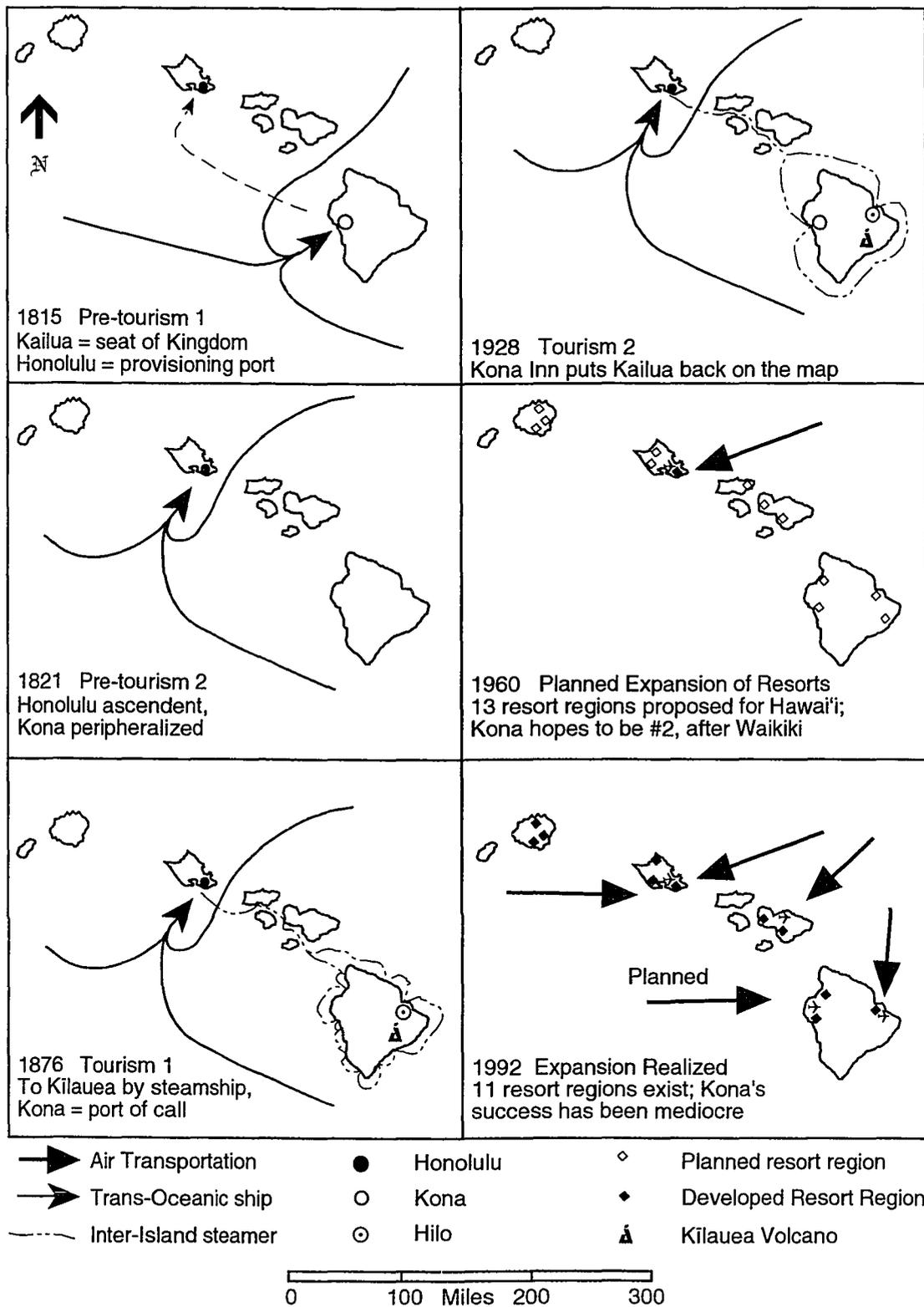


Figure 8.1 Visitor Arrival Points and Destinations During Six "Core" Years in Hawai'i's Tourism History, with a focus on Kona.

The first two maps, dated 1815 and 1821, represent the pre-tourism era. The year 1815 was chosen to represent the height of King Kamehameha's reign. At that time the seat of the throne was in Kailua, and western ships involved in the sandalwood trade were arriving in large numbers. Sailing ships were required to stop first at Kailua, to get permission from Kamehameha to stay within the waters of the Kingdom, in order to obtain provisions and make repairs. This was the case for most of the period up to 1821. True explorers and commercial sailors were almost the only type of visitor. These pre-tourists were quoted in Chapter 5 regarding their experiencing of the social resources in Kona, particularly the Hawaiian royalty.

Kona was the center of Hawai'i in 1815. However, as early as 1809, Campbell made the following description of the island of O'ahu and its port of Honolulu, during a time when Kamehameha was staying there:

Although only of secondary size, it has become the most important island in the groupe, both on account of its superior fertility, and because it possesses the only secure harbour to be met with in the Sandwich Islands...In consequence of this, and of the facility with which fresh provisions can be procured, almost every vessel that navigates the northern Pacific puts in here to refit. This is probably the principal reason why the king has chosen it as his place of residence; perhaps the vicinity to Atooi and Onehow, the only islands independent of himself, and the conquest of which he is said to meditate, is another and no less powerful motive. (Campbell 1969,)

Since Kamehameha chose to move back to Kailua after negotiating a treaty that gave him control of Kauai and Ni'ihau, Campbell's latter reason for the King's presence in Honolulu is probably the most correct. However, what Campbell had to say of the benefits of Honolulu Harbor became common knowledge early on. Even during Kamehameha's reign, ships would typically not stay long in Big Island waters, they often quickly made for Honolulu Harbor.

Honolulu thus became the de facto center of the islands by 1821, when Liholiho chose to move the political seat of the kingdom there from Kailua. This act institutionalized the spatial hegemony of Honolulu over the other islands that is only now even beginning to be challenged. It peripheralized the rest of the archipelago, a situation shown in the middle map of the left hand column. After 1821, ships made directly for Honolulu, and fewer-and-fewer visited Kona. Whaling was the dominant activity for much of the next half-century. While this is also technically a pre-tourism era, Crampon (1976, 53-82) has described these years as "the tavern

era or whaling tourism.” It was a time when a group with certain similarities to tourists (transient sailors spending disposable income) visited Honolulu in great numbers.

As the second half of the 19th century progressed, steamships replaced schooners. The third map in the left hand column of Figure 8.1 shows the situation in 1876, the year the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States was signed. For agricultural interests, this was a critical event that enabled sugar cultivation to expand dramatically. Plantations flourished on the outer islands, creating a greater need for regularized inter-island steamship service. Hilo became the second city in the archipelago during this time, as sugar plantations spread inland from the town and up the Hamakua Coast of the Big Island.

Steamship service from San Francisco to Honolulu became regularized during the 1860s, bringing larger numbers of tourists to Honolulu. Crampon (1976) has described this era in detail. The accommodation sector was located downtown, a few miles from Waikiki beach. There was no “resort tourism” as such until around the turn of the 20th century, when accommodation facilities began to be constructed at Waikiki. On the Big Island, this was also a period of intense activity in the crater of Kīlauea Volcano. For the next half-century, the lava lake in Halema‘uma‘u Crater was nearly continuously active. Tourists visiting Hawai‘i during this time thus had a reason to go to the Big Island, and could book passage on steamships that were reasonably comfortable. Hilo began to develop as a port-of-call, for tourists as well as sugar. Volcano House, the hotel at Kīlauea, became the Kingdom’s “first resort” (Crampon 1976, ii). Kona remained a backwater during this time, a region of the Big Island that tourists mainly viewed from the sea while cruising slowly up or down the coast on their way to or from a trip to see Kīlauea in action.

Resort tourism at Waikiki finally came into its own in the 1920s. As oceanic steamships had become larger and faster, more-and-more tourists began to visit Hawai‘i. Only during this decade did the numbers of visitors finally began to equal the numbers that had wintered in the islands during the height of the whaling era (Crampon 1976, 260).¹ Trip time from the West Coast was cut to under five days by World War I. Stindt (1982) has covered in considerable detail the role steamships played in the increase of tourist numbers to Hawai‘i between 1900 and

the Great Depression. He noted that, to keep up with the competition, the Matson shipping company constructed a state-of-the-art oceanliner, the *Malolo*. This ship was fitted out so luxuriously that, according to Stindt (1982, 48) “better accommodations in Honolulu became a must. Reluctant at first, Matson built one of the finest hotels in the world, the Royal Hawaiian...” This opened in 1927 (Crampon 1976, 261). Patoskie and Ikeda (1993) have covered what the opening of this hotel meant in terms of Waikiki’s own life cycle. From the theoretical perspective developed in Chapter 3, the Royal Hawaiian can be considered a “pioneer hotel” that made Hawai‘i a desirable place to visit to a larger proportion of mainland tourists. Hawai‘i was prepared to receive the “carriage trade” (Crampon’s 1976). Though it was not the first hotel built in Waikiki, the impact of the Royal Hawaiian was, at the domestic scale, identical to the impact the Kona Inn had at the local scale. Waikiki thus became the first resort region in Hawai‘i during the 1920s decade.

Kona’s status only rose during the 1920s, as the presence of game fish close offshore became known, and the Kona Inn opened, in 1928, as a pioneer hotel. Kona then became a destination in its own right, not a stopover on an itinerary (Figure 8.1: top map, right column). The ambience of Kona’s “way of life” won tourists over and Kailua’s reputation grew throughout the 1930s and 1940s.

In the 1950s, as oceanliner service returned to an efficient mode, and as jet travel then made oceanliners obsolete, tourism took off in Waikiki. The extent of this boom is shown in Figure 8.2. In 1946, just after World War II ended, there were only about 10% more accommodation units on Waikiki (652) than on the combined Neighbor Islands (566). Waikiki held about 40% of the total accommodation in the Territory (1,572 units), though another 354 units were elsewhere on O‘ahu. This changed considerably by 1955, when 70% of the total number of accommodation units were on Waikiki only. The Neighbor Islands were still losing population to Honolulu during this time because of lack of jobs. At the first session of the State Legislature, in 1959, it was therefore decided to develop a strategy to spread tourism off Waikiki, simultaneously spreading employment. In the Plan that resulted from this legislative action, it was noted:

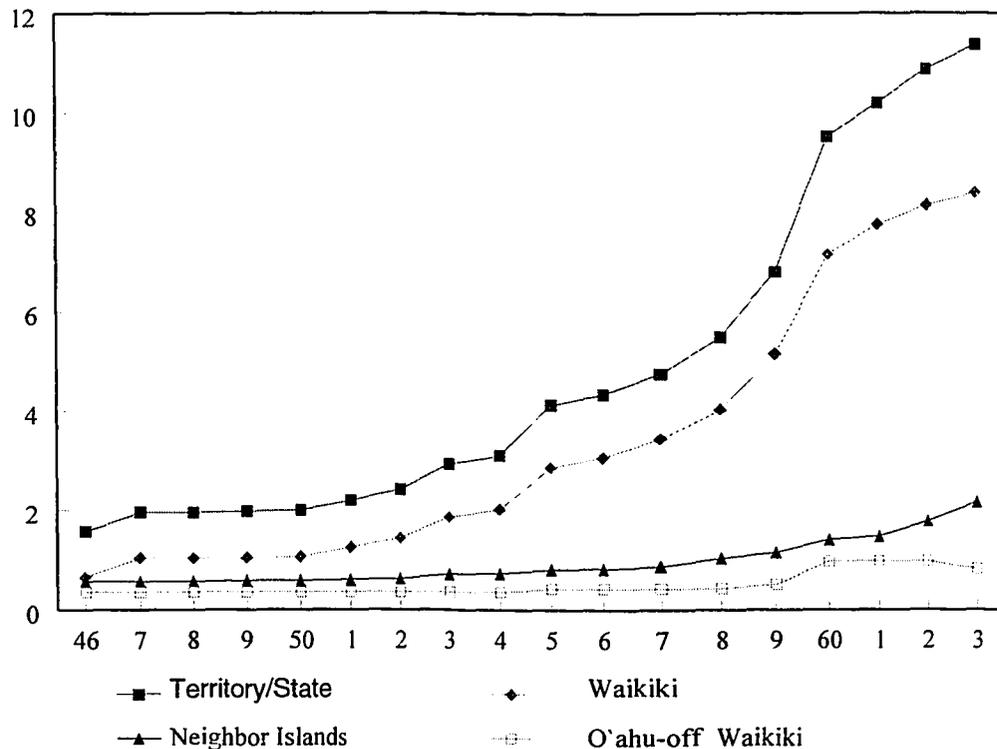


Figure 8.2 Accommodation units in Hawai'i between 1946–63, showing Waikiki's take-off period.

Source: Hawai'i Visitors Bureau (1963) *Annual Program and Research Report*.

The motivating factor in this investigation was the desire of the State Government to improve the economy of the neighbor islands. A basic proposition of this program is that tourism is the most promising immediate means to accomplish this improvement. Also, the most logical method for improving and expanding the visitor industry is to better utilize the assets of all of Hawai'i rather than to continue to concentrate the industry in Waikiki. (Harland, Bartholomew and Associates 1960, Pt. 1, 1; underline in original)

The private sector companies responsible for developing the plan for the State Legislature ultimately identified 13 "resort regions" on the five largest islands. These are shown in the middle map of the right column of Figure 8.1.² Each zone was planned to have a minimum of 1,500 accommodation units, totaling 18,000 rooms off-Waikiki (15,000 of which would be on the Neighbor Islands). This planned expansion was to be huge, for in 1960 there were only 1,404 accommodation units in total on the Neighbor Islands.

Kona was one of four regions slated to be developed on the Big Island. Chapters 5 and 7 discussed how locals were asserting it had become the #2 destination in the Territory by the early

1950s. It was thus an obvious choice for development. In an even earlier plan (Hawai'i Governor's Advisory Committee on the Tourist Industry 1957, 24) it had been noted that "the Kona-Coastal area possesses the most promising potentiality for becoming the next 'destination area.'" The "Coastal" area mentioned was probably the South Kohala coast area, another resort region later identified in the 1960 Plan.

The hegemony of Honolulu, and Waikiki as a resort region, only began to be replaced by a new spatial condition after these initial plans by the State started to be implemented. An examination of the life cycle for each of these resort regions would probably show, as was the case for Kona, that very little came about according to plan. Resort development in some form does now exist, however, in 11 of the 13 regions originally identified as having the greatest potential.³ All of these have the "international," "enclave," or "linked forms."

The situation with respect to transportation and resort region development that existed as of completion of field research in 1992 is shown in the final map of Figure 8.1. After Honolulu, the next jetport was built at Hilo during the late 1960s. A brief, unsustainable, tourist boom occurred about this time. Tourism on Maui developed hugely during the 1970s, totally eclipsing Kona and rest of the Big Island. A third jetport for the State was eventually built at Kahului. Finally, a fourth jetport was planned for Keahole airport in Kona; construction had not yet started when field research was completed.⁴

Table 8.1 shows how tourism development has spread off Waikiki to the Neighbor Islands since this became a State policy goal.⁵ The table first of all shows that there have been large increases in the number of accommodation units during the period. For the State overall, facilities have increased seven-fold. In terms of percentages, the fastest increase was between 1965 and 1970, when a triple-digit rise occurred. Since then, the rate of growth slowed, yet the absolute increases for each decade have continued to be formidable. At least 10,000 accommodation units have been added to the State total during every quinquennial period between 1965 and 1990. It would appear that this trend has now ended. The state total abruptly showed a decline between 1990 and 1993. While this was due to the damage done on Kaua'i by

TABLE 8.1
Accommodation Units in Hawai'i 1961-1993

		1961 ^a	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1993
STATE	Total	10153	14291	30323	40691	55700	65919	71566	70542
	% ↑		41	112	34	37	18	9	-1
O'AHU	#	8720	11083	21217	25699	34173	38600	36899	37032
	% ↓		27	91	21	33	13	-4	0.4
	% of Total	86	78	70	63	61	58	51	52
MAUI ^b	#	320	1297	3011	6192	10521	14152	18169	19389
	% ↓		305	132	105	69	35	28	7
	% of Total	3	9	10	15	19	22	26	28
HAWAI'I	#	738	1156	3486	5486	6299	7511	8952	9490
	% ↓		57	202	57	15	19	19	6
	% of Total	7	8	11	14	11	11	13	14
KAUA'I	#	375	755	2609	3314	4707	5656	7546	4631
	% ↓		101	246	27	42	20	33	-39
	% of Total	4	5	9	8	9	9	10	6

^a Data for 1960 were not collected by HVB (Robin Gongab, HVB research librarian, personal communication, December, 1991)

^b Includes the islands of Moloka'i and Lana'i

Sources: Hawai'i Visitors Bureau Research Reports and Visitor Plant Inventory for the years shown.

Hurricane Iniki, a glance at data for the other three islands shows there had been an increase of only 2,000 rooms.

Study of the data for individual islands shows that all have participated in the growth of tourism, though not equally. During the 1950s, O'ahu Island, contained a huge majority of the accommodation facilities in the territory. This peaked in 1961, at 86%. Further, the largest percentage increases and growth in absolute numbers both occurred during the same years as for the State as a whole. Thus the State-level situation mostly reflects what has happened in Waikiki. However, the goal to get tourists out of Waikiki to the Neighbor Islands has been at least somewhat successful. By 1990, O'ahu held only 51% of the State total of accommodation units. Further, O'ahu actually showed a 4% decline between 1985 and 1990. In 1960, a map of resort zones for the State would look little different than the map for 1928 shown in Figure 8.1. Clearly the spatial location of accommodation in Hawai'i has changed considerably.

Maui has taken up the greatest amount of the out-flow of tourists from Waikiki. This probably would have been a surprise to the writers of the 1960 Plan, who considered Maui to have inferior resources to either the Big Island or Kaua'i (Harland, Bartholomew & Associates 1960, Pt. 4, 13). In 1961, Maui had only 320 total units available to tourists. It was, however, the first island to take-off. The peak growth period, in terms of percentage, was between 1965 and 1975, when triple-digit increases were registered for three 5-year periods in a row (including a 305% increase between 1960 and 1965). Growth rates then halved during the 1980s. In terms of absolute numbers of accommodations, however, Maui actually grew the most between 1980-93. This large increase in absolute numbers, during a decade when growth was leveling off in Waikiki, enabled Maui to make large gains in the percentage of the total number of units. Fully 28% of the accommodation facilities for the State were on Maui as of 1993. When Maui's accommodation units are added to O'ahu's, the total again reaches 80% of the total for the State. In this sense, Hawai'i could be said to have developed into a two-destination archipelago: Waikiki and Maui.

Kaua'i has also been able to gain at Waikiki's expense, but not much. In 1965, this island contained only 5% of the accommodation units in the territory. This increased to 9% by 1970, and has stayed at about that percentage since. Unit numbers increased the most only recently, between 1985 and 1990, but nearly 40% of the total were closed after the island was hit by Iniki in September, 1992.

The Big Island began this time period with the expectation being held that it, and particularly Kona, would develop into the #2 destination in Hawai'i. A comparison of the 1961 accommodation unit totals for O'ahu and the Big Island shows that a considerable number of hotels would have had to have been built for it to have attained that status. This did not occur, though the increase between 1961 and 1975 was considerable. Since then, however, growth rates have been the slowest of any Neighbor Island. The Big Island has never contained more than 14% of the State's accommodations. This is currently just half of the percentage Maui has.

With respect to the DLC model, what emerges from the data in Table 8.1 is how complicated the situation can become when a large-scale destination such as an archipelago is

chosen as the unit-entity. In Hawai'i, 11 resort regions on four islands are in the midst of life cycles of tourist development. This produces somewhat different growth patterns on each island. Time of take-off, degree of development, and cessation of growth have all varied. Macro-structural hazards such as hurricanes have wreaked havoc selectively.

Yet the data in this table also show a pattern that transcends the island-scale, and incorporates the whole archipelago. This is because since statehood all resort regions are interconnected at the level of State government. The initial motivation of this body was to stimulate tourism, so as to prevent immigration to Honolulu. Public officials approved plans and utilized their agency to disperse tourism to locations where it was barely nascent, such as Kona, and to others that were completely undeveloped. Each resort is now undergoing its own life cycle, but because tourism development began at about the same time, and has been of the same type at all resorts, each county thus has had a growth curve produced by roughly the same forces. In this sense there is just a single life cycle occurring for resort tourism in the Hawaiian archipelago.

This is illuminated by the quinquennial data in Table 8.1. The triple-digit increases can be seen to have occurred, with one exception, in 1965 and 1970. Only Maui was able to prolong this rate of growth through 1975. Annual accommodation unit data have been graphed in log scale (to emphasize change in percentage of growth rates) in Figure 8.3. This graph shows that O'ahu, Kaua'i and the Big Island had a clear shift in growth pattern at about the same time—between 1970 and 1972. Previous high rates of growth were not sustained after this. Maui data show a slight decline in 1972, but a quick recovery the next year. The growth rate for Maui did not slow appreciably until the late 1970s.

Comparing these curves with Butler's (1980) model permits the following interpretation. The 1950s (Figure 8.2) represented the Response stage of resort tourism in Hawai'i. Facilities developed quickly, but only at Waikiki. The rising demand, led by transport innovations, then encouraged expansion of supply—on the Neighbor Islands. The Development stage of this form of tourism begins from this expansion. The new resort regions boomed, particularly between 1965 and 1970. After 1972 (1978 on Maui), growth rates slowed but, for most of the 1970s and

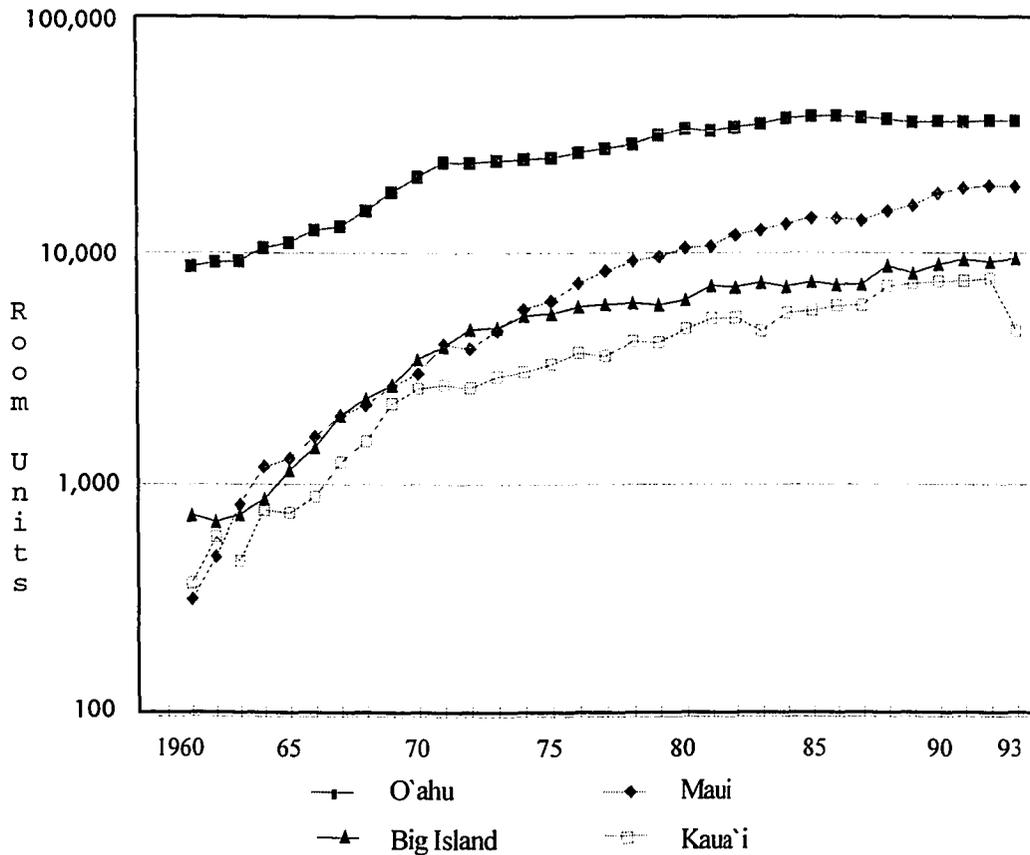


Figure 8.3 Growth in accommodation units on each major island in Hawai'i.

Maui total includes Moloka'i and Lana'i.

1980s, remained robust. These years represent the Consolidation phase of the Maturity stage. The majority of accommodation units were built during these two decades. Recently, an abrupt halt in overall resort unit growth has occurred. Partly this was due to hurricane damage, but beyond that, growth on other islands had simultaneously slowed considerably. For the archipelago as a whole, this change is still too recent to conclude that the Stagnation phase has begun. However, for certain resort regions, particularly Waikiki, this may be the case.

Butler asserted stagnation would begin after a resort reached its carrying capacity. It would seem more accurate to say that community beliefs about the desirability of growth change from positive to negative. Under current zoning, Waikiki could contain about 70,000 rooms, yet the practicable maximum seems to have been reached at just over 30,000, because even pro-

growth forces perceive this to be a ceiling. At other resorts, such as Kona, resort density is still low, and room for additional resort projects exists. However, forces in the community opposed to appropriation of the land for tourism purposes have prevented several planned resorts from being built. There would now seem to exist a certain tenuous balance between pro- and anti-development interests throughout Hawai'i. Since 1990, this balance has produced the slowdown of growth. Whether the State returns to the steady growth rates of the 1970s, or whether it stagnates at an asymptotic maximum of about 75,000 room units, will be a result of which groups win development battles in the resort regions throughout the State.

KONA AS A RESORT ON THE BIG ISLAND

As was the case with the analysis for the State, there is no specific objective defined in the literature for analyzing the DLC model at the scale of an entire island. One objective, however, stems from the discussion of large-scale destinations in Chapter 3. There, the observation was made that a destination of large areal extent often has development at multiple sites, based on tourists' experiencing of different resources. This suggests that analysis of life cycles at destinations that are based on different resource types could be an objective. A second objective would be to continue the analysis of the development of resort tourism done above, but at this smaller (island, down from archipelagic) scale. These analyses will now be attempted, in that order.

KĪLAUEA VOLCANO, YES; HILO, NO

The set of maps in Figure 8.1 indicates that, at an early date, tourists were going to the Big Island to see Kīlauea Volcano. The study of travel narratives clearly indicated that this geologic feature has been the major tourist resource on the island. The second analysis at the scale of the Big Island will therefore focus on the development of Kīlauea as a tourist resource, particularly in relation to the development of the city of Hilo, and how this development has impacted Kona.

Figure 8.4 is a list of events that might be said to have been “critical” in the development of tourism at Kīlauea Volcano. The date of occurrence along with the type of event are also shown. In all, seven such events have occurred.

Cook’s expedition sailed past Kīlauea without mentioning its existence; apparently the volcano was dormant. According to Hitchcock (1909, 161), Vancouver was the first western explorer to mention Kīlauea in his journals. The first descent into the crater was made by Chiefess Kapi’olani. An early convert to Christianity, the Chiefess had begun to do missionary work. This included proselytizing against the Hawaiian goddess Pele, who according to traditional religion lived in the volcano. In 1824, with an entourage of about 80, Kapi’olani walked from Kona to Kīlauea. Upon reaching the destination, the Chiefess neglected to observe the sacred rites, then descended into the crater. Once there, she threw *ohelo* berries into the lava lake and praised Jehovah. (Jarves 1843, 262; Bingham 1981, 254; Kuykendall 1926, 108).

YEAR	CRITICAL EVENT	TYPE OF EVENT
1824	Kapi’olani descends into crater, defying <i>Pele</i>	Addition
1860	Steamship <i>Kīlauea</i> begins regular service	Addition
1866	Volcano House reaches resort hotel status	Addition
1885	Package tours from Honolulu	Addition
1894	Carriage road from Hilo to Kīlauea opened	Addition
1916	Hawai’i Volcanoes National Park established	Addition
1924	Kīlauea eruption; Halema’uma’u lava lake hardens over	Cessation

Figure 8.4 Critical events in the tourism history of Kīlauea Volcano.

This important incident initiated tourism to Kīlauea. Afterwards, the curious began to make the trip from Honolulu (and the rest of the world) to the Big Island, to witness the fury of the volcano. Though the presence of an approachable molten lava lake would no doubt have made Kīlauea a major tourist attraction anyway, Kapi’olani’s initial act of religious defiance surely added a cultural dimension to the first known descent into the crater.

For the next century after Kapi’olani’s descent, the lava lake in Halema’uma’u crater was nearly continuously active. This presented tourists with an excellent opportunity to see a true wonder of nature. During the middle 19th century tourists typically spent a minimum of several days exploring Kīlauea. The descriptions written in travel narratives during this period

indicate most tourists saw something that was beyond their emotional and literary capability to adequately describe.⁶ Descent into the crater was often made at night, with guides, because the sight of the molten lake was so much more brilliant. Such experiences were made more intense by the element of danger. Hill (1856, 253) noted their party was almost killed as they attempted to look at a small cone within the crater—it erupted just as they walked up to it. Hopkins (1862, 19–20) noted his party had a “frightful experience when earthquakes and blobs of molten lava began to be thrown out of the crater” onto the path in front of them. Nordhoff’s description perhaps best represented the experience of the 19th century tourist:

"What we saw there on the 3rd of March, 1873, was two huge pits, caldrons, or lakes filled with a red, molten fiery, sulphurous, raging, roaring, restless mass of matter, to watch whose unceasing tumult was one of the most fascinating experiences of my life." (Nordhoff 1986, 16)

Such experiences gradually made the trip to Kīlauea a must for tourists visiting Hawai‘i. As early as 1870, McCully (n.p.) would state in a letter to the *Boston Journal*: "It is an object of so much grandeur that no one fails to give it the first place in his programme of travel in this part of the world." Thirty years later, Stoddard (1901, xii) described going to Kīlauea almost as a responsibility for tourists; he noted a visit to the "great smoking pit" was the “culmination of the trip”; it was the thing people had to do to "absolve" their consciences while in Hawai‘i. Even 30 years after that, Griffiss (1930, 253) offered this advice for those deciding whether to go to the Big Island or Kauai: "But remember that a trip to Hawai‘i is usually made primarily to visit the Volcano of Kīlauea and it does seem a pity to be so close to it and fail to explore its wonders."

Kīlauea had become a noted attraction by the 1840s, but according to Crampon (1976) most of the visitors during this time were “whaling” tourists. Beginning in the 1850s, however, steamship service from the mainland became more regularized, bringing tourists to Honolulu. Also, Lahaina, Hilo, and other towns were growing; they required a more regularized inter-island transport service than that provided by the local schooner (“mosquito”) fleet. This situation led to the national government having an inter-island steamer constructed in Boston, designed specifically for the rough waters of the channels between islands (Thrum 1940–1, 112–4). This ship—the *Kilauea*—began regular service from Honolulu to Hilo in 1860 (Day 1955, 140). The

days of horrendous channel crossings by schooner were nearly over. Though tourist traffic was light initially,⁷ it would seem more than a coincidence that the ship was named for the volcano, which had already become the foremost attraction in the islands. Thus the second critical event in the development of tourism to Kīlauea occurred when the ship *Kīlauea* began to make regular trips from Honolulu to Hilo.

Only a few years afterward, an entrepreneur named Julius L. Richardson was advertising the availability of rooms in his new Volcano House hotel. According to Crampon (1976, 86) this was Hawai‘i’s first “hotel” that was truly for tourists; the term was not a euphemism for a grog shop or brothel.⁸ Twain was one of the first to stay; he was astonished to find a real hotel so far from anywhere, especially since Honolulu didn’t have one yet. He noted the Volcano House was “neat, roomy, well-furnished, and well-kept” (Twain 1966, 298). Thus by providing a necessity, the opening of this pioneer hotel represents the third critical tourist event at Kīlauea.

By the 1880s, tourists were arriving from the mainland with the desire to visit Kīlauea, as well as see Honolulu and O‘ahu. In the entrepreneurial spirit typical of the tourism industry, the steamship companies that had emerged by that time began to develop package tours; enabling tourists to make nearly all arrangements from Honolulu. The date of the original tour is lost in time; the overall development of this travel innovation by the mid-1880s represented the next critical event. Thrum’s *Annual* for 1886 (p. 65) noted that the two steamship companies then operating had both developed package tours to Kīlauea. Wilder’s steamship company had opened a route via Hilo, while the Inter-Island Navigation Co. had the southern route through Ka‘u. The round-trip fare for either was \$50; this covered steamer passage, accommodation at Volcano House, a guide, and horses, but not food or drink.

Since mid-century there had been two favored routes to Kīlauea, the southern, which began from various points in Ka‘u, and the route from Hilo, located to the northeast. Early tourists taking the southern route, such as Twain (1966), bought horses at Waiohinu then rode overland, often getting lost on paths made by the herds of wild cattle that roamed the lower slopes of Mauna Loa. This route underwent improvements first. By 1880 tourists were able to disembark at the port of Punalu‘u, then take the small train line that had been built to haul sugar

down from the mill at Pahala (Clark 1895, 58). This line was extended further into cane country over the years. When they reached the end, tourists changed to horses or, later, a stage coach. This route took less time than going up from Hilo, it seemed to be enjoyed by tourists (see LaFarge 1912, 43; Burnett 1892, 209; Craft 1898, 163), and had become the favorite by the mid-1880s and early 1890s (see Jones 1893, 36).

Tourists going from Hilo had a much more tedious trip. The journey from that direction initially was a 10-hour horse ride, with a stop at a half-way house. The going was especially difficult because reaching the crater required the crossing of several a'a lava flows. This took a heavy toll on the horses. Hill (1856) reported that on the way down the horses were suffering so badly the party had to stop for an entire day to let them recover, before finishing the ride to Hilo.

Narratives written by later travelers indicate conditions had not improved much.⁹ Those accustomed to Hawaiian conditions, such as McCully (1871, n.p.), merely called the trip "rough." Mainland tourists were far more critical. Chaney (1879) complained that: "Thirty miles of horseback riding on a fair road make a pleasant constitutional; but thirty miles of churning—call it not riding—up the long ascent which leads from Hilo to the volcano will try the soundest constitution." Bookwalter (1874, 240) equated the 30 miles to 100 on an Ohio road. Burnett (1892, 274) thought "the miles of Hawai'i are the longest in the world." Even the major tourist guidebook of the era (Whitney 1875, 29) noted that the horse road was "no broad macadamized thoroughfare, and will try the patience of most travelers."

By the 1880s the local population base was centered in Hilo, and the business community saw that an opportunity to make money was being lost when tourists took the southern route through Punalu'u. They consequently lobbied, and convinced the legislature to fund the construction of a proper carriage road. This was begun in the early 1890s, at the cost of \$3,000 per mile (Thrum 1891, 42). After the government road had been completed, the trip became a comfortable ride along a "country driveway" (Jones 1893, 26), made in a large carriage. By 1898, Craft (p. 173) reported people were making the ride up from Hilo on bicycles. The completion of this road thus enabled the Hilo route to out compete the southern route. Tourists mainly disembarked at Hilo after the mid-1890s (Clark 1985, 58).¹⁰

With the completion of the government road, the set of critical events that enabled Kīlauea to be visited with relative ease was complete. The Hilo business community probably expected to feel a positive economic impact from this, as ever-greater numbers of tourists passed through their city. Though there was no doubt more business, these impacts never seem to have materialized to the extent that they enabled much of a tourism industry to develop. This was most likely because package tours from Honolulu became even more popular after the government road had opened. Particularly after 1910, when both oceanic cruise ships and the inter-island steamers began to attain considerable size, Hilo seems to have been little more than a touristic break-of-bulk port. For tourists on these ships, headed back to the mainland, the journey to Kīlauea became an interesting day-trip; the last stop they would have in Hawai'i. People would disembark, immediately step into a pre-booked hired car, sped up to the Volcano, did some sightseeing, then have lunch at Volcano House. After lunch there was a little more sightseeing before the return drive. Tourists then re-boarded the ocean liner, and were underway in time to have dinner on the ship.

Hilo thus became simply the landing point for seeing Kīlauea. Its own tourist resources, environmental and cultural, could not compete against the Volcano. Early 20th century guidebooks listed several attractions and side trips, but most tourists do not seem to have stayed in town long enough to have visited them. Castle (1916, 167) noted of Hilo: "it deserves a longer visit than the two or three hours usually given to it." After describing several of the features (the court-house, a "charming park," Coconut Island, Rainbow Falls, Onomea Arch, Kaumana Cave, and the Hilo Boarding School), he continued: "These things are all accessible by carriage, and should be seen, and all cannot be seen if Hilo is considered merely as a stopping place on the road to the Volcano." He concluded with the comment that "This is usually the case, since the tourist goes normally to Hawai'i only to see Kīlauea."¹¹

The result seems to have been that Hilo's life cycle as a destination, though not as a beach resort, entered the Response stage quite early, as tourists began to visit Kīlauea. It did not advance to the Development stage, however, because package tours removed the tourists from town too quickly. This was indicated by the lack of development of the hotel sector. A perusal

of Polk's *Directory* and the Territorial telephone directories for several years between 1900 and 1930 showed that a number of small hotels operated throughout the period in Hilo. The number listed did not increase with time, however, in a manner consistent with the idea that a tourist boom was occurring. In 1905, for example, Polk's *Directory* listed nine hotels and boarding houses, and 10 in 1920, but only seven in the 1939–40 edition.¹² Schnack's *Aloha Guide* (1915) listed eight hotels for tourists; this was the highest count found in any guidebook written before World War II. Additionally, no evidence at all could be found for the existence of a recreational business district in Hilo during this time. The touristic activities described in guidebooks focused on the environmental and cultural resources around the town.¹³

Overall, then, the several critical events that opened Kīlauea to tourism did not foster much development of the tourist industry on the Windward side of the Big Island. They simply permitted larger-and-larger numbers of tourists to travel with ever-greater ease. The benefits would seem to mainly have accrued to the transportation companies.

The final “addition” occurred in 1916, when Kīlauea, along with Haleakala on Maui, were incorporated into the US National Park system as Hawai‘i Volcanoes National Park. This were only the tenth area in U.S. territory to be so designated. Gaining such status effectively institutionalized Kīlauea, in terms of its level of resource quality. It was now “officially” recognized, more-or-less in perpetuity, as an environmental resource of the highest level. Putting park borders in place also had a constraining impact upon the development of a tourist industry right at Kīlauea. It would be pure speculation to assert that such development would have ever occurred. Other than Volcano House, there was never much industrial development near Kīlauea. This makes it an interesting contrast to Niagara Falls (Getz 1992), which saw considerable tourist development from an early point in time.

Because Kīlauea had already obtained National Park status, the final critical event has had much less impact than might have otherwise been the case. In 1924, there was a large, violent eruption in Halema‘uma‘u crater, the first since 1790. Afterwards, the lava lake drained, then hardened over. Since then, most of Kīlauea's activity has not been located in this central crater, and the lava lake has returned for only short periods of time. Tourists kept going to the

National Park in increasing numbers throughout the 1920s.¹⁴ Yet the difference in the descriptions of travel writers is quite striking.¹⁵ Before the eruption Kīlauea was certainly one of the most amazing natural spectacles to be seen anywhere on the planet; the quotes cited above provide only a partial indication of how spectacular the lava lake was. After it had hardened over, Kīlauea was written up as just another dormant volcano. This condition helped to popularize the circle-island tour. Tourists who had planned to spend time looking at a living, changing volcano found they needed less time than expected at Kīlauea, so they drove around the island. As has been described, the Kona Inn made a convenient stopping place for the night. Thus Hilo's loss was ultimately Kona's gain.

This section has looked at how tourism development has occurred at a destination that was not a coastal resort. The concept of "critical events" was used to note important dates in the overall developmental history. Kīlauea Volcano became an important destination in Hawai'i from an early period. The first true hotel in the Kingdom was constructed there. Considerable efforts went into developing transport infrastructure, and in promoting the volcano as a destination. In spite of these, very little industrial development occurred. This seems mainly due to the success of early package tours. Transport companies located in Honolulu hit the tourist first. The Kīlauea example thus provides an interesting contrast with Niagara Falls, which underwent considerable urbanization in the immediate vicinity. It also points to differences with the typical coastal resort experience, where industrial development almost always occurs.

COMPARATIVE RESORT DEVELOPMENT

The second analysis at the scale of the entire Big Island will compare the development of the accommodation sector at the three resort regions that have emerged. Figure 8.5 graphs the totals of accommodation units for the three resort regions, and the overall total for the Big Island. Several patterns are apparent.

For the entire Big Island, there has been something of a stairstep growth pattern. Each step of growth has been of different height and duration, however. Three steps occurred, between the years 1964–76, 1979–81, and 1987–93. There have also been three "flat" periods,

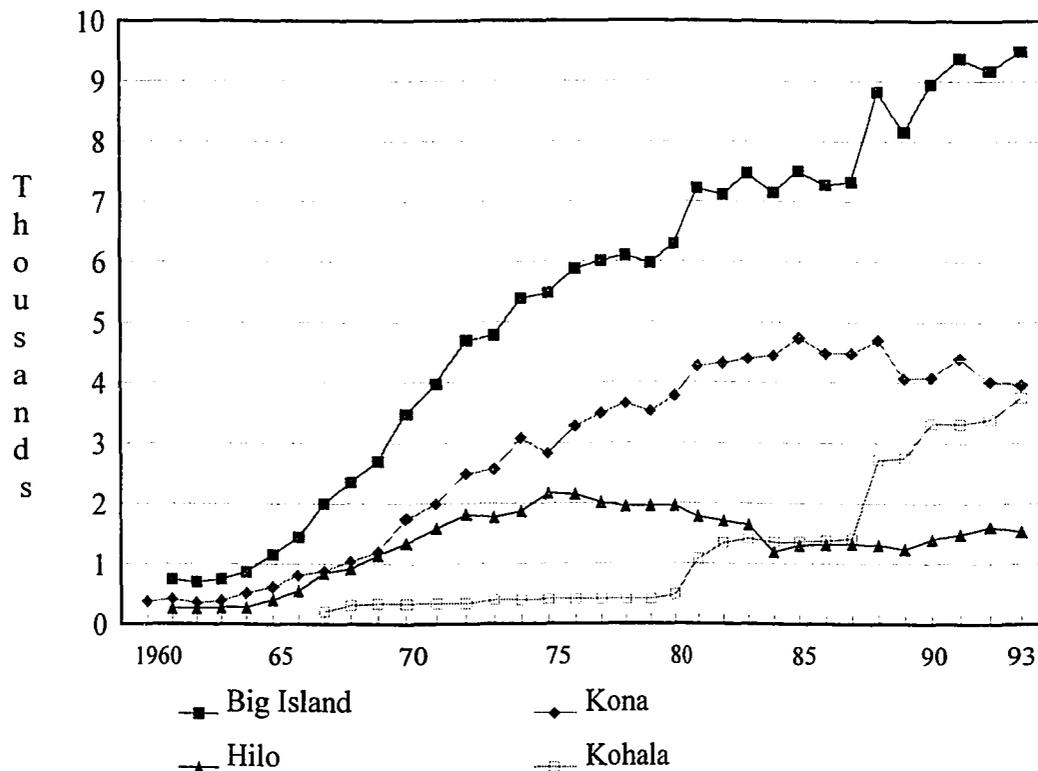


Figure 8.5 Accommodation units on the Big Island.

^a Hilo also includes Honoka'a town. Kohala totals include both North and South Kohala. Totals for the Puna district are included in the Big Island total, but were considered too small to show separately.

Source: Hawai'i Visitors Bureau *Annual Research Reports* and *Visitor Plant Inventory* for the years shown.

during 1961–64, 1976–79, and 1981–87. There have been no intervals of decline for the island as a whole. Comparing the Big Island total with that of individual resort regions, it is easy to see that these steps of growth are a composite. The first and longest step corresponds to development at Kona and Hilo. This began in 1964 at both resorts, but continued longest in Kona. The second and third steps have mainly corresponded to growth in Kohala, though growth in Kona contributed to the second.

At this level of analysis, then, it would appear that, for both the entire period and for any given year, what occurred at the island-scale was typically caused by events occurring at two of

the three resort regions. Further, no single destination has truly dominated over the 30 years since the take-off began. With respect to the DLC model, it would seem to be the case that the development stage began about 1964 for the Big Island. However, because of multiple-site development, it is difficult to conclude that the end of this stage has yet been reached for the island as a unit-entity.

Such would not seem to be the case for the individual resort regions. Hilo and Kona both took-off at about the same time. Hilo essentially got a second chance at tourism, after development in relation to Kīlauea had failed. A resort enclave was planned on the outskirts of town in the late 1950s, and hotels began to be constructed there in the 1960s. The opening of General Lyman airport in the late 1960s, bringing direct flights from the mainland, was sufficient stimulus to development that Hilo had a brief boom period, when the town was nearly able to surpass Kona in room count (in 1969). Within Hilo's resort enclave, multi-storied hotels showed the attainment of the Domestic form, though a recreational business district never grew up near them. By the early 1970s, however, growth lagged. This can be shown through occupancy rates.¹⁶ These peaked in 1968 and 1969 at 76%. Throughout the 1970s decade, however, the rate dropped steadily, finally bottoming in 1981 at a mere 35%! Nevertheless, more rooms for tourists continued to be built in all years through 1975, except 1973. Total room count in 1976 reached, but did not quite equal that of 1975. After 1976, however, the count began to tail off in the city, to just below 2,000 units by 1980. This was then followed by a severe loss of rooms during the next three years (1980–83). Over the eight-year period between 1976–84, as occupancy rates were falling, the town lost nearly 50% of its accommodation units.¹⁷ Such a loss can only be interpreted as a quick decline; it is far larger than what Butler (1980) graphed for this stage. There was thus no Stagnation phase in Hilo. However, the town did not become a ghost-resort. Room counts bottomed out, then steadied, and eventually grew a little. The town entered a Stability phase. Field inspection indicated that in downtown Hilo, quite separate from the town's resort enclave, a number of tourist-oriented shops had opened. There was thus a nascent commercial sector developing. This fact, combined with the shape of the graph of accommodation units for Hilo, shows the sensibility of having a Maturity stage, as Foster and

Murphy (1990) have argued. The pathway for the life cycle of coastal tourism in Hilo, during the years for which accommodation unit data is available, would be:

Response → Development → Maturity (Consolidation → Decline → Stability)
1961–1963 → 1964–1975 → 1976–1993 (1976–1980 → 1981–1984 → 1985–1993)

Kona began this time period in a manner similar to Hilo. There was a flat period initially during the early 1960s, then the resort took off. The decade between 1964–74 was one of continuously rising room counts (from 509 to 3,080). The line of ascent was broken in 1975, when a decrease was registered. This was followed by three years of slower growth, then another decrease. An increased rate occurred between 1979 and 1981, but then there were several more years of only slow increases. Nevertheless, these led to a peak total for Kona, which occurred in 1985 (4,748 units). Even though the growth rates had been slower between 1975–85, Kona still managed over a 50% increase in accommodations during that decade. Then, after a small decline, a double-top of sorts occurred in 1988, when the room count totaled 4,708. However, that number has since proved unsustainable. Since 1989, a Stagnation phase has been evident. Room units fell to below 4,000 by 1993, about a 20% drop from the 1985 peak.

Over the period under consideration, Kona has thus had a longer growth period than Hilo. Also, Kona has not yet suffered a decline of similar proportions. However, the failure of large resort enclaves to materialize in North Kona (next section) has resulted in a graph that peaked before all potential resort space has been developed. As the 1990s pass therefore, Kona would thus seem to be following Hilo to a certain extent, by being past the peak. The years of expanding resort facilities could well be over. Thus the pathway for Kona, based on accommodation data only, would be:

Response → Development → Maturity (Consolidation → Stagnation)
1961–3 → 1964–1974 → 1975–1993 (1975–1988 → 1989–1993)

Lastly, the graph for Kohala shows a resort region that developed later. HVB data were not available until 1967, but the graphical pattern after that year indicates a resort in the

Response stage. This is deceptive, for the majority of rooms were in a single large enclave resort, the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, that was built in the mid-1960s by the Rockefeller interests. The Mauna Kea does constitute a response, but it was the opposite of “local.” In this case, it represents the incipience of an “instant resort.” However, the projects that were to follow were delayed for over a decade. The Mauna Kea can, therefore, like the Kona Inn, be considered a “pioneer hotel.” Then, in the early 1980s, additional large resort enclaves opened and the room count rose dramatically. By 1993, the total had nearly equaled that for Kona. As can be seen; each time a hotel opened there was a jump in the graph for that year, followed by a “flat” line. There has been no (relatively) smoothly upward sloping line, as was the case for Hilo and Kona. This type of a graph might be taken as typical of regions where the majority of accommodation units are in the enclave form. The pathway for Kohala would be as follows:

Response → Development

1964–1981 → 1981–1993

In sum, at the scale of an entire island, especially one as large as the Big Island, the objective of the DLC model needs to be modified, because there are multiple destinations attracting tourists. This particular island contains three resort regions and a superb environmental resource—Kīlauea. The destination life cycle path of the latter has been shown to be far different than what has happened at the coastal resorts. There was never much in the way of development of service resources at the volcano itself. This became even more difficult after it attained National Park status because the federal government took control of the land near the crater. Also, the lava lake hardened over, thus people needed less time to take in the sight. The citizens of Hilo had expected to take advantage of their location as the only town near Kīlauea but this did not work out either. Honolulu-based transport companies managed to control most of the flow of tourists, and Hilo became little more than a touristic break-of-bulk point. Thus, at this particular environmental attraction, the institution of tourism has developed quite extensively, but is very one-sided. There are many tourists, but virtually no tourist industry. At Kīlauea itself, development never got past the Pioneer hotel form. At Hilo, a Local form had

developed by World War I, and thus the town could be said to have reached the Response stage. But it did not go further until the 1960s, when facilities were constructed to take advantage of coastal resources.

The analysis of accommodation units at the three resort regions—Kona, Hilo and Kohala—showed that each has taken a separate life cycle path. Hilo and Kona were the first to develop; air infrastructure was in place and both benefited from the State-wide boom in resort tourism that was occurring in the 1960s. Hilo was the first to falter, but ultimately has recovered somewhat and can be interpreted as being in the Maturity stage, with respect to coastal tourism. Kona had a longer growth period, and has not yet had a real Decline phase. However, room count peaked by the late 1980s, indicating that Maturity had probably also set in. Kohala, on the other hand, developed late, and shows no signs of being finished. With the next major hotel that opens, it will likely surpass Kona as the resort center of the island.

The comparative analysis of these three resort locales is informative for it highlights the importance of spatial scale in choice of destination analysis. Added together, the accommodation units for the three resorts create a graph for the entire Big Island that is still increasing steadily. This paints an overly rosy picture of the prospects for continued development, because the growth is coming from only one of the three resort locales. This important point would perhaps be missed if only the total for the Big Island were analyzed.

KONA'S STAGES OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The final DLC analysis looks at Kona as a tourist region. The main focus will cover the development of Kailua town as the urban core, and the development of the rest of the region as Kailua's attraction hinterland. The spatial scale is thus on the maximal side, with respect to the DLC model. The major objectives emerge from Chapter 3. The first is the placing of tourism as an era within the larger sequent occupance of human activity in Kona. The second is to show how the unit-entity—Kailua—came to develop as the nucleus of the region. The third is to identify the distinctive stages that have occurred. The analysis overall will have a process orientation, one that examines how change did or did not occur. Such an orientation requires examination of how the seven core concepts of process research apply to Kona. Documentary

Stage and Sub-stage	Date	Mechanism of Change
<i>PRE-TOURISM</i>		
1: Hawaiian Royal Capital	1779–1844	Cook reaches Kealakekua Bay and is killed there. Kamehameha sets up throne at Kailua, after establishing power over Hawai'i Nei. Liholiho moves govt. to Honolulu in 1820. Kuakini dies in 1844.
Early	1779–1812	
Middle	1812–20	
Late	1820–44	
2: Agricultural Hinterland	1844–1928	Era of steamer and horse travel Auto travel established
Early	1844–1910	
Late	1910–28	
<i>TOURISM</i>		
Response	1928–1964	Kona Inn opened. Old Kona Airport opens. Small hotels only.
Early (Pioneer hotel)	1928–49	
Late (Local form)	1949–64	
Development	1964–1985	Accommodation unit numbers rise. Multi-story hotels are built. Accommodation units reach peak, condominiums co-dominate,
Domestic	1940–75	
Linked	1975–85	
Maturity	1986–1992	Resort enclave projects stalled.
Consolidation	1986–92	

Figure 8.6 Stages of tourism development in Kona.

evidence, particularly newspaper articles, will be used to write this section of the chapter.

Pertinent field research material has also been included.

Figure 8.6 chronologically portrays the stages and sub-stages that have been identified for Kona, along with their date/s of occurrence and the predominant critical event. Overall, the figure shows that there was a comparatively long pre-tourism era, which had two distinct stages. Tourism really only began to establish itself in the 1920s. A more-or-less “organic” sequence then occurred in Kona, with Kailua town representing the urban core. Facilitation was the mechanistic type where the tourism landscape evolved into several “forms” in fairly quick order. “Inhibition,” however, has also occurred, both in Kailua and along the coastline in both directions. Since the mid-1980s, inhibitional forces have mainly prevailed; community opposition to many large resort projects had prevented the Enclave form from developing on the landscape. Kona also shows a tendency to enter the post-tourism era, due to construction of residential condominium accommodation for snowbirds (who are only cousins to tourists) and

government plans for the region which emphasize multi-functional urban development. With this as overview, discussion of the details of each stage will now be presented.

For the period covered in this dissertation, Kona mostly existed in a pre-tourism era. Figure 8.6 shows that these years can be conceptually divided into two stages. These have been named the “Hawaiian Royal Capital” stage and the “Agricultural Hinterland” stage.

PRE-TOURISM I: HAWAIIAN ROYAL CAPITAL STAGE, 1779–1844

Based on the concept of critical events, the “Royal Capital” stage extended from 1779, when Cook first anchored in Kealahou Bay, to 1844, the year Kuakini died. This period of years is named and bounded on the basis that, for much of the time, the presence of the Hawaiian royalty was a major social resource to visitors. Yet the period is also notable for the large number of historical events that took place in Kona. A partial list of these was shown in Figure 8.7.¹⁸

The Royal Capital stage represents the final stage of the “traditional” Hawaiian era of Kona’s sequent occupation. The stage can itself be divided into three sub-stages on the basis of events that occurred. Cook’s death would seem to represent the true onset of the stage. The importance of this critical event was noted in Chapter 6. Cook’s “discovery” of Hawai‘i was not at the Big Island, but at Kaua‘i, nearly a year earlier. Yet it was Kealahou Bay that initially became famous, because Cook was killed there. The site of his death became the first attraction, even a pilgrimage site, for visitors. The sub-stage could be said to continue throughout the rest of the 18th century and into the 19th. A cessation of sorts occurred during the periods when Kamehameha left the Big Island on his attempts to conquer the other islands. This is especially true of the period between about 1804 and 1812, when the King was residing on O‘ahu, making preparations to invade Kaua‘i.

The second or “middle” substage began when Kamehameha returned to Kona. He built the royal compound at Kamakahonu, in Kailua, and ruled from there until his death in 1819. These seven years can be said to represent the height of the Royal Capital period. Kamehameha had become world-renowned as a ruler, and meeting him in Kona was the highest quality

YEAR	HISTORICAL EVENT
1779	Cook sailed into Kealahou Bay on Jan. 16, 1779, in the ships <i>Resolution</i> and <i>Endeavor</i> . He was worshipped as the god Lono the next day. Cook was killed during an incident involving a stolen boat, on Feb. 14, 1779.
1782	Kamehameha was victorious in the Battle of Moku'ohai, fought just south of Kealahou Bay. He became the first Ali'i Nui to rule the entire Big Island since 'Umi, about 300 years earlier.
1789	The <i>Fair American</i> captured. Captain Metcalf's son killed. John Young and Isaac Davis kept behind, later become important advisors to Kamehameha.
1792 & 3	Vancouver's expedition arrived. Released cattle onto the Big Island. Kamehameha ceded Big Island to Great Britain, which didn't accept it.
1796– 1804	Kamehameha conquered all islands except Kauai and Ni'ihau, returned to Kona.
1812	Kamehameha signed a treaty with chiefs of Kaua'i that made him sole monarch of the entire island group. Tired of warfare, Kamehameha moved back to Kailua from O'ahu. Built the royal compound at Kamakahonu, on the north side of Kailua Bay and established the seat of power there.
1819	Kamehameha died on May 5. October. Liholiho (Kamehameha II) overthrew major component of the Hawaiian religion, the <i>kapu</i> system, by publicly eating with Kamehameha's widowed wives at Kamakahonu.
1820	January. The Battle of Kuamo'o was fought just south of Kealahou Bay over restoration of the <i>kapu</i> system. Liholiho's forces won. Missionaries arrived in April. Liholiho, believing Kailua to be defiled by the death of his father, moved the royal court away, eventually to Honolulu.
1825	Kuakini, Governor of the Big Island, built the first Christian church, Mokuaikaia. This was to burn down about a decade later.
1837	Kuakini builds the Hulihe'e Palace as the governor's mansion.
1838	Kuakini rebuilt Mokuaikaia Church, this time of stone.
1844	Kuakini died.

Figure 8.7 Chronology of major events in Kona's early post-contact history, the "Royal Capital" sub-stage.

experience a visitor to Hawai‘i could have. The sandalwood trade was being carried on in earnest, bringing a much larger number of ships to Hawai‘i. All stopped in Kona to get permission to trade, to make repairs, and be provisioned. The number of visitors was higher than during the first sub-stage of the Royal Capital period.

The “late” phase came about because of two critical events. These were Kamehameha’s death in 1819, and the decision a year later by his son and successor, Liholiho, to move the throne out of Kailua, taking the majority of the royal entourage with him. These obviously were cessations. Between them three important historical events also occurred. These were the overthrow by Liholiho of the kapu system, the battle over whether to restore it, fought at Moku‘ohai, and the arrival of the missionaries. After 1820, the Royal Capital stage can be interpreted to have continued because of the presence of the island governor, Kuakini, who was a significant social resource for visitors. The major historical events of the period, which were undertaken by Kuakini, were the construction of the Hulihe‘e Palace and Mokuaikaia Church. These were both completed in the 1830s. Yet the onset of the “late” sub-stage came on when Liholiho left Kailua.

Few tourists reached Kona before 1820. Most western visitors were true explorers or traders. This was also the case during the “late” sub-stage, though not entirely. Visitors such as the missionary Stewart (1831) came over from Honolulu during the 1820s to see the “old Hawai‘i” that Kona even then represented. During the 1830s, itinerant wanderers such as Barrot (1978) visited. At least some explorer tourists had begun to arrive even before Wilkes, the last of the true explorers, had visited in 1840.

With respect to tourism, the quarter-century of Kuakini’s governorship is best placed within the Royal Capital stage. Yet these 25 years were the beginning of the end of the Hawaiian era in terms of the sequent occupance at-large. This was a time of great transition. Kona lost its position as the capital of the Kingdom. Honolulu became the center of events and from the 1820s the history of Hawai‘i is written from that city. The sandalwood trade declined during the 1820s. Though whaling ships came in even greater numbers, most evidently did not go to Kona to obtain supplies. During the latter part of the 1820s decade the regional population began to

decline dramatically. Thus, by the time of Kuakini's death in 1844, Kona was already well into the next pre-tourism stage.

PRE-TOURISM 2: AGRICULTURAL HINTERLAND, 1844–1928

Early Phase: 1844–1910

The decline of Kona, and Kailua, continued quickly after Kuakini's death in 1844. A series of ineffective chiefs held the office of governor, and by the late 1850s the Chiefess Ke'elikolani had moved the seat from Kailua to Hilo. This period was one of extensive spatial reorganization. Land ownership was redistributed during the Great Mahele. The set of agricultural practices that had created the impressive Kona Field System landscape reached the end of their institutional life cycle. The end of the "traditional" Hawaiian era is perhaps best dated from the Great Mahele. Afterwards, a half-century or so of agricultural reorganization began. Extensive ranching and dairy farming occurred on the new land holdings. Subsistence crops were grown in mauka regions; this area would eventually be settled by Japanese immigrants who planted coffee for export. The mauka strip of settlement replaced the coastal strip where Hawaiians had lived for a thousand years. After the 1870s, those people living along the coast mainly lived at the steamer landings.

In terms of the larger sequent occupance, the "agricultural hinterland" stage is mostly about the transition from Kona as a place where Hawaiians had practiced their traditional way of life, to a place where the people and daily practices had mixed origins. Tourism did not exist as such during this period. Travelers to Kona, however, observed and interpreted a landscape and people that were undergoing the changes just described. The internal homogeneity of Kona was based on the slowly changing agricultural and ethnic identity of the district.

In Figure 8.7, the onset of this stage is identified through a cessation—the death of Kuakini. The first touristically-related *addition* to the landscape of Kona, that enabled more travelers to reach the region, was the completion of the circle-island horsepath sometime in the 1850s. Going overland from Kīlauea to Kona became an option, though not one often taken.

Most tourists saw Kona from the deck of a boat, on their way to or from Kīlauea. After the 1870s, this would have been a steamer, cruising leisurely through the smooth leeward waters.

Several hotels existed in Kona during this stage, but none succeeded in establishing a base from which tourism could function. Travel narratives indicate most people stayed either with friends, or friends-of-friends. Letters of recommendation were the key to good accommodations, not money. As was noted (Chapter 7), health tourism failed to develop in Kona. Miss Paris's hotel, which opened fairly late in the period, came closest to being a place from which tourists could explore Kona.¹⁹ Other than hotels, however, there were virtually no service resources of any kind.

The touristic experience of Kona's resources during this stage shifted away from the social orientation of the Hawaiian Royal Capital stage. Chances to meet and interact with royalty had become few and far-between. Hulihe'e Palace was used as a getaway by royalty, but not very often. It was still possible to meet average Hawaiians, but it was not until late in the stage that this opportunity became rare elsewhere in Hawai'i. Thus, between about the 1850s and the 1890s, there does not seem to have been any specialness attached to interacting with Kona's Hawaiians.²⁰ This began to change however, in the latter part of the century.

Environmental resources were at their best level of availability during this time period. Tourists on horseback could explore as much of Kona as they wanted. The forests were a particular delight, with the ferns and native birds (Chapter 4). The summit of Hualalai could be reached. Volcanic features such as the lava waterfall and Laniakea Cave could be visited.

The site of Cook's death remained the most important cultural resource; it was enhanced in 1874 by the placing of the obelisk that became the official monument. This was visited by nearly all steamship travelers. Kailua town represented something of a relic landscape during this time. The Hulihe'e Palace and Mokuaikaua Church were not yet old enough to have historical value. Kamehameha's fort was already a ruin, as was the Place of Refuge.

Overall, this was a stage perhaps best characterized by the term "lost identity." Between 1820 and 1850, Kona had gone from being the center of Hawai'i to one of the most remote

places in the islands. It went from being a place visitors explicitly traveled to, to one they mostly sailed past.

Late Phase: 1910–1928

A new identity began to emerge around 1910. This specific date was chosen because it was the first year that a circle island auto tour was documented as having taken place (Thrum 1911). However, the change from the Early to the Late phase was definitely an example of a blurry transition; there was no one critical event. After circle-island travel became feasible, what occurred slowly over the next two decades was that Kona, and particularly Kailua town and the coastal areas, took on a new identity for tourists. Kona became a destination again, it was not just a place to pass by during a trip to visit Kīlauea. In this sense, what happened was that there was a perceived increase in the value of Kona's resources, particularly cultural. Miossec's (1977) term, "*perception globale*," which describes tourists' learning to differentiate the attraction sites in a region from neutral space, seems to have occurred during this time.

During the Late sub-stage (1910–1928) tourists either continued to see Kona from the deck of the inter-island steamers, or drove around from Kīlauea on a circle-island tour. Those who chose the latter method of exploring Kona stayed mauka in the small locally-owned hotels, such as Miss Paris's or the Walls's Mahealani.²¹ From there they took day trips down to the historical sites along the coast, passing through the coffee groves as they did so. In a car it was relatively easy to get around the central part of Kona, where the historical sites were located. The Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau, Kealakekua Bay, the Kaneakua hōlua and Kauikeaouli Birth Stone in Keauhou, and the Hulihe'e Palace, Mokuaikaua Church, Plymouth Rock of Hawai'i, and remains of Kamehameha's fort at Kamakahonu could all be fairly easily reached and experienced. During this time the Pu'uhonua was upgraded to a county park; the Kauikeaouli Birth Stone was marked with a plaque, and the Hulihe'e Palace was taken over by the Daughters of Hawai'i and restored. These events increased the resource quality of those particular sites. The upgrading of the sites increased the *perception globale* of tourists. Seeing Kona provided the best possible lesson in Hawaiian history, but it was possible at least in part because locals

had come to appreciate the value of these sites, and had upgraded their status for preservation purposes.

Kona's historical attractions provided a great contrast with Kīlauea, the experience of which was an environmental lesson. When the lava lake hardened over in 1924, however, the resource value of the volcano was diminished considerably. This cessation led to an increase in visiting Kona; people began to think the entire Big Island was worth seeing. For tourists, the Kona district had a more equal status with the Hilo side of the island after 1924.

By 1920 or so, the discovery that world-class game fish swam just offshore, in the deep but calm Kona waters, added an environmental attraction that complemented Kona's historical sites. This would seem to have brought in an additional type of tourist, the sportfisherman. More conventional tourists just observed the comings and goings of the fishing boats, and noted the huge size of the fish that were weighed each day on the pier.

Lastly, the Hawaiian people themselves could be observed and interacted with in Kona. This represented a chance to see the primitiveness that was by 1920 or so almost completely gone from Honolulu. Few grass shacks existed even in Kona, but people still fished, made poi and wove lauhala in the traditional manner. Also, they were friendly to tourists.

Thus, by the late 1920s Kona had taken on a new identity for visitors. This was based on a diverse set of resources; world-class sport-fishing, fascinating history, and traditional culture. The only element missing was the presence of the tourist industry itself.

TRUE TOURISM BEGINS—RESPONSE STAGE: 1928–64

The “Pioneer Hotel” Substage: 1928–49

The opening of the Kona Inn in 1928 gave a presence to the tourist industry. This hotel had an immediate impact, as was described in Chapter 6. In particular, it spatially reorganized tourism away from the mauka regions down to Kailua. This represented a fundamental shift. Kailua's DLC really begins at this time, with the opening of this pioneer hotel. The DLC of mauka Kona, conversely, went into an early maturity stage, as tourists began to stay makai.

Equally important, the hotel became a major industrial resource for tourists, an attraction that complemented the historical resources in the surrounding areas of Kona. The role of ambience as a cultural resource clearly was enhanced when this hotel opened its doors. Afterwards Kona became a place where “old Hawai‘i” could be found, but better yet, found in comfort. Ambience was the only resource that saw a dramatic increase in the level of quality during the Pioneer Hotel phase. The quality of other resources was stable, and this represented the condition of internal homogeneity. The only real change was the paving of the circle island road, which increase the ability of tourists to reach Kona.

With respect to the tourist industry, very little else seems to have occurred. No recreational business district emerged in Kailua; the general stores were still the predominant businesses. No souvenir industry seems to have emerged. Travel narratives and guidebooks do not mention that there was anything made locally that should be purchased. No restaurants seem to have sprung up to compete with the Kona Inn’s own restaurant (room rates were on the “American Plan,” i.e., included meals). Yet during the 1930s Kailua slowly emerged as one of the best places to visit in the Territory, in part because of the absence of tourist industry shops. It was truly the spot “off-the-beaten-path” that tourists sought, just as they do today.

The advent of World War II represents the impact of a macrostructural condition. After the bombing of Pearl Harbor, tourism on the Neighbor Islands was completely halted, even for residents. Overall, however, the War did not bring sufficient change in Kona to argue that there was even a distinct change in the sub-stage of the tourism life cycle. World War II was basically an interruption of the Pioneer Hotel phase, nothing more.

The Kona Inn was evidently used extensively by the military during these years. It may thus be more accurate to say that “typical” tourists were temporarily replaced by a particular type of special interest tourist. After the war ended the hotel underwent extensive renovations; it also expanded. As noted in Chapter 6, Kona’s ambience had remained intact but there was a perceptual difference described in narratives and newspaper accounts. With the pace on O‘ahu increasing, Kona was perceived as even more relaxed than before. The “Kona Way of Life,” based on a sort of climatic possibilism, became the perceived source of the region’s ambience

and became the major attraction of the region. The historical sites, and interaction with Hawaiians, seemed to diminish in value as resources after 1945.

Development of the Local Form: 1949–64

Through the end of World War II, and into the late 1940s, very little in the way of a tourism industry existed in Kona, except for the Kona Inn. This would shortly begin to change, requiring the identification of breaking points. As noted in the last chapter, this can be done by integrating accommodation unit statistics with events that occurred in the region. However, the definition of “event” here becomes critical. A decision must be made about when something that has had an impact on the landscape really begins to exist. There are three dates that are pertinent. These are: (1) the date plans for a project are announced; (2) the date construction begins; (3) the date the facility opens for public use. Examining these in reverse order; the date a project opens is a concrete fact. For example, the Old Kona Airport unequivocally opened in 1949. This event was tangible, and could be seen on the landscape. The impacts that resulted were duly described in documentary sources. If this date were the only one to consider, identifying specific years of sub-stage change would be easy. The middle date is the "ground-breaking" ceremony, when a planned project gets underway. In the case of a master-planned resort such as Keauhou, this occurred several years ahead of the year that the first hotel opened. Finally, the initial important date occurs when plans for a project are announced by the developer (or government agency). After announcement, these projects can touch off a storm of public approval or controversy. They subsequently may or may not be built. From the perspective of the DLC model, when a project is announced but never completed, can it be said to have ever existed? As described by Butler (1980) and others, the stages of the model focus on change that actually occurred at the destination. As will be seen for Kona, the case situation is not so simple. The knowledge that a project is planned puts pressure on the destination; this is a sort of virtual reality with respect to the present stage and how quickly it changes. A similar situation occurs when government hires consulting companies to do regional master plans. These produce a kind of "ideal" map and document of what the region ought to look like. For Kona, as will be seen, what has been built is typically nothing like what was in the plan, even when it became the

official "Plan" that had the force of law. These regional development plans also have had the same effect as plans drawn up by the private sector—they can produce intense public reaction that can result in something different occurring.

Perusal of the documentary material for Kona led to the decision to use the date that something actually opened as the basis for determining stage and sub-stage changes. This was done in order to be consistent with the theory developed in Chapter 3, with respect to the different forms that destinations could take as they proceeded through their life cycles. In the discussion that follows however, the more subjective issues related to certain projects plans that were announced will also receive treatment. The overall sense of "place as process" can only be fully brought out by including a discussion of projects that never happened, as well as those that were altered because of public protest.

The Pioneer Hotel phase of Kona's Response stage was characterized in part by a lack of development of the tourist industry. Then, in 1949, the new airport opened, north of Kailua town. This made the "off the beaten path" destination very accessible. Local residents, and some outsiders, quickly responded to this situation. Accommodation facilities for tourists began to increase even as the airport was being built. Throughout the 1950s, Kailua town developed a small RBD, while getaway cottages and second homes were built down the empty coastline along Ali'i Drive. The town thus took on a Local form during this period. This would exist until the mid-1960s, when a spate of development projects overwhelmed the town.

Critical Event: the Old Kona Airport Opens

The event which caused the transition from the Pioneer to the Local phase occurred on July 10, 1949 (HNCM 1949), when the long awaited airport opened (Chapter 7). The most immediate impact was a quick increase in the number of hotels. For two decades the Kona Inn had been the only one in Kailua; it was joined in the late 1940s by a small facility, the Ho'onanea Apartments.²² By September of 1949, a newspaper headline announced that the "Kona Airport Induces New Business" (HNCM 1946b). Also announced was a new hotel, to would be named the Kailua-Kona. This article also stated that the Lihikai Hotel, almost completed, had come into existence because of the impending improved access. "The Lihikai came into being as the result

of the growing tourist trade and the general public's recognition of Kona as the ideal vacation land, due largely to excellent transportation facilities available through the new airport" (Dixon 1950). This article also asserted that: "The new Kona airport is largely responsible for the current miniature boom in this district." By the middle of 1951 there were eight new retail stores and two taxi services, in addition to the two new hotels (HNCM 1951). "The sleepy port of Kailua has become a bustling community ..." (HNCM 1951b), another article announced, while also noting that cottages had been built all the way to Keauhou. This same article was one of the first to mention what would later become a major conflict. It was noted that tourism development would simultaneously allow people to "enjoy the slow pace of life in Kona," but it also "can't help changing the languorous Kona way of life."²³

Throughout these early years there seems to have been a stable goal, at least on the part of the business community, that Kona should develop into the #2 resort area in the Territory, after Waikiki (*HA* 1950). It has been noted that the Big Island did have the most resort facilities, after O'ahu, during the 1950s. The group favoring this development lived not only in Kona, but also in Hilo and Honolulu (*HA* 1954; *HA* 1956b; *HA* 1956c). Kona's growth as a destination was perceived to be good for the entire Territory, not just locally. Such response by the Territorial business community to the increase in tourism demand led to calls for development projects. These tended to be of three types: improved infrastructure, increased accommodation, and development of a community master plan.

Infrastructure Projects in Kailua

It was obvious that growth in Kona could not come unless public monies were spent to upgrade infrastructure. A number of project issues were important during the 1950s and early 1960s, as the Kona community responded to tourism, and the pressure to develop Kailua town as a resort increased. These projects were seldom sufficient for more than a few years or perhaps a decade, as regional growth became pronounced. Kona has mostly played catch-up since the 1950s, as ever-greater demand has consistently created the need for expanded facilities. This problem continues into the present.

Several of these projects concerned improving the area around Kailua Bay, both on land and in the ocean. Perhaps the earliest concern was for protection for the small sport fishing boats that anchored in the Bay. These were exposed to storms from the south and west during the winter months. A suggestion to build a breakwater was broached as early as 1946 (Thurston 1946). Debate then ensued for over a decade about where to put this facility. All inlets between Kailua and Keauhou Bays were suggested. Perhaps the most controversial idea was to use the stones of the Poakamenehune breakwater at Kahalu'u Bay as the base of the breakwater (Lincoln, 1955b). This same article noted people were also beginning to suggest that an inland harbor be created. Again, the location of this was grounds for debate. Funds for the construction of the harbor were passed by the Territorial Legislature in 1957, even though the location had not been settled (Burtinett 1957). In 1959, a location north of Kailua, at Honokōhau, was finally suggested (HSB 1959). This would ultimately be the location chosen, but another decade would pass before the small boat harbor would be completed.

A second infrastructural project concerned the Kailua Bay pier (see Chapter 5). In the early 1950s, a 3-acre L-shaped pier was constructed to improve Kailua's port facilities, particularly for the ranching industry. A large, enclosed holding shed was also built on the pier. The community was highly divided over this latter facility and it became known Territory-wide as "The Great Cow Pen Controversy" (HNCM 1953). Tourists had often enjoyed seeing cattle taken out individually to the waiting ships by the paniolos. The new pier prevented this; the cattle were sent down a chute into a docked boat. This project thus probably negated the ambient quality of the town and bayfront, to a certain extent. A photo (Yoon & Associates 1968, 43) indicates the corrugated metal shed was a sizable landmark in the town.

A third project also involved the seawall that protected the residences and shops along Kailua Bay. Initially, the Territory had offered to build a new highway along this stretch of Ali'i Drive. Residents, however, thought the new road would destroy the charm of Kailua Village, and rejected the offer (MacMillan 1954). By 1955 however, the old seawall was near collapse in places and there was local demand to have it, and Ali'i Drive, repaired (Lincoln 1955). This seems to have been done in a timely manner (HNCM 1957). Less than two years later, a new

seawall and road had been put in place. The improvements were dramatic. In some places the new wall extended some 30 feet further out to sea than had the old one. The road was widened to accommodate two lanes of traffic plus a parking lane. The makai side of the wall was planted in coconut palms and several types of *native* salt tolerant plant species. No land on the mauka side had been condemned, leaving the village completely intact. If the new pier and cattle shed negated village ambience, this project undoubtedly enhanced it for most people (but it did cover over "Plymouth Rock").

Though the new airport had been open only a few years, by the early 1950s it was already apparent that it would soon be too small and that it had been built too close to town. Plans to relocate it surfaced with Henry Kaiser's project (see next section on accommodation). If this were done, the logic went, the land, which was owned by the Territory, could be sold to resort developers, recouping much of the expense of building a larger airport (*HA* 1956). Although the 1957 Legislature approved funds for the Aeronautics Commission to begin this project (Burtinett 1957), it remained in limbo until the late 1960s, when Keahole Airport, about 10 miles north of town, was planned and built.

Several DLC case studies noted the occurrence of water pollution problems as tourism developed. Such a problem did occur in Kona, though blame could never be precisely pinned on any one source. Towards the end of 1960, Kailua Bay began to smell. This was not a minor odor, people evidently could not walk along Ali'i Drive in comfort, and restaurant business dwindled (*HNCM* 1960c). The problem lasted for several months, until at the end of the year cement was dumped over a particular spot in the bay, forming a cap. The problem abated after this, for awhile. While it had occurred however, the public began to call for the development of a municipal sewer system. Early in 1961, quality tests were done on water from the Bay, resulting in it being "officially" declared polluted (*HSB* 1961b). Swimming was banned. Later that October, the stench returned. By this time, however, a sewer system for Kailua was being planned. It was completed late in 1964 (*HSB* 1964), at least throughout Kailua Village. By 1970, it was already inadequate and there was a public cry for a moratorium against building until the situation was corrected (Ketchum, 1970). The County would seem to have been in a

position of continually needing to expand and upgrade the system since then, particularly as development spread away from Kailua Village.

The last infrastructure issue of the Local phase of the Response stage had to do with the availability of potable water. This was undoubtedly the most important issue of the 1950s decade. Since Kona had no streams or other perennial water sources, and had become an underpopulated hinterland, most residents had for decades been relying on catchment tanks. As Kailua began to develop a tourism industry, the need for reliable sources of water became more-and-more economically compelling. The hotels that had been built when the airport opened had each provided their own "distilling plant" (Dixon 1950). As early as 1950, the call went out for storage tanks to be constructed in the hills behind town, and during that year water had to be trucked in from Waimea to meet the needs of the Kona Inn (*HA* 1950). Storage tanks were built during the 1950s (Stermer 1954; Scott 1957), but these proved inadequate. An HVB official was quoted as saying that "Kona is losing tremendous amounts in tourist revenues because hotel space and adequate water supply are lacking," while a member of the Kona Civic Club noted there was \$1 million in business waiting for water (HNCM 1955f). An editorial reproduced from the *Hilo Tribune Herald* (*HA* 1955e) argued this was a Territorial problem, since the objective had become one of spreading tourism to the Neighbor Islands. The Legislature ultimately acted, providing funds for a survey and subsequent development (Burtinett *HA* 1957).

Shortages continued to occur (Scott 1957) however, and a particularly severe drought struck in early 1958. The two one-million gallon tanks that had been constructed were three-quarters empty by mid-January (*HSB* 1958b). By February, the Territory had called upon the Navy for relief, and during that month four barge-loads of water were shipped in from Honolulu. The drought ended in March but the crisis had shown the imperative need of the district for a stable water supply. Hence drilling of exploratory deep wells began later that year (*HSB* 1958d). During the next 12 months four wells were dug in locations a few miles mauka. Three of the four struck water that had acceptably low levels of salt, and was considered potable (*HSB* 1958j; HNCM 1959). This ended Kona's water shortage for several years. The chief engineer of the project was quoted as noting that the projected hotel developments in Kona would no longer

have to worry about lack of water (HNCM 1959b). This acceptable state of affairs did not last either, as development spread away from Kailua Village. Water availability has waxed and waned in importance as an issue ever since. There is no indication that the problem has been solved once-and-for-all.

Thus for the most part, the development of infrastructure enabled subsequent expansion of the tourism industry. During the 1950s-decade, nearly all of this was to occur in Kailua Village, and the rest was along Ali'i Drive to the south. In particular, there was an expansion of the accommodation sector, and a recreational business district began to develop in Kailua Village.

The Accommodation Sector

With respect to accommodation, executives within the industry asserted during the 1950s that it was Kona's duty, more-or-less, to expand. One such group planned to build a hotel in Kailua in 1955 because the town had become a "bottleneck" where demand for rooms exceeded supply nine months out of the year. With Waikiki expected to surpass 1,000 rooms, other islands would have to "keep pace" (both quotes from HNCM 1955c). Interestingly, it was asserted that Waikiki, even by the mid-1950s, no longer represented Hawai'i, and thus tourists wanting such experiences would have to go to secondary destinations such as Kona. A newspaper editorial stated, with respect to Kona, that: "The constant, urgent, yet unsolved problem is to provide ample tourist accommodations and yet retain the simplicity, the unaffected hospitality, of old-time Hawaii" (HSB 1955e). Two years later, a developer from Hilo announced the decision to build in Kailua because "Kona is the most fabulous tourist spot in the islands. Kona cannot grow without more hotels and allied facilities" (HA 1957c).²⁴

Perhaps the clearest indication that Kona had entered the response stage of the tourism era, and that agriculture was on the wane as the dominant institution of the district, began to occur in the mid-1950s. At a conference held in Kona, the keynote speaker "painted Kona's future" in terms of tourism, not coffee, ranching, or agriculture, and argued that the local educational system should re-direct itself to training children to work in the tourism industry (Gaspar 1955). This attitude continued to be asserted into and throughout the 1960s, particularly

with respect to coffee and the unusual Kona school schedule (Chapter 5). By that time, tourism had become institutionalized in Kailua, and had spread down the coast.

The overall increase in accommodation during the Local phase of the Response stage was not that dramatic. As noted, three hotels were built right around the time the airport opened, complementing the Kona Inn. This latter facility expanded throughout the 1950s decade (*HA* 1952; Sato 1954). By the end of the Local phase, the Kona Inn was nearly a large-sized hotel, encompassing almost 200 rooms in several separate buildings.

After the initial burst in facilities however, no other hotels opened until 1955. Between then and 1960, when the first *tall* hotel, the King Kamehameha, was built, only a few more opened. All but one were located in Kailua Village. All but one were small, containing less than 50 rooms (the Hukilau hotel, with 80 rooms, was the exception). Hence the overall room count did not increase that much, in absolute terms, during the Local phase, even though the number of hotels quintupled (from two to ten).

Besides the additions to the Kona Inn, the major hotel built in Kona during this phase was the King Kamehameha. Announced in April, 1959, the developers set off a storm of "bitter protests" by stating the building site would be on the grounds of Kamehameha's former residence at Kamakahonu (Whitten 1959; Vertrees 1959). The two main issues were continued public access to the beach and the location of the hotel building close to the shore. The latter issue involved Ahu'ena heiau; the initial plans produced considerable belief that the developers would ruin this important historical site. Eventually a compromise was reached, and the hotel was built further back from the shoreline. It opened more-or-less on schedule in January, 1960 (Buchwach 1960). At four stories, this was Kona's first *tall* hotel. It was the first hotel outside of Waikiki to have an elevator; it thus overtopped the buildings along Ali'i Drive. It was also the first new hotel to have more than 100 rooms. Containing these features, the opening of the King Kamehameha Hotel in some ways represented a critical event for Kailua. It was a foreshadowing of larger projects to come. However, no other large projects followed it immediately. Overall room count for Kona actually declined somewhat afterwards, according to

HVB data. The low was reached in 1962 (350 units). Hence, the opening of the hotel represented something of an anomaly (see section below on unbuilt projects).

Chapter 6 discussed how the early hotels in Kona tended to emphasize the local setting, i.e., tropical Polynesia. Doyle (1957, 22–41) would note that: "Each offers romantic Polynesian charm and the finest in accommodations amid a tropical setting of swaying palms, picturesque ocean views, and landscapes." For example, in 1955 the Kailua-Kona Hotel was bought out, expanded, and renamed the Kona Palms. When it reopened later that year the decor featured tapa wallpaper from Tonga, rattan chairs from the Philippines, and Japanese umbrellas. The restaurant that opened next door in conjunction with the hotel had a thatch roof made of local pili grass (HNCM 1955b, 1955e). The King Kamehameha hotel was also detailed in such a way as to emphasize its historical setting. The hotel was crescent shaped, to reflect the shape of the Hawaiian war helmet. The dining room was modeled after the interior of Hulihe'e Palace. Interior appointments included lauhala paneled walls, light fixtures made of gourds, posts of ohia, and bathroom faucets made of simulated lava (Vertrees 1960). During the Local phase, then, the general trend was to build hotels that tried to project a look of being part of the traditional landscape.

Ali'i Drive south of Kailua was the only other area of Kona that had an increase in tourist accommodation facilities during these years. Only two hotels were built, each had fewer than 50 rooms. Most accommodation was in the form of cottages owned by non-locals. As noted above, construction of these began soon after the airport was completed. The trend seemed to accelerate as the decade passed. Towards the end of the stage Scott would note that "Private seasonal homes—and many large year round homes—are sprouting along the Kailua to Keauhou shoreline." It was also the case that "realtors and subdividers...are buying large tracts for future development" (both quotes Scott 1957).

What were really more impressive during the 1950s were a set of hotel projects that were never built. Had they been, Kailua's advance into the Development stage would have occurred much more quickly. The first, and by far the most ambitious of these unbuilt hotel projects, was by the world-renowned entrepreneur Henry Kaiser. This magnate of modern capitalism had

visited Kona in 1954, and seems to have immediately contemplated building a huge, master-planned resort community just north of Kailua. By January, 1955, his idea had blossomed into a 4-hotel, 800-room vision; it also included a new beach, three yacht harbors, and hundreds of apartments and private homes, including employee housing. The project would cost an estimated \$40 million (HNCM 1955; HA 1955). Had it been built, such an enormous project would have changed Kona's cultural landscape dramatically. But the project never got off the drawing board. Kaiser had placed the development right on the site of the new airport, and insisted that the Territory pay to rebuild it further inland. He also evidently insisted the Territory dredge the three new harbors (HSB 1955e). Considerable fighting over whether to comply with these requirements seems to have occurred. Residents also hotly debated the appropriateness of the project. A suggestion was made that the plan be moved to Kiholo Bay, at the north end of North Kona (HA 1955b). Ultimately, red tape seems to have snarled Kaiser's plans. By early 1957 he noted Kona "wasn't ready for another big hotel" (HSB 1957). The project seems to have been dropped after this.

At least three other major hotel projects suffered the same fate as Kaiser's. All were to have been located along Ali'i Drive, south of Kailua. Two (by the Williams Hotel Corporation and "Skipper Kent") were to have contained around 100 rooms (HA 1955d, HSB 1956; HA 1957c); the third (by James Porter) was to have been composed of luxury bungalows built around a golf course (HSB 1958c; Greaney 1958). The first failed due to lack of financing; no news of the fate of the others was located. Whatever the reason, these four projects added considerably to the strident tone of newspaper articles of the time that Kona was about to go through a development boom at any minute. This was a virtual reality, the boom only came a decade later.

In summing up the accommodation sector, one final point should be made. This phase has been defined as "Local," meaning development was by locals and the projects built were small. However, the projects discussed so far were mostly not developed by true locals, but by Honolulu residents, and individuals/groups from the mainland. There was never a period of time for Kona when only true locals developed projects. Thus it is the case that this phase is "Local"

mostly in the sense that the developments were small-scale. The "form" was local-scale, though the people behind the projects may or may not have been.

Food and the Service Resources

In the DLC case studies done to date, very little consideration was given to any other aspect of service resources other than accommodation. The data for Kona perhaps indicate why this has been the case—these are mainly ancillary considerations. Only two notable restaurants seem to have been built during this stage. The Marlin Club was completed at the same time as the Kona Palms Hotel, and served as the hotel restaurant. It was large, seating 200 people, and, as mentioned, had a thatched, Polynesian-style roof. There actually was a club involved, tourists automatically were admitted if they went sportfishing and had the luck to catch a marlin. The club was also equipped with short wave radios, to stay in contact with the fishing boats. By night, there was entertainment (*HA*, 1955c). The club seems to have quickly been sold to the hotel; it then became the "Marlin Room" (*HSB* 1955e). The other notable restaurant was the Kona Steakhouse, which also opened in 1955 (*HSB* 1955). This establishment provided local entertainment for tourists as well. Both of these establishments had a relatively short life span. One was demolished, one was converted to shops.

Throughout the years between the 1920s and 1940s (the Pioneer Hotel substage), there was very little for tourists in the way of shopping facilities.²⁵ This began to change in the 1950s. Chapter 7 discussed how few of these products were local, in the sense of being from, or about, Kona. According to Doyle's (1957) description, "fun" items made in Hawai'i were "in abundance" (local wood products, miniature poi pounders, drums, ali'i symbols, shell jewelry). These were generic Hawaiiana. Coral, brought up from the ocean by children, was one type of local souvenir. Shops also specialized in international exotica, particularly clothing. The shopping component of Kona's tourist industry thus has had an "out of place" character since its beginning. Most of the shops seem to have been located in converted residences along Kailua Bay. There were not enough of them to qualify Ali'i Drive as a true recreational business district.

In the DLC literature, there was often no consistent discussion of changing quality and/or impacts upon the base resources (environmental, social and cultural) that attracted tourists to the destination. For Kona, the data from the years of the Local substage indicate that the base resources were neither greatly enhanced nor heavily impacted upon. The major event enhancing a resource site occurred in July, 1961, when the Pu'uhonua o Honaunau National Historical Park was established (Clark 1985, 94).²⁶ This, however, was an exception. Chapters 4–6 showed there was something of a narrowing of focus with respect to resource variety during this time. Generally speaking, features of Kona's environment (topography, flora, fauna, even mauka scenery) lost value to tourists, and the emerging industry did very little to re-enhance it. The one resource that did increase in value was climate. The exceptional quality of Kona's weather was extolled, and tourism became entirely focused along the coast. The social resources that had been such an important aspect of a visit to Kona in the 1920s and 30s were reduced almost entirely to neutral elements. There was less-and-less chance to observe or interact with Hawaiians during this time, as modern life gradually diffused into the region, changing Hawaiian lifestyles. Also, as the houses behind the seawall became converted to tourism businesses, visitors came more into contact with industrial business transactors, and less in contact with locals who owned shops catering to needs of residents.

Kailua's Ambience Remains High

The resource that was relied upon most during this stage was the cultural ambience of Kona. The "Kona Way of Life" was perceived by the industry to be what distinguished this destination from Waikiki. Tourists could get the flavor of "old Hawai'i" only by going to Kona. Ambience as a resource contains components of climate, the urban built environment, and local lifestyle. It is a fragile resource, because the presence of the tourist industry in the town can quickly neutralize the latter two components.

There were mixed reports of how much of this occurred during the Local phase of the Response stage. Overall, the limited amount of industrial development during the 1950s and early 1960s did not seem to excessively neutralize Kona's ambience. This was particularly true before 1955. After the initial spate of hotel construction was over (about 1950) there was a five

year hiatus in building. These were the years in which ambience would be utilized to greatest effect by the tourist industry (Edwards 1954; MacMillan 1954). After 1955, the new hotels and shops began to generate a realization that Kona's ambience was indeed fragile and needed to be protected. Some writers (Doyle 1957, 22) expressed the idea that the ambience had a resilient quality that Kona's increased popularity had not been able to defeat. Others (*HSB* 1955; Stermer 1958) asserted the challenge was to retain the old qualities or entreated the newcomers to not bring the world with them. Still others focused on the changes tourism was bringing. The Kona Outdoor Circle fought the Territorial Plans to sell the site of the Old Kona Courthouse to developers (*HSB* 1955c).²⁷ Two tour company owners asserted that lack of architectural codes was making Kailua look like Coney Island (HNCM 1956). A San Francisco columnist (Caen, 1956) reported that Kailua was being "made miserable by Progress." The continued lack of sufficient accommodations had reduced Kailua's ambience to some, who asserted that the town had become an "overcrowded overnight stop" (Burtinett 1957). Nevertheless, at the beginning of 1960, Smyser (60) would note that Kailua "has a surrounding community of shops, motels, and apartment hotels that have so far managed to grow without spoiling Kailua's basic, rustic charm." He concluded with the opinion that "Kona looks better than ever—so far."

Thus the impacts of the tourism industry on Kona's major resource—ambience—began to be felt in the second half of the Local sub-stage. However, there was no universal opinion that the destination had yet suffered greatly. What does seem to be the case is that the project to improve the seawall and Ali'i Drive done in the early 1950s was the only one that enhanced Kona's ambience in any meaningful way. Industrial projects (hotels and shops) seemed to have a neutral impact on the built environment during this sub-stage.

Early Planning Efforts

Cognizance of the fragility of Kailua's ambience led to calls for planning. The first noted was an editorial (*HA* 1956) that asserted a master plan for Kona was now required "for the guided development of Kona as Hawaii's second largest tourist resort." By 1957, the Kona Civic Club had established a group to prepare zoning plans for County approval. This group set height

limits on hotels at two stories, and also required that the size of hotel grounds be "carefully prescribed" (Scott 1957).

Two plans of a more official nature were produced the next year. The first of these was by the Stanford Research Institute, which had been hired to assess how much water Kona would require given the expected rate of increase in tourism. This plan provided estimates, but did not really attempt to prescribe change in the cultural landscape.

The second plan did. In 1957, the Territorial Planning Commission had been established; its first project was a master plan for Kona.²⁸ Details of the plan were unveiled to the public late in 1958. The plan asserted the major objective would be to preserve the "Kona Way of Life" (*HSB* 1958h). To provide for development requirements, while still maintaining the regional ambience, an unusual spatial solution was proposed. Rather than develop one central village for tourism, the plan called for no less than seven "resort centers" along the Kona coastline. These began at Honokōhau, north of Kailua, and extended south to Kealia Beach, well below the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. Each resort center would have between 350–750 rooms (*HNCM* 1960b). Other major improvements included the construction of three golf courses (two resort oriented, one public), two regional parks located at mauka sites several thousand feet in elevation, and coastal parks at Honokōhau, Kahalu'u Bay and Kealakekua Bay. In Kailua itself, there would be a cultural center, a natatorium, a new beach at 'Oneo Bay; the boat harbor would be located there, as well. Population centers were projected to be located mauka, reproducing the trends of the past century. The villages of Hōlualoa, Kealakekua and Captain Cook were planned to become major regional centers.

The level of detail and the thoroughness of this master plan probably astonished Kona's residents at the time. A poll taken about a week after its unveiling found it was "regarded admiringly and hopefully." The estimation made of local opinion was: "They all like it, with few reservations" (both quotes *HSB* 1958i). Over time, however, what was most notable was how little was ever done. This was just the first example of the huge gulf that has existed between planning and practice in Kona. Nothing like the seven small resort centers ever eventuated. The golf courses were not built, neither were the parks or coastal recreation facilities. Funding for at

least some of the projects was proposed during the 1960 Legislative session.²⁹ A senator from Hilo, however, eliminated them from the budget. The reason cited was that the residents of Kona hadn't specifically agreed to them, hence he didn't want something "shoved down their throats" (HNCM 1960). This initial vision of Kona as a fully developed tourist destination thus came mostly to naught.

Tourist Types and Promotion

The final two topics relevant to this sub-stage are the types of tourists who were visiting and promotional efforts made. With respect to the former, the literature on tourist types discussed last chapter is in general consensus that tourist types go from adventurous to conservative as the destination develops.

That might have happened to a certain extent in Kona. In 1950, a well known island artist was calling for Keauhou to become a site of an artist's colony, because of its resemblance to Tahiti (Lincoln 1950). Had this been developed, Kona might have re-traced the sequence of tourist types suggested by Christaller (1964).

However, another trend was more apparent in the documentary data. As noted earlier in the chapter, the package tour from Honolulu to Kīlauea developed quite early. Even before the Old Kona Airport opened, the Hilo *Tribune Herald* observed that "the tourist who goes to Hawai'i today is practically forced to go in a party on a conducted tour as a matter of protection, like pioneers being led through hostile Indian country" (HNCM 1950b). After the airport opened, something along those lines seems to have also occurred in Kona. By 1955, an article noted Kona had become a "bottleneck" for tours, where demand for rooms exceeded supply "for at least nine months of the year" (HNCM 1955c).³⁰ The average length of stay on the Big Island, two years later, was just 1.5 days (Scott 1957). This same article described how two tours, totaling 300 people, had bussed into Kailua for dinner, then continued to Honolulu that same evening, on nine specially arranged planes. At least part of the pressure for expansion of hotel facilities during this substage seems to have been the precocious development of group tours from Honolulu (HA 1957b). Yet as was described earlier in the chapter, group tours to the Big Island were an early innovation in Hawaiian tourism. Overall, Kona went quickly from

destination visited by explorer tourists, to one visited by a much more conservative type. Or, it might possibly be more accurate to say these two opposites were visiting Kona simultaneously during the 1950s.

Butler (1980) asserted that promotion of the destination would occur during the Response stage. Kona does fit the model with respect to this. However, since the official promotion agency, the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau, is located in Honolulu, promotion of Kona waxed and waned according to the level of effort of that Territory-wide agency. In any case, specific nation-wide promotion of Kona as a destination in Hawai'i began at least by 1950 (Coll, 1950). Several times during the decade, HVB also focused campaigns on getting people out of Honolulu, to destinations such as Kona (Edwards 1954; *HA* 1957). In 1958, it sponsored a "come to the Big Island" campaign (HNCM 1958). Kona thus was promoted in a timely manner. However, by the 1960s, the efforts of HVB would appear inadequate to the local business community.

Summation of the Response Stage

The Response stage in Kona had two sub-stages. The first, the Pioneer Hotel phase, began when the Kona Inn was built in 1928. This situated tourism in Kailua, and would change spatial demographic patterns up to the present. The sub-stage was notable for the coalescence of a set of resources that made Kona an attractive destination. These resources were diversified in nature. Gamefish were an important environmental resource, while the presence of Hawaiians living a fairly traditional lifestyle gave tourists interesting social experiences. The historical quality of the built environment, combined with the local "old Hawai'i" ambience, was the main resource however, and Kailua gained a reputation for this. Very few tourist facilities other than the Kona Inn were established.

That was to change after the opening of the Old Kona Airport, in 1949. This event ushered in the Local sub-stage, during which Kailua Village incrementally took on the Local form of resort development. Very little in the way of base resource enhancement occurred during this sub-stage. Rather, elements of the tourist industry came in to exploit the reputation that Kona had gained in the Pioneer Hotel phase. New hotels were built, shops opened, and

group tours pushed tourists through in a day. Documentary sources give the impression that there was an attitude, among at least some groups in Kona, that tourism represented the future, and the faster that development could occur, the better. Toward these ends, several infrastructure projects were proposed, and a master plan completed. However, several projects were never begun, and the master plan never became reality.

Similarly, at least four major hotel projects were proposed during the 1950s decade, but all fell through. The projects that did get built were often much smaller, and were centered mainly in Kailua Village, near the Kona Inn. A small shopping area also developed there. Kailua thus ended the Response stage in the early 1960s as a tourist village, but one that continued to exude some of the charm that had originally made it a destination. It was distinctly Local in project-scale and overall form. The pressure for development would continue, however, and this form would soon be replaced.

TOURISM GROWS UP—DEVELOPMENT STAGE: 1964–85

The analysis of accommodation development on the Big Island showed that, during 1964, Kona broke out of a range, and room count would increase continuously for a decade. This statistic is taken to indicate the blurry transition from the Response to the Development stage. There was no single critical event during 1964 that had a major impact, as had Old Kona Airport in 1949. The tourism industry would simply grow and spatially expand at a quicker pace than previously. Nineteen sixty-four represented the beginning of the development boom that would change Kona dramatically, particularly Kailua Village. The pressure to develop would increase considerably, not only in Kailua, but up-and-down the entire coastline. Concepts of the "Gold Coast" and "West Hawai'i" would arise to challenge district boundaries as regional entities. Tourism came to prevail as the dominant economic activity, but was not without adverse impacts. Opinion would be almost unanimous that Kailua had lost its old Hawai'i village charm, but visions of what it should become were contested bitterly by different pro-tourism factions. The end of the Development stage for Kailua Village (though not for the region as a whole) dates from the year compromise was achieved.

Heated disputes would also erupt over proposed resort projects in both North and South Kona. Anti-development forces were the clear winners of these battles during this stage, and very little change in the landscape was caused by tourism. By contrast, little resistance occurred over development of Keauhou Resort, or along Ali'i Drive. This area grew more-or-less organically, until it was "linked" with Kailua. By the end of the Development stage, tourism in Kona had expanded out of Kailua and occupied a six-mile length of coast.

Sub-Regional Pathways in Kona

The discussion of "pathways" in Chapter 3 suggested that a resort might attain several forms during its Development stage. One set of pathways for the Big Island, based only on a graph of accommodation units, was proposed in the last section. There, the graph for Kona indicated a shift from the Response stage, through Development, and into the Maturity stage. Use of additional documentary and empirical evidence indicates that during the Development stage Kona attained some of the forms discussed in Chapter 3, but not all. These are shown below, in Figure 8.8.

Anticipating the documentary evidence, two morphological forms can be interpreted to have appeared more-or-less sequentially in Kona during the Development stage. Hence it can be suggested that two sub-stages existed. These have been called the Domestic, and Linked phases. Specifying the precise years for these required some compromise because of spatial scale. This is also shown in Figure 8.8. Kona, as mentioned, exists at the large end of the DLC model; as a destination-entity it consists of a resort town plus its hinterland. Development in both areas must be considered. The Kona coast is therefore divided into four sub-regions: Kailua Village; Keauhou Resort; Ali'i Drive; and Kekaha;. The lines to the right indicate the years each sub-region attained a particular form. The dates of particular stages and phases for the entire region is based on the different forms of development that were dominant during particular years.

For Kailua Village, the increase in accommodation units and the development of the RBD initiated the Domestic sub-stage. This continued in Kailua Village until 1975, when the last large hotel was built. The Domestic form would occur when high rise structures began to be constructed in the Village. Analogously, numerous shopping malls were constructed along Ali'i

	1950	55	60	65	70	75	80	85	90
Kona Region									
Stage	RESPONSE		▶	// DEVELOPMENT				▶	// MATURITY
Form	Local		▶	/ Domestic	▶	/ Linked		▶	/ Consolidation
Sub-regions:									
Kailua Village	Local		▶	/ Domestic	▶	/	Consolidation		▶
Keauhou Resort					/ Enclave			▶	/ Consolidation
Ali'i Drive						/ Linked		▶	/ Consolidation
Kekaha				/ Pioneer Hotel					▶

Figure 8.8 Pathways in Kona, and in four sub-regions

Drive (within the Village), replacing single shops and even hotels. Nineteen seventy-five also saw the establishment of an Urban Design Plan and Commission, through which standards were set and enforced in the central village area. This had the clear impact of inhibiting development in the village, by preventing another uncontrolled boom from being able to occur. The central village of Kailua thus took on a permanent "old" look that represented a central feature of consolidation. The Development stage for the village is thus interpreted to have ended in that year.

Along Ali'i Drive, south of Kailua, the Local scale carried on until 1970, when the first hotel in the Keauhou Resort opened. The growth of this master-planned enclave initially threatened to create a second resort nucleus. If that had occurred, this DLC analysis could have been quite different. However, many of the initial plans for the resort fell through, and Keauhou never succeeded in establishing independence from Kailua. Along Ali'i Drive, between these two end-points, growth continued into the mid-1980s, as condominium construction linked Keauhou with Kailua. The boom in construction of accommodation units ended in 1985. This stretch of coastline entered the Maturity stage after that year.

The Development stage thus ended at different times in two of the main sub-regions of Kona. The decision was thus made to split the stage into the Domestic sub-stage, occurring

between 1964 and 1975, and the Linked sub-stage, extending through 1985. Again, the underlying basis for picking these years is that development was mainly taking those forms during those times.

Figure 8.8 also shows the DLC stages of the Keauhou Resort and Kekaha sub-regions. In Keauhou, resort hotel development in the early 1970s created an Enclave form, but this did not dominate development for the whole region. Later, condominiums were constructed at the same time as this was occurring along Ali'i Drive. The enclave became part of the overall Linked form through this development.

In Kekaha, a single resort opened in 1965; this has been the only project to come to fruition. The sub-region has thus had a prolonged Pioneer Hotel phase. In the 1980s, several huge resort enclaves were proposed. By the time field research ended in early 1992, however, none had yet opened. This was often the result of intense public pressure against the project. In terms of the DLC model, the Kona region should have entered the Enclave sub-stage in the mid-1980s. This would have been a timely extension; the Enclave phase would have begun just as the Linked phase was ending. However, this has not yet happened, and cannot be said to have happened unless some of these resort projects are completed. Thus, on the basis that no resort enclaves appeared on the Kekaha landscape, Kona, as a region, can be interpreted as having ended the Development stage in 1985, when the number of accommodation units in the district reached a distinct peak.

Little development has occurred in two other sub-regions identified in Chapter 6, South Kona and Mauka Kona. Though resorts were proposed for South Kona, none ever were built (Chapter 9). Mauka Kona had a long, small Response stage, characterized by the existence of a several small hotels. The more important of these (for tourists) had closed by the 1930s, though two have remained open since the 1920s. The development pathway of this area thus went directly from Response to Stagnation.

The Development stage for the entire Kona region is thus interpreted to have begun in 1964, when expansion began in earnest, and ended in 1985 due to cessation of further growth in accommodation units. However, as already suggested, events in between were often not

unproblematic for the region. Many additions were not considered desirable and the Kona that emerged at the end of the stage might have looked far different if different factions had been victorious. This stage thus represents a fine example of how regional places can be contested, and how at a given point in time the existing built environment is a visual scorecard of who has won or lost. In order to bring out these aspects of social process, a more spatially-oriented outline will be used. First, certain uncontested aspects of regional resource and infrastructure development will be described. Afterwards, attention will turn to the development development in the three sub-regions shown in Figure 8.8. The Domestic phase in Kailua Village will be discussed first, followed by development of the Keauhou resort enclave. Development along Ali'i Drive during the Linked phase is then interpreted, followed by a summation.

Features At-Large for the Development Stage

Several features of the development stage can be summed rather quickly, as they are less critical to phase changes. These include infrastructure, base resources and promotion.

With respect to infrastructure, two of the major uncompleted projects of the Local phase eventually came to exist on the landscape. These were the Honokōhau Boat Harbor and the new airport, relocated north of Kailua at Ke'ahole Point, the westernmost tip of the island. Both got built through the agency of Governor Burns, who, during the late 1960s, promoted North Kona as the "Gold Coast," and spent millions of tax dollars on Kona's infrastructure (*HTH* 1968; *HA* 1968b). These both opened in 1970 (*HSB* 1970; Benham 1970d). A third project, also part of the Gold Coast development, was the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway, running north from Kailua to Kawaihae. This roadway opened up the previously isolated Kekaha coast. Construction was done in increments, but the entire stretch had opened by 1974 (Krauss 1974b). Other infrastructural elements, such as water availability and sewers, seemed to more-or-less keep pace with development or lag by a couple of projects over the course of this stage. There was no indication that any particular form of tourism was constrained because of the lack of infrastructure.

The situation with respect to base resources improved somewhat during the domestic phase of the development stage. A certain amount of attention was given by the County and

State to establishing parks in Kona. This had the impact of enhancing coastal resources, through their perpetuation. The underlying reason for this development was that, as tourism increased during the 1960s, community sentiment grew that several beaches should be obtained for public use, rather than appropriated for tourists by hotel developers. These included Kahalu'u, White Sands, and Kamakahonu Beaches (Bryan, 1964). The former two were ultimately acquired and became County beach parks, while the Kamakahonu area, including Ahuena heiau, became a National Historic Landmark in 1964 (*HTH* 1966; Clark 1985, 109). The Kealakekua Bay region also became a State Park during this stage.

Attempts at creating parks along coastal areas north of Kailua, on the other hand, ran into problems. The one effort that did succeed was at Old Kona Airport. The land there became available after the new airport at Ke'ahole opened in 1970. As noted, entrepreneurs such as Henry Kaiser had envisioned this as prime property for a resort, and State officials well understood that they could recoup much of the cost of the new airport by selling the land to a developer. However, this did not occur. Instead, the land was turned over to Hawai'i County on a temporary basis, and the County established a park facility (Eisen 1989, 46–7). This "temporary" situation was still operative during field research, twenty years later, though the County has anticipated receiving ownership of the land for some time.³¹ Thus, although a range of recreational facilities were developed for locals (almost exclusively), grander plans for building a major sports complex have not come to fruition.

A resort development on the north side of Honokōhau boat harbor was also initially part of the development plan for that area. However, the existence of a multitude of cultural sites led the Hawaiian community in Kona to protest vigorously against development, after a project plan was that included four hotels was submitted. Eventually, Governor Burns came out against this project (*HSB* 1968c; Reedy 1971; Benham 1971c). Afterwards, there was a second movement to have the land at Kaloko-Honokohau purchased by the federal government. This eventually occurred. Initial plans were to create a National Cultural Park, which would have allowed tourists to experience Hawaiians practicing a traditional lifestyle. No progress was made towards this end, however, either during this stage, or later. By the time of field research, again

fully two decades after the initial community response, no decision had yet been made as to what to do with the park land.³²

In a third proposal, privately owned land at Mahai'ula Beach was offered to the State in 1971 in the form of a swap (Coughlin 1971). The proposal envisioned a beach park there, along with a small diving resort (Bryan 1970). This project was vigorously opposed by a local conservation group, however, on the basis that developers could not be trusted. At about the same time, another proposal was made to create a 10-mile long coastal park, which was to include Mahai'ula Beach (Benham 1971). This seems to have never gone beyond being an idea.³³ Yet State interest in the land at Mahai'ula for a park remained alive. By 1990, the State was attempting to acquire a 40-acre parcel. However, a series of quick land sales pushed up the price, forcing the State into condemnation proceedings. Ultimately the State did take possession of the land, with the final purchase price to be determined in court (Smith 1990c; Harada-Stone 1990; *HA* 1990c). Field inspection of this site in early 1992 indicated that facilities had been put in place, and the new park was almost ready to open, as the Kona Coast State Park.

Two of Kona's many heiau were restored during this stage. They were Ahu'ena and Kuemanu heiaus. The latter was built so that Hawaiians could perform ceremonies that would result in better surfing. It was restored by the County around 1970. These were the major cultural sites to be enhanced during the Domestic phase of the Development stage.

Social resources, however, seem to have been completely ignored. It is likely that they deteriorated in quality, as outsiders immigrated into Kona and obtained jobs in tourist shops, and functioned as business transactors. By 1963, Krauss (1963, 154) would note that country stores were the places to meet tourists, not the shops in Kailua. Tourists therefore had less-and-less ability to have meaningful contact with locals during this time. Again, according to Krauss (1963, 338), the Hawaiians had gone from Kona and Ka'u. There was nothing left but a "lovely loneliness" to be found in "the ruins of villages."

Kailua Village Attains the Domestic Form: 1964–75

According to HVB data, Kona began 1964 containing a total of 348 rooms. This represented something of a stagnation during the later years of the Response stage. In October,

1961, when monthly HVB accommodation data records begin, Kona had 405 rooms. This total actually increased to 435 by June, 1962, but then declined. During 1964, however, the total increased steadily, and the district ended the year with a room count of 509. This represented a breakout from the levels between 1961 and 1963, hence the beginning of the Domestic phase of the Development stage is interpreted to have begun in 1964.

For the next decade, Kona would see an increase in accommodation units every year. During most years this would be a rather significant increase, with hundreds of additional hotel and condo units becoming available (the exceptions were 1967, 1973 and 1975). Between January, 1964 and December, 1974, the number of rooms in Kona would octuple, to 3,080. Nineteen seventy-five would be the first year to register a decline, hence is interpreted to represent the end of the Domestic sub-stage.

While using data on change in accommodation units is an appropriate method to bound stages and sub-stages, utilizing other properties of process (Chapter 3) can deepen understanding of why and how a stage, or sub-stage, change occurred. Research into events in Kona during this time period indicated there was change in two particular properties, and it was these that were more directly responsible for propelling Kona through the Domestic sub-stage. The following were particularly important. First was the expansion of tourism on Maui and Kaua'i, and particularly the opening of Ka'anapali resort on Maui. This represented a change in the macro-structural conditions of tourism. The second factor was the loss of ambience in Kailua Village, due to an increase in the number of tourists and intensification of industrial features. This represents a change in internal characteristics of the unit-entity.

As a result of these changing conditions, attempts were made by tourist interests to greatly modify the built environment of Kailua, in order to keep pace with tourism development throughout the State, and to prevent Kona from stagnating. These attempts focused on two types of changes in Kailua Village: the construction of a pedestrian mall on Ali'i Drive; and the building of high rise hotels and condominiums. Both changes were vehemently contested by various community elements, who eventually were mostly successful in preventing the built environment of Kailua from being greatly altered. This success led to another change, the

creation of a Special District with design codes and a commission which would enforce them. Such a document and entity represent consolidation at the governmental level, in the sense that inviolable standards were created. These acted as firm constraints against changing the look of Kailua. The Development stage ended in Kailua after this.

The Fight Over the Ali'i Drive Pedestrian Mall

As has now been mentioned several times, since the end of World War II there was an impression among at least certain elements in the community that Kona was the rightful #2 tourist destination in Hawai'i, after Waikiki. The accommodation statistics shown earlier backed this up. During the 1950s, expansion of rooms on the Big Island occurred faster than was the case on Maui or Kaua'i. In the early 1960s, however, HVB data show that both gradually caught up to the Big Island. During 1963, as accommodation units in Kona fell off, Maui overtook the Big Island and held the second place position. This was due to the opening of Ka'anapali Resort. Envisioned by a major landowner, Amfac, leases for 12 hotels were available as early as 1959 (Sutton 1959). The golf course and a smaller hotel opened in 1962 (HNCM 1962). It was, however, the opening of the curvilinear Sheraton hotel early in 1963 that caught the attention of the tourism world. Word was spread that something was finally happening on Hawai'i's Neighbor Islands. By 1964 there was near universal agreement that Ka'anapali, not Kona, was the place to be. Modernity was becoming more popular than "Old Hawai'i."

Internally, the core area of Kailua Village, along the waterfront, was showing signs of inability to maintain its ambience under the pressure of increasing numbers of tourists, and industrial intensification. As the RBD developed it had not spread to any great extent. The King Kamehameha Hotel, to the north, and Kona Inn, to the south, represented anchors, with shops and smaller hotels squeezed in between. Property north of the King Kamehameha Hotel never seems to have been available for tourism development.³⁴ The Kona Master Plan had projected that most urban growth would go south, past the Kona Inn (HNCM 1958h). However, nothing of the sort eventuated during that phase of Kona's life cycle (and even after, growth of industrial facilities to the south has been spatially sporadic). Instead, facilities of the tourism industry became increasingly clustered along the waterfront of Kailua Bay.

In addition to an increase in accommodation and commercial facilities in Kailua, a tangible reason for the loss of ambience was the increase in vehicular traffic along Ali'i Drive. As was the case in the 1950s, Kona's hotels continued to rely on tour groups (Berman 1965). In a guidebook written for budget travelers, Head (1965, 133) would comment that "Bargain-hunting for hotel accommodations in Kailua-Kona is tough because this village caters to people on a tour from luxury hotels in Waikiki." In another guidebook written two years later, Sutton (1967, 80) wrote a concurring opinion, noting that Kailua "is always busy with people and tour buses, burnished fishermen and blue-haired ladies in print dresses and sensible shoes." As the largest hotel in town, the Kona Inn seems to have been responsible for much of the negative impact caused by these vehicles. An article in the *Hawai'i Tribune Herald* (1967) was to comment that tourist drop-offs at the Kona Inn created "chaos" in the town.

This loss of ambience in the formerly rustic village was diplomatically referred to as "signs of growing pains" by Bryan (1965). In a discussion of recent events in Kona, he stated his opinion that it was the lack of an authoritative zoning ordinance that was the root of the problem. The Master Plan, originally published in 1958, had only been adopted as official by the Planning and Traffic Commission in September, 1964. In the interim, he noted, the "fever for development all but let conditions in the village get away from authorities ..." Hence Kona, and particularly Kailua, entered the Development stage with locals well aware that much had already been lost. People did not naively assume that tourism could just continue to grow without having negative impacts.

The year 1965 would be one of expansion however, as accommodation units increased by 25%. This particular year would also be one when some in the industry would attempt to correct the decline in ambience, through creation of a pedestrian mall along Ali'i Drive. This attempt created a broad schism in the tourism community, and thus 1965 must be considered a "critical juncture" in the DLC of Kona.

An "objective" evaluation of Kona tourism in 1965 might be stated as the following: competition from other islands had successfully lured tourists away from Kona, Kailua itself was quickly losing the ambience that had made it an attractive destination, and the original master

plan for the region was out-of-date. Whether or not this was the precise perception, Inter-Island Resorts, the owners of the Kona Inn, felt it necessary to have a second plan drawn up that would emphasize renewal of Kailua Village. The central idea was to turn Ali'i Drive into a long pedestrian mall, stretching from the King Kamehameha Hotel in the north, past the Kona Inn (then the southern anchor), reaching the William's property (where a hotel had been planned for years) on the southern shore of Ōneo Bay. Traffic in Central Kailua would be rerouted off Ali'i Drive to a new road that would run behind the existing recreational business district. This plan was made public in mid-August, 1965 (*HSB* 1965). The main objectives of the plan were thus to relieve traffic congestion and to "preserve the old Kona before it is too late."

This plan touched off a fierce controversy in Kailua. A month later a newspaper article entitled "Mall Battle Lines Form" (Berman 1965) would sum up the positions pro- and anti-mall forces had taken. Many of Kailua's small businesspeople initially lined up as being against the mall. Some were suspicious of that the stated motives of Inter-Island Resorts were not their true motives,³⁵ others voiced the opinion that a mall would "eliminate the local dollars and the local people." Still others argued that the mall would constrain their own tourism projects, both present and future (*HSB* 1965d; Vaughan 1966). Those in favor of the mall were in agreement with Inter-Island's stated position that drastic action was needed for Kailua to stay competitive as a destination, and a pedestrian mall would fix the problem. It is interesting to note that all participants in this debate, whether for or against the mall plan, were pro-tourism. These were businesspeople caught up in an impassioned debate over the nature of place. They fought over whether it was better to keep Kailua the way it was, in a Local form, or better to change it radically.

Over the next three months several alternative versions of the mall, including some by Inter-Island, were brought forth (*HSB* 1965e; 1965f). No version gained majority favor until late November, when one brought forward by then-County Planning Director Raymond Suefuji was approved by the County Planning Commission. This was only the first step in the bureaucratic ladder; the plan then had to be sent to the Board of Supervisors for approval. This body, however, was waiting until a "comprehensive zoning ordinance" was passed into law (*HSB*

1965g). They instead turned it over to the Public Works Commission, which decided it was too close to the holidays for further hearings (*HSB 1965h*).

The approved plans were then pigeonholed for nearly a year, during which time community consensus dissolved (*HSB 1966b*). Development of the town had proceeded, however, and the disambient conditions increased. Inter-Island developed a new mall plan, and placed a scale model in the main lobby of the Kona Inn for public inspection. This model indicated there were grand plans for a new Kona Inn. Existing structures were gone, replaced by several seven-story buildings at three different locations in the village. In all, the new Kona Inn would have would have 594 rooms. William Mielcke, then manager of the Kona Inn, promoted the plan, asserting that "Kailua presently is a community in a state of flux," and "The problems of Kailua have been obvious for years...heavy trucks wind their way through narrow Ali'i Drive ...parking is at a premium...there is no conformity of signs or storefronts, and a haphazard appearance is often presented by contrasting views and styles" (Southward 1966). The president of Inter-Island Resorts, Dudley Child, further asserted in a letter written to Kona residents:

One of the significant reasons for the decline of Kailua as the leading outer-island tourist destination area is that we have failed to plan for the preservation of the peaceful, relaxed atmosphere that our visitors desire. (cited in Southward 1966)

Such statements did not convince the general public. A major problem seems to have been the cost to local businesses. For one version of the mall, landowners would have been charged 2.5 ¢ per square foot for 20 years. A motel proprietor, who owned two acres, complained this charge would put him out of business (Southward 1966). Thus the debate went on, and newer versions were advanced during the spring of 1967. Eventually, a plan that would continue to allow traffic along Ali'i Drive, south from the King Kamehameha Hotel, with a dead end turnaround in front of Hulihe'e Palace, seemed to pass the minimum required community consensus. A petition for approval was signed by 61.22% of the property owners, just surpassing the 60% needed by government. However, the petition was declared invalid because not all of the property owners were land owners. Lessees were not eligible, it seemed (*HSB 1967b*).

Yet this would be the last consensus reached on the mall issue. The need was seemingly ever more apparent; Suefuji (Southward 1967) would comment that "the tentacles of blight,

traffic hazards, and haphazard developments are slowly destroying the charm and the Kona way of life." But 1968 saw only a retrenchment. Plans were advanced, but none were well received by the community. Planning Director Suefujii ultimately offered a 60-page booklet, containing an 8-step program for how Kailua might eventually get a mall (Southward, 1968). Some of the steps, including turning Ali'i Drive into a one-way street, and having the county buy land for parking lots, were eventually accomplished (*HSB* 1969, *HTH* 1973c). However, the village did not make any progress towards creating a pedestrian mall. The issue seems to have faded away during 1968, and lay dormant for several years. A complete impasse had been reached. However, this was not the end of community in-fighting, for the second major issue of concern, height limits on buildings, was by then in full contention.

No Overtopping Allowed: the Dolphin Condominium Controversy

The existence of a "comprehensive zoning ordinance" (CZO) was briefly mentioned above. This was an island-wide planning structure that had passed into law late in 1965 (*HSB* 1965i). For most of Kona, the height limit of two stories had lapsed. For Kailua Village, and the (then developing) Keauhou Resort, limits were raised to seven stories in the zoning ordinance. Up to this time, the King Kamehameha Hotel had been the tallest in Kona. Originally a four-story structure, two additional floors had been added in 1964 (*HA* 1964b). In early 1966, shortly after passage of the CZO, the Hilton Hotel Corporation received approval to construct a seven-story hotel on the Williams property (see Local phase), just south of Kailua Village (*HA* 1966b). Later that year the Kona Inn, as noted, exhibited a model containing new seven story hotels.

There was no indication in the documentary sources that any of these developments caused much of a stir with the public. Although the pedestrian mall was hotly contested, there did not seem to be categorical opposition to Kailua becoming a town of high rise hotels. This situation seems to have changed virtually overnight, however, when a developer proposed constructing a seven story condominium adjacent to Mokuaikaua Church.

Tourism in general had become so controversial on the Big Island that a "Citizen's Conference" was held in Kona in May, 1968, to debate the future. Numerous speakers had broached different ideas about the directions that the Big Island could take (*HTH* 1968g; *HTH*

1968h; Williams 1968). The reviews of this conference contained the first mention found that Kona residents were dissatisfied with current building height limits, and with the particular condo project, named the "Kona Dolphin." This project had evidently also begun in 1966 (Tao 1972). Controversy over it seems to have erupted only in conjunction with the conference, however, when a group of Kona residents asked for a resolution that lowered the building height limit to three stories (Lund 1968).

Numerous meetings were held throughout the next few months during which time the Dolphin, and height limits in general, were hotly debated. If anything, the rhetoric was louder over this issue than it had been over the pedestrian mall. Much of the public seems to have been against it on the general basis that, if Kailua were to "go high-rise," the town would simply become a "poor cousin" of Waikiki (Southward, 1968b). A commonly held opinion of residents seems to have been that "High rises will ruin Kona. If we want to avoid another Waikiki, we've got to limit construction to three stories" (Harada 1968).

Additionally, the public had site-related reasons for being against this particular project. First, location was to be on the site where one of Kamehameha's wives (his "favorite wife," and therefore probably Ka'ahumanu) had resided (Knox 1970b). Second, and voiced more often, was the objection to the location of the condo—adjacent to Mokuaikaua Church. Though the King Kamehameha Hotel had reached six stories, and the seven-story Hilton was under construction, these hotels were at opposite ends of town. Mokuaikaua Church, with its tall steeple, and Hulihe'e Palace just makai, were the two dominant historical landmarks that defined the view of Central Kailua. It was argued that the construction of a seven story condo in that location would ruin the ambience of the "picturesque little village" (HA 1969, B1). To many residents, construction of the Dolphin clearly represented an intrusion of modernity into the center of the village. Overall, concern that the village would be overtopped went hand-in-hand with concern over the Dolphin's location.

The efforts to halt the Dolphin before groundbreaking began were intense. Government also seems to have been dead set against it, though it was perfectly legal. First, in July, 1968, the County Board of Supervisors ordered a 60-day construction moratorium on all projects located

within 300 feet of any historical site on the island (HNCM 1968; Williams and Ketchum 1928b). This could only be done on a temporary basis, however, and the freeze expired that September. Later, it was discovered that the County had the rights to a sewer easement that ran through the middle of the property. This meant more government could demand more negotiations, requiring more time. But this was not a problem that could stop the project. Eventually, the State Legislature even got involved, issuing an (unsuccessful) appeal to the landowner to stop the developer (*HTH* 1969d).

On another front, considerable effort was put into getting a new law that would limit building heights in Kailua to three stories. These attempts were made on the grounds that a change in the law would be the only thing that could "save" the village (*HA* 1968d). Getting the CZO changed, however, did not occur easily. Proposals put before the County Planning Commission were defeated. By 1970, a state legislator made a concerted effort to have the State buy the entire village. This was unsuccessful. Shortly after, the mayor of the Big Island proposed that Kailua be designated as a "historic" zone, where tight building codes would exist. This also was unsuccessful (*HA* 1970; *HA* 1970b). Finally, towards the end of 1970, the Hawai'i County Council finally did pass an ordinance limiting building heights in Kailua to just three stories (HNCM 1970). In the interim, however, several other projects received permits to build up to seven stories. These were eventually constructed (*Benham* 1970b), but none were near Hulihe'e Palace or Mokuaikaua Church. As before, none of these seemed to create much public animosity.

As for the Dolphin, the developer initially did not endear himself to the community. He became known for making comments that, except for two hotels, Kailua was "a bunch of shacks" (HNCM 1968b). In spite of having a legal right to build to seven stories, the initial plan was modified several times. Ultimately, the location was moved somewhat mauka and the number of stories was reduced to four. It was not until 1972, however, that groundbreaking ceremonies actually occurred (*Tao* 1972).

Developmental "Additions" Create Chaos in the Townscape

Though the original suggestions for a pedestrian mall had been withdrawn or shot down, and while residents were arguing over height limits, the pace at which Kailua developed continued to intensify. This reached a peak in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Growth itself became something of an issue, and the continuing debate over a pedestrian mall became interconnected with urban growth at-large. During these years that, in spite of the protestations of many residents, Kailua went from being a quaint village, with a Local form, to a small city, characterized by Domestic-scale features. The village core would ultimately retain much of its identity, but would end this sub-stage by being just one area of town, not the town.

One of the most fundamental ways in which the Domestic form can be identified is through size of hotel projects. During the Local sub-stage, most of the hotels built were small, containing less than 50 rooms. There was the Kona Inn, which was expanding, plus several establishments of about 20 rooms (Lihikai Hotel and Motel, Lei Aloha/International Inn, Kona Palms, Kama'aina Inn). The building of the King Kamehameha in 1960, with 94 rooms, was, as noted, an indication that Kailua was reaching the Development stage. However, the tendency to build small facilities carried on into the early 1960s, both in the central village area, along Kuakini Highway (mauka) and along Ali'i Drive to the south. The Sunset Motel, Kona Plantation and Tradewinds, and the Snug Harbor Motel and Kona White Sands are examples of facilities built in each of these respective regions.

After 1965, however, this trend would cease for Kailua Village, though it would continue along Kuakini Highway and Ali'i Drive. Facilities built in the central village area would approach or exceed 100 rooms during the next decade. These would include the Kona Hilton, Islander Inn, and Kona Seaside Hotels. The Pacific Empress Hotel, a short distance out Kuakini Highway, and the first facility in Kona with a golf course, was the first of these. The Kona Hukilau Hotel expanded and achieved a Domestic scale, as well. Many of the smaller hotels in the village would be closed by the early 1970s. Chapter 7 showed how Kailua became a city with a smaller number of facilities, but these had a considerably larger average size.

As part of the development "boom," occupancy rates were quite high at the beginning of this stage. According to HVB data, occupancy rates were 70.6% in Kona in 1964, the first year

available. They remained above 70% throughout the decade, peaking at 80.8% in 1967. This of course made headlines during particularly good months, such as July and August, 1968, when rates averaged 94% (Ketchum 1968; *HTH* 1968j). In 1970 the rate declined to 67.5% but afterward rates fell off to between 55–65%. This was initially rationalized on the grounds that the number of rooms had increased (Williams 1969), but the continued drop was cause for alarm later, and led to calls for better promotion (*HTH* 1972b).

In the early 1960s, travel writers such as Krauss (1963, 328) could describe Ali'i Drive as "The lazy, sunlit street, beside a palm-shaded black-lava shore ..." By that time the street was in fact full of shops selling goods to tourists. But, as part of the overall process of development, Ali'i Drive during the next years would become much more commercialized. Small pedestrian malls replaced the individual shops. The trend began in 1962, when the Banyan Court Mall was built towards the north end of Ali'i Drive, opposite Kailua Bay (West 1962). This was a relatively small facility, but, over the next two decades, other individual properties (houses, hotels, shops, etc.) would follow suit (Benham 1970b). The new malls fronted along Ali'i Drive then went perpendicularly mauka, maximizing the number of shops that could be placed within narrow pieces of property (Chapter 7). This trend culminated in the late 1970s, when the mauka grounds of the Kona Inn would be developed into Kailua's largest mall. Just after this, Riegert (1979, 115) would comment that "The resort town of Kailua features hotels, restaurants, and more shopping malls per square mile than I have ever seen." Perhaps the only incorrect word in the sentence was "square," since Kailua was still essentially a short, linear strip.

It was during this stage when differentiation of tourist space was began to occur (see next chapter). Hotel projects out Kuakini Drive were begun, these have been mostly unsuccessful and all but one have closed. The Hilton Hotel, opened in 1968, replaced the Kona Inn as the southern anchor of Kailua Village. Other projects opened within a few years (Malia Kai, Kona Mansions V),³⁶ just inland along Walua Road. These created a mauka southern anchor to the Village. Apartment buildings and complexes, all Domestic scale, were constructed along Palani Road (Kona Kai) and Kuakini Highway (Kona West, Kailua Village). Housing subdivisions were built mauka of Kuakini Highway. Lastly, ground would be broken for the

Kona Coast Shopping Center, the first of several shopping plazas built along Palani Road, that would come to constitute the CBD of Kailua (*HA* 1974; 1974b). As this plaza was being constructed, Palani Road was widened to four-lanes plus a center median-strip. When the road opened in 1975, the newspaper announcement asserted this new entrance to Kona would "transform the scene" (HNCM 1975).

Though Kailua developed steadily during the 1964–74 decade, documentary sources hint that the most stress from construction came during 1969–70. An article written in 1967 could make the following comments:

"In modern times, Kailua-Kona became the first Neighbor Island site to lure tourists from Waikiki...The village still retains the air of unending house party, a weekend away from everyday concerns...And if the neo-Polynesian decor lacks the charm of aboriginal imperfections, the old Polynesian charm of fun and welcome is untarnished." (*HSB* 1967)

Two years later such assertions were no longer being made. Instead, the numbers of projected hotel rooms and development projects were what was news. Regarding the former, in early 1969, it would be noted that Kona's room count had broken 1,000 units (it had reached 1,048) but 3,478 more were then under construction (*HTH* 1969). The next year it would be noted that the room count had increased to 1,447 and that work was continuing on four hotels (*HSB* 1970b). Later in 1970 pictorial articles would describe the large number of residential, commercial and tourism projects that were being built or were planned in Kailua (Benham 1970b, c & e; *HTH* 1970b). Most of these also indicated how noisy the Village had become. The generally messy state of Kailua was exacerbated during 1971 when a large sea spout came inland off the Bay and did considerable damage to businesses and projects along Palani Road (Benham 1971b).

By 1972, Smyser (1972) would comment in an article entitled "Changing Kona's Uncertain Future," that "Kona, that wonderful area on the sunset coast of the Big Island, is passing through a phase hard to weave into words." Other newspapers didn't find it so hard. The most critical asserted "Nightmare Not Over For Kailua" (Shapiro 1974, A12), then described how "The tourist boom of the 1960s brought uncontrolled growth and tackiness, erasing much of Kailua's old charm." The most influential of these articles, however, was a two-part series by

Krauss (1974; 1974b) written just a little earlier. Krauss compared Kailua to Lahaina on Maui, and Kailua came out worst in every category. Kailua had a "middle aged look" and as a result: "We don't see that Kailua is going anywhere."

This had not been for lack of trying by certain elements in the Kona community. Efforts to coordinate development continued even though the pedestrian mall idea had not advanced. Yet the talk did not lead to action. The County Council could not agree what to do, or on how much to spend on a new development plan (*HTH* 1972d). Creation of a "special and historic district" was still being proposed by some, though this idea was dragged out in planning meetings (*HA* 1973; *HTH* 1973). Eventually, things got so bogged down that a letter was written to County Council to ask that all past plans be scrapped "to relieve our community of the chains that bind us to past plans, ordinances and projections by rescinding all previous actions ..." (*HTH* 1973b). This was not done either; several articles written just after indicate that efforts to create a pedestrian mall intensified in 1973 (Tao 1973; Haun 1973; 1973b). But these efforts got no further than they had during the 1960s.

The idea of a pedestrian mall was finally killed officially by the County Council in early 1974 (*HTH* 1974). However, this would be the year when the end of the impasse occurred. During 1974 monies were released for a new urban plan (*HSB* 1974b), and over the course of the summer, the central village area was given Special District status (*HTH* 1974c, d & e.). Furthermore, the Kailua Village Special District Commission was established (Frank Zuzak, original member, personal communication, December, 1991). This group worked closely with the company hired to write the development plan (Crichtlow, 1975). With a Plan (completed in 1976), a status, and a body of overseers, the sub-stage of Domestic-scale development ended for Kailua Village. Since the end of 1974, the form and character of the Village has essentially remained the same. Kailua has been perpetuated under the theme of a small village, and guidelines in the Village Design Plan prevent the Central Village area from radically changing its character. Organic development, which produced the Domestic form and phase, has thus been inhibited by these structures from taking Kailua into a new form.

There have been changes (additions, alterations, and cessations) since that year. The Kona Inn, which was put up for sale in the early 1970s after it became obvious that the mall would not become a reality (Bob Herkes, former manager, personal communication, December 1991), eventually was sold. The first King Kamehameha was imploded, and a much larger building was opened on roughly the same site late in 1975. Small hotels continued to fail, and the domination of small shopping malls over individual stores continued to grow. New malls were built towards the southern end of the Village. Yet these were changes that fit within the same Domestic form that had come into existence by the early 1970s. Other than the Hilton Hotel, there have been no projects in Kailua that could be considered International in any way. The city as a whole has remained within the Domestic scale, while the RBD itself, in spite of the malls, has perpetuated something approximating the Local form as a way of retaining the "old village" ambience.

Summation: "Inhibitional" Forces Prevail in Kailua

Kailua had been the center of tourism in Kona since the 1920s. Development throughout the 1950s and early 1960s had solidified this status. During these decades, the path of development had been along the line of "facilitation," where the incremental addition of projects made the next seem more likely to eventuate. By 1964, this organic development had reached an intensity where it appeared that the Kailua urban landscape would quickly evolve into the Domestic form. Small-scale local projects were failing, and there was tremendous pressure for newer, larger, taller facilities. Nineteen sixty-five proved to be an important year. The development of Ka'anapali Resort on Maui led Inter-Island Resorts, owners of Kona's largest hotel, to force the issue of development. Beginning in 1965, management floated plans over the next two years that, if they had passed, would have resulted in a Domestic scale landscape in Kailua being built. Two-story buildings would have been replaced by seven-story structures, at the very least. This time period was a critical juncture for the Village. However, the opposition gathered strength and no consensus could be reached. Adapting another term from ecosystem research, this represented an "inhibition" tendency; the capability of early stage entities to prevent late stage entities from dominating. By 1968, the battle was being fought over height

limits. This was an "overtopping" issue; the opposition clearly wanted Kailua to remain a low rise village, not grow up into another Waikiki. This inhibition element was partially successful with respect to the Dolphin Condominium. However, numerous condos, hotels and apartment buildings did rise to multi-storied levels. Urban growth continued unabated in areas away from the Village RBD. By the early 1970s therefore, Kailua's urban landscape had achieved the Domestic form, in spite of the forces of inhibition. The creation of special district status for the Village, however, along with a commission authorized to oversee change, and a new development plan, all served to reinforce the inhibition tendencies. Organic growth in Kailua thus ended at this time. Since 1975, the Village area has been on a very constrained developmental path. This has enabled a considerable amount of "old village" ambience to be retained up to the present. The unsuspecting tourist walking strolling down Ali'i Drive experiences a landscape that is further along a life cycle path than is readily apparent. Yet taking this path has simultaneously prevented the Village from ever achieving the destiny that was so desired in the 1950s, to become the #2 destination in Hawai'i. Such a destiny would have meant over-topping the old buildings with new ones, something that the Village citizens evidently dreaded even more than they desired growth. As the second reincarnation of the King Kamehameha Hotel prepared to open late in 1975 (the last major hotel to open in Kona) Clark (HA 1975) would note "The Love Affair between Big Islanders and the tourist industry is clearly estranged, if not pau."

Keauhou Resort Becomes a Second Node During the Early 1970s

To the south of Kailua Village, other tourist developments were beginning to take place. In the Hawaiian era, Keauhou was both a bay and one of the larger ahupua'as in central Kona. Craft (1898) had visited the area just before the turn of the 20th century and noted "for once" she saw enough grass houses. By the 1950s, however, the area had become quite isolated. As mentioned above, an artist recently returned from Tahiti thought it would make a good colony.

It was shortly afterward that the Bishop Estate began to take an interest in the area (Vonnie Lyons, Managing Director, Keauhou Visitors Association, personal communication, December, 1991). A planning company was hired to search Hawai'i for the best place to put a

resort; Keauhou was the site most highly recommended (Greaney 1956). Further feasibility planning was begun during 1963, particularly with regard to constructing a golf course on lava (Southward 1963). This work was finished in 1964, and plans for a project the size of Ka'anapali Resort were unveiled later that year (Rickard 1964). A planning seminar was also held during 1964, and yet another plan was developed in 1965 (Bryan 1965; Cook 1967). Ultimate site-selection was made by "some of the world's leading planners" doing an on-site inspection (*HTH* 1967c). Most of the major details relating to site development were finalized by those efforts. Bishop Estate then created a new entity, the Kamehameha Development Corporation (KDC), to do the actual work.³⁷ This was to be limited to site improvement for leasing of land to investors and developers. These agents would construct the actual projects, KDC would neither invest in nor construct buildings (Waters 1965).

When the finalized plans were publicized, Keauhou was envisioned to be nothing less than a small city, the sort that the 1960 master plan for Kona had drawn up. There were to be sites for nine hotels containing 3,200 rooms. There were also to be 860 single family houses and 500 one-story rental cottages, and two golf courses, all on 1,100 acres. The stated objective was "an entirely new community of 14,000 persons within 15 years, not including an estimated 8,000 persons required to staff or service the resort operations" (West 1967). Additional urban features included a wide pedestrian mall at the head of Keauhou Bay, near the birth site of Kamehameha III, a town area above the mall that was to have professional and commercial services for permanent residents; there would also be seaside paths to tie the community together (*HTH* 1967b). The time projection was brightly optimistic, the hotel development would be completed in only eight years. At that time there were only 400 accommodation units in all of Kona. Keauhou was envisioned to dwarf everything then on the landscape—it was the largest plan to come along since Kaiser's in the early 1950s. With the backing of the Bishop Estate, success seemed assured.

The most substantial "site improvement" was the creation of a golf course on the property. Work on the golf course began in the middle of 1966 and it was dedicated in June, 1968 (*HA* 1968d). Though initially promoted as a course of "championship caliber" (Waters

1965), it was later revealed that the architect, Billy Bell, had designed the course for the average golfer over 50 years of age (*HTH* 1967D). Nevertheless, the successful experiment of placing a golf course right on top of a lava flow was at the time considered something of a triumph of science over nature (Bob Herkes, Kamehameha Development Corporation, personal communication, December, 1991). It was also a triumph of the bulldozer over the Hawaiian era landscape, as numerous historical sites, including the bottom portion of the Kaneakua Holua, were destroyed to create the course. Later, Bishop Estate would come under fire for having proceeded in this way. Such criticism constituted the major constraint to the development of the resort. Unlike what occurred in Kailua, there have occurred relatively few battles between Bishop Estate and project developers, versus community interests, over specific hotel, condominium or residential projects. Development has mostly proceeded organically, within the standards set by KDC.

In the first years of development, between about 1967 and 1974, the focus was on hotel construction. As projected, nine hotels were to have been in place by the mid-1970s. Nothing on this scale of development eventuated, however. During the next several years at least seven hotel projects would be announced, but only three were built.

The first hotel was announced in late 1967; it involved a partnership between an existing Honolulu hotel (the Ilikai), a local developer (Chinn Ho), and an international corporation (Western) (*HA* 1967). This project was withdrawn in March of the next year, reportedly because the developer had become "bearish" on Neighbor Island tourism growth (*HSB* 1968). At about this time, Inter-Island Resorts announced it had acquired a location fronting both the ocean and golf course, and would construct a 550-room luxury hotel (*HA* 1968). Two years of struggling over the Kailua pedestrian mall had led this company to pursue its opportunities away from the Village, and the Kona Inn (*HTH* 1969c). This hotel would eventually be built as the Kona Surf, and would be the largest in the district (550 rooms). It opened in 1971 (*HSB* 1971). In June, 1968, three months after the Kona Surf was announced, plans for two other hotels were also made public. One was to be built by Sheraton, the other by a partnership between two local companies, Island Holiday Resorts (which then managed the King Kamehameha Hotel) and

American Factors (*HA* 1968c; Bryan 1970d). Sheraton was the second international company to announce plans for Kona. With the Hilton opening earlier that year it appeared that Kona might be heading for an "international" phase. However, the company delayed moving forward, saying its architects were swamped with other projects (Wright 1968). Sheraton did sign a lease with KDC the next year (*HA* 1969b), but construction was never begun. Ostensibly this was because of the "tight money" situation at the national scale that prevailed during 1970. Sheraton pulled out that year (*HTH* 1970c). Just the opposite occurred with the Amfac-Island Holiday Resorts' project. This hotel, the Keauhou Beach, was begun within a few months of announcement (Wright 1968) and opened in a timely manner during the summer of 1970 (Bryan 1970d). It was the first hotel to open in Keauhou.

Plans for two other hotels were announced just a little later than the ones so far discussed. These were to be constructed by the Hotel Corporation of America (Cook 1968) and by Braniff Airlines (Yuen 1969). Neither of these projects seemed to get much past the initial announcement, however.

As Keauhou entered the 1970s, fewer-and-fewer hotel companies appeared interested in constructing a hotel there. Only one additional project would be completed. The Kona Lagoon was announced in the middle of 1972 (*HTH* 1972c). This hotel was also a partnership, between Hawaiian Pacific Resorts and Mitsubishi Jisho, and represented one of the earlier projects to be financed by Japanese money. It opened in 1974 (*HTH* 1974b).

During these early years very few condominium projects were announced. The only one that would open was a fairly small project (44 units), called the Keauhou Resort Condos. These went on sale in the summer of 1970 (*HTH* 1970b).

Thus, in the years that Kailua Village was transforming into the Domestic form, Keauhou came into existence as a master-planned enclave resort. The fast pace of development that was initially projected never materialized, however, as several major hotel projects did not get built. By the early 1970s, as national funding for hotels became scarce,³⁸ it was apparent that Keauhou would not quickly develop into the city of 15,000 that had been anticipated in the original master plan.

The three hotels that were built however, contained over 1,300 rooms, nearly half the 1974 total for Kona. Kailua thus existed in a state of competition with the new enclave. This seems to have begun in earnest in 1972, after the Kona Surf opened. The master-planned "quality growth" (Haun, *HTH* 1973b) of the enclave was a slap in the face to the Village, where citizens fought contentiously over the nature of place, only to have the ambient quality decline. Kailua appeared "tacky" after Keauhou opened (William Kimi, hotel owner, personal communication, December, 1991). The County Planning Director, Raymond Suefuji, would comment that "Under strong competition from the neighbor resort, Keauhou, coupled with disagreement over development direction, Kailua Village gradually is losing its position as the Tourist Mecca in Kona" (cited in *HTH* 1972d). In an interview (Haun 1973b), Guido Giacometti, then head of KDC, would aver that, if Kailua had not been there, Keauhou could not have been built. Yet he also pointed out that, once the enclave finished building its own entrance road (Kamehameha III Road) off the highway to the airport, there would be no need for people to go to Kailua at all. The nature of this competition between the two resort nodes was not lost on the interviewer (Haun), who noted "A planned resort community (Keauhou) will be competing on its own with an unplanned collection of resort facilities plopped onto a formerly-quaint village (Kailua)." This dire scenario appeared to become reality, for in 1974, Krauss (1974), in his negative comparison between Kailua and Lahaina, noted that only 5–10% of Keauhou tourists went to Kailua.

By 1974, then, Kona contained a resort town, Kailua, which had evolved into a Domestic scale resort town and in doing so had mostly lost the ambient qualities that had made it a destination in the first place. The region also contained a large master planned enclave, Keauhou, which, through its newness and emphasis on "quality," was taking tourists away from Kailua. Had the development process continued in this direction, a bi-nodal tourist landscape would have evolved in the region. However, the next phase of the Development Stage did not see the two nodes split further, or see Keauhou eclipse Kailua. Rather, they became linked together, both spatially and functionally.

Condominium Construction Produces the Linked Form: 1976–85

Though the tight money situation was apparent in the early 1970s, what was probably less foreseeable was that the phase of hotel building would also completely end at that time. Between 1949 and 1975, hotels grew gradually, from one-story with 20 rooms, to two-stories and 100 rooms, and finally to seven-stories with more than 500 rooms. But, there would be no more large hotels built in Kona after the opening of the second King Kamehameha in December, 1975. The development that continued to occur would be in the form of condominiums. These increased slowly during the early 1970s; the number would then grow dramatically between 1975 and 1985 (see Table 7.1 and Figure 9.3). Some were in Kailua Village, but most were built down the coast along Ali'i Drive and in Keauhou Resort. This type of facility quickly became so extensive that a second phase of the Development stage in Kona is interpreted to have occurred. It has been called the Linked phase, on the basis that Kailua and Keauhou became both functionally and spatially connected by the existence of these condo projects.

As was shown in Figure 8.6 above, the number of accommodation units grew each year between 1964 and 1974. During that decade the count had gone from about 400 units to just over 3,000. This was followed by a drop, to 2,824 units, in 1975. Graphically, the Linked phase dates from this year, and continues for another decade, to 1985, when the highest total yet recorded for Kona, 4,748 rooms, was reached. Obviously this growth in accommodation simultaneously occurred at a slower rate than had been the case during the Domestic phase, yet it was still substantial. Kona ended the Linked phase with nearly double the number of rooms it contained at the beginning. Afterwards, however, Figure 8.6 shows there was a distinctive change. The number of rooms held steady for a few years, then plunged. Hence, the 1975–85 decade can be said to represent a distinctive development sub-stage.

HVB *Visitor Plant Inventory* data show that between 1968 (when data begin) and 1975, 10 condo properties opened in Kona. The first unit built specifically as a condo was the Casa de Emdeko, which opened in 1970. Five of these facilities were located along Ali'i Drive, four were in Kailua Village, and one was in Keauhou. After 1975, and until 1987, many new condominiums were constructed in coastal Kona. Also, hotels and apartments were sometimes converted to condos, augmenting the total. In contrast, some condos became completely owner-

occupied, with none of the rooms rented to tourists. On an annual basis, HVB data show that between 1975–87, the number of condos throughout Kona increased from 10 to 43. This increase was not entirely smooth. Between 1975–8, the number of properties doubled, from 10 to 20. Then between 1978–80, the number of properties stabilized at 20. The major spurt occurred between 1980–5, when the number again doubled, from 20 to 40 properties. In 1986–87, the absolute maximum was reached, at 43 properties. Broken down spatially, Kailua Village reached a total of 10 condominiums by 1985; Ali'i Drive peaked at 24 in 1986 and '87, while Keauhou had reached its maximum, nine properties, by 1981. After this, a decline in the count is observable. By 1990, only three years later, the total was down to 32 properties, roughly a 25% decline.

From a different spatial perspective, by 1978, over half of the condos during any one year were located along Ali'i Drive. Kailua and Keauhou each contained about 1/4 of the total. It is because there was so much development along Ali'i Drive between the mid-1970s through mid-1980s that this phase has been labeled "Linked." Before 1975, Keauhou appeared for all purposes to be developing as an independent resort enclave. However, the change in accommodation type from hotels to condos created a much more functionally integrated coastal landscape in Kona. Inspection during field research indicated the landscape did not change in any essential way along the coast between the two nodes.

The difficulties the developer of the Kona Dolphin had in getting permits and community approval have been described in detail. It is noteworthy that there seems to have been no other case in Kona where a condo caused much of a stir. Almost all project requests seemingly were within height and density limits. There is thus little in the way of documentary material could be found about specific condominiums, other than announcements of openings.

Changing macro-structural conditions were the more important factor during this decade. First of all, it has been noted that finance capital for hotel construction became hard to obtain during the early 1970s. This was not the case for condominiums (Crichtlow 1974). Condo projects were thus enabled, while hotels were constrained. This became even more true in the

late 1970s, because of a surging demand from (mainly) Southern California residents for luxury investment property. This set off a boom-and-bust sequence in Kona real estate.

Beginning in 1977, demand for "prime locations" on Maui became so great that many would-be buyers were left out (Tune 1980a). This seems mainly to have been due to huge price increases that had occurred on that island (Stone Thompson 1979; Farrell, 1982). A spill-over effect occurred; people began looking for condominiums on other islands. What they found in Kona was, by comparison to Maui, quite a bargain. A noticeable shift in tourist type, and subsequent property buyer, occurred. Until that time "Kona, without the sandy beaches of Maui, seemed more a place for the individualists than the jet-setters" (Tune 1980b). Investment was a major concern for this type of tourist for, according to Tune, only 10–15% of the units in any building were being sold to owner-occupants. This boom was so big it also caused a shift in occupation demographics. By 1980, Tune reported, fully 5% of Kona's population was employed in real estate!

The following year, 1981, was the end of this particular real estate boom. This was also due to changing macro-structural conditions. The U.S. was in the worst recession in the World War II era, and tourist arrival figures for the state had declined for the first time since 1949. Also, during late 1981, the airlines revoked the "common fare" arrangement. This had been a holdover from the late 1960s, when General Lyman airport in Hilo opened. According to McLane (1983), the agreement allowed passengers to travel to another island for free if they didn't stop over in Honolulu. After its revocation, tourists had to pay full inter-island fares. A round-trip ticket from the mainland at that time cost \$99, but it was \$90 more to fly from Honolulu to the Big Island. This new combination of conditions caused tourist arrival numbers to decline precipitously on the Big Island, McLane noted, much more so than was the case for Kaua'i or Maui.

Initially, the condo market held up. Kona was thus described as simultaneously "stagnating" and "rejuvenating" (HSB 1981), depending on whether the subject was tourists or real estate. The true "bust" in real estate was not long in following, however, and the article just cited also noted offices in Kona were closing down. Absentee ownership of condos continued to

be the norm, but vacation rental prices for them fell below the average nightly rate for hotels. This led in turn to a decline in profitability of the latter that had severe consequences, particularly in Keauhou (Griffin 1985). The bust situation lasted until 1984, when stability began to return (*SSBA* 1984).

As mentioned, in terms of a DLC analysis, the region of Kona is at the large end of the scale. The importance of this is that different sub-regions can enter and exit certain stages and sub-stages at different times. Thus, as Central Kona overall was about to begin the boom from condo construction, indicating a second phase of development, Kailua Village itself had gone beyond this, in terms of its sub-regional DLC. The Consolidation phase of the Maturity stage can be considered to have begun in the Village during 1976, after the Hawai'i County Council adopted the Kailua Village Design Plan (Wolbrink and Associates, 1976). It was noted above that its adoption by the County Council enabled perpetuation of some of what was left of the Kona Way of Life. For example, the Plan states (p. 5): "A basic attitude needs to be promoted which says, 'The Kailua Village Theme will dominate and neutralize any other theme.'" One distinctive impression gained from the reading of this plan was precisely that there would be a "consolidation of growth" in Kailua and Keauhou. This was received positively by an environmental group, Life of the Land (*HTH* 1975). Such consolidation was perceived negatively by developers, however, who argued at Planning Commission meetings that limiting hotels to existing areas was "stifling" and "contrary to free enterprise" (Crichtlow 1976c).

Though it is difficult to perceive that the specific suggestions made in this Plan were put into practice in any greater degree than were earlier ones (i.e., not much), the state of development chaos that Kailua Village had been in during the 1965–75 decade seems to have quickly ended after 1976. Newspaper articles decrying the sorry state of the Village ceased to be written. At the beginning of the 1980s, one writer (Griffin 1980) would note that the town had been considerably cleaned up. The real estate boom of the late 1970s seems to have brought a general prosperity that had a positive impact on Village ambience. In an article entitled "Kailua-Kona, Classy Frontier Boom Town," Tune (1980b) would note that "The new faces in Kona are everywhere to see. Young people in their 20s and 30s are working in small shops, starting their

own businesses, and sitting in offices ..." Another article noted that true locals now referred to Kailua as "a California town" because of all the new Caucasian residents (*HSB* 1981c). Penisten (1982) would describe both positive and negative features. The condo and real estate booms meant, on the one hand, "crowded streets, overburdened water systems and other public services from the large influx of people." But he also noted the town "still has a definite lure of a tranquil village."

Consolidation during this time would also occur through the development of distinctive zones of tourist space (Chapter 9) in Kailua Village. A major event (cessation) occurred in 1978, when the Kona Inn closed. Inter-Island Resorts had put the hotel up for sale after their larger, more luxurious project, the Kona Surf, had opened in Keauhou. A buyer was only found four years later, this was a local partnership that had plans to turn the old hotel into a "major tourist attraction" (*HA* 1977b). These plans fell through, however, and the hotel was sold, again to a local group.³⁹ An official closing party was held for the hotel in March, 1978, not quite a half century after it had opened, and changed the course of tourism development in Kona. The largest shopping mall in the Village was subsequently constructed on the mauka side of the premises. This concretized the location of the Kailua RBD.

By 1985, when accommodation units peaked for the region, Keauhou had also entered a period that saw little development of tourism facilities. The real estate bust of the early 1980s resulted in condo rental prices being lower than what hotels could profitably charge. Occupancy rates plummeted as a result in Keauhou's three large hotels. The Keauhou Beach Hotel, the original, at times reported occupancy at only 19% during 1981 (*HSB* 1981c)! Inter-Island Resorts responded to the decline in arrival numbers by building a convention facility at the Kona Surf (Stone Thompson 1981). The Lagoon was perhaps the first to get into financial trouble; it had been sold in 1979, only five years after opening (Smith 1979). By 1985, at the end of the linked phase, the hotels had not recovered. Rumors (true, in the end) were spreading that the Keauhou Beach and Lagoon were to be auctioned (Clark 1986). By the late 1980s, all three hotels had been sold to Japanese interests. The Lagoon, however, had closed down; it had not reopened by the time field research ended in early 1992.

As noted above, Keauhou resort participated in the condominium boom. There had been only one small condo property in 1975, but there were nine by 1981 (HVB *Visitor Plant Inventory*). The boom ended abruptly that year, however, and there were no further condominium projects begun until the late 1980s. The only new project begun was the Keauhou-Kona Shopping Center, in 1983. For all intensive purposes, Keauhou Resort can be said to have entered the Maturity stage in 1981.

The events that had marked the shift from the Domestic phase to the Linked Phase of the Development Stage for the region had occurred between 1974 and 1976. No major hotel was constructed in Keauhou after 1974, or in the rest of Kona after 1975. Accommodation unit totals dropped in 1975, the first time in over a decade. In Kailua, the Village Special District Commission was empowered in 1974, while the Kailua Village Design Plan was approved in 1976. At the end of 1975, Kailua and Keauhou represented two resort nodes, separated by several miles of coastline along Ali'i Drive.

Over the next decade, tourism development would mostly be limited to condominium construction, but this would occur in great numbers, particularly along Ali'i Drive. Though the height of a condo project had sparked one of the two major debates over the nature of tourism development in Kona, afterwards this multitude of projects would be developed virtually without contestation by the public. Kona made a smooth transition. This development spatially and functionally linked the two nodes, creating one (larger) resort region. By the late 1980s, Keauhou was considered to have been successful as a residential development, but not as a resort (Tune 1989). It had not achieved the independence that had been predicted in the early 1970s (Haun 1973). In a sense, just the opposite occurred in Kailua Village. The town had withstood the challenge of Keauhou, and the condo construction enabled it to retain and expand its urban centrality in the district. Griffin (1980) would make the interim summation that "For better or worse—and it can still go either way—Kailua town remains the touchstone for Kona tourism, much as Waikiki is still a center and symbol for all Hawai'i." By the end of this phase, and indeed by 1992 when field research was completed, Kailua was still the "touchstone" in Kona.

One last point should be stressed. The change in form of accommodation built in Kona between 1975–85 would have an important impact on the types of tourists who visited. It was noted that well into the 1960s, package tourists from Honolulu were a dominant, if not the dominant, type. A shift to condos meant there would be quite a different group visiting. As cited, these were often jet-setters, interested in investment, and not too many initially were owner-occupants. However, as the condos were sold for a profit, or paid off, an increasing percentage have come to belong to snowbirds—winter residents—or to year-round residents. These people are not exactly tourists; their set of institutional practices—what they do in Kona—more resembles that of locals. Hence the condo boom effectively took tourism in Kona along something of an alternative pathway, similar to that described by Strapp (1988) and Foster and Murphy (1991), but different from what Butler (1980) described. By being the destination for so many part-time residents, Kona has become something less than a full-scale tourist resort.

GROWTH OF TOURISM FACILITIES SLOWS—MATURITY STAGE: 1986–92

The final stage of Kona's destination life cycle, to date, has been defined as extending from about the end of 1985 to the time field research concluded, in February, 1992. This has been defined as the Maturity Stage, a period of time when, for all practical purposes, there is little new development at the resort. Such has been the case for Kona. Little in the way of resource development, of any kind, has occurred recently. This does not mean there was no tourism-related activity. Several mega-resort enclaves were proposed for the empty spaces of Kekaha, north of Kailua Village. To date, however, none of these have become manifest. The landscape of the area in 1992 thus looked little different than in 1985, when first visited.

Since 1985, for Kona at-large, there has been little progress at enhancement of base resources (physical, social or cultural). Little has changed up or down the coast, or inland, to improve resources for tourists. As noted above, the State did fight a pitched battle with landowners to get some acreage at Mahai'ula Bay, and this was about to open as Kona Beach State Park when the area was field inspected in early 1992. It has opened, according to recently drawn tourist maps of the Big Island. So far, this has been the major victory.

Major infrastructure developments likewise have been few in number. The major event clearly would be the completion of the runway extension at Keahole Airport, in 1994, after field research had been concluded.

As was shown in Figure 8.6, the number of accommodation units had risen steadily since 1964, with nearly all years showing an increase. Then in 1985 the total for Kona would peak. The decline during the next two years was small, and the 1988 total was only slightly less than 1985. After this "double top," however, there was a fall-off of about 20% over the next three years. This graphical change can be interpreted as the end of the Development Stage. Figure 8.6 further showed that since the early 1980s most of the growth on the Big Island has occurred north of Kona, in South Kohala. While this district can be interpreted as a northern node of tourism in West Hawai'i, South Kohala clearly is not Kona, either regionally, functionally, or in terms of self-identification (which is used in tourism promotion). However, certain events that occurred in South Kohala have had bearing on tourism in North Kona during the 1980s, and will be discussed shortly.

As adapted from Butler (1980) in Chapter 3, the Consolidation phase is the first to occur in the Maturity stage. Before showing how this has occurred, it is perhaps necessary to document that there has been little further tourist development. Besides the failure of accommodation units numbers to increase, since 1985 the sub-regions of Kailua Village and Ali'i Drive have seen the opening of virtually no hotels or condominiums. Some bed-and-breakfasts have opened (Chapter 7), but too few to say that a new phase of development has begun. The fact that only a very small type of accommodation facility can open is indeed perhaps further evidence that the Development stage has ended. In Keauhou, two condominium projects did begin after 1985, but these by themselves are inadequate to conclude the Development stage continued there. Considerable tourism development, however, was planned for the Kekaha section of North Kona, north of Kailua Village, during these years. Yet, as will be described, these projects did not get built during the 1985–92 period. As noted at the beginning of the chapter, the existence of a Development form was taken to be the basis for identifying stage and sub-stage change, hence it would be inappropriate to say that a new phase

of the Development Stage had begun, based only on the existence of planning documents and required environmental impact statements. Should these resorts be built in the future, Kona might graphically show a pattern with two stages of development, described by the pathway:

Stage: Response → Development → Maturity → Development
Form/Phase: Pioneer Hotel → Local → Domestic → Linked → Consolidation → Enclave

Consolidation, as described in Chapter 3, is not a phase when nothing happens. Alteration in form may be the most typical occurrence. This was the case for Kona. Kailua Village, the first area to develop, began to consolidate after 1975, through the application of standards contained in the Village Design Plan, through the alteration of the Kona Inn from hotel to shopping mall, and through the stabilization of the several tiers of tourist and non-tourist space. For the entire linked tourist region, Kailua-to-Keauhou, consolidation began after 1985, particularly through a decline in the number of condominiums (number of properties and number of units) that were listed on the vacation rental market (and thus in HVB data). As just mentioned, pure tourists have been somewhat replaced by part-time and full-time residents.

Kekaha is the area of dry lava desert north of Kailua; the physical geography was described in Chapter 4. Throughout most of the period of human habitation in Hawai'i, this area has been underpopulated. Hawaiians built fishponds and several small fishing villages existed. Lack of water has made this region a difficult one in which to live, however. In spite of this, Kelly (1973, 96) noted there once was a hotel at Kīholo Bay, on the northern side of Kekaha. It mainly served the paniolos who would bring cattle down to the bay for loading onto ships bound for Honolulu. During much of the 20th century accessibility has been nearly as great a problem as water. The only road through Kekaha was the Mamalahoa Highway. Running mauka, this road winds around the west rift zone of Hualālai; on the northern side of the volcano it is nearly 10 miles from the coast.

The opening up of the coastal regions of Kekaha was initially conceived in the first State-wide tourism development plan (Harland Bartholomew and Associates 1960). The "Puako Resort Region" defined in this plan stretched from Puako, in South Kohala, down to Kīholo Bay, in North Kona. During the 1960s, plans gradually firmed for building the new airport at

Ke'ahole Point, and for creating a new small boat harbor at Honokōhau, and for constructing Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway as a coastal route from Kailua to Kawaihae.

Two important resort projects were built during this time, the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, and the Kona Village. The former, in South Kohala, was a venture between Laurence Rockefeller and the owner of the Parker Ranch, Richard Smart. Ground was broken for the hotel in early 1964 (Bryan 1964). By 1968 other partners had come into the picture and this project expanded into Kohala's first master planned mega-resort (*HTH* 1968f). As the golf course and condominiums became a reality, the resort gained a reputation for catering to an elite clientele; it had extremely high occupancy rates during its first years (Ketchum 1968) that would be maintained throughout the next several bust periods for tourism in Kona. The success of this resort would later play a considerable role in the upgrading of Kona's tourist plant; it was felt that the rich were not affected by recessions so facilities should be built with them in mind as the likely customers (Shapiro 1976).

The Kona Village was conceived at about the same time. In comparing the two, an article written years later would state "Of the two, Kona Village Resort is the more unusual. In fact, it is unique, having been developed on the premise that Hawaiiana sells in Hawai'i, a concept many developers today would consider a risky assumption" (Stone Thompson 1983). What was most unusual about the resort was that it consisted of stand-alone cottages that were done in the traditional architecture of different peoples of the Island-Pacific. Apartments were rustic, but chic. Like the Mauna Kea Beach, the Kona Village catered to the "carriage trade" (Waters 1964), particularly by providing a completely isolated setting perfectly suited for executives who wanted to relax. Before the Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway was built, guests had to be flown in from Kailua.

Both of these resorts opened in the mid-1960s and their focus on a wealthy clientele influenced the tone of Kona's development stage. Their initial success seems to have greatly impressed then-Governor Burns, who in 1967 began actively promoting Kona and South Kohala as the "Gold Coast."⁴⁰ Burns did seem to believe this area was destined to become the #2 destination in Hawai'i, and utilized his agency to push through the harbor, airport and highway

projects. He asserted that development would proceed as rapidly as the State economy could absorb the "mammoth state expenditures" (Baker 1968). Millions in CIP funds were released to expeditiously complete these (*HTH* 1968c; *HA* 1968b); several million dollars more was spent for water development (Tau 1968). The harbor and airport were finished in 1970, Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway reached Kawaihae in 1974. The State had done its part; the private sector was then supposed to pick up the ball.

Burns had predicted there would be a building boom in North Kona (*HTH* 1968c), but this did not come to pass. As the harbor project was being constructed, a resort was designed to complement the new boating facilities. The initial plan advanced (Yoon 1968) was for a resort complex at Kealakehe, a large parcel of State-owned land at Honokōhau Bay. Drawings show there were to be four hotels, a motel, cottages, single family residences and a golf course. Base resources were to be improved through creation of a historical park. The coastline was to be left intact as a scenic promenade; a small beach would be lengthened to 600 feet. The State would pay for land improvement, private industry was to construct the facilities (*HTH* 1968i). No developer seems to have favored this site, however, as the documentary sources scrutinized do not mention any particular resort developer seeking permits to build there. Field inspection indicated the land was still vacant.

After the boating facilities were completed, a local development group did advance a resort project on privately owned land on the other side of the harbor.⁴¹ This caused an immediate furor in the community because of the historical importance of the site to Hawaiians (Reedy 1971; Benham 1971d). In spite of his enthusiasm for Gold Coast development, Governor Burns also came out publicly against this project, as did Congressional Representative Patsy Mink (Benham 1971c; *HTH* 1971b). Representative Mink later put great effort into getting the area designated as Kaloko-Honokohau National Historical Park.

Thus the two initial Gold Coast resort projects in North Kona never materialized. But, and undoubtedly more importantly from the larger West Hawai'i perspective, this was also the case for large projects in South Kohala. The Parker Ranch had originally announced plans for a \$300 million master planned resort community, occupying 10,000 acres along the coast, as early

as 1959 (*HSB 1959d*). Little seems to have developed immediately from these plans. As the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel was coming into existence, the ranch announced that 40,000 acres would be made available to developers (Bryan 1964). By 1969, there were four resort enclave projects in various stages of planning. In addition to the Mauna Kea resort, the nearby lands held by a private resident, Francis H. I'i Brown, had been master planned. Also, the Signal Oil and Boise Cascade companies had options on huge acreages and were planning expansive resort and residential developments (Southward 1969b).

Boise Cascade's project was the most grandiose. Announced in 1967, this company planned to create a 55-square mile residential area, containing a population of 200,000 (Tao 1967d)! By 1968, plans had focused on developing the inland town of Waikoloa and a resort enclave at Anaeho'omalu Bay that would contain five hotels (*HTH 1968e*). A barrier was raised when the County Planning Director voiced his total opposition to high rise hotels being constructed on the Gold Coast (*HA 1968c*). Changing the zoning for the resort was a much bigger hurdle (Bryan 1970c). By early 1972, however, two golf courses were under construction, and ground breaking for an unnamed hotel was reportedly only a week away. Then a resident went to court, suing for land ownership of half of the 500 beachfront acres that were being developed (Reedy 1972). This suit was tied up in court for five years, until the middle of 1977 (*HA 1977*). Though details of further plans were occasionally announced (Tao 1976), the momentum went out of the project. Eventually, Boise Cascade was bought out (*HSB 1979*). Nothing had been constructed.

Such was the fate of the other projects listed above. South Kohala had shown terrific potential for becoming an "instant resort" with an enclave form. However, inertia and inhibitional forces constrained development completely. The Mauna Kea Beach Hotel remained the only facility open throughout the 1970s. The Kekaha area of North Kona also failed to develop during this time. No other projects besides those mentioned could be found in the literature, certainly none were built. In spite of the millions the State had spent on infrastructure, no new private sector development came into existence. The Gold Coast failed to materialize.

This would change, for South Kohala, in the 1980s, as was shown graphically in Figure 8.6. Capital for resort development, a problem in the middle-1970s, seems to have become more readily available. The Sheraton Corporation, which had pulled out of a hotel deal in Keauhou, announced in 1977 its plans to build on the coastal property owned by Boise Cascade (*HA* 1977). It was re-announced with a name, the Royal Waikoloan, in 1979 (Stone Thompson *HSB* 1979b), after Boise Cascade sold out. The hotel was expeditiously built, and opened in mid-1981. The 14 year "struggle" to build a resort at Anaeho'omalau Bay was over (Clark 1981).⁴²

The site of the Sheraton on the coastal landscape was a visual harbinger of impending change. The 1970s had taught the lesson that the rich were impervious to economic downturns, hence the next generation of resort projects would be aimed at the luxury market. The Mauna Lani resort, on the grounds of Francis I'i Brown, would be the next to open, in early 1983 (Clark 1983). This hotel quickly attained a reputation for quality, for being the best hotel in West Hawai'i since the Mauna Kea Beach had opened 20 years earlier (Hulse 1984). Condo projects constructed on the enclaves were also aimed at the wealthy. The result was that "The Kohala Coast is gradually building a reputation as a place for the affluent to come and enjoy tranquility and the amenities that go along with quality hotels" (Tune 1983).

With the completion of the Mauna Lani, the first generation of hotels on each of the three resort enclaves had come into existence. Between the middle 1980s and early 1990s, each resort would construct one more hotel, bringing the total in South Kohala to six. Other condominiums would be constructed as well. Ultimately, Figure 8.6 showed that South Kohala has come to challenge Kona as the major resort region on the island, in terms of accommodation unit numbers. In terms of resort quality, it pulled ahead of Kona after the Mauna Lani Hotel opened. This did not occur uncontestedly, however. Battles with the community have occurred over beach access, anchialine pond preservation, and other environmentally related concerns. Subsequent projects have been modified because of these battles, but ultimately the three new hotels—the second generation—got constructed.

These developments in South Kohala had more influence on planned projects in the Kekaha area than did anything that happened in the linked Kailua-Keauhou region. Kekaha was

also lava desert, where large parcels of land were also owned by a single person or business; master planned enclaves were an obvious choice. The success of the first three hotels in South Kohala, plus the upscale uniqueness of the Kona Village Resort, led to a half-dozen luxury projects being advanced in Kekaha during the 1980s.

Table 8.2 lists the names and major features of these resort enclaves. The large size of each of the projects is startling. All six were a minimum of 300 acres in extent. All planned for one or more major hotels, at least as large as any that then existed in Kona (though not as large as the Hyatt Regency in South Kohala, which opened in 1988 with 1,300 rooms). Combined with the hotels were to be thousands of residential units. The totals show that the number of accommodation units for Kona would be approximately doubled simply through the addition of new hotel rooms. An even larger number of condominiums ("multi") were planned, though it is difficult to ascertain how many would go into the vacation rental pool, and thus be considered tourist accommodation.

A second feature that is apparent is the basic similarity of each project. All six were simply hotel-condo-golf complexes moving inland from the coastline. Three of the resorts stressed a second sport: tennis, horseback riding, or boating. One project also planned an industrial region, where commercial aquaculture would be practiced. However, these activities were distinctly secondary to the major resort functions related to beach relaxation and golfing. Utilizing the terminology of Chapter 3, then, these projects could not be considered different at the broader levels of "class" and "form." They could only be differentiated at the narrowest "brand" level.

A third feature that can be distinguished is that the base resources of the Kekaha area would not be enhanced to any great degree by these projects. One project did include specific plans for a public beach park, another would create a wildlife preserve. With respect to cultural resources, one project would create archaeological preserves, another planned to include a natural science and cultural center. These were minimal in the face of the scale of development. This failure to protect and enhance environmental and cultural resources was to cause problems for some developers.

TABLE 8.2
PROPOSED RESORT ENCLAVES IN THE KEKAHA AREA OF NORTH
KONA

NAME	ACRES	HOTEL (Units)	HOUSING (Units)	GOLF COURSE S	OTHER RESOURCES TO BE DEVELOPED
Ka'ūpūlehu	623	600– 900	350–600 multi	2	Cultural: 2 Archaeological Preserves
Kūki'o Beach	675	900– 1,350	783–1958 multi 516–774 single	1	Industrial: Equestrian Center and Community Park
Awake'e	349	600	790 multi	1	
Makalawena	354	900– 1,200	950–1,350 multi	1	Industrial: Tennis Center Environmental: Wildlife Refuge Cultural: Natural Science and Cultural Center
O'oma II	314	600	600 multi	1	Non-tourist: Aquaculture park Environmental: Public beach park
Kohana'iki	470	700	500 multi 200 single	1	Industrial: Marina and Commercial Village
TOTALS	2,785	4,300– 5,350	3,973– 5,798 multi 716–974 single	7 18-hole courses	

Source: County of Hawai'i. Office of the Mayor. 1987. *A Summary of Planned Developments in West Hawai'i, County of Hawai'i.*

The resorts had all been formally proposed by September, 1987, when the source used to compile Table 8.2 was released to the public. However, by February, 1992, when field research ended, only one had been started; none had been completed. For better or worse, the development process in Hawai'i now works only slightly faster than the geologic processes that created the islands. Documentary evidence indicated that the six projects could be discussed under three categories related to state of progress as of early 1992.

The Ka'ūpūlehu and Kūki'o Beach developments are located contiguous to the Kona Village Resort, hence form a resort node. Both projects are in a state of advancement, meaning they are not being tied up by governmental constraints or through the agency of private citizens who do not want to see them come into existence. Both projects had received a number of the necessary permits by 1988. The initial major constraint was a government-initiated requirement that each resort provide housing for employees (Thompson 1988; *HA* 1988d). This issue had a number of go-arounds at County Council meetings, and a dispute broke out between the Mayor and the County Council at one point (*HA* 1988c; *HTH* 1988g; Thompson 1988b). Eventually, the Mayor signed the necessary bills and there were no further problems, at least for these projects (*HTH* 1988h).

By the time this issue was resolved, the Ka'ūpūlehu developers had completed a deal to construct one of the two hotels on the property. Ground was broken in 1989 for a 358-room Four Seasons Hotel (*HTH* 1989c). One of the development partners ran into financial difficulties in 1991 however, and work on the hotel stopped (Mason, 1991). As observed during field research, the partially-finished steel skeleton of the hotel stood a few hundred feet back from the shoreline, receiving the full environmental impact typical for a location in the salt spray zone.

Also in 1989, the Kūki'o Beach developers reached an agreement with the Regent International Hotel Corporation to build a 480-room facility (Harada-Stone 1989b). Just afterwards, 2,300 acres of land was sold for \$131 million to a new partnership that was predominantly Japanese (Lynch 1989; *HTH* 1989). In 1991, as an application for a Special Management Area use permit was being considered by the County Planning Commission, the development was contested by a local citizens group, Public Access Shoreline Hawai'i (PASH), which complained that the hotel's use of public electricity would cause island-wide shortages (*HA* 1991). A compromise was quickly reached on this matter, as well as on issues of public parking and beach access, and anchialine pond preservation (*HA* 1991b; Kaniho 1991; Rothstein 1991). During field research a year later, however, no work was observed to have begun on this project.

Both these projects could be considered to be going forward, though the pace was so slow that it was difficult to tell whether the development plans that had been submitted would ever be constructed in that form. Nevertheless, this is a categorically different state than that in which the other four projects exist; these have been severely constrained either by government or local citizens groups.

Environmental conflicts had a severe impact on two resort projects, Makalawena and Awake'e. Both proposed development very near 'Ōpae'ula Pond, a Hawaiian fishpond that is now a bird sanctuary (Clark 1985, 118). Bishop Estate owns land in the Makalawena ahupua'a; they submitted plans for the generic golf course-based resort, but with the pond preserved as a wildlife sanctuary. The County Planning Commission initially approved the plans in January, 1988 (*HA* 1988). Proximity to the bird sanctuary, and the desire to keep this particular beach public, led to a quickly rising tide of opposition. A citizens group, the Friends of Makalawena, formed to fight the project (*HTH* 1988b). The Planning Commission approval was reviewed by a panel, then deferred. Opposition continued to mount (*HA* 1988b). By February, 1988, Bishop Estate had withdrawn the plans entirely (*HTH* 1988c).

Awake'e resort was planned for the coastal portion of the ahupua'a immediately north of Makalawena. Development was therefore projected to occur in close proximity to 'Ōpae'ula Pond, as well. State Land Use Commission hearings began after the Makalawena resort proposal had been withdrawn (*HTH* 1988d), but while the opposition was still organized (*HTH* 1988e & f). This time the State of Hawai'i was itself part of the opposition (*HSB* 1988). Public hearings continued throughout the second half of 1988 without any discernible progress or regress (*HTH* 1988i). In early 1989, however, the opposition proved too formidable, and the resort proposal was withdrawn while the developers drew up new plans (*HTH* 1989). This was considered a clear victory for advocates of a slower pace of development, which included the Office of State Planning (*HTH* 1989b).

The developers came back with a new proposal, however; this called for a swap of coastal lands with the State (Harada-Stone 1989c). The initial decision, this time made by the State Board of Land and Natural Resources, was to defer (*HA* 1989), but at a later meeting the

swap was tentatively approved (Tune 1989). Trading a section of coast for another to the immediate north drew just as much opposition as the first plan, however, and in early 1990 the State withdrew its support (*HTH* 1990; 1990b). So ended Round 2.

These setbacks did not defeat the developers, and later that year they proposed a much different swap. This involved a roughly equal exchange in acreage in Awake'e, including the coastal component, for land in Manini'ōwali ahupua'a, contiguous to the north. The land area they asked for began 1,000 feet mauka of the coast, and extended to Queen Ka'ahumanu Highway. The nature of the development changed considerably, as well. This plan focused on creating a residential area around a golf course; there would also be a 400-foot wide buffer zone on the makai side of the property. But no hotel facilities were included, hence this would not be a tourist resort (Smith 1990d). This plan had the advantages of not requiring coastal frontage, and also of being contiguous to the Kukio Beach project, which had already received approval. Community opposition seems to have been minimal, or at least not as strong, and the BLNR approved this swap quickly (Yamaguchi 1990). During field research, a planning company hired by the developer held a meeting to obtain community input on what facilities were considered to be most needed along the coastal portion of the ahupua'a (which would not be developed). Residents interviewed at this meeting still voiced categorical opposition, but were relieved that the coastal areas had been spared. This project, now titled the "Manini'ōwali Residential Community" in the environmental impact assessment (Group 70 International, Inc., 1991), seemed like it would in time become a reality.

The final two projects to be discussed, located south of Ke'ahole Airport, and contiguous to each other, were similar in that both were in limbo while field research was going on, and the outcome was uncertain. The original project slated for the O'oma II ahupua'a did not get very far. Though the County Planning Commission had approved the project, State Land Use Commission denied its proposal for a land reclassification (Clark 1987). An appeal was also denied, effectively killing the project (*HSB* 1987). A different plan was then submitted in early 1991, nearly four years later (*HSB* 1991). Because there had been such a delay, the developers were ordered to prepare a supplemental environmental impact statement (*HTH* 1991). After

doing so, in early 1992, opposition again was mounting. In particular, the National Energy Laboratory of Hawai'i (NELH), located not far to the north, expressed concern that pesticides sprayed on the golf course would leach into the ocean, or drift through the air, and contaminate its aquaculture projects (*HSB* 1992; *HTH* 1992). This was the state of the situation when field research ended.

The Kohana'iki resort project was proposed for the ahupua'a immediately south of O'oma II. Two complicating factors existed. There were plans to create a marina, and the resort facilities would be placed immediately behind an area that received considerable public recreational use (camping and surfing), known as "Pine Trees." The needed land use permits were slowly obtained through 1987 and '88 (*HA* 1987; Thompson 1987), and it looked as if the issue over public camping could be finessed by the developers (Thompson 1988c). The marina was more problematic and was rejected by the County Council on the basis that water quality levels would be lowered (Clark 1989b).

After land permits were obtained, a series of property sales occurred that raised the value from \$13 million to \$54 million. Though this appeared as speculation to some, an ostensible reason given for one of the sales was that a new county administration had come into power, which was anti-development in nature (Young 1989). The final owner, to date, was a Japanese company (Wiles 1989), and with new ownership came new plans. The new developer chose not to renew the request for a marina (*HA* 1990b), but did seek, and obtain, a Special Management Area use permit (*HTH* 1990g). This occurred in spite of protests by residents regarding continuing access to a jeep trail that led to the shoreline (Smith 1990b). The decision was appealed by the Sierra Club, however (*HTH* 1990h), and had not been resolved by early 1992. Additionally, in June, 1991, a judge ruled that a contested case hearing should be held over this permit (*HTH* 1991b). The implication was that no resolution might be reached "for years" (Breden 1991). Nothing else had been decided by February, 1992, when field research concluded.

In sum, six large resort enclaves were proposed for the Kekaha area of North Kona in the mid-1980s. These represented a potential new form on the landscape and, if they had been built,

would have meant that Kona had acquired a new form of development, and hence entered a new phase of the development stage. However, by early 1992, all were in limbo. Money problems plagued one, or both, of the two projects that had received government permits to proceed. Community concerns over the environment, held by both government officials and private citizens, derailed two projects. One plan was withdrawn completely, the other mutated from a resort project to a residential development, in a new location. The fate of the last two was impossible to determine. One project, which had been rejected, was back in a slightly different form, fighting for life in the permitting process. The other was completely tied up in court, caught in a conflict with the community.

Therefore, because of (1) the lack of change in the linked Kailua-Keauhou region, and (2) the inability of the Kekaha resort projects to get constructed, and thus significantly alter the regional landscape, Kona is interpreted to have left the Development and entered the Maturity Stage. This was reinforced through the graph of accommodation units; the 1985 peak was approached in 1988, but a fall-off occurred after that. In terms of phase, it would seem that Kona, at the regional level, continues in a consolidation mode, at least at present. If several of the resort enclaves are built in the near future, this phase of the Kona's DLC may need to be re-evaluated.

SUMMATION: KONA'S DLC TO DATE

This chapter has attempted to analyze the destination life cycle for Kona. Three spatial scales were used, as a way of expanding the model itself. However, one advantage to doing this is that it becomes possible to understand how Kona fits into the larger picture, as well as knowing what went on locally. A short overview that integrates these scales will serve as a conclusion.

- When tourism is analyzed at the level of the entire State, it is more the life cycle of tourism itself that is being examined, rather than the life cycle of a particular locale. This point has not yet been brought out in the studies that examined large-scale destinations. In this case, study of accommodation data for the State of Hawai'i showed that resort tourism had a definite Response stage in the 1950s, then a long boom period during the 1960s–1980s. This 30-year

period could be divided on the basis of quinquennial rates of growth. In the Development stage accommodation units more than doubled every five years on all four main islands. This lasted about a decade. In the early 1970s, rates slowed everywhere except Maui, but were still often in the high double-digits. This is interpreted as being the Consolidation phase. Lately, total growth has ceased. This could indicate that a Stability or Stagnation phase has begun. It is really too early to decide, based only on accommodation statistics.

At the scale of the entire State, the Big Island was just one of four islands and Kona was but one of 11 resort regions that were envisioned in an early planning document. When the Big Island and Kona entered the 1950s, there was considerable hope that Kona would develop into the #2 resort in the State. The region had been in this position since the late-1920s; Waikiki had the Royal Hawaiian as its pioneer hotel, and Kona had the Kona Inn. As Waikiki grew in the 1950s, tourism facilities for the State became centered there. Rapid growth accused Waikiki to lose much of its 1930s magic; vacationing there meant a chance to be trendy. But “old Hawai‘i” ambience was what Kona had in abundance, and so it came to be known as the place to escape to. Ambience became the most exploited resource; historical events as experienced through remains in the built environment were perceived less highly than before World War II. Kona’s relationship to Waikiki was thus complimentary. Tourists could be where the action was, then get away from it all by going to Kona. Only a relatively small number chose this option.

There does not seem to have been any idea, early on, about how Kona could simultaneously become the second major resort but still retain its ambience. Some of the newspaper articles cited warned that this was not possible. Into the early 1960s it was a moot point, for Kailua did not immediately grow into a major resort. Several major hotel and resort projects had never eventuated, for a variety of reasons. The hotels that were built were either small- or barely medium-scale, perpetuating the Local form of the landscape. The new seawall along Ali‘i Drive at Kailua Bay must have improved the ambience of the village, though increased traffic and the large cattle shed built on the pier neutralized it. The fact that the village ambience was basically maintained throughout the Response stage must have given hope that Kona could grow but still remain unspoiled.

Tourism growth spread off Waikiki very quickly beginning in the early 1960s and both Kona and Hilo were caught up in this. In a sense, Hilo had a Rejuvenation stage in the 1960s, since this was the town's second try at tourism development. After 40 years in a Stagnation phase, Hilo was initially much more successful as a coastal resort than it had been as a place to stay while visiting Kilauea. Construction of an enclave of hotels enabled the town to attain the Domestic form fairly quickly, but this bloom was also quick to fade.

Kona's citizens were not looking to Hilo for inspiration, however. It hit them, unbidden, from Maui. After the Sheraton opened in the master-planned Ka'anapali Resort, Maui quickly became the hottest place off of Waikiki. The "old Hawai'i" that Kona had to offer was no longer *outré*. Kailua did begin to develop as a resort at about this time, but did not do so fast enough for some. The pedestrian mall issue that overtook Kona in 1965 concentrated the community's focus on what the town was becoming. Deep distention was the order for the next decade. If the pedestrian mall and high rises had been built, Kailua might have been propelled back into the #2 position, ahead of Ka'anapali. Given the presence of the Kona Hilton, there was surely a possibility that the town may have achieved an International form. But many in the community had a different vision; they successfully resisted these pressures, and ultimately inhibited the capability of tourism to grow. With the cessation of resort growth in Hilo, and the slowing of it in Kona, the Big Island lost ground to Maui, and even to Kaua'i, during the 1970s. Hawai'i became a two-destination state by the mid-1970s: Waikiki or Maui were now the main choices. For Kona, the end of the "pure resort" phase dates from 1975, when Kailua's last large hotel opened, but there was no money for more in the economy-at large. Kailua had been spoiled by traffic, by unplanned growth, and by the non-tourist construction surrounding the recreational business district. The demise of the venerable Kona Inn in the late-1970s, and its conversion to a shopping mall was a definitive cessation/alteration for the institution of tourism.

These years of developmental turmoil during the 1970s were the low point, to date. With a new design plan for the village, and a commission in place to enforce standards, Kailua gradually regained a measure of the ambience that it had lost. Continued growth, in the form of condominiums, occurred outside of town. Kailua and Keauhou resort became linked spatially

and functionally. This second half of the Development stage in fact took Kona down a life cycle pathway that was no longer purely touristic. A population boom in general complimented the shift from catering to tourists, to part-time condo residents. This phenomena, too, was a spillover from Maui. Kona became not just a place to visit, but to invest in, and to live.

The final chance at tourism development has thus far not materialized. North Kona's projected boom in resort enclaves has not come to pass, though several have now been built in South Kohala, just to the north. Whether this indicates that tourism development in Kona is basically over is too early to say. However, the community pressure that inhibited the mega-resorts continues to exist. It is thus difficult to envision what form any new tourism development could take. With the International form completely constrained, and the Enclave form on-hold, Kona would seem unable to grow beyond the Linked form it attained in the early-1980s. Local conditions thus coincidentally have created the same result that seems to exist at the State-level: a Stagnation or Stability phase of a Maturity stage.

ENDNOTES

¹ Crampon (1976, 63) noted that during 1846 there were 596 whalers and 53 merchant vessels recorded as having visited Hawai'i. From this he estimated there would have been 19,700 visitors. This is a best guess; he noted the range could have been between 16,000 at the lowest, to 26,000 at the high end.

² The 13 "resort regions" identified in the *Visitor Destination Areas in Hawai'i* plan (Harland, Bartholomew and Associates 1960) were: Poipu-Port Allen, Hanalei, and Lihue-Wailea on Kaua'i; Waikiki, Haleiwa-Waimea, and Waianae on O'ahu; Kamolu-Halawa on Moloka'i; Ka'anapali-Lanaina, and Ma'alaea-Wailea on Maui; Kawaihae-Puako, Kona Coast, Hilo, and Kalapana-Poho'iki on the Big Island.

³ The two regions that have never developed into resort zones are the Kamolu-Halawa area on Moloka'i and the Kalapana-Poho'iki region of the Big Island. For two of the three resort zones on O'ahu—Waianae and Haleiwa-Waimea—eventual development occurred in a slightly different area than was anticipated in the 1960 Plan.

⁴ Extensions to the runway at Keahole Airport, enabling fully loaded jumbo jets to land and take off, were completed in 1994.

⁵ Table 8.1 shows the changing number of accommodation units at the county level. HVB published the data only at this level of aggregation until 1975. Afterwards the data was

disaggregated into regions of each county; these did not, however, correspond to the resort regions of the 1960 Visitor Destination Plan. Hence data have been analyzed at the county level, as this serves the objective of showing how resort development has spread off Waikiki.

⁶ In a recent dissertation on early impressions of Hawai'i, Cox (1987, 231–3) noted that typical reactions to Kīlauea were speechlessness and an inability to describe either the sight or what was felt upon seeing it. She noted that use of metaphors, such as "the sea," was a common practice. In spite of Kapi'olani's efforts, tourists often invoked the name of Pele to describe the supernatural and mysterious quality of the volcano. Ultimately, the sight of Kīlauea appealed tremendously to 19th century tourists, Cox noted, because it was "sublime" and showed the workings of the divinity in nature. In the more prosaic vocabulary of this dissertation, Kīlauea was a resource for tourists at the highest "attraction" level of quality.

⁷ According to McCully (1870–71) by 1870 "scores" of people were visiting Kīlauea each year.

⁸ According to Crampon (1976), there had been a structure at Kīlauea since Kapi'olani had descended into the crater in 1824. However, Richardson's Volcano House was the first to be run as a hotel, with a proprietor.

⁹ The difficulty of the route to Kīlauea was offset to a considerable extent by the beauty of the native forest tourists passed through. Burnett (1892, 274) commented that the trail "lay through the most luxuriant verdure I have ever seen." Jones (1893, 26) thought it was a "hothouse jungle full of gigantic reeds, and creeping vines," and was amazed at "the tropical trees so strange to Northern eyes." Craft (1898, 173) contrasted the beauty of the forest with the human environment, composed of plantation agriculture and summer cottages built along the road. She wondered "if there is a natural law that condemns everything useful to be ugly." The forest remained an attraction to tourists well into the 1920s. After that time, expansion of agriculture reduced considerably the amount through which tourists traveled, and road improvements enabled cars to travel as such a speed as to render the forest invisible. This resource has thus been almost totally neutralized. A separate section of land covered in fern forest was later acquired by the National Park. This is well off the main road and not particularly accessible. Contemporary tourists must be content with experiencing the forest near the Volcano.

¹⁰ The government road of the 1890s was but the first transport infrastructure improvement to Kīlauea. In the first decade of the 20th century, a train line was put in that went up to the coffee (which were shortly replaced by sugar) plantations. Tourists could ride in total comfort most of the way, then switch to a stage for the last part of the journey. By 1910, the carriage road had been upgraded for automobiles.

¹¹ The photo book *A Picture Tour of the Hawaiian Islands: Playground and Wonderland of the Pacific* (1930) contained a full page photograph that seems to represent Hilo's relationship to Kīlauea. The photo was of the large oceanliner *Matsonia* docking at Hilo. The caption read: "...with a shipload of tourists from Honolulu intent on seeing Kīlauea Volcano and Hawai'i National Park." Nothing about Hilo was mentioned.

¹² Many of the hotels in Polk's *Directory* and the Territorial telephone directory were listed under the surname of the proprietor, which was often Japanese. This raises the question of

whether they were tourist hotels, or boarding houses for locals. Most were never directly mentioned in the more official guidebooks and handbooks written during these years

¹³ One obvious beneficiary of the turn of the century boom of tourism to Kīlauea was the local transport industry. Centered in Hilo, these companies did a thriving business taking tourists to Kīlauea via horse, carriage and stage coach, and touring cars. However, examination of Polk's *Directory* was not helpful in precisely determining how many livery stables and/or garages were ever operating at a given time, or if this number took off in any significant way.

¹⁴ During field research, a trip was made to the National Park to determine the impact of the hardening over of the lava lake. Park officials said no systematic records existed of visitation data for that period, but it was their impression that tourist numbers continued to rise afterwards.

¹⁵ Even though the lava lake was no longer present, Kīlauea was heavily promoted. Walker and Spiess (1931) noted that it was the "most press-agented" in the world.

¹⁶ Occupancy rate data is available in the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau *Annual Research Reports*.

¹⁷ In 1975, Hilo reached its highest total of accommodation, with 2,167 units. By 1984, this total had fallen to only 1,194 rooms.

¹⁸ The list in Figure 8.7 is incomplete in that it does not provide dates for the arrivals of several major expeditions, which were historical events in-and-of themselves.

¹⁹ Since hotels such as Miss Paris's did exist in mauka Kona during the late 19th century, it is possible to say that the Response stage for the mauka areas began at this time. Given that interpretation, mauka Kona would have had a life cycle of Response → Decline since, by the 1930s, there were essentially no accommodations for tourists located away from the coast.

²⁰ The 1850s was the last decade which seems to have been linked with the events at Kealakekua Bay, through tourists meeting either the actual participants of the battle or their descendents.

²¹ Both Miss Paris's hotel and the Mahealani were residences that took in guests and served family style dinners. Tourists joined the family (Jean Greenwell, Kona Historical Society, personal communication. November, 1991).

²² The precise date that the Ho'onanea Apartments opened (and closed) could not be ascertained. An advertisement in the Kona *Echo* (HNCM 1950c) indicated they were being rented in 1950.

²³ The expansion of cottages built by locals that occurred along Ali'i Drive in the early 1950s, would be considered to be part of the "late traditional" stage of the pre-tourism era according to Young's (1983) DLC model. However his "luxury complex" i.e., the pioneer hotel, marked the critical event that opened the "Early Tourism" Involvement stage. For Kona, the sequence of events was reversed. This was because of the ownership of the means of transportation. The Inter-Island Steamship Navigation Company built the Kona Inn so people would have a place to go on its steamers. But this didn't permit sufficient

accessibility for those who wanted to build cottages. Thus this development could only begin after air transportation had brought Kona within easy travel distance from Honolulu.

²⁴ This article (*HA* 1957c) further noted how local motivation for tourist growth can facilitate development. Mr. William Kimi is quoted as asserting that local investors should develop projects, so that mainland investors would follow their lead. In other words, initial investment by locals leads to resorts attaining a Local form. This is done, at least in part, so that outsiders will perceive it to be beneficial to come in and develop projects which would create a Domestic form on the landscape. The "relay tourists" of this would seem to be clear.

²⁵ Jones (1938) spent some effort describing the stores in Kailua, and what could be bought there. About five stores were listed in all. Only one sold any kind of souvenir; these were lauhala products.

²⁶ The park was initially named the City of Refuge National Historical Park, but, according to Clark (1985, 94), the name was changed in 1978. Although the park became a National Historical Park in 1961, restoration work did not commence until March, 1963 (Berman 1963).

²⁷ The Kona Courthouse was not mentioned in travel narratives of the 1920s and 30s. By the 1950s it was a structure of some antiquity, and some thought it added to the historical flavor of Kailua, along with Hulihe'e Palace and Mokuaikaua Church. It was also termite ridden, and beyond recovery of restoration (HNCM 1955d). It was eventually demolished, but local opposition to tourism development was of sufficient strength so that the Territory kept the property as a small park. Hale Halawai, a civic building used for a variety of special events, was built on the site.

²⁸ This plan was done by Harland Bartholomew and Associates for the Territorial Planning Commission.

²⁹ Projects proposed for Kona during the 1960 Legislative session included a golf course, preservation of Ahu'ena heiau, a small boat harbor, a cultural center, road improvements, water system improvements, and general improvements to Kailua. These totaled \$1.7 million.

³⁰ In the 1950s there also seems to have been a seasonal component to tourism in Kona that no longer really exists. An article from 1958 was entitled "Kona Hotels are Reported 50-to-70 Per Cent Empty" (HNCM 1958) indicated that the three months when demand didn't exceed supply were bad for the industry. The article also noted locals wanted HVB to promote Kona more.

³¹ The fact that the State has not turned over Old Kona Airport to the County does not seem to be entirely due to bureaucratic recalcitrance. According to one newspaper article, a particular resident has been on a successful "crusade" against this for two decades (*HTH* 1990d).

³² According to Jerry Case, Assistant Park Superintendent (personal communication, Nov., 1991), a draft environmental impact statement for Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Park had nearly been completed. This document outlined several possible strategies for development and called for community input.

³³ In 1989, Governor Waihe'e expressed interest in the development of a seven-mile park along the North Kona shoreline. This was to be a "centerpiece," containing public areas but also areas set aside for wilderness (Harada-Stone 1989e). As of early 1992, when field research had been completed, no further action had been taken to bring this park into existence.

³⁴ Land along the coastline north of the King Kamehameha Hotel was never developed for tourism. One particular landowner, a descendent of the missionaries, initially owned the entire stretch of beachfront between the hotel and the airport. An article in the mid-1960s noted that this person planned to sell 32 acres, but keep eight and build a new house (HNCM 1964c). A field check indicated this had occurred—there was a partially completed luxury home subdivision on the 32-acres.

³⁵ Some small businesspeople argued that the true agenda of the Kona Inn's owners was to gain land for parking (HNCM 1965b). According to their interpretation of Inter-Island's plan, the land for parking lots would be taken from those who had small holdings in the mauka side of the village. Others asserted that once the hotel had obtained sufficient parking, high-rise structures could be built (Southward 1965). Whether or not this was part of an underlying agenda, what seems more obvious is that the Kona Inn was itself a major cause of the traffic problems. By the mid-1960s, with over 200 rooms, it was Kailua's largest hotel. In an editorial commentary against the mall, one small hotel owner noted that the passenger drop-off and loading turn-around used by the Kona Inn was known in Kailua as the "State of Utter Confusion" (Vaughan 1966).

³⁶ The Malia Kai opened as a hotel, then changed to time share, then again to condominiums. The Kona Mansions V opened as apartments but converted to condos. Two other projects located in this area opened later. These were the Kona Billfisher (1977) and the Kona Pacific (1982). The Billfisher is now a time-share operation; the Kona Pacific was planned as a hotel but converted to condos before opening (field interviews, January and February, 1992).

³⁷ As a trust, the Bishop Estate was constrained from operating as a normal business. It was not allowed to borrow money, this had been stipulated in Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop's will (Schneider 1965). It was also not allowed to operate a business or advertise; it had to rely on "passive income" (Maneki 1966).

³⁸ In an interview, Guido Giacometti, head of Kamehameha Development Corporation, noted that money was readily available for construction from 1965 to 1969, then a recession hit. Afterwards, money got "tight" (Haun 1973b). The result was that Sheraton and Western International pulled out of hotel projects. This situation represents a macro-structural condition, in the context of the DLC model.

³⁹ In an interview (December, 1991) the current owner of the Kona Inn, William Kimi, noted his business interests controlled a considerable amount the property in the area constituting the Kailua RBD. This is consolidation in the literal sense, where many fragmented businesses come under control of a smaller number of larger organizations. Kailua thus clearly entered the Consolidation phase after this particular group bought the Kona Inn.

⁴⁰ Burns's "Gold Coast" was initially defined as a stretch of West Hawai'i coastline extending from Kawaihae down past the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. With time it shrank;

Keauhou became the conceptual "southern anchor," then it was limited to the coastline between Kailua and Kawaihae.

⁴¹ At a Land Use Commission meeting, plans for a "major resort complex" which also had a shopping plaza and nine-hole golf course, were presented (Knox 1970). The plans called for shoreline and fishponds on the property to remain zoned conservation. It was reported that the Land Use Commission thought favorably of this project, but could not approve any permits because there was a moratorium in place due to a water shortage. The community thought otherwise however, and the project was successfully inhibited.

⁴² Sheraton, however, would sell the hotel in 1990 (*HTH* 1990c).

CHAPTER 9

STAY OUT OF THERE, THAT'S PRIVATE

When the entire spatial area within a region is considered, it is obvious that tourism is not ubiquitous. Certain sites may be visited by thousands of people nearly every day, while in other areas the sight of even a single tourist is a rarity. Such uneven exploration and pattern of visitation form the basis for the concept of tourist "space." This chapter develops the concept by integrating an eclectic set of theoretical ideas with Kona case data. Two notions of space are examined. The chapter begins with a focus on attraction "sites." These are individual spots within the region, nodes on the map that tourists attempt to reach as they explore. Sightseeing is the act of going to these places. The discussion of tourist sites has been divided into two sections. The first focuses upon differentiating the particular site from surrounding regional space through the placement of attraction markers. The second discusses the fact that these particular sites can change in meaning. That is, they can become "sacralized" as they increase in experiential value. They can also become desacralized through commercialization. The second notion examines tourist space more abstractly. Three spatial scales—micro, urban, and regional—are discussed. For each scale, tourist space is considered through a synthesis of the sociological concept of "front and back regions" with a relevant geographical concept. These include "tiers" of touristic activity (Smith 1988), the recreational business district model (Stansfield and Rickert 1970), and "choroplethic tourist space" (Weaver 1986). The chapter closes an interpretation of a recent planning map, permitting some insight into tourism's future in Kona

This chapter is structured differently from the others, in that theory and case data are mixed. For each major chapter section, the discussion of theory is followed by a case analysis. This in turn provides more theoretical material that permits additional theory generation. For Kona, what emerged from analysis of both attraction site and regional tourist space is the fact that tourists are quite constrained in what they can see and where they can go. Particular attractions lack markers, often because they are on private property. The amount of space within Kona that tourists can explore is limited. There are few roads, particularly mauka, as was

already mentioned. Hence there is a strong sense that tourism and tourists belong in certain areas of Kona, but not others. Most of Kona is invisible to tourists. And though they are never explicitly told to stay out, the sense that property is private, and not to be explored, is fairly pervasive.

CREATING TOURISTS SITES WITH ATTRACTION “MARKERS”

MARKERS AS SEMIOTIC SIGNS

The science of semiotics is not new, the "father" of American semiotics was Charles Sanders Peirce, whose works were published in the 19th century.¹ The theoretical concepts developed by Peirce have formed the basis for further work, some of which has lately been applied to tourism. Before discussing this application, some basic semiotics concepts will be introduced. These have been taken from a text on communications theory (Fiske 1982, 40–3).

First of all, the objective of semiotics is to study meaning in communication. To conceptualize how meaning occurred, Peirce postulated that a set of elements existed in the structural form of a triangle. At each of the points were: (1) the object; (2) the sign; (3) the interpretant. The object could be anything physical or conceptual, while the sign was "something physical, perceivable by our senses; it refers to something other than itself; and it depends upon a recognition by its users that it *is* a sign" (Fiske 1982, 41). The interpretant was the person interpreting the sign.

Next, Peirce developed a typology that included three categories of signs. An icon was something that resembled the object, either in sound or appearance. The index had a direct link to the object; for example, the presence of "smoke" communicated the meaning of "fire." The final type was the symbol. In this case there was no literal resemblance or connection between the object and the sign. Rather, the symbol communicated meaning through cultural convention. Spoken words are considered to be symbols, as is written text.

MacCannell (1976) took Peirce's basic triad of semiotic concepts, and made an initial adaptation for tourism. MacCannell's major contribution was to notice that the meaning of tourist attraction sites was often enhanced or communicated through use of markers. These

could include sign-posts near the attraction, but also television shows, guidebooks—anything that conveyed information about the attraction. The importance of markers came precisely from their ability to communicate; tourists learned information about the attraction and also could enhance their experiences of it by knowing more.

Though he did not explicitly say so, MacCannell's markers as defined are obviously equivalent to Peirce's signs; in form they exist either as icons or symbols. MacCannell, however, further dichotomized markers on the basis of a different property—space. Sign-posts, plaques, etc. were “on-site” markers, while television programs or tourist guidebooks were located “off-site.” More recently, Leiper (1990) took this spatial differentiation one step further, by proposing there were three types of markers. “Contiguous” markers were equivalent to MacCannell's on-site markers. Off-site markers were sub-divided into two types, “detached” and “portable.” Detached markers were further sub-divided into generating markers, which provided information to tourists before they left to visit the site, and “transit” markers, which provided information along the way (they left information along an itinerary path [Leiper 1979, 378]). Guidebooks were examples of portable markers. One other point worth mentioning is that both MacCannell and Leiper asserted that an object or a place could not become an “attraction” unless it were marked in some way.

In brief, what MacCannell and Leiper have done was to specify how abstract concepts of semiotics would apply in real world tourism studies. The concept of “object” was replaced by “attraction,” and “sign” by “marker.”² Markers communicate information about attractions and also establish their location, enabling them to be found. Tourists function as the interpretants who find the attractions, though neither mentions this explicitly.

This formal adaptation set of semiotic constructs permits at least a partial understanding of how tourists explore regions. In particular, it explains how they sightsee. Essentially, the process involves tourists learning about regional attractions before arriving, through exposure to off-site markers of various kinds. After arriving, they utilize portable and on-site markers to guide them through their explorations and to enrich their experiences of attraction sites. What

markers do then, is highlight individual attraction sites within regions. These are the places that tourists find valuable to seek out.

ATTRACTION MARKERS IN KONA

While this set of ideas might seem reasonable enough, the state of affairs is that MacCannell and Leiper both discussed markers only in theoretical terms. Neither writer did any systematic empirical research on the subject. Neither has anybody else. Hence the decision was made to look at the situation in Kona, to see whether a case analysis of markers could generate any new theory, and also whether theoretical application to case could yield any insights.

Using Materials on Kona to Generate Theory

When the different tourist-related materials on Kona that have been used to write the previous chapters were reexamined, it was found that they all fit into existing categories of makers, particularly those in Leiper's typology. No new types of markers were discovered. However, there do exist lists that would seem to represent a kind of marker that is somewhat outside the boundaries of Leiper's typology, by being only tangentially related to tourism. These are "historical site" lists kept by the different levels of government. Individual places get added to such lists when they are determined to contain some meaningful cultural feature. Being placed on such a list marks them as distinctive, and separates them from other places of the same type. Once so marked, they are a step closer to becoming tourist attractions. This may never occur, however. It is often the case that the historical site is on private property and the landowner has no wish to exploit its potential for tourism. The existence of list types such as this indicates that Leiper's typology is not yet fully categorically "saturated," to use grounded theory terminology. It is quite possible, however, that all the marker categories directly relating to tourism materials have now been established.

One new theoretical aspect of the concept of portable markers was discerned in the Kona data, however. Bisignani's (1990) guidebook, the *Big Island Handbook*, was chosen for study as an example of a portable marker. While studying the individual places that had been marked, it became apparent that this guidebook was also functioning at a different semiotic level through its

overall organization. Specifically, in addition to individual sites, the regions and sub-regions of the Big Island were themselves semiotically marked in the chapter subheadings, through use of bold type. Use of such a system permitted the interpretation that tourist space itself was marked, as well as tourist sites. Three analytical points emerged from this.

At the largest scale, analysis of the guidebook's organization showed that the chapter arrangement basically reflected the institutionalized spatial divisions of the Big Island. Kona and most of the other major political districts were each treated in a separate chapter. At this scale, then, the *Big Island Handbook* identified Kona as a distinctive tourist region.

Going down one scale, the chapter on Kona was further sub-divided into two main sections that described sub-regions. These were "Kailua-Kona and Vicinity," and "Central to South Kona." Here, it is notable that Bisignani's division does not follow the political sectioning of Kona into "North" and "South." Rather, it focuses on demography (where the people in Kona live) and accessibility (where tourists can go). The impact of dividing within-region space in this way is that, by highlighting certain areas, others are made semiotically invisible.³ Thus, at one scale Kona is differentiated from other districts on the Big Island, but within the region at-large, only certain areas are marked as appropriate for tourists to explore. Tourists who utilize this guidebook as a way of structuring their exploration activities are thus steered towards certain parts of the district. Guidebooks create "beaten paths" in this way. Tourists must assert their agency to "get off the beaten path"; they must actively choose to explore places that are not described.

At the next (smaller) level of organization, Bisignani partially turned away from tourist space and utilized what is essentially a resource typology. The sub-divisions of text for "Kailua and Vicinity" included: "Sights"; "Beaches and Parks"; "Accommodation"; "Food"; "Entertainment and Activities"; "Shopping"; and "Services and Information." This shows that space has been privileged over resource type. But the content of each of these sections focused on the set of individual places that constituted the best examples. That is, individual sites were marked (set in bold type) as examples of categorical types, then described so that tourists would have an awareness of their value as a resource. This content, in turn, communicated the reasons

why the site had been marked as significant by the author.⁴ In sum, Bisignani organized his chapter on Kona into three spatial scales: the region; sub-regions; and individual sites. The latter, however, were aggregated into resource categories within the sub-region.

One more point emerged from the study of the structure of this guidebook. At the lowest level of organization, Bisignani described either nodal spaces, such as the Hulihe'e Palace, or "linear" spaces, such as "Ali'i Drive Beaches." A generalization that can be gleaned from this is that regional tourist space in guidebooks is two-dimensional in nature, while individual sites are either zero-dimensional (nodal), or one-dimensional (linear). Marked sites, then are the particular points and lines that occur within areas. Marked points and lines constitute the attraction resources for the region. The space that is left unmarked is a neutral element, until the tourists reach the destination and make their own observations.

Both MacCannell and Leiper asserted that a tourist site had to be marked before becoming an attraction. In reality the situation is more complicated. While it is undeniably the case that many attractions are marked, such assertions would seem to indicate an overly narrow conceptualization of how tourists experience regions. Tourists typically try to "get off the beaten path." If they are successful at this, it means they have had attraction-quality experiences at places that are not marked. Serendipitously finding the isolated stretch of coast at sunset, or having a brilliant conversation with a local in a bar are experiences that can have as high a quality level as seeing the principal known, and marked, attractions of the region. In fact, tourists often measure their skill as travelers, as regional explorers, precisely by finding unmarked sites and having nice experiences at them. The concept developed in Chapter 2, that places can be of gratifier-level quality, also indicates that places need not be marked. In conclusion, a useful modification would be to say that attractions must be marked before they can have pulling power over tourists. A region, and sites within it, must be marked so that potential tourists, getting information from detached markers of all kinds, will be sufficiently attracted to choose to visit.

Using the Theory to Inform the Kona Case

In this instance, looking at how theory of tourist markers could illuminate the Kona case proved more interesting than generating additional theory. Because marked sites generally do correspond to the regional tourist attractions, there exist a number of linkages between markers and resources that neither MacCannell nor Leiper specified. Conceptually, markers might be said to be a way of developing sites from a status of "raw material" to "finished product." This is a dimension of resource quality, equivalent to making an attraction out of a neutral element. Also, the variety of sites marked for tourists—the types and sub-types of attractions—can show the breadth of the attraction-quality resource base. Finally, the extent to which sites of the same type are marked is related to the concept of resource availability. Unmarked sites can be “utilized,” in the sense of resource availability. Visiting surfers, for example, find good breaks without the need for sites being marked by a sign on the beach. However, in many cases the lack of a marker can keep the site in “reserve” status. Tourists can walk right by it, look at it, but fail to perceive anything significant because there is no marker informing them why that particular site is more important than others like it, or why it is a special place within the region.

With these basic ideas in mind, two sets of markers for Kona were chosen for analysis. The mere existence of the first set would seem to indicate the overall validity of the theory of markers just discussed. Since the 1940s, the Hawai‘i Visitors Bureau has placed a set of "warrior markers" at certain sites. These are plaques containing an icon of a traditional Hawaiian chief, dressed in the red feathered cape and hat formerly worn by ali‘i. The plaque also states the name of the site being marked. These obviously are contiguous, or on-site, markers. The second set came from Bisignani's (1990) guidebook, the *Big Island Handbook*. This guidebook falls into the category of a portable marker, one which tourists might purchase before leaving home, or obtain in Hawai‘i, but would use as an aid to exploring Kona.

On-site Warrior markers have been placed at certain locations in Kona for decades. These markers are interesting examples of semiotic signs, because they do not provide information about the site they are marking, other than its name. What they signify would seem to be an "official" status as a "quality" resource for tourists to experience. When tourists come across a warrior marker, they can be expected to think they have stumbled across a place that has

been recognized as worthwhile by the State's official tourist organization. The expressed purpose of the marker (stated on the U.S. Patent Office memo granting a patent to the HVB for the Warrior marker), is in fact one of "promoting the economic and tourist interests of Hawai'i."⁵

Over the years, however, the philosophy behind the placement of Warrior markers in Hawai'i has been neither consistent, nor devoted to a systematic marking of tourist attractions. Nevertheless, private interests have understood very well the communicative power of warrior markers. Quite a number of private shops have displayed unauthorized warrior markers, knowing that tourists perceive these as bestowing an official status on the location. One company was even in the business of counterfeiting the warrior markers, then selling them (Jack Carriero, HVB Vice President of Membership Development and Corporate Marketing, personal communication, February, 1992).

The list of sites where Warrior markers have been placed in Kona is shown in Figure 9.1; the name of the marked site, plus the "description" that was taken from the original HVB list is shown. The column headed "C/H/S" refers to whether the site is considered to be cultural, historical or scenic in nature (HVB's internal typology). The column headed "E/S/C/Sv" defines the marker in terms of the resource categories described in Chapters 2–6 ("environmental," "social," "cultural," "service"). This latter column will be used for analytical purposes.

Just a quick glance at this list is sufficient to indicate that the sites marked are very different than what might be considered representative of Kona's tourist attraction base, as was discussed in Chapters 4–7. Most Warriors (13 of 19) mark sites that are considered to be cultural resources in the typology of this dissertation. Of these, five marked churches, but with the exception of Mokuaikaua Church, they are churches that have gone completely unmentioned in travel narratives and guidebooks. Another three Warriors have been placed at local libraries; making this, after churches, the most common type of site marked in Kona. Three other warrior markers are located at historical sites. Two, those at the Hulihe'e Palace and the birth site of Kamehameha III, are nearly always described in guidebooks. The third, however, marks the Kona Historical Society Museum, a cultural attraction which has mostly been ignored

SITE NAME	HVB'S DESCRIPTION	C/H/S ^a	E/S/C/Sv ^b
Macadamia Nut Factory	• Mac Farms		C
Mokuaikaua Church	• Hawai'i's first Christian church	H	C
Hawai'i's First Episcopal Church	• close to Konawaena School	H	C
Historic Ohana Church	• Built 1855; limited remains; poor access; being restored	H	C
Hōlualoa Public Library			C
Hulihe'e Palace	• Summer home of ali'i		C
Kahikolu Church	• Second oldest church on island; 1824; site of Hawaiian settlement	H	C
Kailua-Kona Public Library	• Public Building		C
Kamehameha III Birthplace	• End of Ali'i Drive in Keauhou	H	C
Kauaha'ao Church	• Founded in 1841		C
Kealakekua Public Library			C
KOC Botanical Gardens	• Nov, 1990; 11 terraced plots; Kona Outdoor Circle managed & maintained	S	C
Kona Historical Museum	• One room museum	C/H	C
Macadamia Nut Factory	• Mrs. Fields Mac Nut Factory & retail outlet; no tours given		Sv
HVB Office			Sv
Hōlualoa Arts Center	• Classes offered by retail artisans		Sv
Kailua Candy Factory	• Tours given of factory		Sv
Kealakekua Bay	• Kealakekua Bay State Underwater Park		E
Kona Country Fair	• • Capt. Cook to Hōnaunau		S

Figure 9.1 Location of Hawai'i Visitors Bureau "Warrior Markers" in Kona

Source: Hawai'i Visitors Bureau

^a "C," "H," and "S" refer to "Cultural," "Historical," and "Scenic," respectively. This is HVB's internal typology.

^b "E," "S," "C," and "Sv" refer to "Environmental," "Social," "Cultural," and "Service." See Chapter 2 for definitions.

in recently published guidebooks. The other two cultural sites are diverse; they mark a recently opened botanical garden and a local macadamia nut factory which does not have public access.

Four of the other six marked sites are part of the tourist industry, and thus mark service resources. Appropriately, the HVB marked the location of its own office in Kailua. In addition, two factories are marked—one produces candy, the other cookies sold by a nationally-known company (Mrs. Fields). Both of these sell at the retail level, meaning tourists can shop there. The fourth site is a center for artists; tourists can visit, watch art objects being produced in several mediums, then purchase them.

Finally, Kealahou Bay and the site of an event—the Kona Country Fair—are marked. Environmental and social resources are thus each represented by one site only.

Two conclusions can be reached from analyzing Figure 9.1. First, Mr. Carrier's remarks that past placement of Warriors was unsystematic would seem to be true in the extreme. Placing markers at small local libraries would seem to be an odd way of promoting the tourist interests of Hawai'i. There would seem to be more justification for placing Warriors at the other sites on the list. However, many of these (particularly most of the churches) are weak attractors at best in Kona, while several strong attractors have been left unmarked. The second conclusion is that there is a definite lack of balance in the types of places that have been marked. In particular, there is almost a complete lack of markers at Kona's many environmental resource sites, and sites of events.

Given the warrior marker's ostensible function—to mark places that have high attraction value to tourists—it would seem unusual that the HVB has not, over the years, identified these places, then duly put a warrior marker there to indicate the site. There would seem to be two reasons for this. The first has been mentioned, there has never been a consistent policy to systematically mark the best places. The second probably relates to the procedure by which a site receives a marker. This currently requires that an individual or group fill out an application for a specified site, justifying why the site should receive a warrior marker, and include a check for \$300.00 (the 1992 fee). Such a procedure would seem to select against people initiating sponsorship for sites such as beaches, scenic lookouts, or Hawaiian archaeological remains.

Essentially, there would be no reason why they should do it, since they would not personally profit from the marker's placement.⁶ This procedure may also explain why little-known churches and public libraries have received warrior markers, and thus been designated as tourist attractions.

The second set of markers chosen for analysis was taken from Bisignani's (1990) work, the *Big Island Handbook*. The choice of this guidebook involved theoretical sampling, in that it was known through previous research that guidebooks focusing solely on the Big Island marked more features in Kona than did guidebooks of the whole State. The assumption was also made that analysis of one guidebook would be sufficient, because most tourists probably only carry one of them. What was unexpected, however, was that this author would choose to explicitly mark sites through use of bold type face (and to a much lesser extent through use of italics). A quick scan of the chapter on Kona thus startlingly reinforced the idea that guidebooks can be considered a form of marker. In this case, specific elements were marked even within the text itself.

Table 9.1
Places Marked by Bisignani in Kona, by type

Type\Sub-Region of Kona	Kailua-Kona and Vicinity	Central to South Kona
Sights	16	12
Beaches and Parks	6	4
Accommodations	19	4
Food	61	16
Entertainment and Activities	17	0
Shopping	94	17

Source: Bisignani (1990): *Big Island Handbook*.

A straightforward way to analyze regional place markers by type is simply to enumerate them according to the internal typology used in the guidebook. This was done in Table 9.1. Such a table immediately reveals the extent to which the tourism industry dominates in Kona. The table shows that there were six categories of resources differentiated and marked by Bisignani. Only two of these, "Sights" and "Beaches and Parks," are not service resources. Four types, "Accommodation," "Food," "Entertainment and Activities," and "Shopping," are part of the tourism industry. Furthermore, the numbers of each type of marked site indicate that non-industrial places are in the distinct minority. Bisignani chose to mark 38 "Sights" and "Beaches and Parks." While this could be considered a substantial total, providing tourists with plenty of places to visit, it is small when compared to the number of sites of service resources identified. There were 228 of these marked in the other four categories. It should be recalled that these numbers represent distinct places in the Kona landscape.⁷ As place-entities, they are equivalent (one beach equals one shop), though of course they vary greatly in size. In this guidebook then, there were six times as many service sites marked as non-service sites. Even eliminating the categories of "Accommodations," "Food" and "Entertainment" from consideration, on the basis that the first two are Necessities and the latter mostly includes places visited at night, there was still a total of 111 shops that were marked in this guidebook; nearly three times the number of marked base (environmental, social, cultural) resource sites.⁸

As with the HVB Warrior markers, such disparity in the numbers of different types of attractions marked raises questions regarding the balance of tourist resource availability in Kona. Here, much larger numbers of service resources indicates the possibility that Kona's tourist industry may be over-developed. Such a conclusion can only be tentative, since no other research of this type is known to exist, and there are thus no baseline numbers to use as guidelines.⁹ Nevertheless, since the marked service resource sites outnumber base resource sites so greatly, there is cause to at least contemplate that industrial over-development has occurred. Certainly if the numbers were reversed, and there were 93 "beaches and parks" marked for Kona, but only 16 places where "food" could be obtained, it would be reasonable to conclude that the tourism industry was under-developed.

Additionally, the material in Chapters 4–6 clearly indicated that of Kona has many environmental, social, and cultural resources, but they currently exist in a state of reserve. This would seem to suggest that, to restore the balance, the answer is to mark more non-service sites, in effect bringing them out of Reserve and into Utilized status. However, guidebooks cannot readily do this because their authors are mainly limited to marking existing places that have resource value to tourists. Rather, it would seem to be a community issue; the community must decide which sites to open to tourist use, through a marking system such as the HVB Warriors. Such development must of course be done carefully, and not overdone. Also, the marking of certain fragile sites would be contraindicated, because their quality level would deteriorate were many tourists to visit (e.g., endangered species habitat). However, this would not seem to be Kona's main concern. Just the opposite, the main problem in Kona for the past several decades has been that too few resource sites are marked.

In summation, this section has attempted to develop the concept of tourist “space” through an analysis of the tourist markers that differentiate specific space containing tourists attraction sites, from non-tourist space. An important conclusion is that an object such as a guidebook, a portable marker, communicates ideas about which tourist spaces within the region are most important to explore. Beyond this, it identifies the salient tourist places, the attractions, to the tourist. Thus, distinct sites come to stand out from regional space. Analysis of specific marker sets can also provide information regarding the state of balance of regional tourist resource development. For Kona, both sets analyzed gave a preliminary indication that different types of resource sites are not marked to the same degree. A tourist relying on Bisignani's guidebook would mainly experience the tourist industry in Kona, somewhat at the expense of cultural, environmental, and social resources. The latter two types are almost completely ignored. Guidebooks, however, merely report on what the authors find when they themselves explore the region. Hence, the balance of resources, or lack of it, marked in guidebooks mostly reflects regional reality. Yet the state of on-site Warrior markers was even more out of balance. Many of Kona's major environmental and cultural resources are not marked at all; those that are

marked are of secondary quality. Such a state of affairs exacerbates tourists' difficulties in successfully exploring the Kona region.¹⁰

SACRALIZING AND DE-SACRALIZING TOURIST SITES

THE THEORIES OF MACCANNELL AND GUNN

The first section of the chapter has looked at markers in relation to tourist sites. MacCannell (1976) has also noticed there were cases in Europe where markers had, over time, become so valued that they themselves turned into attractions. This realization led him to theorize the existence of a set of stages through which "sights" went as they became more-and-more famous. He referred to this as the "sight sacralization" process (pps 43–5), on the basis that increase in meaning made a place more "sacred."

He characterized the stages in the following way: First, the sight is marked as being significant. MacCannell called this the "naming phase." The act of marking, or naming, distinguishes this particular example of the sight from others in the same category. The second phase consisted of "framing and elevation." For an art object and similar types of sights, elevation refers to its being put on display. Framing refers to the creation of a boundary between the sight and people observing it. Framing is done for protection, but also for enhancement. The stage of "enshrinement" occurs when the material used to frame the sight itself becomes an attraction. Generalizing from MacCannell's examples, churches in Europe often contained relics. Initially, the seeing the relic was the reason to visit, and the building was merely the marker. Over time, the church building itself became an attraction, ultimately surpassing the relic in cultural meaning. This constituted "enshrinement." When "mechanical reproduction" of the sight begins, the fourth stage has been reached. The sight becomes imbued with a greater status of authenticity, since less-valuable replicas of it now exist. MacCannell argued it was at this stage that tourism to the sight began to occur, because tourists at home now possessed or viewed replicas, and set off in search of "The Real Thing" (p. 45). The final stage in the process was when "social reproduction" began. This happened when people named either themselves or distant localities after the famous sight.

MacCannell's sight sacralization process was innovative by generating theory about how all attractions can change in perceived meaning over time. Independently, Gunn (1972, 40–3) developed spatial concepts about tourist attractions that were similar to some of MacCannell's ideas. Gunn proposed a type of nuclear model that was normative (to serve his objective of improving planning of tourist sites). This model contained three spatial properties.

First, tourist attractions (Gunn's examples were primarily environmental resources) were considered to be the "nucleus" of a larger area. The attraction itself, the thing tourists had come to see, would be in the center of an area. Surrounding the attraction-nucleus should be an "inviolable belt"; an area left more-or-less undisturbed. This idea is equivalent to MacCannell's concept of framing. The functions of the inviolable belt are to protect and enhance the attraction. Tourists must enter the inviolable belt and cross it before reaching the nucleus. This spatial zone serves to sacralize the site by separating it from the rest of the world.

Lastly, surrounding the inviolable belt was a "zone of closure." This would be the proper location of the tourism industry. According to Gunn, hotels, shops, etc. were improperly located if they were placed inside the inviolable zone. Tourists would be right however, in expecting to find them located outside of this area. Gunn implied that the zone of closure played a role in increasing the meaning of the attraction. That is, by arriving first at the zone of closure, tourists' expectations would be raised through their observation that service facilities had been constructed for people coming to visit the attraction (nucleus). Lack of such industrial development would mean the site lacks importance. In a semiotic sense then, the meaning of an attraction is first enhanced by the development of nearby areas. As tourists then proceed towards the attraction-nucleus, their minds are cleansed by passing through an uncontaminated inviolable belt. There are thus proper, and improper, locations for commercial tourist activity. The conclusion is that when the three spatial elements—nucleus, inviolable belt, and zone of closure—co-exist in proper spatial relation, the potential of the nucleus as an attraction can be maximized. Gunn referred to this as proper "tripartite attraction design" (p. 40).

SITE SACRALIZATION AND DE-SACRALIZATION IN KONA

Case Informing Theory

When the Kona case is examined for occurrences described by MacCannell, one of the first realizations to emerge is that there is a difference in the nature of the subject under consideration. MacCannell was essentially looking at "sights," and, as has been noted, he sometimes chose as examples holy relics or paintings in museums. However, what was evident from both the HVB list of warrior markers, and the list culled from Bisignani's guidebook, was that it was not "sights" that were marked, but "sites." For Kona, what has occurred has been the sacralization of distinct sites. Sometimes the attraction was a structure located on-site, sometimes it was an activity that occurred there.¹¹ This latter condition re-emphasizes the point that sometimes there is nothing to see at the site.

MacCannell's idea that sights become attractions by being marked fits perfectly with the contemporary idea that resources are human assessments. Hence, the act of marking a site, the naming stage in his process, is also an act of resource creation. As was noted above, naming is akin to turning raw material into a finished product, in the sense of semiotically increasing the meaning and value of the site. Conversely, it was shown in the previous chapters that attraction sites visited throughout the past 200 years have sometimes declined in perceived quality, and at present are neutral elements. This amounts to site "de-sacralization." In Kona, de-sacralization would seem to have occurred more often at unmarked sites. There does not seem to be any inherent reason why it could not also occur with marked sites; for example, through physical deterioration. Removal of a Warrior marker would also be a way of de-sacralizing a site. The reality that a marked site can increase or decrease in value indicates there is no natural law that any particular site must go through all the stages in a linear sequence. The condition of "variability," described for the DLC model, would also seem pertinent here.

This last point prompts the realization that the process MacCannell identified is structurally very similar to the DLC model. A comparison between the stages in these two processes indicates that MacCannell failed to sufficiently conceptualize the property of "popularity" of the sight. For resorts, the life cycle model shows there will be increases in

popularity, followed by eventual decline. It can thus be expected that individual sights will go through something similar. As suggested, this amounts to a de-sacralization stage, occurring after they have reached whatever maximal peaks in popularity they are destined to reach.¹² As this occurs, it is also likely that the number of off-sight markers will simultaneously dwindle, further contributing to their decline in popularity. Of course, this does not necessarily mean that a sight's importance to locals will correspondingly decline in value.

Theory Applied to Case

As was the case with his work on markers, MacCannell discussed his sight sacralization process only in conceptual terms; he did not systematically test it through a case study. As a way of showing how planning methods could be improved, Gunn did provide examples of his tripartite attraction design. But since these ideas were published, nobody seems to have attempted to apply them. When this was done for Kona, several interesting points emerged.

First of all, it is apparent that stage #1 in the process, the naming or marking of sites, was covered in the previous section of this chapter. Placing of a Warrior marker, or describing a site in a guidebook, is an act of "naming." The main conclusion was that the situation is more complicated than MacCannell theorized. That is, sites can be attractions without really being marked, and marked sites might not be attractions. Nevertheless, sites specifically named have been chosen as attractions.

Second, it would seem the case that no attraction site in Kona has yet reached either the "enshrinement" (#3) or the "social reproduction" (#5) stages.¹³ With respect to "enshrinement," the closest example in Kona might be the outer wall at the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau. This wall, which protected people—defeated warriors, kapu violators, etc.—bounded the sacred ground inside. Since the site attained National Park status, it has been incorporated into the attraction at-large, and thus been raised somewhat in status. This feature, however, would not yet seem to have attained the full enshrinement of the sort MacCannell discussed, as for example when church buildings eventually attained as much attraction value as the relics they held within.

With respect to the "mechanical reproduction" stage (#4), the Kona experience would seem to indicate that this can now occur at any point in time, due to recent advances in

technology. The Pu'uhonua o Hōnauanu, for example, began to be photographed in the 1920s, if not sooner. This would seem to have been before there were any on-site markers denoting its existence. The tremendous increase in image reproduction capability during this century would thus seem to have invalidated there being a specific mechanical reproduction stage. This aspect can now occur during every stage of the site sacralization process.

This leaves only Stage #2, framing and elevation, to discuss. It is a stage, however, that has important theoretical implications for Kona. A number of sites have partially entered, or gone through this stage. Such passage has sometimes caused extreme levels of controversy in the community. The set of examples described below are not exhaustive, but provide an overview of the variation and the problems that can occur as specific sites in the regional landscape become framed and elevated for tourists to experience.

First of all, field research indicated that there are a few sites in Kona that have been "framed." The most specific example is the birthplace of Kamehameha III. This site was simply a large lava stone, completely indistinguishable from other stones nearby. Today, a wall has been built around the stone, and two on-site markers exist (one inside the wall, the other outside of it). Hulihe'e Palace and Mokuaikaua Church have been framed through the use of fences placed at the sidewalk. These borders function to create small inviolate zones that set off the birth site and the buildings. The Cook Monument at Kealakekua Bay has also been framed in this way, by means of a low chain fence.

The more common state in Kona is that attraction sites exist in an unframed, or partially framed, state. Field inspection of Keauhou resort, for example, located several historical sites that had been preserved, but where there was no inviolate zone at all between the site nucleus and resort development.¹⁴ In one case, a tennis court had been built contiguous to the preserved site. Development at this particular site stood out as being in most blatant violation of Gunn's principle of proper design. The Kaneakua hōlua, the largest historical site in Kona, and also located on the property of this resort, has been inappropriately framed by a public road, an unpaved service road, and a golf course. Before drawing a general conclusion that all historical sites in Keauhou are not spatially framed in a proper way, it should be pointed out that during

interviews with Keauhou managers, an unpublished "Historic Management" document was obtained. This document outlined plans for the restoration and development of five major historic sites on resort property, including the Kaneakua hōlua.¹⁵ These plans called for the construction of fences, viewing areas and museums at the above-mentioned sites. If constructed, such features could obviously improve the marking, framing and zoning of the major historical sites on the Keauhou resort.

Other major examples of unframed or partially framed sites include the Hikiau and Ahu'ena heiaus. Hikiau, built just behind the beach at Kealakekua Bay, was a very important heiau in the Hawaiian religion and was also the site where Cook was worshipped. It is now completely unframed and has no inviolate zone at all. The parking lot for Napo'opo'o beach park extends literally to the edge of the heiau. This site was visited on several occasions, and during each visit many tourists using the beach park were observed walking past the makai wall of the heiau, completely oblivious that they could reach out and touch one of the most famous historical features in Hawai'i.

Interestingly, this heiau does have two markers. One is a plaque noting the burial on the heiau of a sailor on Cook's expedition, William Watman. The importance is that this was the site of the first Christian burial in the islands. The other marker is a monument noting that the Napo'opo'o area (not the heiau itself) was the home of Opukahaia, a Hawaiian seaman whose yearning for Christian knowledge influenced the decision to send missionaries to Hawai'i. The monument resembles a tombstone, though Opukahaia died in New England.

A semiotic interpretation of the heiau-marker-tourist relationship is that these markers do not mark the heiau itself to tourists. In fact, just the opposite occurs; the markers neutralize the heiau as an attraction by focusing on secondary, or irrelevant, properties. As a result, tourists literally do not see this heiau for what it is, and often miss the chance to contemplate it as an important historical site. In spite of the markers, the site has not really been either elevated or framed.

A similar interpretation can be made for Ahu'ena heiau, now on the grounds of the King Kamehameha Hotel. This heiau was restored during the 1970s, as a condition for the hotel

owners being permitted to dynamite the original hotel structure so they could then construct a more upscale building. Restoration included not only the stone platform, but also re-construction of the buildings and images that were known to exist on it. The heiau is only one of two historical sites in Kona (the other is the Hale o Keawe at the Pu'uhonua o Honaunau) where replicas of Hawaiian buildings and images have been re-constructed, giving viewers a sense of what the site looked like to Hawaiians and early visitors.

While this is restoration of the site nucleus is laudable, it would seem that insufficient attention was given to framing it. Ahu'ena heiau is partially framed by the small body of water separating it from Kamakahonu Beach. Tourists on the beach can view it from a short distance, though the recreational activities of other tourists in the water may represent a neutralization of the function of the inviolate zone—to improve the concentration of mind with respect to the site. The situation is worse on the landward side, where no clearly discernible inviolate zone exists. Tourists walk through hotel gardens until they are at the edge of the heiau. A sign then directs them to go no further. Failure to mark the outer edge of the inviolate zone for tourists prevents a proper sense of awe from building as tourists approach the heiau.

Recent controversy over use of the land above the Pali Kapu o Keoua at Kealakekua Bay shows at a larger scale the impact that intended development within in the inviolate zone can have on community opinion. This Pali is a dramatic, highly scenic cliff-fault that rises hundreds of feet straight out of the water. Sheer size makes it one of the most impressive topographic features of Kona. Kealakekua Bay itself has now been sacralized—as a Marine Life Conservation Zone. Land on both sides of the Pali of course remains extremely important historically and culturally. Cook's death site is at the makai base of the cliff. Hikiou heiau is at the head of the Bay. The Pali itself contains numerous caves that were used as burial sites, and is named after the father of Kamehameha I (Chase 1992). The area overall has important cultural, as well as environmental, resource significance.

Controversy began after the landowner first attempted to change the zoning classification in order to construct a residential subdivision above the Pali (Harada-Stone 1989).¹⁶ It increased when the landowner then sold land to a development company, which

shortly afterward announced plans for a golf course (Clark 1990). Maps in the subsequently released environmental impact assessment showed that part of the golf course would be built close to the edge of the Pali and would be clearly visible from the Nāpo‘opo‘o Beach vantage point of Kealakekua Bay (Breedon 1991).

Conversations held with several residents during field research indicated that community opposition to this project was broad-based.¹⁷ In a letter-to-the-editor, Chase (1992) summed up the situation. She described the major historical features of the Bay area, noting the importance of each, then made an impassioned plea for rejection of the project. Her emotions were not excessive when compared against the other conversations that had been held with Kona residents. What is illuminating from the theoretical perspective under discussion here is that Chase did not highlight any particular historical or cultural features that would be destroyed or degraded on the land the golf course project would occupy. Her main objection to the project is interpreted to be that it was simply too close to the Bay and all of the cultural sites nearby. From this example it can be theorized that there is something of a cultural sense of the proper use of space in relation to sacralized sites, something that locals understand. In this case, the development company's plans violated the community's sense of the necessary size of the inviolate zone above Kealakekua Bay. Judging from community sentiment, a golf course is a recreational resource element that properly belongs in the zone of closure, not the inviolate zone. Placing such a feature too close to sites that are sacralized for other reasons would seem to have the impact of neutralizing the value of these sites.

One final feature of site framing is also illuminated by another example from Kealakekua Bay—the Cook Monument. As noted in Chapter 6, the site of Cook's death has been the most important place in Kona for tourists to visit. For much of the past two centuries, this site was reasonably accessible. Visitors came by ship, by land on horse and carriage roads from Kailua, or down the road from Kealakekua mauka, or could be rowed across the Bay by Hawaiians. By World War II, however, none of these methods were readily available. The great majority of tourists since then have had to be satisfied with a glimpse of the obelisk-shaped monument from Napo‘opo‘o, on the other side of the Bay and about a mile away, or from far

above, on the mauka road that passes the Bay at roughly 1,500 feet in elevation, and which is at least five miles away. A minority of tourists have been able to see the monument up close by taking a boat tour from Kailua or Keauhou. These trips, at least lately, seem to emphasize recreation, however. Observation and visitation of the monument is thus combined with snorkeling or scuba diving off-shore. Thus, since World War II, inaccessibility from the landward side, and the excessively large inviolate zone the Bay represents, have prevented most tourists from being able to properly experience and appreciate the Cook Monument.

MacCannell included "elevation" as well as "framing" in his second stage. As an example of sight-elevation, he noted the public display of famous paintings. For "sites," as opposed to "sights," there would seem to be two properties of elevation in Kona: access and restoration. It has been noted several times that Kona has a huge number of historical and archaeological sites remaining from the days when the Hawaiian population was large. By far the vast majority of these are now on privately owned land. Hundreds of the sites have been placed on lists such as the Register of Historic Places, i.e., they have been named and, through the act of naming, sacralized. However, the short list of marked cultural sites described in Bisignani's guidebook indicates that most are inaccessible to tourists. This is likely to remain the case. During field research, opinion was expressed several times that land owners are fearful of historic sites on their property becoming widely known, because of the constraints on development that could be placed on them. The sites will therefore remain unknown to either tourists or locals, inaccessible, and unrestored.

This has also been the case for a number sites on public land. These situations are often more complicated, since public input is required in government projects that involve site elevation. Certain sites on public land in Kona have been successfully elevated. The best example is Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau (though many sites exist on park property which are unknown to the tourist public), which was restored as a National Historic Site in the 1960s. The restoration and marking of the Kuemanu surfing heiau by the County is an example at a smaller scale.

On the other hand, the State and Federal governments have both acquired land in Kona with the intent of restoration and opening to public display, but have left it “unelevated” for years. An example at a small scale is Kāmoa Point State Historical Park. According to Clark (1985, 106), this site was obtained in 1980 to preserve such historical features as a surfing heiau and bathing pools. Clark reported: "The property remains undeveloped." Seven years after Clark's book was published, field research indicated the presence of a badly deteriorated heiau just mauka of the shoreline, where land came closest to the surf break. In this case, the lack of effort at restoration—at elevation—has left the heiau at the mercy of the elements. There is now little left to preserve, at least of this particular heiau.

At larger scales, two major examples of failure to elevate sites exist in Kona. These are, again, the Kealakekua Bay area, and the Kaloko-Honokōhau National Historical Site. The reasons behind the lack of elevation are very complicated in both cases. As the process leading to this state are similar, only Kealakekua Bay will be discussed. The incident about to be described took place 15–20 years earlier than the other incident discussed above.

The impetus for site development at Kealakekua Bay began in the 1960s. The motivation seems to have been the awareness that the 200th anniversary of Cook's landing and death was approaching; a call was put forth for major landowners in the area to work with county, state and federal officials to produce a master plan (*HSB* 1967c). By early 1968, two archaeologists were quoted that a historical park should be established and a joint state-country memorandum was written in support of this (*HSB* 1968b). A great deal of activity then occurred between 1969 and 1972. Newspaper articles written during this time provide only the sketchiest outline of events. In addition to the park, there seem to have been proposals for two resorts somewhere in the immediate vicinity of Kealakekua Bay, advanced by two different landowners (Altonn 1968; Tau 1968; Benham 1971d). The development of the historical park was thus linked to resort development.

Simultaneously, National Historic Site status was sought,¹⁸ and a formal plan was drawn up for creation of a historical park (Bilby 1868; Creighton and Walters 1969). In area, this was to extend from the Ka'awaloa side of the Bay (the north side) and would include the land above

the Pali; it would also have included Nāpo'opo'o village south to the site of the Battle of Moku'ohai. All the major historical sites in this area would have been marked, elevated and framed. Plans were developed for a set of museums, scenic overlooks and historical interpretation sites.

If the features of this development plan had been implemented, the historical and cultural resources of the Kealakekua Bay area would have been elevated to an extent far exceeding what has been done by the federal government at the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau National Historical Site. However, they were not mostly not implemented. There seem to have been two reasons. The first concerned community opposition to specific features of the plan. These seemed to focus on the way the plan privileged park development over the needs of the community. One resident of Nāpo'opo'o village noted that all the homes, a church and a canoe landing would be replaced with parking lots. There was considerable community fear that the slow, rural way of life of South Kona would be destroyed by park development for tourists. Ultimately, residents opposed most features of the plan, including even the specific zoning for monument areas (Benham 1971d; *HTH* 1972). Residents completely inhibited resource development.

The other reason had to do with the resort development that was about to occur. No specific plans for hotels or residential construction were drawn into the "Creighton Report" mentioned above, but there were plans for a golf course located mauka of the Battle of Moku'ohai site from the very beginning (*HTH* 1967d; Chillingworth 1967). The fight over permits to build this golf course became something of a separate issue that dragged on until the mid-1970s (Ferguson 1974).

Additionally, in what was undoubtedly the oddest twist to this issue, the Lieutenant Governor of Hawai'i came down decidedly against resort development, and his efforts seem to have given strength to the opponents of any kind of development. Labeling tourism a "symbol of false progress," he made a plea to prevent "the cough and grunt of the bulldozer" (Gill 1969). These attacks began at the same time as then-Governor Burns was heavily promoting tourism in

North Kona through creation of the Gold Coast. The Lieutenant Governor called for a "Green Coast" in South Kona (Gereben 1969).

Ultimately, only two features of the Creighton Plan ever seem to have been adopted. Kealakekua Bay was made the State's second Marine Life Conservation District (*HSB* 1969b), and State Park status was obtained for land in the Bay area (*HSB* 1970b). Beyond these acts of "naming," however, little elevation has subsequently been done to the site resources. A list of features to improve the underwater resource seems never to have been put in place (Benham 1970). Above the water, the State began acquiring land for the park in the early 1970s (Alvarez 1990, 1.9), but field checking indicated no site improvements had been done. The environmental and cultural resources of the Kealakekua Bay area thus remain in a reserve state, awaiting the restoration that will elevate them to the status of true attractions.

The theoretical implications of this case will be drawn out as a way of summing the chapter section. The Kealakekua Bay area is one which contains a large number of environmental and cultural resources—attraction nuclei. A couple of these have been marked, many have not been. During the 1960s, awareness of the area as a complex of attraction nuclei led to the call for its elevation, by defining the space as a State Historical Park. A master plan for the park was written and disseminated; this contained detailed descriptions for the naming, elevating and framing of a large number of individual sites. Had the plan been implemented as written, this case most likely would have served as an example of appropriate framing and elevation of tourist resources, at least according to Gunn's (1972) guidelines. However, the plan also included construction of a golf course; this complemented the goals of private land owners to develop the area commercially. In other words, both government and landowners had vested interests in developing elements appropriate for the zone of closure, but they wanted to place these within the inviolate zones surrounding the attraction nuclei. The community and the then-Lieutenant Governor perceived the inappropriateness of this, and strongly opposed these commercial aspects. Further, no place for the community was conceived in the plans; local residents were to be forced out for the sake of development. The community thus also had to fight for self-preservation, which led it to oppose all facets of the master plan, including even

those that marked and elevated resources on the other side of the Bay, a mile away. Ultimately, the inhibitional forces in the community triumphed over higher levels of government. The community survived intact. The result has been that very little was ever done to elevate the tourist resources of the area. The result for tourists has been that the experience of visiting Kealakekua Bay is of lesser quality than would have been the case had the resources been named, elevated and framed in a manner consistent with Gunn's principles of attraction design.

THE ZONATION OF TOURIST SPACE

Aspects of tourist sites have been the main focus in the previous two sections of the chapter. Tourist space was a secondary consideration, though it was discussed in relation to being semiotically marked in guidebooks. The final section of the chapter will take up where this left off. Theory will be elaborated from the concept of "front" and "back" regions. This idea was initially developed by Goffman (1959). It was adapted to tourism by MacCannell (1976), who discussed it mostly in terms of geographic micro-space—rooms in buildings. However, his ideas can be extended to larger scales. After an initial elaboration of MacCannell, therefore, attention will turn to a model of tourist space in urban areas—the "recreational business district" of Stansfield and Rickert (1970)—and to a model for tourist space in regions at-large—Weaver's (1986) "choroplethic tourist space" on islands. These scales all share the idea that places are spatially divided into fronts and backs where different sorts of activities occur. The references cited above would suggest that it is these three spatial scales which are important.

EXPLICATING THE THEORY: FROM SMALL TO LARGE SCALES

Micro-Space: Inside Tourist Businesses

Goffman's (1959, cited in MacCannell 1976) initial conceptualization of front and back regions was an abstraction from activities conducted in daily life. Restaurants, for example, are widely known to be divided into the "front of the house"—the dining areas, and the "back of the house"—the kitchens. MacCannell (p. 92) generalized front regions as "the meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service persons," while back regions were where preparations

were done. Both Goffman and Giddens have asserted that the concepts of front and back regions are fundamentally social, rather than spatial. Giddens (1984, 124) commented that they are simply basic ways of organizing the context of social action; Goffman distinguished three types of people involved: "those who perform; those performed to; and outsiders who neither perform in the show nor observe it" (quoted in MacCannell 1976, 92). The first theoretical point to be established is that there is no absolute necessity to structurally divide space; back regions can be created simply by people turning their backs on others. MacCannell (p. 92), however, asserted that "architectural arrangements are mobilized to support this division" between front and back. At the scale of the building, then, space is usually divided into rooms, and social interaction typically conforms to norms defined by the type of room in which people find themselves.

MacCannell developed this idea for tourism. He asserted that meetings between tourists and locals typically occurred in the front regions of shops, restaurants, or dinner theater settings. The back regions, where the props were kept, the ingredients stored and assembled, etc., were typically the turf of "those who perform" for the tourists. This would seem unproblematic. MacCannell then took this idea one step further, by introducing Goffman's idea that the occurrence of the performance in the front region requires some "mystification" (p. 93) that is done in the back region. This in turn, gives the back region status as something to be explored, in order for tourists to learn how the elements of the front region are put together. But, according to MacCannell, the performers have a vested interest in maintaining the sense of mystification, therefore, tourists' entering back regions represents an "intrusion," which often (though not always) must be prevented.

MacCannell then discussed tourists' motivation in relation to front and back regions. He argued that what went on in the front region was "staged authenticity" (p. 98); an artificial performance put on for the sake of tourists. What tourists wanted, however, was to see life as it was really lived by the locals, i.e., the "authentic" local life. This desire led them to want to explore back regions, in order to become "demystified" (p. 94) with respect to the performance. Tourists would "get off the beaten path" and "in with the natives" (p. 97) to achieve this goal.

Here, MacCannell seems to be shifting scales, extending what Giddens (1987) has called the "dramaturgical metaphor" of Goffman, to larger areas.

Combining ideas on space with apparent motivation, MacCannell next created a typology of tourist space, along the single dimension of front-to-back, which he referred to as the "structure of tourist settings" (p. 100). In total, he divided tourist space into six categories. These were: (1) front regions; (2) front regions decorated to look like back regions; (3) front regions totally organized to appear to be back regions; (4) true back regions open to outsiders; (5) back regions cleaned up and periodically put on display; (6) back regions totally off-limits to outsiders. This typology of "micro" space is quite thorough, along this single dimension.

Urban Space: the Recreational Business District

So far, the discussion has focused mostly on places of business. These front and back settings were where the institution of tourism—the set of behaviors that tourists and locals draw upon while interacting—took place. Yet MacCannell also noted Goffman's identification of a third group—those who were not involved in tourism interaction. At the next spatial scale up, writers have taken all three groups into account. This scale is urban in extent. Researchers have worked on delimiting the types of shops that exist, on terminology for their spatial concentration, and on analyzing the spatial relationships within and between defined urban areas.

First of all, Smith (1988) focused on tourism businesses. As noted in Chapter 2, he was attempting to define the supply side of tourism, and did so in terms of the set of businesses that supplied tourists with goods and services. He extended his definition by creating a typology of businesses. Tier 1 businesses were those whose customers were almost exclusively tourists, and which would go out of business if travel were to cease. Tier 2 businesses catered to both locals and tourists.¹⁹

Other researchers have had similar ideas, less precisely defined, but they related these to the spatial development of business location in resorts. Barratt (1958, cited in Mitchell [1986]) developed a model of the spatial morphology of resort cities in the U.K. He noted several elements were present. A "strandline" was necessary; this went along the beach in a linear fashion. Obviously, the beach was the resource which had led to the development of the resort

city. At a central point behind the strandline was a "zone of frontal amenities," which constituted an urban core of commercial activity. Beyond this core, development spread out in each direction along the beach, as well as inland. These areas were composed of accommodation facilities. A pattern of declining intensity of land use was typical. Hotels dominated near the sea; they could be found just behind the zone of frontal amenities, and along the beach on either side of it. Located behind were boarding houses; behind those were bed and breakfasts.

Stansfield and Rickert (1970) looked at the commercial morphology of three cities in North America (Ocean City and Wildwood, New Jersey, and Niagara Falls, Ontario). From this empirical research they developed the concept of the recreational business district (RBD). This district is a particular section of town commercially devoted to tourists. Its location was equivalent to the zone of frontal amenities defined by Barratt. Incoming visitors would concentrate at a "point of convergence" that was at the closest possible to "the natural attraction" (here, either a beach or the viewing area of the waterfall). A commercial zone—the RBD—then developed around this. "The concentration of visitor activity near the natural phenomenon is, in turn, the *raison d'être* of a tourist-oriented RBD" (p. 215). Internally, the RBD itself would have a "peak value intersection" (p. 223). Their discussion of shop types was less formal than Smith's but their conclusion was basically that the RBD was composed mostly of Tier 1 shops. This was because tourists spending discretionary income have distinctive shopping needs. The Central Business District (which was not composed of Tier 1 shops), they noted, was spatially distinct. Beyond the RBD, they agreed with Barratt that there were visitor-service zones that declined in intensity. The actual location of the RBD was a function of access as well, particularly where most visitors arrived by train. Lastly, they asserted that convenience and limited knowledge of the town were what kept tourists from ever exploring much beyond the RBD.²⁰

Choroplethic Tourist Space: a Regional Concept

At the largest scale, Weaver has utilized the idea of "choroplethic tourist space" to model how an island might go through a sequence of developmental stages. His ideas on stages were discussed in Chapter 3, here his spatial typology is important. Weaver imagined four types

of tourist space. "Primary" space is utilized almost exclusively by tourists. "Secondary" space is mixed, used by both tourists and locals. "Tertiary" tourist space is not used by tourists, but its use is influenced directly by the tourism industry. Finally, "non-tourist" space remained in traditional use, and fell outside of the sphere of tourism influence. Weaver asserted these types could exist as either nodes (urban areas) or areas (regional in scale).

What should be apparent is the considerable equivalency between these types of choroplethic space and Smith's tiers of businesses. Primary tourist space contains tier 1 businesses, which cater mostly to tourists. Secondary space, mixed tourist-local use, is filled with tier 2 businesses, which cater to both groups. Weaver's "tertiary" space is original in that it reflects the awareness that regional space may be functionally devoted to tourism, such as agricultural areas, without it in fact being visited by tourists. This idea can be extended backwards, to Smith's tiers of shops. Tertiary shops (which will be called "tier 3") then, would be those that service the tourism industry, supporting it, but are not shops tourists would be expected to frequent (wholesalers, or factories making souvenirs, for example). Non-tourist space contains non-tourist businesses (hereafter, tier 4), and tourists do not go there very often.

Integrating Theory on Tourist Space

Before discussing how the application to Kona, these ideas will be synthesized. First, it should be noted that MacCannell's sociological concept of front and back regions would seem to exist in the geographical literature, embedded within a set of concepts that have a more functional or morphological (rather than phenomenological) orientation.

The front region at the urban scale (for resort cities) would seem to have two components. The first obviously is the environmental attraction which tourists have come to experience. By a structurationist interpretation, tourism is the set of behaviors that tourists do while experiencing the resource. These may involve commercial relationships with locals, but at least part of what constitutes tourism activity—the experiencing of the environmental resource—is often non-commercial in nature.

The second component of the front region, in close proximity "behind" this environmental attraction, is the RBD. This area may itself have a center, such as the PVI.

Within this urban region, tourists interact commercially with business transactors who are employed primarily in tier 1 shops. These shops will have their own front and back regions. In terms of MacCannell's six types, the RBD will include Tier 1 shops that are totally worked up as front regions (type 1) plus those that, to different degrees, are semiotically marked to appear to be back regions (types 2 and 3). The service resources—the shops in the RBD—complement the environmental resource. Together, this contiguous environmental resource and commercial space constitutes the front region, and the primary tourist space, of a resort city.

The RBD will have a shape that has been heavily influenced by the shape of the environmental resource (on the front side) and transportation factors (on the back side, and within the front region) as a whole. There are limits to the depth of the RBD and to how far back the front region extends. These limits would seem to be based on three factors. First, the major attraction—the *raison d'être* for the resort city—attracts people to it. A "pull factor" (Hudman 1980) keeps tourists at the front. Second, while people may arrive at the city through any of several means of transportation, they eventually explore on foot, and this limits their mobility. Finally, as people walk through the RBD away from the resort's major attraction, they eventually reach the limits of Tier 1 shops. Tier 2 and 3 shops may or may not be as interesting to them. In most cases they probably are not, because the types of products sold would be aimed at locals spending non-discretionary income. This would be communicated to tourists through an absence of appealing commercial markers. (If they are reading a guidebook as they walk, they may also perceive the maps no longer mark anything of interest.) In a semiotic sense then, their reading of the landscape becomes negative and they turn around. In the literature, it has thus been shown that RBDs at resorts sometimes become very elongated if the resort becomes popular, but no cases have been described where the RBD extends very far from the environmental attraction.

Away from the environmental attraction, the back region of a resort town can begin either gradually or abruptly. Barratt's model for British resort towns, which showed a de-intensity of accommodation occurring inland, is an example of gradual change. This is because a section of a town where accommodation facilities are concentrated would seem to be middle conceptual ground between being either a true front or back region. That is, these areas are front

regions in that they are places where locals (business transactors) and tourists interact. Further, they often have front regions within them—restaurants, shops, and nightclubs. Yet they are also back regions in that their main function as a temporary tourist residence is non-public in nature.

This ambiguous nature of front and back space makes it preferential to utilize Weaver's choroplethic spatial categories when the focus is on areas of sufficient size. Primary tourist space conceptually equals the front region; it includes the environmental attraction, the RBD, and any areas specializing in accommodation. Primary tourist space also includes the set of attraction sites in the city or region which have been semiotically worked up, through use of markers (on- and off-site), for tourists' benefit. At these sites, the primary tourist space would include both the site nucleus and the inviolate zone.

Secondary space is mixed; it is used by both tourists and locals. In a resort city, the main regions of secondary tourist space include the CBD, areas where tourist and residential accommodation facilities are integrated, and the access routes on which tourists travel. MacCannell's types #4 and #5, back regions opened periodically to tourist inspection, are also included.

Tertiary tourist space is not often visited by tourists, but is utilized by locals involved in the tourism industry. Weaver's discussion was essentially economic in nature; agricultural, manufacturing or wholesaling districts would be included. These are typically considered back regions. Tertiary space also incorporates MacCannell's type #6—true back regions—when these were used to advance tourism elsewhere. Some tourist types may be interested in exploring tertiary spaces, but most would be completely uninterested because there is nothing appealing there. Finally, Weaver's non-tourist space is also a back region, either because tourism has not expanded into it or, as with tertiary space, there are few or no resources of interest to tourists.

TOURIST SPACE IN KONA

Interior Space

At the scale of internal shop space, MacCannell theorized the existence of six types of tourist establishments, based on the degree of front-ness or back-ness. Some of these types were

found to exist in abundance in Kona, others could not be located at all. Virtually all of the retail shops, which constituted the great majority in the Kailua RBD, were clearly type 1—true front regions. Tourists entered from the front entrance into a room where finished products would be on display. Interior decoration emphasized front-ness, so tourists would concentrate on the merchandise being sold. There was little in the way of props suggesting back region-ness in these shops.

There were some restaurants decorated in such a manner as to place them into type 2. Steak and seafood restaurants seemed particularly suited to this style of decor. Typically, this had less to do with featuring decorative elements of the kitchen than with the ranching and fishing activities which provided the customers with the food they were eating. Such decoration does create a mood by bringing a heterotopic element to the dining room—customers can be in two places at once. The back region being suggested say, by a mural of cattle grazing on the open range, is better considered in Weaver's terms; it is a look into what is typically non-tourist space at the regional level. That is, the mural projects an ambience of tertiary or non-tourist space into the front of the house.

The Royal Kona Coffee Mill and Museum was the only example found of a type 3 establishment—one decorated to permanently look like a back region. In this case, the contents of the museum enabled tourists to experience Kona's coffee-growing past, while the retail areas enabled them to purchase the product.

In at least three locations in Kona, tourists could see art work being created. Two of these were "workshops," which would seem to be a variation of type 4, a back room permanently on display. In the third case, the setting was totally reversed. An artist who painted contemporary land/seascapes rented space in the center of a shopping mall—i.e., the center of the frontal area of the mall. He hung his finished paintings on easels, then painted in full view of the public. As was true with the other locations, watching this artist paint—the performance—became part of the package for those tourists who purchased his works.

No examples could be found of type 5 establishments—back regions that were occasionally put on display. On the other hand, there were multitudes of type 6 spaces—pure

back regions. Most type 1 facilities also contained a back region—the rooms where supplies, excess stock, etc. were stored. Not many tourists were observed demanding to enter those. MacCannell's assertion that tourists are universally motivated to find these to get in touch with an underlying reality would seem to be theoretical over-generalization.

This point can be elaborated. In Kona there were establishments where locals would go, say, for an evening's entertainment; these were theoretically the back regions that tourists are looking to discover. These were mostly taverns, and not many tourists had found them. When they were field checked, it was apparent that nothing particularly “authentic” was going on inside, in terms of distinctive culture that tourists might want to see. Furthermore, in more than one place the clientele would have been defined as irritating, if not potentially hazardous, by most tourists. What became apparent during field research was that these types of places were not really back regions. Instead, they were front regions for locals. (Each also had its own back region where the stock was kept, the food prepared, etc., but whatever mystification that went on there was for the locals' benefit.) Thus it would seem more conceptually correct to consider this type of place as falling into Weaver's "non-tourist" category, even though they do contain front regions.

It was also apparent that places that had good musical entertainment would be frequented by locals, even if the venue was decidedly a front region for tourists. After work and on weekends, locals would go to the major hotels to listen to bands or to dance, because the hotels had the best acts (sometimes imported from elsewhere in Hawai'i). This type of setting negates the generalization that tourist front regions are inherently inauthentic.

Ultimately, MacCannell's ideas on the degree of tourist enthusiasm to intrude into back regions must be delimited. While it is surely true that tourists can be fascinated with what goes on in back regions, the motivational imperative would seem to be that the tourist must first decide there is something worthwhile to see or experience. A component of secrecy can be a part of the attractiveness, but it would seem to be the activity or the sight itself that is the real resource. The location of the activity in a back room would seem to be an ancillary consideration. Further, it can be suggested that education (satisfying one's curiosity) is at least

as much of a motive for tourists as is being initiated into a secret world of localness. The definition of tourists as regional explorers enables them to be seen as people who are attempting to understand life in other places. Learning how coffee is made, to use the best example from Kona, would seem to be an inherent component of place exploration; tourists get to experience the mundane reality of local life.

One final point is worth noting, it is MacCannell's idea that tourists want to "get in with the locals." When this idea is contextualized in terms of front and back regions, what he seems to be saying is that tourists want to go beyond meeting the business transactors and culture brokers—the people who they ordinarily meet in front regions. Tourists also want to meet locals on whom they can either ascribe the status of celebrity, or mingle with in the social contexts that were described under the category of peerage. Thus, what MacCannell seems to be suggesting can be reduced to the assertion that the category of social resources exists. The fact that MacCannell puts it in the way he does indicates that he might be generalizing from an imagined scenario where tourists are trapped in enclaves, unable to meet normal locals. This of course exists and, in Hawai'i at-large, has become a recognized problem. However, the scenario is not the only reality. Additionally, knowledge of tourist typologies forces the realization that tourists have vastly different needs with respect to meeting locals. Conservative tour group participants are typically considered to be too timid for this kind of spontaneous social activity MacCannell thinks is a universal need among tourists. Plog's (1973) allocentrics, on the other hand, may insist on it, and may be deterred from even travelling to destinations they think are over-industrialized to the extent that they will be excluded from non-commercial social contact. Most tourists are somewhere in the middle.

Urban Space and Regional Choroplethic Zones in Kona

The second section on Kona will increase the spatial scale. The analysis will begin by integrating concepts at the urban scale for the tourist space in Kailua Village, and gradually expand to cover the whole region.

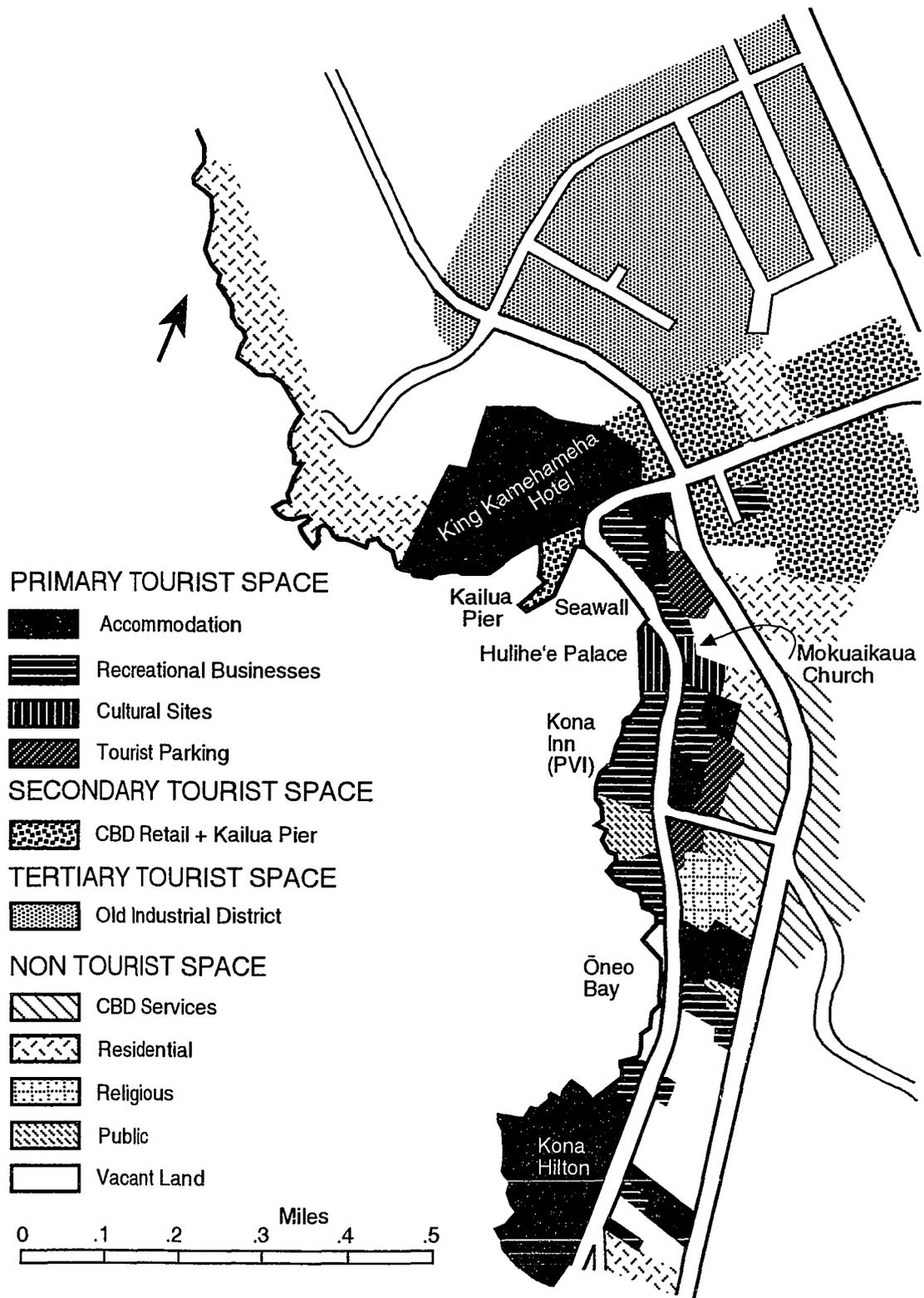


Figure 9.2 Choroplethic Tourist Zones in Kailua Village.

Source: Field Inspection.

As discussed in earlier chapters, Kailua village, located makai, replaced the mauka coffee zone as the center of tourism in the 1920s when the Kona Inn was built along the shoreline just south of the Hulihe'e Palace. At that time, the town boasted a waterfront along Kailua Bay. This waterfront had originally been a beach, but a seawall had already replaced most of it, perhaps as much as 20 years earlier.²¹ Figure 9.2 shows the location of the seawall in relation to the rest of urban Kailua. This wall protected the houses built on the mauka side of Ali'i Drive. An air photo from 1933 (in Kelly 1983, 105) showed that most of the houses in the village were concentrated along the bay. Very little was located south of the Kona Inn. For tourists in the 1920s and 30s, a stroll along the seawall to view the bay and the sights of village life seems to have been the major activity while in Kailua. The curve of the seawall around the bay, with the houses behind has made a photogenic setting through the decades. Photos from the 1920s and 30s depict Kailua this way, as a village on a bay (Jones 1938, 199; Hawai'i Tourist Bureau 1938, np; *Paradise of the Pacific* 1939 issue 10, 11; Homsy 1942, np; Gast 1982, ii).

The waterfront has thus been the major environmental feature of Kailua since tourism began to concentrate there. Unlike the cities studied in the literature discussed above, Kailua has never really been a *resort*, in the sense that it possessed a beach that was the dominant attraction for the town.²² Kailua Bay did provide a picturesque view, however, and the references cited above show that a wide pedestrian area on the makai side of Ali'i Drive has existed since at least the 1930s. This walkway has been the equivalent of a promenade or boardwalk typical of Atlantic Ocean or British resort cities.

Up through the 1950s decade Kailua was still a small village and did not have a Central Business District. Conversations with old time residents indicated there was a general store and a gas station on the north end of Kailua Bay, where Ali'i Drive curved inland. Because most of the population still lived mauka, commercial businesses were also located away from the coast. Kailua residents thus drove mauka, or to Hilo, to shop. As visitors to Kailua increased, the town gradually became oriented to meeting tourists' needs. The residential area mauka of the seawall, which had been the core of the village, was gradually converted into small hotels and shops. This change seems to have been virtually complete by the early 1960s, though buildings have

continued to be constructed and/or converted. Thus the village itself became the Recreational Business District early on.

Similar to Barratt's model for British resorts, Figure 9.2 shows that Kailua has been anchored by hotels on either side of the RBD. Initially, there was just the Kona Inn, on the south side of the Bay; tourists would walk north from the hotel along the waterfront, or visit the shops along the mauka side of the street. In 1960, the first incarnation of the King Kamehameha Hotel was erected, anchoring the RBD on the north end.²³ During the late 1960s, the Kona Hilton Hotel was completed (in three stages), on the south end of 'Oneo Bay. The presence of this hotel created a new southern anchor beyond the Kona Inn. These two hotels—the Hilton and the King Kamehameha—continue to mark the north and south boundaries of the RBD (Chee 1988).

A first generation of small hotels was built during the 1950s, but most of these failed during the next 20 years, including the venerable Kona Inn. The physical structures of the buildings were mostly converted into small pedestrian malls leading back from Ali'i Drive (or were torn down). These complimented the other pedestrian malls that were being built in the lots that had formerly contained the village residences. The initial core of the RBD was thus along the mauka side of Ali'i Drive, between the King Kamehameha hotel and the Kona Inn. Tourists could combine a stroll along the waterfront with shopping. The wide sidewalk along the makai side of the street, where locals fished, continued to function as a promenade.

As the Kona Inn declined during the late 1970s, a set of commercial buildings was constructed on the lawn on the mauka side of the hotel. Then, after the hotel closed, much of the first floor was converted to shops. Together, these now comprise the Kona Inn mall. At the time of field research, this mall contained about 40 shops. Located roughly mid-way between the two anchor hotels, it had come to represent the peak value intersection of Kailua's RBD. The smaller malls on the mauka side of the street were somewhat secondary in their individual importance.

When the second incarnation of the King Kamehameha Hotel opened in 1975, it contained its own shopping mall. This completed the RBD at the north end of town. South of the Kona Inn, two pedestrian malls were built during the 1980s. The RBD continues to spread south, though slowly. At the time of field research, there was still vacant land on the mauka side

of Ali'i Drive, just across from Oneo Bay. A sign, however, indicated that another mall project was in the works.

Kailua's RBD is thus a three-quarter mile stretch of land along the ocean, situated between two large hotels that act as anchors. The RBD also contains the two main historical attractions of the town, the Hulihe'e Palace and Mokuaikaua Church; these are located more towards the north end. The waterfront along Kailua Bay still acts as a promenade where tourists can stroll and watch locals fishing.

Inside the malls described above, field inspection indicated the great majority of shops were Tier 1, selling tourist-oriented merchandise. Yet, just as there has not been enough demand to fill out all the land between the two anchor hotels, some of the shops in the malls were Tier 4, catering to locals.²⁴ Not surprisingly, these were located at the back side of the malls, away from Ali'i Drive, or on the second floor. The Ali'i Drive side thus represents the front of the RBD, and within most of the malls there was a gradual de-intensification of business away from the street.²⁵ Kailua's RBD is therefore typical in its linearity along the main thoroughfare, which itself is parallel to the waterfront.

The backs of the malls represent the back of the RBD. Most of the malls have a front entrance along Ali'i Drive, and a rear entrance on the mauka side. The latter was usually nowhere near as semiotically worked up as the shops at the front, and, as mentioned, the businesses were sometimes of the tier 4 variety. Tourists in Kona were thus semiotically encouraged to utilize the front side of the malls far more than the back side.

This was in spite of the fact that parking lots had been constructed mauka of several the malls. Ali'i Drive from the Kona Hilton south to Keauhou has become the central area of tourist accommodation. Many tourists thus drove to town, though a shuttle bus was in operation. Considerable potential seemed to exist for conveniently placed parking lots to improve accessibility to the shopping malls. Yet field checking of this back area indicated that few tourists parked there. In some cases, the entrance was off Kuakini Highway, and was difficult to find. In other cases, the lots were managed by a private company, and parking rates were expensive. Finally, as mentioned, the back entrances of the malls were not semiotically

enhanced to attract tourists. They looked like back regions, and lacked the markers that would inspire tourists to explore. In consequence, the parking lots were often virtually empty. This was noticed to be the case at times when a lot run by the city (which was free), off Hualālai Road, was filled to capacity and traffic was backed up by cars waiting to enter the lot. The conclusion was reached that Kailua's RBD has a back region as well as a front region, and that the back region is made conspicuous by the near total absence of development there.

Chapter 6 discussed how, by the late 1960s, construction of new accommodation facilities had begun to move away from Kailua village. With the development of the master planned Keauhou Resort acting as a southern anchor, major hotels and condominiums (both single units and subdivisions) began to appear along the coastline. Figure 9.3 reveals the extent of development that had occurred by the time field research had been completed. About 30 accommodation properties, including those in Keauhou, were in operation. The 6-mile long linear strip shows the enabling influence of the automobile on coastal development; the overall shape of Kona's accommodation space is far different than the compact, concentric arrangement of older British resorts (Barratt 1958 in Mitchell 1986), and was termed *Linked* on this basis. Constraints due to unavailability of land and/or infrastructure south of Keauhou are also apparent. Finally, the overwhelming appeal of the sea to developers can also clearly be seen in the figure. There are only a few accommodation facilities located mauka.

Earlier models of urban tourist space (Barratt in Mitchell 1986) showed a de-intensification of land use away from the beach. Stansfield and Rickert's (1971) RBD maps were more accurate, however, by noting the relative location of both RBD and CBD, as well as other areas in-between.

Figure 9.2 shows the location of the CBD in Kailua. This district reaches up and out from the intersection of Kuakini Highway and Palani Road. Perhaps what is even more unusual than the shape of the district is the fact that the areas along each street serve different functions. Tourists walking or driving up Palani Road from the RBD find themselves in a retailing district. This is composed of a series of drive-in shopping plazas, all of relatively recent origin. As mentioned above, Kailua initially was a small village and had no real CBD. Residents went

mauka to shop. However, the regional population boom of the 1970s brought the need for more shopping facilities. One-by-one, the plazas were developed. As of February, 1992, when field research ended, more facilities were still being planned.

Field inspection of these plazas showed they included grocery and drug stores, bakeries, clothing stores, restaurants, etc. Basically, the shop types were similar to plazas everywhere in the U.S. They were a distinctively different mix than what existed in the RBD. Many, however, were Tier 2—mixed tourist and local patronage. This was the one area of town where both groups intermingled. Generalizing from this situation, retailing-oriented CBDs would thus seem to be a necessary component of a resort town when tourists and snowbirds stayed in condos located away from the town itself. This section of Kailua could be considered secondary tourist space, because of the overall mix of people frequenting the shops.²⁶

The portion of the CBD along Kuakini Highway was almost completely different, in terms of the shops and services offered. These were mainly financial and health-oriented, though Kailua's only multiple screen cineplex also was in this part of town, as were almost all of its fast food chains. Real estate agencies were also often located on this road. Except at the gasoline stations, very few tourists were encountered in this part of town, even though Kuakini Highway is only one block back of the coastline. Thus only the road itself is secondary tourist space; on either side this is part of the CBD is non-tourist space.

In addition to the CBD, Kailua has two "industrial districts," referred to locally as "old" and "new." The "old industrial" district is located just behind the Palani Road portion of the CBD. The "new industrial" district was several miles north of town, on the way to the airport. Field inspection indicated that these areas had a mix of warehousing, construction-related, manufacturing, and retail functions. Both were definitely back regions, several sales representatives were interviewed and all agreed that tourists did not go to the industrial districts. Kona's "old industrial" district, however, would be best classified as tertiary tourist space. A large number of businesses used the space to manufacture or to store merchandise sold to tourists at other locations, or used in some aspect of the tourist industry. This seemed less true for the "new industrial district;" as a choroplethic area this was non-tourist space.

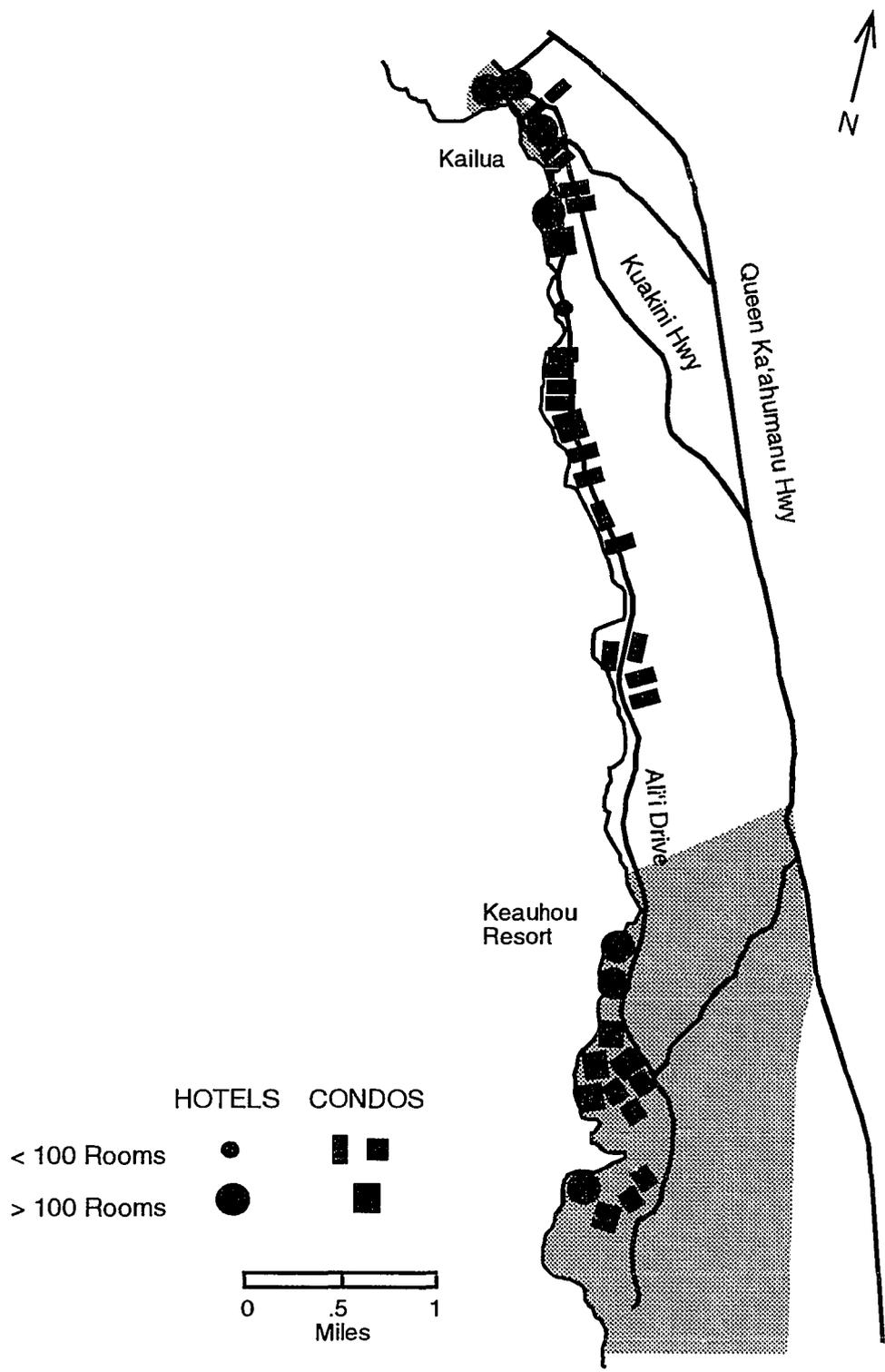


Figure 9.3 Accommodation Facilities between Kailua and Keauhou, "linked" by those along Ali'i Drive.

It was noted in earlier chapters that a major constraint on tourism in the 20th century has been lack of accessibility, particularly in mauka regions. Outside of Kailua Village and the Kailua-Keauhou corridor, the only places that could be considered primary tourist space are the Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau and Honokōhau Harbor, where the majority of sport fishing boats are moored. Certain shops, such as those selling Kona coffee to tourists, would also be considered nodes of primary tourist space. These are at a smaller scale than the Pu'uhonua. Secondary spaces would include Ke'ahole Airport, the major roadways, and Nāpo'opo'o Beach Park (on Kealahou Bay). Thus, by far the overwhelming majority of land in Kona belongs to the non-tourist category. This is perhaps most startlingly the case north of Kailua Village. The King Kamehameha hotel marks the boundary, after this comes private home. The primary tourist space ends abruptly. This is most unexpected, given the existence of Old Kona Airport park just a mile north. Yet few tourists go there; and experiences had during field research indicated locals considered it their own and did not welcome tourists there.

One final aspect on the subject of choroplethic tourist space is the designation of scenic areas. Though Kona is inaccessible, much land that tourists cannot walk upon or drive through is visible, and scenic. The massif of Hualālai volcano, for example, can be seen for miles from the south, west, and north. Is this entire visible area to be considered secondary tourist space because of its scenic value, or non-tourist space because tourists have no access? Perhaps this question cannot be definitively answered, but surely scenery as a form of secondary space does become important where areas having great environmental resource value are concerned.

Tourist Space in Kona's Future

Thus far, the analysis has described the evolution of the several tiers of tourist space in Kona to date. Though it is impossible to predict the future, certain planning documents do attempt to anticipate it. In these documents, maps are produced that show existing and future land use. One map in particular, found in the Hawai'i County *General Plan* (1989) will be used to analyze a potential development scenario with respect to tourism.

The different land uses for Kona that the County planners thought most appropriate have been aggregated into categories relating to their choroplethic level of tourist space; they are

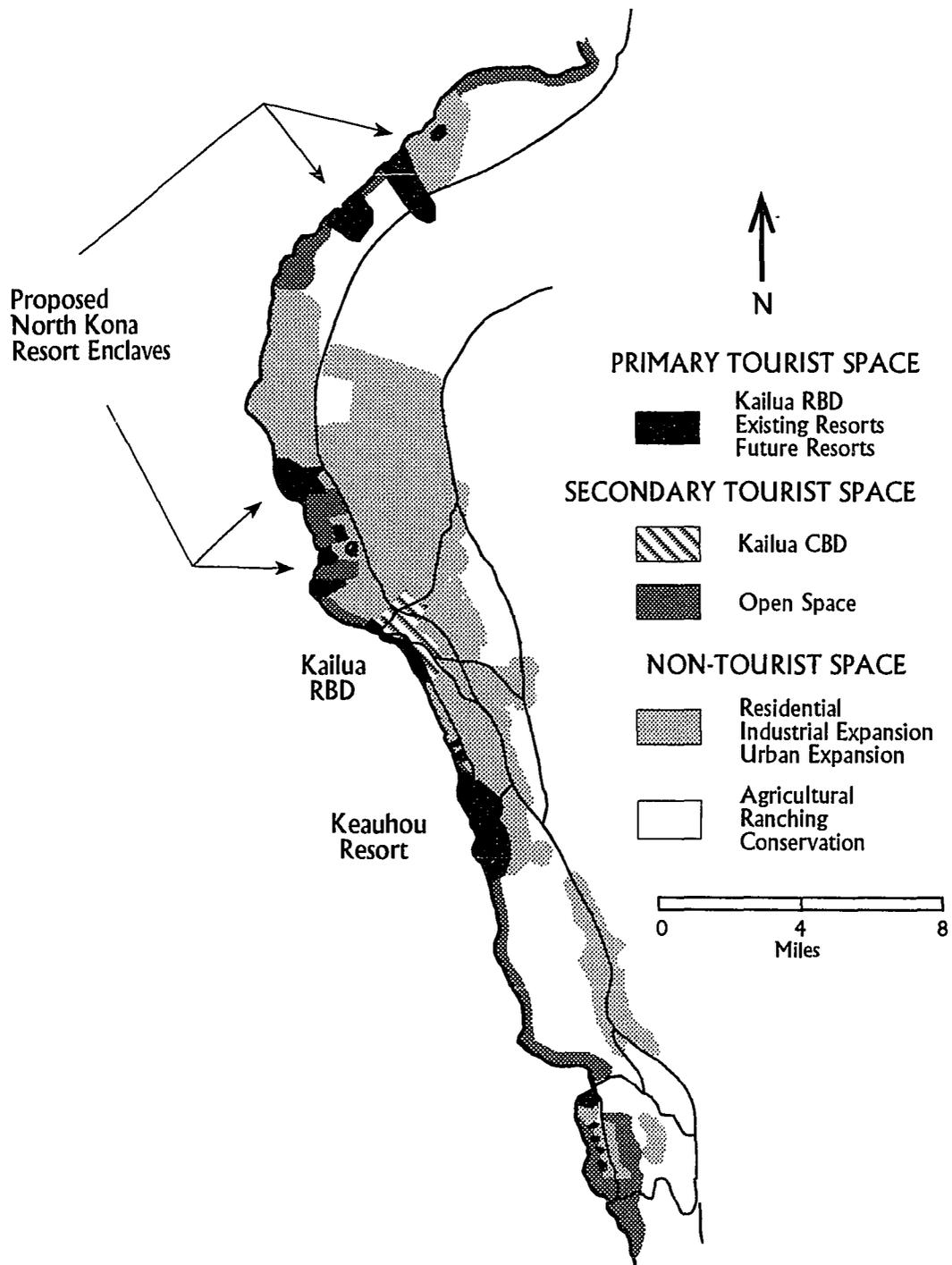


Figure 9.4 Future Planned Development in Kona

Source: Hawai'i County Planning Department (1989) *The General Plan, Hawai'i County*.

shown in Figure 9.4. What is most apparent from this figure is that most of the land in Kona will remain either in agriculture, ranching or conservation. Very little land mauka of Mamalahoa Highway, the mountain road, is anticipated to change from its existing use. This is also somewhat true makai; the coffee region is anticipated to remain intact, as is a large area of land between Keauhou resort and Kealakekua Bay.

There are major changes anticipated, however. A very large area of land on the western flank of Hualālai is anticipated to convert to “urban” use. This extends southward, mauka of what today is the more populous area of Kona. One parcel, smaller though still quite large in extent, sits by itself in North Kona. In total, these “future urban” parcels are several times the existing area of present-day Kailua. They are complemented by an “industrial” category that is also large. Much of this is land taken up by the airport, but the county map indicates that a large area to the north of the runways will also be developed for industrial uses.

Overall, then, the “non-tourist” land uses, which currently dominate Kona, will continue to do so. By contrast, very little land is dedicated to the development of tourism. The existing primary tourist space, consisting of the Kailua RBD, certain areas zoned for resorts along Ali‘i Drive, and the Keauhou Resort, are shown in Figure 9.4. No expansion of tourist space is anticipated contiguous to these districts. “Future resort” space is anticipated in three pockets. Two are in North Kona, on either side of the airport. The third is in South Kona, between Kealakekua Bay and the Place of Refuge. Three of these are of a scale indicating they are anticipated to be master planned enclaves, the others are smaller.

What this would seem to indicate, as a projection, is the gradual emergence of a large urban population, mostly living and working mauka of the coast. This is clearly a change from what now exists. Kona at present is a region where tourism has come to dominate as an economic institution. By “mapping in” very little primary tourist space, the County planners would seem to be anticipating that Kona will change into a more generic urban region, supported by a much broader variety of urban functions. Tourism would seem to be expected to become much less important, as population expands and a city grows up on the slope of Hualālai.

SUMMATION

This chapter has attempted to integrate literature that discusses tourist space. Two main themes were extracted. The first dealt with the particular location of tourist attractions; their site. This in turn was divided into sections on how they are identified through markers and on how they can change in value through the sight sacralization process. The second theme focused on tourist space at the urban and regional scales.

The analysis began by concentrating on tourist attraction markers. With respect to theory generation, it was first of all concluded that the existing typology of markers was sufficiently developed to conceptually handle the case material. The only "new" category of marker that was found in Kona did not deal specifically with tourism. Lists such as "historic registers," however, mark places. This is for a non-touristic purpose, but it overlaps. Further, portable markers such as guidebooks mark tourist space. In a guidebook used to examine these ideas, Kona was identified as a legitimate tourist region, then spatially subdivided into distinctive sub-units that did not correspond to political divisions. This in effect made certain parts of Kona semiotically invisible, neutralized for tourist purposes by being ignored. Additionally, the analysis showed that the assertion that sites must be marked before they could be considered as attractions was found to be theoretically narrow. This ignores the "get off the beaten path" motive, where tourists attempt to have high quality experiences of place at unmarked locations.

When the site placement of the set of Hawai'i Visitors Bureau warrior markers was analyzed for Kona, it was found that these marked a very unusual set of places. Clearly this powerful symbol has not been used to set off and highlight the major tourist resources of the region. The guidebook chosen for analysis as a portable marker was more balanced, but tended to over-weight tourist businesses. Tourists who did not use personal judgment, but just went by what was in the guidebook, would experience Kona's tourist industry. Such a focus thus tends to obscure Kona's environmental and cultural resources.

The second section on tourist attraction sites looked at the temporal "sight sacralization" process, and integrated Gunn's spatial concept of "tripartite attraction design" with it. These came together well at step 2 of the process; the "framing and elevation" phase. Filtering theory

through the Kona case produced several conclusions. First, "sites" as the unit entity is probably more useful than "sights" because the former are what actually get marked. Second, the stages in the process were not completely developed, because site de-sacralization would eventually come to all. Finally, stage 4—mechanical reproduction of the site—has, through the ubiquitousness of photography, ceased to become a distinctive stage.

Theoretical application to Kona showed that stages 1, 3, 4, and 5 had not been all that important, but that stage 2 had been both critical and controversial. Many potential attraction sites in Kona have never been "named," hence have not even reached stage 1. They sit unmarked within the landscape, existing as neutral elements invisible to tourists. This was particularly true of Hawai'ian archeological sites. With respect to stage 2, some sites had been framed appropriately, through the creation of inviolate zones surrounding the attraction nuclei, but others had not been. At Kealakekua Bay, plans to place elements properly belonging to the zone of closure into the inviolate zone created considerable controversy. In another instance, plans were put forward to elevate the status of sites at the bay, but at the expense of the existing community. In both cases these plans were opposed and defeated. As a result, the component resource sites at Kealakekua Bay are gradually becoming de-sacralized, because of the decline in cultural memory and physical deterioration.

The final section of the chapter looked at spatial zones of tourism. Ideas related to the "front" and "back" of places were combined with the recreational business district model, the notion of "tiers" of tourist businesses, and the mapping concept called "choroplethic tourist space." Such an eclectic range of material required a synthesis even before the case data could be looked at. A conclusion drawn from the synthesis was that the polarized notions of "front and back" regions of sociologists could be improved through use of the four categories of choroplethic tourist space. Front and back regions were not useless however, particularly at small scales where tourists and locals interact.

Bringing in the case material showed, first, that MacCannell's typology of front and back regions was sufficiently developed. What was apparent, however, was that the back regions had been considerably over-glorified. Most of the time what tourists were seeking were front regions

at the local scale, not true back regions where the props were stored. Also, case examples showed that locals not only try to keep tourists out of back regions because they want the mystification of the performance to be upheld, they also try to keep them out because they don't want tourists to be there. The chapter title was derived from this. Back regions can thus represent irritant- and sometimes deterrent-quality experiences. Few tourists seek these.

Tourist space in Kona was then analyzed at the urban and regional scales. At the urban scale, the main focus was on Kailua village, with its recreational business district forming the core of primary tourist space in the region. The stretch of Ali'i Drive between Kailua and Keauhou, and Keauhou resort itself, formed a larger but less concentrated zone of primary space, linking the town with the resort enclave. The main zone of secondary tourist space was made up of the relatively recent set of shopping plazas built along Palani Drive, mauka of the RBD. This formed the retail section of Kailua's CBD. The service-oriented section of the CBD was along Kuakini Highway. Few tourists visited this area; with the exception of the roadway itself, and gas stations; this was non-tourist space. Tertiary tourist space was represented by the "old industrial district" at the north end of the village. Finally, the vast majority of space in Kona is non-tourist, due to lack of accessibility.

An analysis of the Hawai'i County "official" map, contained in the most recent *General Plan* (1989), showed this is likely to continue to be the case. Agriculture, ranching and conservation uses will occupy most space in Kona in the foreseeable future. However, large areas are also earmarked for "urban" development, either urban in general or specifically "industrial." By contrast, relatively little land is designated for "resorts" or any other type of primary tourist use. The conclusion can be drawn that non-tourist practices will begin to dominate in Kona, as the various urban functions come into existence and fill in the "urban" and "industrial" areas on the County map.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ While Peirce was influential in America, Ferdinand de Saussure held the same paternal position in Europe. Saussure's work heavily influenced Giddens (1987, 61), particularly in the way that Giddens applied the category of structures to sociological situations.
- ² Leiper (1990, 371), noting Gunn's observation that not all attractions are "sights," took his model one step further by replacing "attraction" with Gunn's term *nucleus*. Leiper also referred to his conceptual triad of tourist-nucleus-marker as a *system*. Fiske (1982, 39), however, contrasted a semiotic structural model of how meaning is communicated, with other models of communication. He noted the difference is that in semiotics there is no process, or set of steps in the communication of meaning. Instead there are structural relationships which exist simultaneously. In this sense, the tourist-attraction-marker semiotic is not a system.
- ³ In the introductory text to the chapter, Bisignani (1990, 236) does note: "There are actually two Kona's, north and south..." However, after mentioning this he goes on to partition space non-politically. Political spatial divisions are thus subordinated to his own idea of how to best redivide space for tourists' explorations.
- ⁴ Bisignani (1990) also used space as an organizational property for "Central to South Kona." The section was sub-divided into "Holualoa," "Honalo to Captain Cook," and "Practicalities." For the first two sections, places were not differentiated by resource type. "Practicalities" was separated into sections on accommodation, food and shopping. What such a structure communicates is that this sub-region of Kona has had less development of the tourist industry.
- ⁵ The Warrior marker received a 20-year U.S. Patent on September 13, 1976.
- ⁶ The placement of HVB warrior markers at environmental and cultural sites of touristic importance can be interpreted as a variation of the "common resource" problem. Typically, this exists in situations where several people share a resource, but no one has control over it. The solution for individuals is to maximize their own use of the resource, even though this can lead to levels that are unsustainable, and ultimately, cause resource degradation. In the case being discussed, the environmental or cultural resource is the common property of the community, but no one has the responsibility to improve it. The sites thus remain in reserve status unless someone pays the money for a marker. However, no individual or group will receive direct profit from doing so, because the resource is still the property of the community. The solution would seem to be for the HVB, as the representative of the tourism community, to take the lead and place markers at all of the major sites in Kona.
- ⁷ In only one or two instances did Bisignani mark an entity that was not a place. For example, in the text he emboldened the "Daughters of Hawai'i," the group that has restored and maintained the Hulihe'e Palace. This marker was counted in Figure 9.1 because it was learned through field inspection that many of the staff who deal with tourists, particularly museum docents, are members of this group.

⁸ Field research indicated that there were in fact more than twice this many tourist shops in Kona; Bisignani (1990) simply chose to not mark the majority.

⁹ Because no baseline data exists from other studies of tourism markers, the numbers in Table 9.1 could show that Kona's tourist industry was over-developed, under-developed, or happily in balance with the development of other resource types. Further, knowledge of the needs of different tourist types forces the realization that the region exists simultaneously in all three states, to different people.

¹⁰ Neither MacCannell (1976) nor Leiper (1990) discussed the relationship between off-site and on-site markers. During field research one important factor noted, from personal experience, was that even when tourists carry guidebooks and maps that mark and show the location of sites, finding them upon arrival was sometimes impossible. The two battle sites in Kona are examples; there is little tangible evidence that anything of significance ever occurred on those particular areas of lava flow. Tourists seeking to re-live history would quite likely be frustrated, particularly in the case of the Battle of Moku'ohai. Even finding a huge archaeological site such as the Kaneakua hōlua is very difficult because of the degraded conditions at its point of intersection with the road. Thus, merely having portable markers available would seem insufficient if a region desires that visiting tourists should be successful in their explorations. A second factor involves the communication of information about the site. When markers contain descriptive information, tourists are enlightened as to the significance of the place. On this basis, HVB warrior markers are inadequate in information content, since they only provide the name of the site, and signify it with an "official" status.

¹¹ This is not an original point. Leiper (1990) also compared MacCannell with Gunn and noted that Gunn used the concept of "nucleus" rather than "sight."

¹² In structuration terminology, this is equivalent to saying that sights have an institutional life cycle.

¹³ MacCannell's fifth stage—"social reproduction"—would seem to have been incompletely theorized. People typically name either themselves or localities after "sites," not "sights." There are more places named after already-famous places than famous relics or paintings.

¹⁴ These unframed historic sites in Keauhou generally validated Gunn's principle of tripartite design. On the one hand, some historic preservation was better than none. On the other, having no inviolate zone or meaningful frame around the site de-emphasized its specialness, particularly by causing distraction. Also, there was a simultaneous cheapening of the resort development surrounding it. The commercial imperative—using every last inch of space right up to the site nucleus—forced an interpretation that profit maximization, not optimization, had been a strong motive in the development of these projects in the resort.

¹⁵ The other sites were: the birthplace of Kamehameha III (build walls and wrought iron fences); the Kuamo'o Battleground (a "mini-museum" with a viewing tower is planned); the Po'o Hawai'i and Kalakaua House. Additionally, the Ohia Cave Network and the Kona Sugar Company Railroad line were being considered for planned development (marking and interpretation). (*The Crown Lands of Keauhou*, September, 1990. This is an unpublished planning document.)

¹⁶ There seemed to be two community concerns over this project. First, seepage from cesspools could have negative environmental impacts on the waters of Kealakekua Bay. Second, the large scale of the project would potentially permit development of 800 residential units on the land directly above the bay. There was a perception that this large number of houses would have negative impacts on the scenic setting of the Bay (see Harada-Stone 1989).

¹⁷ As with the proposed housing development, residents were concerned that the negative environmental impacts from golf course run-off would severely impact Kealakekua Bay. The developers also noted they intended to sell memberships mainly to Japanese nationals. Since Kona has a large population of Japanese descent, opposition to this seemed based less on racism than a sense that there would be a loss of place to outsiders. Finally, golf courses are perceived by many in Kona to be just the first stage in large scale residential property development. There was a certain mistrust expressed that the developers would build the golf course, then would complain it couldn't maintain financial viability unless they were allowed to construct residential housing.

¹⁸ The attempt to obtain National Historic Site status for the Kealakekua Bay area seems to have been unsuccessful, in spite of personal communication between the governor and the U.S. Secretary of the Interior (Coffman 1968; Ketchum 1969). A 1970 interview with the National Park District Supervisor indicated that the matter had never been raised in Washington, DC and that Kealakekua Bay's resources were considered to be only of local, not national interest (Benham 1970d).

¹⁹ These tiers are a more formal conceptualization than other's work (e.g., Stansfield and Rickert 1971), which tends to create substantive categories (jewelry or clothing shops, etc.).

²⁰ Stansfield and Rickert's (1971) idea that tourists do not go far beyond the boundaries of the Recreational Business District because of the inconvenience and their limited knowledge is probably only partially correct. Another major reason would be that as tourists explore they also read the semiotic markers in the landscape. As they reach the limit to the RBD the content of the markers changes, and they interpret this to mean there is no longer anything interesting to explore.

²¹ *Aloha from Hawai'i* (1973) contains a photograph from the first decade of the 20th century, showing the cattle being led into the water. The photo is captioned "Once upon a time...Kailua had a beach." Another photo, from 1920 (*Centenary Number 1820 - 1920*, 41) showed that the seawall had been built along the waterfront by that year.

²² It is also different from cities such as Niagara Falls, Ontario and New York, which have a world class environmental attraction for tourists to experience.

²³ To the north, beyond the King Kamehameha Hotel, private residences have not been sold for tourist purposes. This has effectively constrained the spread of development along the ocean front in that direction.

²⁴ One back-of-the-mall shop in particular seemed to be left over from the days when the RBD had not established itself so thoroughly. This was a movie theater, one of only two in Kailua. Field inspection indicated that, although some tourists attended, the main portion of the audience was local.

²⁵ Interviews with mall managers indicated that virtually all of the malls located on the mauka side of Ali'i Drive charged higher rent for businesses fronting the street. The further back the shop, the lower the rent.

²⁶ Only two shops that were tier 1 in nature were in operation along this stretch of road. One was a state-wide chain selling clothing and Hawaiiana (Hilo Hattie's). Field inspection seemed to indicate that most business came on tour busses. Name recognition and transport organization had enabled this retailer to move out of the RBD, where it had been located in the 1980s. The other shop specialized in underwater recreation, particularly diving. The stand-alone building it operated from was semiotically done up in a nautical theme. Though this was not the first marker tourists saw as they entered Kailua from the airport, it was the first marker explicitly for tourists. Traveling downhill, with Kailua Bay in the background, this building made a significant statement that tourists were now in an ocean recreation region.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation, as a form of new regional geography, has studied a particular topic—tourism—at a particular place—Kona, on Hawai'i Island. With regard to theory and case, the objectives have been to simultaneously refine the theory that currently exists, to transcend the scope of an individual case study by generating theory that has broader applicability, and also to utilize the generated theory to explain what has occurred in Kona. The dissertation is thus neither a theoretical study nor a case study; it fits in between. Tourism as a subject was broken into three parts—resources, time, and space. Existing theory about these topics was applied downward to the Kona case; but empirical data from Kona was also used to generate new aspects of theory. Taking this iterative approach to theory and case ultimately mandated a dis-integration of material, the written result has been a set of chapters that, with one exception, were oriented either towards theory or case.

Chapters 2 and 3 focused on theory about tourism resources and the destination area life cycle model, respectively. In each, existing theoretical concepts were found to be so unorganized (and in a state of competition) that broader theory, on resources and processes, had to be introduced as a structuring device. Then, this broader theory, existing tourism theory, and theoretical concepts generated from Kona were all integrated in the writing of the chapters. Hopefully, the result has been generation of theory about tourism that is both more rigorous and more grounded than was previously the case.

Chapters 4 through 8 then examined the situation in Kona with respect to these tourism topics. All five chapters were process-oriented, but the concept of process was applied differently for resources than it was for time. In the four chapters on tourist resources, the idea of process was interpreted to mean “movement”—change in perceived meaning and value over the generations of development of tourism as a social institution. The overall set of resources that visitors have experienced was examined. This treatment was chronological; such an approach enabled both major differences and similarities between 19th century and contemporary tourists to be brought out. The dynamism of tourists' interpretation of Kona's

resource base was revealed in this way. In turn, this showed that the current conceptual definition of the word “resource,” as “a means to an end,” is applicable to tourism, and an improvement over other terms, such as “tourist supply.” Also, this processual treatment of resources created a much clearer picture of Kona’s total resource stock than if only contemporary sources had been utilized.

With respect to time, the new regional geography mandate to study process was interpreted to require the breaking up of continuous time into the discreet stages of tourist development. Conceptually, general movement was thus replaced by directional movement, which was in turn broken into stages based on Butler’s (1980) destination area life cycle model. Taking this focus enabled an interpretation that there have been several stages in Kona’s tourism life cycle. Each stage has also contained both core and transition periods.

The discussion of tourist space, in Chapter 9, was the only one that combined theory and case within a single chapter. This was due to the lesser amount of both theoretical material and case data that existed. Two spatial scales were examined; the specific attraction site and urban/regional tourist space. Analysis of attraction sites was roughly equivalent to an integration of “place” and “space.” The focus was on discerning the meaning in the substantive content of a particular space. This was shown by whether, and how well, sites in Kona were “marked,” either with on-site or off-site markers. At the larger scale, ideas related to the development of tourist space in urban areas and regions at-large were integrated. Tourist space was differentiated from “mixed” space—that used by both locals and tourists, and non-tourist space. This was then applied at the urban scale for Kailua Village, and the regional scale for all of Kona. A projection of future tourist space was also done, based on the most recent County planning map for the district.

These paragraphs state what the dissertation did; perhaps some comments should be made on what the dissertation has not attempted to do. Two major limitations are obvious when a new regional geography focus is chosen. The first is that macro-scale geographic phenomena are either excluded from consideration or receive only cursory treatment. For example, tourism geographers with an economic bent study supply-demand relationships, meaning destinations as

the place of supply and the tourists' homes as the location of demand. In this study, the relationship of Kona to the larger, world-wide set of coastal resort destinations was not considered, nor was the origin of tourists. Some comments were made regarding the origins of the institution of modern tourism and the relationship to resort morphology, but there was no attempt to study this at a broad scale.

A second limitation is more implicit; it is that a new regional geography study should focus on only one institution, not try to examine everything that is happening in the chosen region. In this particular research such a limitation meant that the linkages between tourism and the dominant institution that preceded it in the sequent occupance—agriculture—were left unexamined. When tourism development began to occur in the 1960s, there were social impacts felt by the coffee farmers, for example. No systematic attempt was made to discover the variety or magnitude of these impacts. In addition, tourism and agriculture were spatially separated in the Kona landscape. This was mentioned in Chapter 5: agriculture was in the uplands, then tourism went in at the coastline. As a result, there were few identifiable impacts on tourism from agriculture. Hence it seemed beyond the scope of the dissertation to go looking for the impacts tourism had had on agriculture.

This rationale also applied to the institution that seems to be replacing tourism in the sequent occupance—urbanization, or regional development at-large. Tourism boomed in the 1960s, then a multitude of subdivisions sprang up on the slopes of Hualālai on Mauna Loa in the 1970s. Census data described in Chapter 5 showed that Kona's population then became far more Caucasian. Clearly tourism provided the impetus for this change. However, the relationship between tourism and sub-division development was not studied, again because this new housing stock was built in non-tourist space. The relationship between tourism and condominium development was studied, on the other hand, because condos construction created a new and different resort morphology.

It was noted in Chapter 2 that the terms for tourist resources were chosen to correspond with different types of impacts. Tourism has impacts on the environment, society, culture, and economy of Kona. A series of impact studies would have, in a sense, represented the flip side of

the studies on tourist resources. However, this line of inquiry was not pursued, for two reasons. The first was personal, based on the opinion that most impact studies in the tourism literature are political, in the sense that they emerge from a priori values which either favor or disfavor tourism. For example, people holding negative beliefs sometimes do social impact studies to show that the economic benefits from tourism to the community have a down-side. The second reason was based on the results of the research on resources, combined with the focus on process. In Chapters 4–6 it was pointed out in the sections on contemporary availability and quality that tourism in Kona had not produced too many direct impacts. Very little of the physical environment had been spoiled by tourism, for example. There is also the difficulty of examining impacts over time, which is necessary when process is a research concern. Clearly tourism development in Kailua during the 1960s spoiled the town's ambience. The impact on the cultural landscape was severe. Yet by about 1980, much of the problem had been resolved through the institutionalization and enforcement of design standards. The operation of the mechanisms that created the stage sequence in Kailua dealt with the impacts on the cultural landscape. In some ways, utilizing the concept of process in the research improves upon impact studies, by focusing on those issues that emerged as critical and then showing how they were or were not resolved. A thorough impact study would attempt to paint a very detailed picture of what is happening in the present. That line of research was not pursued here; the present had to share the stage with the past.

ON METHODOLOGY

The dissertation has been informed by Glaser and Strauss's (1967) ideas about the need for theory to be grounded in case data. As a methodological approach, "grounded theory" stresses the need for iterations between data collection, the generation of working hypotheses to explain case reality, the holding in abeyance of pre-existing theory (until the appropriate time, when it can be introduced and compared with case data), and the generation of abstract theoretical concepts that have applicability beyond the specific case. When research on Kona began, this methodology was the only one that could be found which explicitly dealt with processes as theoretical concepts. Hence, the original reason for using it was to best get at the

new regional geography directive to study “place as process.” Grounded theory seemed to answer the question of how to study processes, something no geographer had yet explicated. Looking back on the research now concluded, the greatest advantage of the method was that, by having been fully fleshed out over three decades, it contained a reliable structure for doing both library and field research. This enabled the pre-field research conceptual framework to be designed flexibly rather than rigidly. Methodological guidance existed for the systematic and directional collection of background materials. Once in the field, the mandate to constantly compare data and to generate working hypotheses that could be verified or rejected through an additional iteration of data collection, provided a confidence that the on-going research was not constructing a house of cards that would be later knocked down by new data. Following the constant comparative method also imparted a confidence with respect to making decisions about what to do next, even when the field research data had been collected in great volume and had become somewhat overwhelming.

Not all the techniques described as part of the grounded theory method however, were utilized without modification. This was first of all because of the difference between geography and sociology. In the latter, social relations between individuals occur at specific locales at specific times. Theoretical concepts generated can be verified, modified, or rejected through study of a similar locale. Grounded theory in sociology is thus typically based on research done at multiple sites. This was perceived as inappropriate for this project which, as a geographic study of a micro-region, focused on what has happened at a single place over a rather long period of time. Also, the research proceeded, it became apparent that the regional setting itself is more important to geographers than the study sites are for sociologists. Tourists interact with the environment; it is a resource to them (though the “tourist resource diamond” showed that some elements may be perceived neutrally or negatively). When tourists explore regions they do more than interact with other people in situated contexts. When locals respond to tourists’ presence they sometimes modify the environment, in ways that may either improve or degrade it. Thus, the methodology indicated that “place” should be reified to a status equal to that held by people.

Geographic research can be differentiated from sociology by this heightened concern for the place itself.

The greatest deviation in use of the method occurred with respect to the utilization of pre-existing theory. In accordance with grounded theory dictates, this had been held in abeyance during field research, and several theoretical ideas were first generated from case data . However, it did not seem appropriate to attempt to generate theory completely from scratch, and ignore the literature. Thus, the existing theoretical literature had to be brought back in, and “constantly compared” with the case data. However, the lack of agreement in the literature was found to be so great, for resources and the DLC model, that it was necessary to study some additional theory of a non-tourist nature in order to develop an overall structure. This was done in keeping with the spirit that theory consists of “categories” and “properties”; i.e., is hierarchical in nature. The end result however, was very different from what was proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Instead of being entirely induced from case data, the theory in this dissertation was generated by iteratively treating pre-existing tourism theory, relevant non-tourism theory, and case data.

The conclusion reached about using grounded theory as a methodological approach for new regional geography is that it works, but some aspects are more directly transferable than others. The core definition of new regional geography research that emerged in Chapter 1 was the study of a particular institution within a delimited region. There are thus many potential new regional geography studies that could be done on Kona. Grounded theory would seem broadly useful as a methodology for tackling these. Kona, or any other delimited region, simultaneously contains many different institutions. When Pred’s (1984) avocation to study “place as process” is brought back in, it can be seen that grounded theory seems capable of handling the study of any institution as it develops over time within a region. The major systematic branches within geography might each be interpreted as focusing on a particular institution, or a set of them. Studying the institution of agriculture, or manufacturing, would be just as feasible as this particular study of tourism has been.

The capability to flexibly deal with pre-existing theory highlights another advantage of this particular methodology. As with tourism, the geographic study of other institutions has resulted in the creation of bodies of theory. Yet the degree to which these have been grounded in case data has varied. Structuralist and post-structuralist research, for example, often focuses on showing how case situations fit the existing theory. This verificational approach puts the cart before the horse, and has many times resulted in publication of articles or monographs that do not read true. A major reason for this, of course, is the primacy placed on structures, and the subordination of agency. This research on Kona however, reinforced Giddens's (1984) assertions that structure and agency are co-equal. In the context of this case study, local citizens utilized their agency to achieve goals; sometimes these were to create structures that would constrain other people. At the very least, grounded theory can be used to interpret and illuminate the operation of structure and agency in case contexts, as well as the on-going tension between them. Doing this was considered methodologically problematic when this research was begun (see Gregson 1988).

ON TOURISM THEORY

As an objective emerging from the directives of grounded theory, this study has attempted to generate theory about topics contained within the geography of tourism subfield. A mundane, utilitarian definition of "theory" was utilized; it was considered to be simply "a formulation of apparent relationship" between something and something else. This particular definition fit well with grounded theory methods, in which working hypotheses are systematically generated as a way of explaining the relationships discovered in the data.

Beginning with tourist resources, the first task turned out to be simply deciding which term best described the set of elements that tourists experience at destinations. Tourist "supply" or "product," and "attractions" continue to compete intellectually with "resources." Study of the literature on natural resources produced confidence about the superiority of the term "resources," on the basis that it had the most theoretical depth. That is, the use of "resources" better explained the relationship between tourists and the destinations they were exploring and experiencing. The term was also superior for understanding the relationship between locals who

wanted to develop tourism, and the elements at the destination that had been developed for tourists.

Study of natural resources also indicated that this theoretical “category” had the hierarchically subordinate “properties” of “type,” “availability,” and “quality.” As an ensemble, these properties were transferable to tourism, and enabled a far more comprehensive understanding of what a destination has to offer tourists because they provided frameworks for understanding the variety that exists, how much there is, and how good it is. The frameworks themselves consisted of a resource typology, an inventory, and the “tourist resource diamond,” which focuses on quality.

The categories sometimes used with natural resources, “flow” and “fund,” were not determined to be appropriate for tourism, which here was considered to be an experiential activity. Similarly, existing typologies of tourist “attractions” were usually impressionistic, and categories had been brought together from many sources. Typically, enabling elements for tourists were combined with enabling elements for the tourist industry. Thus resource typologies often juxtaposed finance capital and energy with beaches and special events. These typologies did not match up well with what tourists had described about Kona. Therefore, the case data from Kona were aggregated to determine the major categories in the resource typology. This resulted in four major categories of resources ultimately being induced: environmental; social; cultural; and service. As just mentioned, this set of terms was chosen so as to be equivalent with terms used for different kinds of impacts. Here, services resources are roughly equivalent with economic impacts. Because this set arose from grounded data, and because it is so comparable to categories for impacts, there is reasonable security in asserting that these four categories constitute all the major types of tourist resources. That is, everything that a tourist can experience at a destination will fall within one of these four categories. The typology is thus “saturated” at the highest level, because it is unlikely new categories will be found.

This is not the case for the set of subcategories below, however. Kona is just one destination and there are many kinds of experiences that cannot be had there. The typology that was developed from the case data is thus far from complete, and thus comparative research at

other destinations must be done. The degree to which the subcategories were not filled in, however, varied with the major resource category. With environmental resources, for example, the subcategories experienced and described in travel narratives were very similar to the categories geographers have traditionally used to describe regions. This major category might now be considered close to fully saturated. Such was not the case for social, cultural or service resources, however. Social resources in particular would seem subcategorically underdeveloped; virtually no other research exists on this topic, and guidebooks ignored it as well in their discussion of Kona. The hierarchy of subcategories induced for social resources thus represents the most completely original feature of the dissertation.

There have been previous attempts at doing tourist resource or attraction typologies, this dissertation breaks new ground however, by adapting the properties of availability and quality to tourism resources. The framework for resource availability was modified from that which has been developed for natural resources. Three categories were renamed: “degraded,” “utilized,” and “reserves.” For each major resource type or sub-type, the list of specific elements that exist at a destination can be divided up into these three levels of availability. The example of Kona’s beaches was used; the current situation is that one particular beach can be considered to be degraded, several are currently utilized, but most are still in reserve. As a term, “degraded” here means “used up.” Resources that are “utilized” or in “reserve,” on the other hand, can be considered in good condition. The former has been discovered by tourists, the latter includes those places that have not yet been found or developed. Another way of stating this is that utilized resources have most likely been marked in some way, while reserves have not yet been. Combining the concepts of resource availability with markers showed that it is not the case that a resource site must be marked in order for it to be an attraction. Tourists who get off the beaten path may be lucky and discover a site that exists in a state of reserve. Place-related experiences at these sites can be of very high quality for the tourists who have them, but most will not because they have failed to sufficiently explore the destination.

For the property of resource quality, the three-tiered “resource pyramid” was modified into the five-level “tourist resource diamond.” The term is something of a misnomer, since only

the top two categories, “attractions” and “gratifiers,” can be considered resources, in the sense of bringing positive experiences to tourists. Nevertheless, the framework is very useful for showing that resources are truly human assessments. A feature that is a resource to some tourists might be but a neutral element to another and a deterrent to a third. Over-crowded beaches, for example, can be experienced in these ways by different people. The framework also is useful for showing how a particular element changes in value over time. The mauka climate in Kona, for example, was highly valued at the turn of this century but has been almost totally ignored since the end of World War II.

In the past it was said that geography was “exceptionalist” in the sense of going down a different path than that chosen by the other social sciences. This has also been true for studies related to tourism elements. The study of “attractions” leads down just such a blind path. Bringing tourism in line with other types of studies on resources is therefore considered to be a major contribution of the dissertation. It is enhanced by the adaptation made here of the three theoretical properties (type, availability and quality) of resources.

Such theory lays a foundation, but much remains to be done, particularly at the applied level. Kona was shown to have many resources which are not perceived by tourists and locals today, and so remain in reserve. It is hoped that the triad of type, availability, and quality can be utilized by local planners to both enhance and sustain Kona’s resource base. For example, a complete resource survey would involve developing a typology, doing an inventory, and assessing quality. No study approaching this level of completeness was found for any place in Hawai‘i. Were such a survey done for Kona (only the typology was done here), it would be possible for planners to prioritize which particular resource sites should be developed, and when. Having these decisions made would seem to have great potential for improving the process of land use change that now exists. That is, land owners could know what resources were on the land as well as the level of priority for their development. Having this knowledge could improve their decisions about what sort of development project to undertake, and when to do it. The large number of mega-resort projects that were proposed in the mid-1980s for Kona and South Kohala forced much of the community to fight against all of them. Had each parcel of land been

given a priority for development, based on availability, quality and need, the battles fought over development might have been fewer in number, and far less rancorous.

Turning to the aspect of time, this was dealt with through use of the destination area life cycle (DLC) model. The model theorizes that places have life cycles with respect to tourism. The idea was borrowed from the product life cycle model, which focuses on the origins, development, and ultimate obsolescence of consumer products. The underlying question—can a place be said to have a life cycle?—was answered in the affirmative through invocation of structuration theory. This ontology asserts the existence of “institutions,” defined as repeated sets of social practices. These are locale-based and have a life span—a beginning, a middle, and an end—termed the *longue durée*. It is clear that tourism is an institution, the very word was coined when the number and behavior of visitors at destinations became sufficiently repetitive during the late 18th century that they acquired a specific identity to locals.

This begs the question: “When does life begin?” As with all forms of organic life this is partially a philosophical question. For tourism, the obvious answers are either (1) when the tourists begin coming, or (2) when locals begin responding to their presence, or anticipated presence. The second answer was chosen for this dissertation, on the basis that institutional features of tourism become concretized on the landscape only when locals begin to develop facilities for tourists. The conceptualization of tourism as an entity with a life span also seemed to mandate that concepts about what comes before and after tourism be developed. Fortunately, geography has long had such a concept: a “sequent occupance” theorizes that social groups, with particular institutions, will rise and fall in importance. Tourism, as a dominant institution, is thus but one era in a longer sequent occupance. At a destination, some institution has probably preceded tourism. At some later point in time, something is bound to replace tourism, though this could take decades or even centuries.

Giddens did not break up the *longue durée*, yet dividing a life into stages and perceiving the change from one to the next as a process is a common ontological practice. In a later work explicating grounded theory, Glaser (1978) discussed a particular type of process, a “basic social process.” This conceptual entity had two theoretical properties in addition to stages:

pervasiveness and stage variability. Such a concept clearly has geographic implications; perhaps the DLC model in effect describes a “basic geographical process.” In new regional geography terms, such a process might be defined generally as the relationship between a particular institution and those places where it develops. The idea that there might exist such basic geographical processes promotes the possibility that there might eventually develop a science of places, based on their taxonomy and the properties of process. Such a science was anticipated by Hartshorne (1939), through his concept of “generic regions.” This disciplinary project would give geography a reasonably standardized, but flexible, unit—the region—as its core focus. This would be similar to the focus of botany on plants, of zoology on animals, or of economics on money. Whether such a science would be of interest to geographers, present or future, is problematic, given the current postmodernist attacks on science at-large as a worthwhile project.

However, even if such a science never eventuates, the three properties of basic social processes were shown to be transferable to the DLC model. The property of pervasiveness, for example, indicates that every destination that develops to any great extent can be said to have started a life cycle. The spread of tourist resorts is clearly a pervasive form of development in the world today, as the availability of transportation, money and leisure time enables more people to travel, and as the level of transnational corporate organization increases, enabling tourism to become ever-more industrialized. Within the time span of tourism’s *longue durée* at an individual destination, specific stages occur. To be involved in a process, a destination must go through at least two stages, not just show movement. The model adapted here (Butler 1980) postulated the existence of several, and described the characteristics typical of the core period of each. The third property of basic social processes, variability, has clear relevance to the DLC model as well. The number of case studies done on the model is now approaching twenty. None described the exact sequence that Butler (1980) postulated to occur. Many studies asserted this invalidated the general model. In fact, it brings out the commonsense reality that no two entities will ever experience an identical life cycle, no matter what form of life is being studied.

In addition to the properties transferred from grounded theory research on basic social processes, several properties were transferred from research on other types of processes. It was

found necessary, first of all, to delimit the unit-entity—to restrict the scope of the DLC model to coastal resorts. At smaller scales (e.g., theme parks) important institutional features may not be present. At larger scales such as provinces, there may be life cycles occurring at more than one destination locale. With respect to tourist resources, the model implicitly describes what goes on at coastal resorts, though Butler used the broader term “destination area.” No one has yet really attempted to do a thorough study of a life cycle at some other type of destination however, such as a ski resort. Until such research is done, it is not clear how applicable the model will be to destinations other than coastal resorts.

A second property concerns the internal characteristics of the destination entity. The tourism industry was found to be equivalent to the “key component species” in ecosystem research. What a DLC study does, in essence, is describe the life cycle of the tourist industry at the destination. Study of other types of processes indicated, that a particular stage could also be inferred from its physical form. Research on coastal resort morphology was therefore brought in, and the different forms that have been identified were transferred to represent particular stages or sub-stages in the overall life cycle. Such a transference partially answers a criticism of the model (Haywood 1986), that it is difficult to know in which stage a resort exists. By using morphological form as a guideline, it is possible to make a preliminary stage identification just by looking at a photo of the resort.

In addition to the tourist industry, other institutional entities such as local government are also important to study, because bureaucratic entities can create structures that either constrain or enable tourism industry development. Oddly, the very base resources that make the destination appealing—the beach or coast—have been treated as much less important than the tourist industry. This would seem to be because, as the tourism industry grows, there is no corresponding development of these resources. Sometimes they maintain their quality, sometimes they become degraded, but overall they seem to be a constant within the context of change in the tourism industry. Put simply, the resort may rise or fall, but the beach is always the beach.

Tourists themselves were conceived as the “users” of the unit-entity undergoing the life cycle. Tourist types were considered important in models of the DLC however, these were shown to be impressionistic treatments. Here, tourists were deemed to be less important than the accommodation facilities built to house them because the DLC model is essentially a landscape model. Hotels, motels, etc. have a more-or-less permanent impact on the landscape; the presence of tourists is ephemeral in comparison.

The concept of stages was shown to have additional properties beyond directional existence and variability. There are mechanisms by which one stage transforms into the next. These might be critical junctures, where the change does or does not occur in a conspicuous manner, or blurry transitions, where a number of small, relatively unimportant events produces a transition. With respect to a process such as the DLC, mechanisms are events (additions, alterations, cessations); their occurrence or failure to occur defines the life pathway of the resort. A chronology of event-mechanisms compliments Butler’s graphical approach of tourist numbers (or accommodation units) and the morphological approach to identifying stages. It is the nature of these event-mechanisms that ultimately produces the particular pathway down which the destination travels. A set of stages typical of a normal life cycle can occur at a resort; these have a birth-to-death sequence: response, development, maturity, and decline. However, some different pathway might be taken. Many are possible and all are normal because they are defined by the set of institutional practices that occur at the locale. About the only variation that cannot easily occur is for the destination to go backwards, from death towards birth, in a sense. The reason is that a morphological form representing a particular stage exists on the landscape. It is hard to unbuild a town. This can happen however, when a macro-structural condition, such as a hurricane, destroys the existing form, permitting resort growth to begin anew.

Overall then, the sorting of DLC theory into specific properties represents theory generation that, similar to resources, is foundational in nature. Hopefully this will enable study of the phenomena to become more methodologically systematic, which in turn will render it more useful in studying the life paths of individual resorts. It will never be possible to perfectly predict the course of any individual resort, any more than it is possible to say with certainty

when any highly developed living entity will die. However, as developed here it is now possible to at least show in a standardized way the stages through which a resort has gone, and to project some possible future life path scenarios on the basis of internal characteristics, including morphological form. Such limited prediction is quite useful, for it enables planners to integrate study of the resort's life path with resource development. Knowing when to permit development of particular resource sites should enable life cycles to be extended, and also help prevent resource (site) degradation.

The Kona case contributed to the advance of general theory in several ways. First, study of Kona verified that the DLC model fits best at the urban scale. Had the Keauhou resort enclave competed successfully with Kailua during the 1970s, it would have been necessary to do two distinct life cycle studies because of the redundant development of institutional practices. This may still be necessary if at some point in the future the resorts in North Kona are constructed and spatially coalesce into a distinctive micro-region. Second, the "internal characteristics" of the resort development in Kona verified that the tourism industry represents the "key component species" and that the role of government has also been quite important. Change in the number of accommodation units could be used quite effectively to show stage development and change. This was reinforced by historical study of Kona's morphology; the "overtopping" of Local-scale facilities by those of a Domestic-scale, followed by the Linked nature of Kailua and Keauhou. These changes morphologically defined the substages within the larger Development stage. Lastly, consistent with the case literature, analysis of Kona showed that a set of base resources was initially important in attracting a tourist industry. Afterwards, there has been a general lack of development of the base resources. The tourism industry—the set of service resources—has been what has expanded.

Although the importance of tourists as "users" of the unit-entity was downplayed as a way of recognizing stages, the data used to define stage boundaries in Kona—travel narratives, guidebooks and newspaper articles—verified that the general trend in tourist types had occurred. This was inferred from the ever-increasing amount of space given by guidebook writers to the ever-increasing levels of luxuriousness of accommodations that occurred between the 1950–80s.

There were two salient departures from this adventurous-to-conservative trend, however. In the 1950s, group travelers, a conservative type, came to dominate at an earlier date than is typical. Second, the inability to construct hotels in the late-1970s, countered with the capability of building condominiums, produced an early dominance of snowbirds. The large numbers of this semi-tourist, semi-resident would seem to have been leading Kona out of tourism sooner than might have been anticipated. It is important to note that this change in tourist type was the result of a change in accommodation; it did not occur because Kona got spoiled. In essence, restrictions on hotel construction prevented locals and outside developers from catering to the “typical sequence” of tourists. They were forced to build for a more conservative type early on. This is yet another reason why a DLC analysis should focus more on accommodation type than tourist type.

Closely related to this has been the heavy reliance on real estate. Kona developed into a tourist area in the 1960s, then quickly became exurban as the number of subdivisions and condominiums increased. This was particularly true at Keauhou resort, which was imagined as a combined resort-residential enclave in the initial plans. Such parallel development of real estate for tourists-turned-residents is mentioned often in the articles that have developed DLC models, but has not yet been studied in any great depth in the case literature. Strapp (1988) and Foster and Murphy (1991) both discussed it for small Canadian towns that are tertiary quality destinations at best. Kona’s turn away from tourism towards immigrating residents is consistent with what occurred in these towns. At the theoretical level, this suggests that the “relay tourists” idea adapted from ecosuccession might occur widely. That is, the parallel construction of permanent housing facilitates the resort’s departure out of the tourism era. Kona and other destinations which encourage this may possibly experience shortened tourist life cycles as a result. Both Strapp (1988) and Foster and Murphy (1991) asserted such a change was not necessarily bad; that in fact the newly-arrived permanent residents tended to produce a stabilizing impact on the local economy. This was also noted to have happened in Kona in the 1980s. However, in State of Hawai‘i today, the promotion of tourism relies on a concept of the visitor as a transient resident. The decision made (during the vacation or afterwards) by the

tourist to move here is thus mainly an unintended result, one that has had important demographic impacts in Kona and in the rest of the State. Comparative study of resort life cycles could improve knowledge of these impacts. Knowing the degree to which tourism is likely to stimulate immigration would enable planners at destinations just beginning their life cycles to deal more effectively in preventing negative impacts on the touristic components of the landscape.

Together, the lack of development of base resources in Kona, combined with the growth of both tourism facilities and housing for tourists-turned-immigrants, suggests that an important general reason why resorts go out of fashion has to do with the overall expansion of the built environment. That is, the set of attractions which lured earlier tourists gets smothered by both tourist and non-tourist development. The conclusion is obviously that a destination should take care to ensure that its base resources continue to exist at a sufficiently high level of quality. They should not be taken for granted.

With respect to stage changes, the Kona case showed that both types of mechanisms have occurred. Critical situations occurred when the first airport opened in 1949, stimulating the first wave of tourist development, and also when plans for the Kailua pedestrian mall were first floated in the 1960s. The first situation defined the change between the Pioneer Hotel and the Local phases of the Response stage. The second indicated the beginning of the change from the Response to the Development stage. The difference in these shows there is some theoretical dissimilarity between a "critical event" and a "critical juncture." Events happen, but a juncture is simply a time when an important decision must be reached. The decision may be to leave things the way they are. The change between the Development and Maturity stages, on the other hand, was defined on the basis of the lack of additional accommodation units built after 1985. This represents a blurry transition.

The history of tourism development in Kona has reaffirmed there is something of a typical sequence of stages, with a typical sequence of morphological forms. A particular pioneer hotel located tourism in Kailua; a Local form emerged soon after accessibility improved. The success of businesses operating at this scale created the impression that a jump to the Domestic-

scale was feasible. This occurred in due time, but battles over whether to keep the morphology of Kailua at the Local-scale were of such ferocity that the full development of the Domestic form failed to materialize on the landscape. To much of the community, bigger did not mean better. Instead, development spread outward to Keauhou and along Ali'i Drive. A second round of enclave development in North Kona was also later defeated by the community. The life cycle pathway for the region thus reveals a period of time characterized by facilitation, where all forms of tourist development were permitted. But inhibitional forces eventually prevailed, limiting growth to certain forms and areas within Kona. Because the DLC case literature has not focused on events as stage mechanisms, it is difficult to tell how typical this modification of the institution of tourism has been. However, it might prove to be the case that the shift from the Development stage into the Consolidation substage is typically defined by the triumph of inhibition over facilitation. That is, it may be typical for residents at resorts, at some point, to tire of unrestrained growth, and to put limits on future development in order to prevent at least some of the attractions in the landscape from being degraded. If such is the case, this represents a significant variation from Butler's (1980) model (and also Plog's [1972]), which stresses the role of tourists in creating a sequence of stages. It does not disprove the model, but shows the necessity to study place as process. Such a conclusion also supports the idea that it is important to maintain the quality of the base resources, as a way of sustaining the institution of tourism.

The final theoretical topic examined in the dissertation was tourist space. This was a topic that emerged from integration of a variety of theoretical sources. Two spatial scales were induced to be relevant, that of the specific attraction site, and the larger urban/regional space that constitutes the destination locale. In the former, the existence or non-existence of tourist markers was shown to be an important aspect. Tourist markers, either on-site or off-site, are quite important in differentiating the particular site from neutral regional space. They are also important in informing the tourist of the importance of the site, hence providing intellectual substance in the form of local knowledge. However, sites can be attractions without being marked. Tourists have prior knowledge of resource categories and, should they get off the

beaten path, they are easily able to recognize a site that fits into their pre-existing resource typology. Finding the empty beach at sunset is the quintessential example.

At the scale of urban/regional space, the concept of front and back regions was transferred as a way of integrating social theory with geographic work on the recreational business district model and choroplethic tourist space. In essence, the institution of tourism occurs mainly in front regions, which are primary tourist space, but does not occur in back regions, which are therefore considered to be non-tourist space. A polarized concept of front and back was however, deemed inadequate to cover the more mixed uses of urban/regional space. Hence there is also secondary tourist space, which is used by both locals and tourists, and tertiary tourist space, which serves a wholesaling function with respect to either manufacture of tourist products, or agriculture. Tourists are not often seen in these “tertiary” areas, but the space is used to promote tourist presence in the front regions.

Overall, the concept of tourist space complements theory on resources and time. Space at the scale of the attraction site can be analyzed to show how well or badly specific resources have been identified; markers in effect show how well attraction sites have been made public, either for tourists or locals. Urban and regional tourist space compliments the DLC model by showing where tourism has developed as it has gone through the stages of its life cycle. The final map of Chapter 9 also showed that ideas on future use of space can also be used to project the longevity of tourism’s life cycle in the region.

ON NEW REGIONAL GEOGRAPHY

In addition to generating theory about aspects of the geography of tourism, this dissertation had the objective of being a study in new regional geography. As there was no mold or framework in existence that could be emulated, aspects of what to include had to be culled from different writers. Reflecting back to Figure 1.3, these included delimitation of the study region, place-as-process, regional description, and generic regions.

By themselves, these four topics have mainly been studied separately. One of the contributions to originality of this dissertation was simply in conceptualizing of the group as a set and then attempting to integrate them. This task was not straightforward, for they exist in

different states of dynamism and at different levels of abstraction. Also, the focus of the research gaze is different. Regional description and place-as-process, for example, are oppositional in terms of movement. The former has typically been perceived as static; the region is then described as an existing ensemble of features and through this synthesis a sense of uniqueness emerges. Place-as-process however, focuses on change; Pred (see 1984) has in many writings referred to his agenda as the study of “becoming places.” Likewise, “delimited” and “generic” regions are polar opposites with respect to the research gaze. Delimiting a region requires bounding it, focusing in on it nearly exclusively, and letting in from outside only that information which seems crucial. The concept of generic regions, on the other hand, requires an outward gaze; it has the objective of searching for theory (concepts and properties) that can be generalized to fit other regions. Lastly, regional delimitation and description are empirically-oriented, while place-as-process and generic regions are more conceptual in nature, particularly when the focus is on “stages” that have generalizability to other locations.

At the beginning of the research only a limited amount of thought was given to the potential irreconcilability of these concepts. Enthusiasm, ambition and the desire, taken from Dear (1988) to be “reconstructive” were paramount. As they were studied (empirically and conceptually), integrated with the parallel set of tourism topics, and then finally written, the components and combinations of components did, by the end, seem to constitute reconstruction. This study is thus not an example of research that intellectually demolishes what has been built up in the past. Rather, through the grounded theory mandate to work substantively, and through the combining of these elements from “old” and “new” regional geography, the dissertation has been both constructive and re-constructive.

The highest goal towards which Dear (1988) was pointing, and to which this dissertation attempted, was to create a new form, or model for new regional geography—something on the order of a new research paradigm. This was not reductionist (only a, b and c, etc. can be included, while d, e, and f, etc. must be excluded). Just the opposite, the goal was to be as broadly inclusive as possible, particularly with respect to formerly central geographic concepts that had been savaged and abandoned by succeeding generations of young Turks. Nonetheless,

the goal went beyond discovering original knowledge related to the case, or even to generating theory. The goal was to devise a form, a prototype, that could be broadly, though loosely, replicated; that could come to represent what a new regional geography study should, or at least could, look like. Such a form would have an identity recognizable within the discipline but would also avoid “exceptionalism” through use of ontological and social theoretical concepts that are understood in the human sciences at-large. Such a form could simultaneously produce “core” knowledge and still be at the “cutting edge.”

The degree to which this dissertation has achieved this higher goal is uncertain. In retrospect, the partial combining of elements would seem to have been successful, but the total combination was perhaps excessively complicated. Limiting the dissertation to either tourist resources or the DLC model could probably have enabled the creation of a more streamlined structure, one that had greater potential replicability as a model for future research. This was not an outcome that could be known ahead of the writing, however. And, in the final analysis, it is up to the reader to decide whether the broad synthesis with respect to tourism within the Kona region, combined with all of the components of new regional geography that were included, has achieved something beyond that what would have been attained through choosing a more streamlined but narrower approach. With this as the broad picture, some conclusions about each of the elements will be made.

First, it has been asserted that an important initial task involves making sure that the chosen region (Kona) is truly a region, and not just a boundary line on a political map. This was initially imagined to be a rather boring task. However, tracing the origins of the concept of *kona* turned out to provide a fascinating though brief look into Hawaiian and Polynesian geography. The Kona located on Hawai‘i Island turned out to be not just a region, but perhaps an example of a culturally-defined archetype of a physical environment that can be found throughout the island-Pacific. This knowledge by itself verified the importance of the new regional geography mandate. The particular case situation also showed that the structural properties of the physical environment are what has given, and continues to give, Kona its *kona-* and Kona-ness. This has a certain ontological significance for it indicates that the physical environment should receive at

least some reification in a geographic analysis. At the turn of this century the environment was considered determinant; by 1950 culture been placed on the pedestal. A conclusion that emerged from looking at Kona is that the environment should not be reduced simply to a context, with social relations being the paramount consideration. Emphasizing the relations between both the physical environment and cultural landscape would seem to be geography's particular contribution to a multi-disciplinary approach to social theory. The importance of place-as-the-real-world should not be diminished. Coincidentally, delimiting and substantiating the case region in this way would seem similar to demonstrating its uniqueness, the task that Hartshorne (1939) advanced most vigorously. However, such work is now done at the beginning of the research, as a starting point, it is not a conclusion reached at the end of the text.

As a second conclusion, study of the internal subdivisions of guidebooks indicated that Kona is also a tourist region, one that is distinct from others on the Big Island in terms of space and place-content. This is significant for it indicates that the region is distinct to outsiders (the guidebook writers and tourists) as well as to insiders (the residents). Such an indication shows that uniqueness is important in a fundamental way, by being the basis of the regional identity that both groups recognize, and relate to each other in terms of. A review of certain planning documents revealed however, that at that conceptual level the focus on the coastline and contiguous beach resources has led to the emergence of "West Hawai'i," which includes districts both to the north and south of Kona. This contrast between planning documents and guidebooks clearly shows the extent to which tourism in Hawai'i has become equated with one type of tourist, engaged in one type of activity. Aggregating regions on the basis of only one type of shared environmental feature would seem to limit the possibilities for sustainable development.

The second empirical task attempted was the regional description of Kona. This was not gone about in the standard way however, in which a pre-identified set of topics are systematically researched then described. Here, the first step involved the perusal of travel narratives, guidebooks, and other regional literature on Kona (including works by geographers); these were read partly to provide background familiarity, and partly to develop an initial grouping of tourist resources. As this work proceeded it became clear that there was a very close

relationship between “regional” facts and “tourist” facts. The conclusion was reached that there are almost no “regional” facts that are not also “tourist” facts suitable for publishing in a travel narrative or guidebook. This led to the further realization that tourists should be defined as regional explorers and, as such, are often acting in the capacity of amateur geographers.

When it became clear that travelers had been interested in a particular aspect of Kona, such as climate, the second step involved collecting background materials on that particular topic, in order to describe it from a more standardized geographic perspective. In the dissertation text, however, the order of discussion was reversed. That is, the “regional” perspective of the topic preceded tourists’ impressions and evaluations of it. At the broader level, this way of treating regional material demoted it considerably, by subordinating the region at-large to the systematic understanding of tourism as a dominant regional institution. However, it is hoped that such a treatment also simultaneously expanded the systematic approach. By incorporating regional description, the reader has a much broader perspective of the feature being discussed than would be the case if only its role in relation to tourism were being considered. Comparison of the regional material with tourists’ impressions also provides a basis for discerning theoretical properties of resources. For example, the lack of discussion of the coastal lava shelf, or the lava flows in North Kona, indicates that these aspects of topography are undervalued and mainly exist as neutral elements in a state of reserve. Knowledge of the appreciation by tourists of lava flows in South Kona and elsewhere on the Big Island, and of rugged coastal topography elsewhere in the world indicates that these particular regional features have the potential to become tourist resources. Lastly, it is hoped that combining regional description with tourist resources simply has given the reader a broader knowledge of Kona than would have been the case if only one focus had been taken.

The awareness that social relations are situated in locales, that place has meaning, has led to geographers who focused on social theory to incorporate the idea of “place as process” into new regional geography research. As noted, the term “process” is always considered to involve movement of some kind, but can also indicate a set of stages. This difference in meaning is important because new regional geography research can be conducted much

differently, depending on which is used. There would not seem to be a taxonomy of processes in existence currently, but it is apparent that some types of geographic phenomena and relationships show movement but do not have stages. A research focus on these types would seem to mandate a case study approach because the “specific conjunctures” (Warf 1990) that cause the movement lack direction. A focus on processes that can be divided into stages however, permits comparative research between cases because directionality exists. Hartshorne’s (1939) project of identifying and studying generic regions becomes realistic when applied to processes that have stages because of the greater comparability between case areas. To date, failure to recognize the implications of the meaning of the word “process” beyond mere “movement” would seem responsible, at least in part, for the fact that comparative research on regions has never developed as a coherent body of research.

Both meanings of process were utilized in the dissertation, but in different places. In Chapters 4–7, the discussion of Kona’s base resources took up the idea of process-as-movement by showing how tourists’ ideas on the nature of the resource base had changed over time. This treatment provided a contrast with the static regional description of the resources, by focusing on the changing properties of individual types and sites. For Kona, this contrast revealed that there has been a slow change in the specific elements that have been appreciated, as the institution of tourism has evolved and the tastes of individual tourists have changed. A major break might be said to have occurred just after World War II. At that time, the resource base in its entirety, at least for most tourists, seemed to constrict. The focus was more around the typical “sunlust” activities of relaxing and getting a tan, in an “off the beaten path” locale. The previous emphasis on history and culture, which had carried the region for a century, began to decline in importance. Put another way, the subset of practices of sunlust tourism to a great extent began to dominate over those of the wanderlust tourism that had previously been the norm.

Case research on process-as-stage focused on Kona’s life cycle as a tourist destination. The region is now clearly in the midst of a life cycle; tourism had a reasonably well-defined “birth” and several of the resort landscapes typical of the cycle have since appeared. The discussion of stage development and change in Kona was guided by the theory generated from

the literature in Chapter 3. However, this was also guided by the fairly standard new regional geography approach of looking at social relations as movement—how the locals have interacted with respect to tourism issues. In the text this was subordinated to the idea of “critical juncture.” However, the method of highlighting how locals had dealt with tourism issues produced much insight into the DLC model as a process, for it enabled a sense of community feeling towards tourism to be gleaned. Examining a photo of the resort, or driving through it, is sufficient to make a preliminary appraisal as to what stage a resort is in. Graphs of accommodation units or tourist arrival data provide enough information to make deductions about the stage-pathway the resort has gone through. Knowing the history of community sentiment however, greatly improves the understanding of the possibilities of and limitations to tourism development in the past, at present, and, in a limited way, into the future. In Kona, community involvement has clearly been decisive in altering the pathway of tourism’s institutional life cycle. This could only be brought out fully through a qualitative discussion of the critical junctures that have occurred. Thus knowledge of process-as-stage can be enhanced greatly by knowledge of the “movement” of the community that ultimately directs the choice of pathway.

Kona’s experience as a destination also lent credence that coastal resort development is a pervasive phenomenon. This supports Hartshorne’s idea of studying the generic quality of regions, i.e., how they are similar, as well as how they are unique. At the micro-scale that new regional geography asserts is the proper focus, there are likely to be many types of places that have generic qualities; tourist resorts are but one such type. Were such a project to be widely pursued, geography could easily become a “science of places,” in which developmental processes in different types of regions were compared and contrasted. Study of the DLC model is a step in this direction, by having a focus that privileges “place” as the entity being examined..

ON KONA: WILL THE IDYLLS ENDURE?

Lastly, the dissertation will conclude with some observations about Kona as a tourist destination. Tourism in the Kona region was examined from several angles: resources, time and space. A typology of Kona’s resources was induced from the case data then used as a model of tourist resources at large in Chapter 2. Next, three chapters discussed Kona’s environmental,

social, and cultural “base” resources, a fourth chapter looked at the development of the tourist industry, or service resources. The discussion on the different types of resources attempted to bring out the different features of the region that have appealed to visitors, and how this has changed over time. Each chapter painted a slightly different picture of the state of resource development.

At the gloomiest, the population of Hawaiians which so fascinated early visitors to Kona has become all but invisible as a social resource to contemporary tourists. This was partly from the shift of the throne from Kailua to Honolulu; the move took away the royalty, the ali‘i, whose presence had been of singular interest. Afterwards, steep population decline, which caused abandonment of traditional villages, was a problem that far transcended the needs of tourists. More recently, the Hawaiian population also gave up many of its semi-subsistence lifestyle practices after World War II, except at Miloli‘i Village. They thus no longer engaged in the daily activities that tourists found interestingly different. With respect to overall ethnicity, although Kona today has a mixed population, tourists have never expressed much interest in it, except to watch people working on coffee farms.

The only contemporary social resource Kona contains in quantity revolves around special events. Two of these, the International Billfish Tournament and the Ironman Triathlon, have achieved a certain “image-maker” status; one that to a certain extent defines the region in terms of the event. The Kona Coffee Festival could also achieve this status, though it had not yet done so during the time field research was being conducted. Thus Kona has special events but it no longer has anything of much interest to tourists that is related to any special quality of the local society or its daily life.

Social resources are perhaps the most fragile of the four major types. As visitors begin to arrive in greater numbers, local people tend to withdraw from primary tourist space, leaving the tourists to interact with the business transactors, mainly salespeople working in gift shops or restaurants, who may or may not be local. This would seem to describe the situation that currently exists in Kona, though as was shown in Chapter 9 the numbers of tourists have never been sufficient to completely drive out shops catering to locals from the back regions of the

Kailua pedestrian malls. Yet, except for the venues where local entertainment is shown, there are few places where tourists and locals mingle. “Hangin with the locals—not!” was chosen as a chapter title precisely because of this lack of mixed tourist space. The situation would seem only likely to get worse as tourism continues to down its life path, and regional development at-large simultaneously occurs. New immigrants, either locals moving in from elsewhere in Hawai‘i or snowbirds from the mainland, will likely be “neutral” in quality to tourists because they have few personal characteristics or daily practices that have much appeal. They are too much like the tourists—they probably were tourists, and decided to stay.

Cultural resources also currently exist in something of a gloomy state, particularly historical and archaeological sites. These components of the cultural landscape are generally not being marked or elevated, but are slowly deteriorating in the gentle Kona climate. The active destruction of archaeological sites is, fortunately, now probably a part of the region’s developmental history. Many sites were destroyed in the rush to build facilities for tourists seeking sunshine, but laws—inhibitional elements—now exist that should prevent most of this from occurring in the future. However, the lack of cultural resource development over the past several decades is a particular shame, especially at sites such as Kealakekua Bay and the Kaneakua hōlua. These are cultural attractions of extremely high quality and which, if elevated through restoration, could add considerably to the local sense of place. Kona’s history was fascinating to former generations of tourists, but today is diminishing in value as the major events in the region’s past recede from cultural consciousness.

The cultural resource with the most potential for easy development would seem to be coffee. In addition to the Kona Coffee Festival, there is a landscape dimension, as coffee agriculture dominates at certain elevations. Adequately exploring Kona means observing coffee growing in the field, looking at the small coffee farms that have a distinctly fascinating economic and cultural history, and taking in the coffee museum to better understand how the bean becomes a drink. Coffee is also a culturally preferred beverage, hence it would seem natural for entrepreneurs to exploit the current craze for European-style coffee drinks. Kona’s fame as a coffee producing region has unfortunately never been matched by the development of

the landscape around the theme of a coffee region. Agricultural regions are displayed as themselves in many parts of the country; the Napa Valley wine district, and the apple growing region in Virginia are but two obvious examples. As the only place in the USA where coffee has been grown, Kona clearly has potential to attract tourists who are interested in learning about the beverage millions consume every day.

Kona's environmental resources have, like cultural resources, not been developed in any major way. This is changing somewhat as the ocean recreation industry expands. Thus far, excellent water quality has enabled this resource to be successfully exploited. In the future, urban development may jeopardize this state, though standards are in place that should inhibit any projects that might lower water quality. But, at least for now, Kona's lack of beaches is being somewhat reduced as an irritant by the ability to have other recreational activities on or in the ocean. Land-based environmental resources have been much slower to develop, mainly because all land is owned either privately or by government, and tourists and small-scale entrepreneurs have little access to most of it. Ecotourism, which might be considered to have great potential because of Hawai'i's unique natural history, has been slow to take off because of this. The national-park quality landscapes at the summit of Hualālai are also but neutral elements for tourists because of inaccessibility.

Scanning the broader picture, there seems to be little scope for development of Kona's base resources. Kona has a wide variety of elements for tourists to experience, and great potential as a region to explore. However, the marking and elevation of resource sites is not likely to occur. Government has failed to put much money into resources, preferring to spend it on the infrastructure that will entice large resort developments. The private sector focuses on developing itself, sometimes excessively mining the common resources of topography and scenery. The public at-large, in Hawai'i overall as well as in Kona specifically, generally seems to consider tourism only as a sunlust activity. Thus Kona's base resources will likely remain in reserve status for the foreseeable future. While this is preferable to poorly planned development that degrades them, there is also something important that is being lost. Through the 1950s Kona had perhaps the most highly developed sense of place in Hawai'i, outside of Waikiki. This

was based on the local landscape, the people, and their culture. With the increased development of the 1960s this began to decline, as the existence of the tourist industry and regional development at-large covered over many of the unique local features. As the analysis of Kona's HVB markers and Bisignani's (1990) guidebook indicated, much of Kona is now semiotically invisible to tourists. Only by marking and elevating the best of these sites can this decline in local sense of place be reversed.

On the other hand, Kona's service resources—its tourist industry—has grown substantially in the post-World War II period. It essentially now dominates over the base resources; what tourists experience when they visit Kona are predominantly the service resources. It would seem fair to say there has been economic gain at environmental, social and cultural expense, but this should not be exaggerated. Tourism has not spoiled very much of Kona very badly. Kailua Village lost much of its “old Hawai‘i” ambience a generation ago, but only a minority of visitors would probably think the town has been turned into a tourist trap. Locals inhibited construction of a second Waikik and thus managed to preserve considerable small-town feeling.

With respect to the service resources themselves, Chapter 7 showed that development is now occurring at a varied pace. Accommodation units have seemingly fallen off from a peak in the mid- to late-1980s. The Kona Inn is no longer an institution for tourists; they cannot really “go native in style” any longer. Tourists can reside very comfortably however, for the hotels of the 1970s and the condominiums of the 1980s were of a much higher quality than the earlier generation of facilities. Care must be taken to preserve quality, however, since it is unlikely that many new facilities will be built soon. In addition, restaurants nearly doubled in number in the 1980s, thus tourists' criticisms of the 1960s that Kona had nowhere to eat have been answered. The number of places to go at night has recently declined, on the other hand, from what was not a very lofty peak. Nineteenth century tourists thought Kona to be exceedingly dull; perhaps the snowbird population that is currently such an important clientele is now producing the same effect. The wildness of the street life that occurred during development boom of the 1960s and

1970s was surely not in evidence during field research. Street life quickly ends after the shops close.

The ancillary commercial enterprise services (ACES) related to exploring Kona or participating in sports seem to be growing steadily. Since this is the case, it adds an economic rationale to marking and elevating cultural and environmental resources—entrepreneurs would profit from having more to show tourists. Shopping opportunities also continue to expand. There may ultimately be a limit to this, however, since the accommodation sector is not growing. Also, Kailua now faces competition from malls built in South Kohala’s resort enclaves—where accommodation units are increasing. Developing a set of products that promote Kona, including but not limited to coffee, would surely be to the region’s advantage. The increased variety of “Ironman” products is one example of this; but little else was seen to be occurring. Clothing saying “Kona” is of course a form of portable marker; but it seems obvious that attaching a place name to a generic design will only go so far in distinguishing the destination from others. After returning home tourists find there is little status in wearing a T-shirt that says “Kona” below the design, when their friends have the same T-shirt, but it says “New Orleans” instead.

The chapter on Kona’s tourist life cycle indicated that the region has gone through several distinct stages. The effect of Liholiho’s moving the political throne to Honolulu was to peripheralize Kona very completely. By the early 20th century this “backwardness” was in fact an attraction, as it had been lost in most other places in Hawai‘i. Tourism was finally “born” as an institution with the opening of the Kona Inn in 1928. This pioneer hotel had a remarkable impact; it became an attraction in-and-of-itself, but it also complemented the surrounding rural region. Tourists could explore Kona’s cultural resources by day and relax in comfort by night. It was not long before the small community realized it had potential as a destination, but delays in getting an airport constructed put off the beginning of the Local form of the Response stage until 1949. By that time, the slow-paced ambience, summed up by the phrase “the Kona way of life,” had replaced historical and cultural sites as the main attraction. Kona was not a place to do, it was a place to be, a state of mind.

Development of service resources—new hotels, shops and restaurants—did not immediately despoil this ambience. For over a decade, until the mid-1960s, it looked as if Kona could have it both ways—stay rural and have a tourism industry. The construction of the Sheraton Kā'anapali on Maui put an end to this way of thinking. Modernity came in style, or at least was so perceived by the business community. Kona slipped from the #2 resort position and, intent on catching up, plans for a mall were proposed as a way of simultaneously keeping the old village ambience but also making room for hotels of the Domestic-scale. The community resisted this, not wanting the quaint village to become another Waikiki, but by about 1970 the town had attained that form in certain areas, due to the construction of seven-story buildings. As Kailua developed, ambience declined precipitously. The slide ended in the mid-1970s, when a design plan was approved along with a commission to enforce standards. The phase of hotel construction ended about this time as well. Kona completed the first phase of the Development stage containing a tourist town in Kailua and a partially completed resort enclave in Keauhou.

Condominiums, not hotels, would be the next wave of accommodation that would sweep over Kona. Keauhou and Kailua attained the Linked form as condos along Ali'i Drive spatially and functionally connected the competing tourist areas. This form of accommodation was to be extremely important, for it would also facilitate Kona taking a pathway leading out of tourism, by catering to semi-permanent residents.

The condo boom waxed and waned for a decade, then ceased. Just at that time, however, a new round of hotel development had begun to be planned. By the early 1980s, huge resort enclaves were going up in South Kohala, and six were also proposed for the empty lava desert of Kekaha, in North Kona. Community opposition to these projects intensified however, and by early 1992 when field research ended none had gotten very far towards actual existence on the landscape. The macro-investment climate and the community have thus inhibited this Enclave form, to date.

Kona can thus be said to have reached the Consolidation phase of the Maturity stage. Accommodation units reached a double top in 1985 and 1988. At present, there seems little

possibility of a future Development sub-stage occurring, one that would substantially increase the number of available rooms. Though the Domestic form was attained, community opposition to high rises inhibited the entry of International-scale hotel corporations. Building height limits now in force prevent Kona from growing skyward. The Enclave form also seems blocked by anti-development forces. It would thus seem that Kona no longer has any new form into which to develop. Because of these constraints, Kona's tourism industry is unlikely to get much bigger. As an institution, tourism is therefore unlikely to achieve greater dominance. A protracted Stability phase of the Maturity stage is perhaps the best that pro-tourism forces will be able to achieve. This is not necessarily a bad ending; Niagara Falls, as well as resorts on the Mediterranean, have been in a Stability "phase" for well over a century. Furthermore, the presence of snowbirds stabilizes the economy, preventing bust periods, or at least reducing their severity.

Saying tourism has already reached a peak, therefore, is not to say it will end anytime soon. Such a prediction is impossible to make, because of the importance of the will of the community in determining its own future. However, there is strong evidence that the tourism era, in which it is the dominant feature of economic life and the dominant form on the Kona landscape, is now being replaced by a more general era of regional development. Kona had a very large real estate boom during the 1970s, and though residential growth slowed during the 1980s it is far from finished.

This obsolescence of tourism was confirmed by the analysis of the official County planning map for the island. In Kona, large areas of land are expected to contain different types of urbanization. In contrast, relatively little land will be developed as primary tourist space. The effect of this will be that non-tourist social practices will ever-increasingly dominate within the landscape. Not much of Kona has been accessible to tourists for a long time. In the 19th century, Kona was public, a place to ride through, to see the country and the people. The development of agricultural institutions and the automobile gradually reduced the amount of secondary tourist space to a small fraction of what it had been. The development of the accommodation sector then concretized primary tourist space at the shoreline. Because of these

spatial constraints, Kona in the future probably will become less-and-less a place to which to escape.

Looking at space from a slightly different perspective, the Kona region is still very empty in large areas, in spite of the large population increase since the 1970s. Many scenic views exist, even if the space itself is inaccessible. Projected regional development, however, will alter the quality of much of the scenic space in Kona, particularly on Hualālai. The empty vastness will gradually be filled in with residential and industrial neighborhoods. New roads will enable tourists to explore these spaces, but the character of the cultural landscape that develops will most likely be a neutral element; tourists will not be interested in exploring neighborhoods that look just like home.

As a final comment and projection, this dissertation has been entitled *Enduring Idylls?* The question mark was chosen because, by combining the current trends of resource development, the destination area life cycle, and tourist space, it would appear that the institution of tourism in Kona has already peaked, and is now just a little past its prime. A stay in Kona was indeed considered an “idyll” during the middle part of this century. Few destinations receive the kind of accolades that were written about the region, and its “way of life,” between the late 1920s and 1950s. Kona was perceived as the quintessence of the tropical escape, at a time when that was perhaps also thought of as the best of all possible vacations to take. But the boom anticipated by Jack London in 1907 finally happened, though not to anywhere near the extent to which it might have. With the true Yankee spirit of the early 20th century, Jack called for “them” to wake up, not realizing that the ambience he so loved would lose its perfect quality through the act of waking. Though perhaps the boom that occurred was not of the scale he imagined, it will eventually be of sufficient strength to make Greater Kailua a formidable city. Tourism could continue for a long time into the future within such a developed region, but Kona has perhaps already become a place more fit for residents than tourists. The projected urbanization will simply make this more so. For future generations of tourists, the *idyllic* quality of a Kona vacation will most likely be gone.

APPENDIX I

A COMPARISON BETWEEN TOURIST ARRIVAL NUMBERS AND ACCOMMODATION UNITS, FOR METHODOLOGICAL PURPOSES

Butler (1980) based his version of the DALC model on the number of tourists visiting the destination. The number of tourists is considered to be the equivalent of the number of buyers of products in the PLC model. Others, particularly Foster and Murphy (1992) have asserted that use of accommodation units at the destination can be considered as an acceptable surrogate for tourist arrival data, which often is unavailable. Foster and Murphy did not compare the two measures, however. No other literature could be found which did so, either. Hence a comparison is made here.

With respect to data availability, the Hawai'i Visitors Bureau Data on visitor arrival numbers has been collected virtually continuously since 1921. Beginning then, and continuing through the early post-World War II period, most visitors arrived on ocean liners. It is not known how visitor numbers on this form of transportation were tallied. Once airplanes replaced ships as the preferred way to reach Hawai'i, the method used to obtain data has to survey inbound passengers. In-flight survey cards are filled out and collected by airline stewards and stewardesses. Once tabulated, statistical methods are utilized to estimate the total visitor arrival count.

While this would seem accurate enough, the level of detail of survey questions has until recently been insufficient to analyze where tourists go once they reach Hawai'i. "Westbound" and "eastbound" totals for the State have been collected since the beginning. However, until recently only passengers on westbound flights (from the mainland U.S. and Canada) were surveyed as to where they intended to go after arrival. Even at present, airline companies are not required to hand out and collect in-flight survey cards on eastbound or northbound flights (Robin Gongab, HVB Research Department, personal communication, December, 1994). The result is that totals for the different islands are incomplete. With respect to this dissertation research, this lack of availability of eastbound arrival numbers became problematic in the 1960s, just as tourism was taking off in Kona. In the 1950s, the westbound-eastbound arrival ratio for the Territory was about 10:1, according to HVB data. However, in 1961, this had declined to 4:1. It can be asserted that even adding one person to ten significantly augments visitor totals. But, unfortunately, it is just not known whether this ratio for the State could be used for individual islands. It might be the case, then, that the HVB totals significantly underestimate the number of visitors to the Neighbor Islands before 1989, when counts from both directions began to be estimated.

Finally, very little spatial data on resort regions within particular islands was collected before the mid-1980s. Hence, there would be little way of assessing Kona's progression through life stages if tourist arrival counts were the only source of data.

However, although accommodation units are better available for Hawai'i than are visitor arrival numbers, there is still the consideration of whether this is an acceptable substitute. As discussed in Chapter 3, this could be answered affirmatively, because resorts can be said to go through stages based on the forms the tourist industry develops on the landscape. But it also seems worthwhile to compare data on annual visitor arrivals and accommodation units, to show what emerges. Thus, the following four graphs compare the annual data of each type.

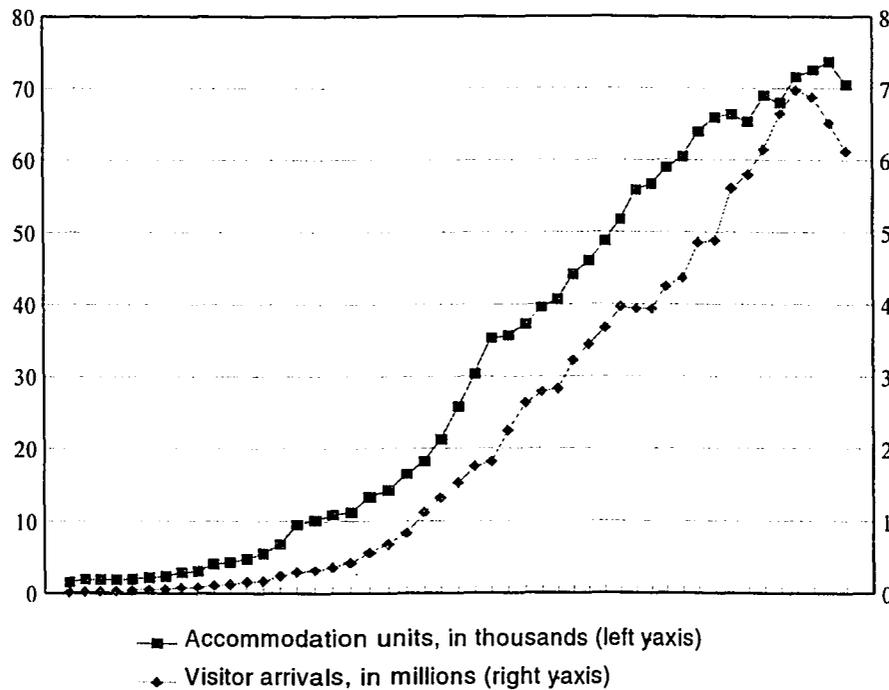


Figure A1.1 State totals of visitor arrivals and accommodation units, 1946–1993.

Figure A1.1 graphs the number of visitor arrivals (right y-axis) against the number of accommodation units (left y-axis) that existed in the state during a particular year. Both lines trace very similar upward paths. For the State as a whole, obvious similarities to the Response and Development stages exist. In the past few years, each variable has declined. Arrival numbers decreased first, followed two years later by a decline in available accommodation units. From this graph, then, it would seem that accommodation units can be used as a substitute for visitor arrival numbers, because the line traces are very similar.

However, the fact that different scales are used indicates that different orders of magnitude are involved. Visitor arrivals have gone from 15K to 7M, while accommodation units have gone from 1.5K to only 70K. Figure A1.2 was produced as a way of bringing out this difference. In this graph, data for each variable have been plotted on a logarithmic y-axis. The advantage using this type of graph is that units of equal length along the y-axis represent increases or declines of equal proportion. In the graph the greater increase of tourists is clearly shown. The number of visitor arrivals was roughly a single order of magnitude (10x) greater than the number of accommodation units just after World War II, but had increased to nearly two orders of magnitude (100x) by 1990. Yet, as with Figure A1.1, changes in the slopes of the lines are similar. In this case, there would seem to have again been two distinct phases for each variable. The first was from 1946 to 1973; the second was from then until about 1990. It is difficult to tell, on the basis of a logarithmic scale, whether the declines since 1992 (arrivals) and 1992 (accommodation units) represents a clear stage change.

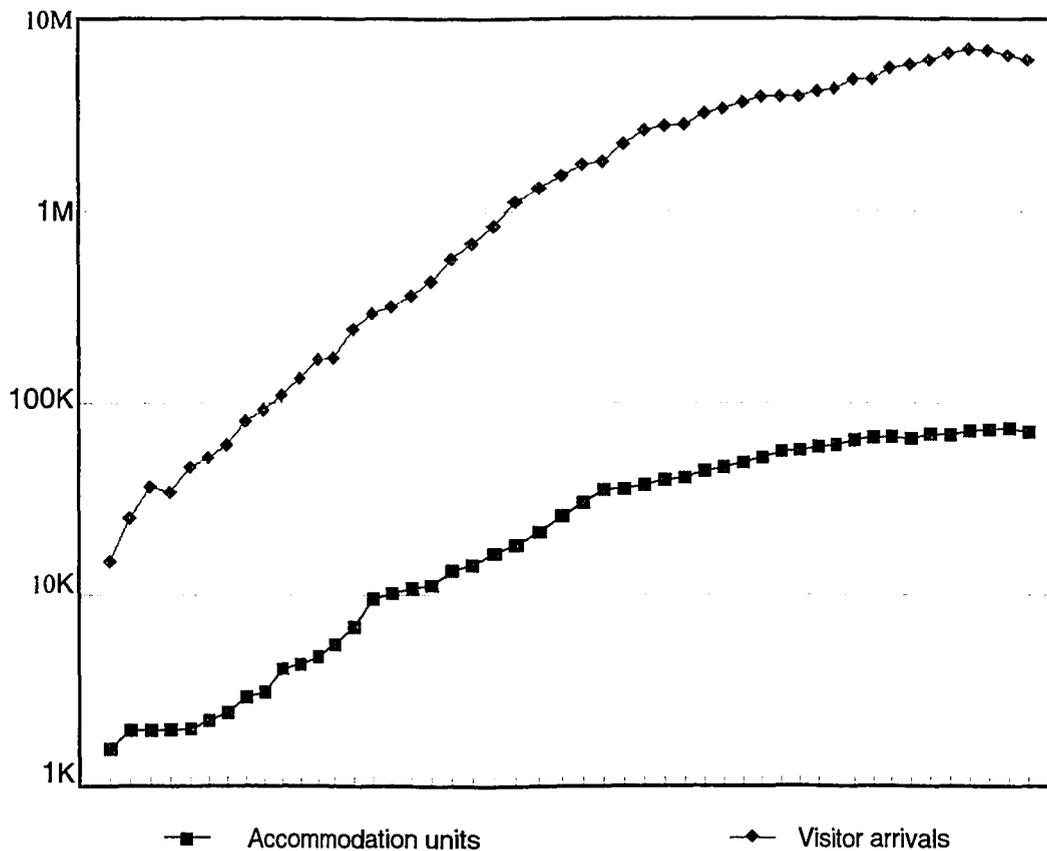


Figure A1.2 Visitor arrival and accommodation unit data plotted on a logarithmic axis.

Both of these graphs help illuminate a further point, that tourists do not just stay one day. True demand for a destination is thus not measured by arrival numbers, but must also incorporate how long each visitor stayed. The concept of “total visitor days” is therefore more important than the number of visitors, per se. Realizing this forces the conclusion that tourist arrival numbers probably should not be used at all in DLC analysis. A substantial change in the average length of stay makes arrival figures from different years incompatible. Using accommodation units gets away from this problem.

But, rather than stopping here, two other graphs were produced as a way of searching for comparability. Figure A1.3 looks at the annual percentage change of each variable, while Figure A1.4 displays the annual change in terms of raw numbers. As with the first two graphs, there would seem to be considerable comparability. Again, in both cases, there is a major change around 1973. In Figure A1.3, annual rates of increase were usually well above 10% before that year, and wide swings in percentage increases were typical. Afterwards, increases were almost always less than 10%, and the percentage change between years was much smaller.

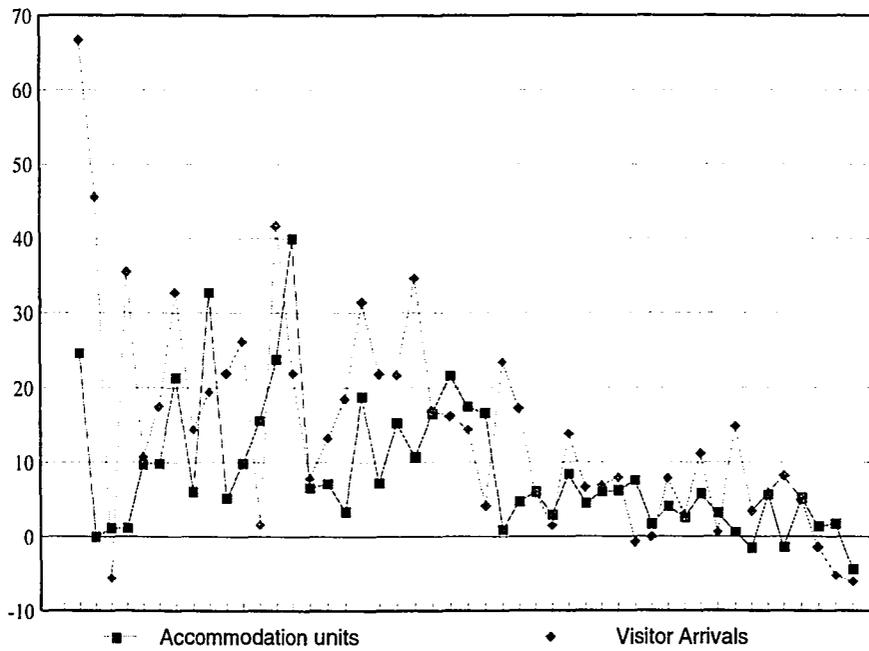


Figure A1.3 Annual percentage change in accommodation units and visitor arrivals.

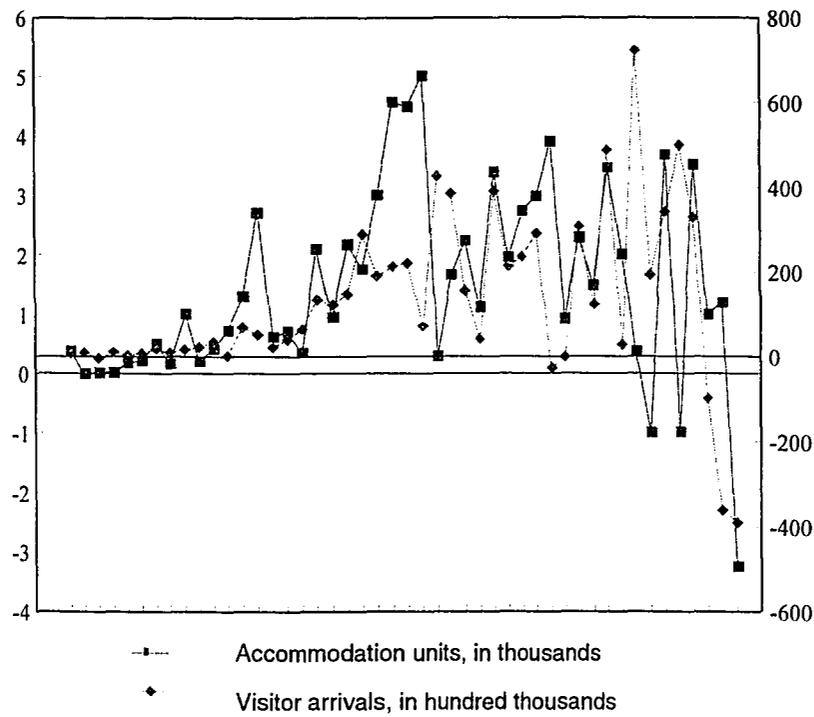


Figure A1.4 Total annual change in accommodation units and visitor arrival numbers.

In Figure A1.4, two lines are produced that look more-or-less the opposite of those in Figure A1.3. That is, the annual change in numbers of each variable was rather small before 1973, but quite a bit larger afterward. This indicates the considerable growth that occurred in Hawai'i's tourism industry. Since 1973, the number of accommodation units has doubled, while visitor arrival numbers have roughly tripled. The important point, however, is that the lines for each variable display similar characteristics.

In conclusion, it would seem that for Hawai'i, by whatever graphical measure is used, the increase or decrease in accommodation units appears similar to change in visitor arrival numbers. The graphs are not identical, but show similar characteristics of size and slope, no matter how displayed. And, again, it should be pointed out that "visitor arrivals" is a less adequate measure of demand than the "visitor days" statistic. Hence, it can be asserted that use of accommodation units provides more insight into life cycle stage and change than do visitor arrival numbers.

APPENDIX II
EVENTS HELD IN KONA

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>NAME/DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>SCALE OF LOCATION</u>
SPORTING EVENTS		
<u>FISHING TOURNAMENTS</u>		
Daily	Sport fish catch weigh-in	Kona
May	Kona Gold Jackpot	Kona
	Kona Mauka Troller's Wahine	Kona
June	Kona Iki Troller's Jackpot	Kona
	Big Island Shoreline	Island-wide
	Wee Guys	Kona
July	Kona Iki Troller's	Kona
	Kona Mauka Troller's	Kona
	Kona Ahi Jackpot	Kona
	Hawai'i Light Tackle	Kona
August	Kona Hawaiian Billfish	Kona
	Pro-Am	Kona
	Hawai'i International Billfish	Kona
	Kona Mauka Troller's Fall	Kona
	Kona A'lure Women's	Kona
September	Kona Iki Troller's "Keiki"	Kona
	Senior Citizen's Derby	Kona, Hilo
	Keiki Deep Sea	Kona
	Million Dollar Golden Marlin Jackpot	Kona
	<i>Iwalani O Ke Kai</i> Jackpot	Kona
	Duke's Kona Classic	Kona
	Chuck Machado Luau's Jackpot	Kona
<u>TRIATHALON-TYPE RACES</u>		
January	Big Island Triathlon Invitational	Island-wide
	Peaman Sprint Biathlon Relay	Kona
February	Keauhou-Kona Half Triathlon	Kona
March	Kona Marathon	Kona
	5k-10k Mac-a-thon	Kona
May	Mother's Day Biathlon	Kona
	Keauhou-Kona Triathlon	Kona
June	Vintage Years Triathlon & Relay Run	Kona
July	Trashcan Triathlon	Kona
August	Ali'i Challenge Six Kilometer Swim	Kona
September	Peaman Triathlon	Kona
October	(Unnamed) Triathlon	Kona
	Gatorade Ironman Triathlon	Kona/Kohala
November	Big Island Ultraman Triathlon	Island-wide

APPENDIX II (CONT.)
EVENTS HELD IN KONA

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>NAME/DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>SCALE OF LOCATION</u>
<u>CANOE RACES</u>		
May/Sept	Canoe races between Big Island clubs	Island-wide
June	Kamehameha Celebration Canoe Regatta	Kona
	Kauikeaouli Canoe Regatta	Kona
August	A.J. McDonald Canoe Race	Kona
	Kauikeaouli/Kona Gardens	Kona
Aug/Sept	Steinlager Queen Liliu'okalani Long Distance	Kona
<u>GOLF TOURNAMENTS</u>		
January	Keauhou-Kona Pro-Am	Kona
July	Keauhou-Kona Women's	Kona
September	Chuck Machado Luau's	Kona
November	LPGA-Ping Golf Tourney	Kona
December	Paniolo Golf Tourney	Kona
<u>MISCELLANEOUS SPORTS AND OUTDOOR RECREATION EVNTS</u>		
February	La Pa'ani (Hawaiian Sports Day)	Island-wide
March	Kona Stampede Rodeo	Kona
April	Kona Sports Festival	Kona
May	Visitor Industry Charity Walk	Kona
August	Kona Fil-Am Women's Fast Pitch Softball	Kona
	Horseshoe Pitching Championship	Kona
	Sand Castle & Sculpture Contest	Kona
September	Kona Nightingale Donkey Race	Kona
November	La Pa'au (Hawaiian Sports Day)	Kona
HOLIDAYS		
<u>U.S. NATIONAL AND HAWAI'I STATE HOLIDAYS</u>		
January	Hauoli Makahiki Hou (New Year's Eve and Day)	State-wide
March	Prince Kuhio Day	State-wide
May	Memorial Day	State-wide
June	King Kamehameha Day	State-wide
July	Fourth of July	State-wide
August	Admissions Day	State-wide
October	Discoverer's Day	State-wide
November	Veteran's Day	State-wide

APPENDIX II (CONT.)
EVENTS HELD IN KONA

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>NAME/DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>SCALE OF LOCATION</u>
<u>UNIQUELY HAWAIIAN HOLIDAYS AND CELEBRATIONS</u>		
May	Lei Day	State-wide
Sept/Oct	Aloha Festival	State-wide
<u>ETHNIC AND RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS AND CELEBRATIONS</u>		
Jan/Feb	Chinese New Year	State-wide
Mar/Apr	Easter Observances	State-wide
April	Buddhist "Hanamatsuri" Festival	Island-wide
	Wesak (Buddha) Day	Island-wide
May	Boy's Day	Island-wide
	Cinco de Mayo	Kona/Kohala
	Filipino Fiesta	Island-wide
	Asian/Pacific Island Day	Kona
Jun/Aug	Bon Odori	Island-wide
Nov/Dec	Festival of Trees	Kona
	Christmas Parades	Island-wide
December	Christmas Arts and Crafts Shows	Island-wide
	Bodhi Day	State-wide
	Japanese New Year's Mochi Rice Pounding	Island-wide
CULTURAL EVENTS		
<u>ETHNIC HAWAIIAN</u>		
June/July	Pu'uhonua o Hōnaunau Cultural Festival	Kona
October	West Hawai'i Lei Contest	Kona
November	King Kalakaua Keiki Hula Festival	Kona
<u>CAPITAL "C" CULTURAL EVENTS</u>		
Occasional	Hulihe'e Palace Band Concerts	Kona
August	Hawai'i County Band Concert	Kona
December	Hawai'i International Film Festival	State-wide
<u>UNIQUELY KONAN EVENTS</u>		
May	Captain Cook Festival	Kona
November	Kona Coffee Festival	Kona

APPENDIX II (CONTINUED)
EVENTS HELD IN KONA

<u>MONTH</u>	<u>NAME/DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>SCALE OF LOCATION</u>
COMMERCIAL EVENTS		
FAIRS		
September	Hawai'i Country Fair	Kona
MISCELLANEOUS		
3x/Week	Aloha Flea Market	Kona
July	Kona Surf Convention Center Gift Sale	Kona
December	Christmas at Hulihe'e Palace Benefit	Kona
SOCIAL GROUP EVENTS		
Weekly	No na kapuna imi'ola (seniors' socializing)	Kona
April	Boy Scout "Makahiki" Show	Island-wide
September	Senior Citizens Hawai'i Friendship Festival	Kona, Hilo

Sources: Penisten (1989); Bisignani (1990); *Spotlight: Big Island* (multiple issues from 1992 and 1993); *This Week Big Island* (multiple issues between 1991 and 1994).

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- 1955b. Kaiser Seeks TH Assist in Kona Survey. 3 Mar., A7.
- 1955c. Kona's Marlin Club for Fishermen Will Open in July. 20 June [HNCM Kona Marlin Club]
- 1955d. Local Corporation Plans \$1 Million Kona Resort. 5 Aug. [HNCM Kona Seas Hotel]
- 1955e. Kona's Basic Problem. 17 Oct.
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- 1956b. Time Grows Short. 3 Aug.
- 1956c. Kona Backs Four-Point Development. 17 Sept., B1.
- 1956d. \$400,000 Loan Readied For Kona Hotel Project. HA, 24 Nov. [HNCM Kona Seas Hotel]
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- 1957b. Tourism Should Aim at Neighbor Isles. 10 May, A1.
- 1957c. New Kona Hotel Will Cost \$600,000. 3 Nov., A20.
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- 1964b. Kona Hotel Change is Criticized. 6 June. [HNCM Kona King Kamehameha Hotel]
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- 1988b. Speakers Oppose Makalawena Resort. 9 Feb., D12.
- 1988c. Two Big Isle Resort Projects Gain After Heated Debate. 17 Aug., A18.
- 1988d. Resort Approvals Hinge on Housing. 8 Sept., A7.

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- 1989b. Land Board OKs Awake'e Swap Concept. 18 Nov., A2.
1990. Waikoloan Sold—to Whom? 5 Apr., 8.
- 1990b. Nansay Will "Mothball" Keahole Marina Plans. 16 Sept., A16.
- 1990c. State Takes Possession Of North Kona Land. 10 Nov., A3.
1991. Hotel Battle to Focus on Electricity. 31 Jan., A3.
- 1991b. Compromise Over Energy At Project in North Kona. 1 Feb., A9.
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1948. Kona Residents Petition Governor to Start Building Kailua Airport. 6 June. [Kona Airport 1929/1953]

1948b. Kona Hotel Planned. 14 May. [Kona Hotels]

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1953. "Cow Pen" Battle Continues at Kona. 30 Apr. [Kona Cattle Pen Controversy at Kailua Wharf]

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- 1955c. Plans for Big Resort Hotel Extension in Kailua, Kona. 6 Feb. [Kona Kailua-Kona Hotel]
- 1955d. Let Kona Profit from Waikiki. 21 July. [Kona Courthouse]
- 1955e. New Hotel, Club in Kona to be Opened on Labor Day. 29 Aug. [Kona Kailua-Kona Hotel]
- 1955f. Big Isle Tour Backers Ask Better Water System. 22 Sept. [Tourism-Tourists Hawai'i Island 1946/1975]
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- 1956b. Big Island to Launch its Own Tour Program. 23 March. [Tourism-Tourists Hawai'i Island 1946/1975]
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- 1959b. Kona Water Supply Called Adequate for Now. 17 Nov. [Kona Water 1957/1958]
1960. Sen. Lyman Moves to Drop \$1.7M Kona Area Projects [Kona Master Plan]
- 1960b. Master Plan for Kona Includes "Appearance Control" of Buildings. 31 Mar. [Kona Master Plan]
- 1960c. Supervisor Says Odor Could Make Resort Ghost Town. 30 Sept. [Kona Sewers]
1961. Metro Parking Looms As Big Problem at Kailua-Kona. 2 Nov. [Kona Hawai'i Island 1961/1964]
1962. Royal Lahaina Beach Hotel Opens on Maui. 17 Dec. [Ka'anapali Maui 1959/1968]
1968. Freeze on Building is Ordered. 4 July. [Kona Building Heights]

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1953. Pens for Cattle Authorized on Wharf at Kona. 3 June, 27.

1955. 2 New Restaurants in Kona to be Opened in July, 30 June [HNCM Kona Steak House]

1955b. Honoluluans Plan New Kona Hotel. 4 Aug. [HNCM Kona Seas Hotel]

1955c. New Tourist Building Alters Appearance of Kona. 25 Aug., 29.

1955d. 'Sleepy' Kona Wakes to Tourists' Call. 9 Sept., 8.

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1956. Plans for Two \$1 Million Hotels in Kona Announced. *HSB*, 10 July, 1B.
1957. Kaiser Pegs Plans to Tourist Growth. *HSB*, 14 Feb., 1B.
- 1957b. Work to Start on Million-Dollar Kona Resort. 23 May, 25.
1958. Water Supply at Critical Low as Kona Hearing Opens. 18 Jan. [HNCM Kona Drought]
- 1958b. Navy Barge Reaches Kona With 9-to-10 Day Water Supply. [HNCM Kona Drought]
- 1958c. 'Exclusive' Big Island Hotel Due to be Started in June. 23 Apr., 39.
- 1958d. First Test Well in Kona Now 200 Feet Deep. 23 June. [HNCM Kona Water 1957/1958]
- 1958e. Hukilau Resorts Opens New Kona 40-Room Hotel. 25 June. [HNCM Kona Hukilau Hotel]
- 1958f. Kailua-Kona Business Sold. 6 Oct. [HNCM Kona Steak House]
- 1958g. Kona Hotels are Reported 50-to-70 Per Cent Empty. 20 Oct. [HNCM Kona Hotels]
- 1958h. Kona Master Plan Lists Six Resort Centers. 25 Nov. [HNCM Kona Master Plan]
- 1958i. Big Isle Reaction to Kona Plan Stresses Water, Airport Need. 2 Dec. [HNCM Kona Master Plan]
- 1958j. Test Well in Ke'ei Produces Water for Thirsty Kona. 11 Dec. [HNCM Kona Water 1957/1958]
1959. Hot Battle Seen at Hearing for Kailua-Kona's Boat Harbor. 9 Jan. [HNCM Kona Harbor]
- 1959b. 4-Story, 105-Room Hotel Will Be Built at Kona. 2 Apr. [HNCM Kona King Kamehameha Hotel]
- 1959c. \$2.5 Million Kona Hotel Planned on Kailua Site. 21 Aug. [HNCM Kona Hotels]
- 1959d. \$300 Million Parker Ranch Resort Slated. 1 Dec., A1.
1960. Yates Charges State Lags on Big Isle Resort Work. 5 Feb. [HNCM

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- 1961b. Engineer Says Kailua Bay Polluted, Ask \$2,625,600 Sewer System. 19 Mar. [HNCM Kona Sewers]
- 1961c. 24-Hour Police Protection Sought . 20 Sept. [HNCM Kona Hawai'i Island 1961/1964]
1964. Work Completed on New Kona Sewer System. 24 Nov., 29.
1965. Pedestrian Mall Studied for Kona. 11 Aug. [HNCM Kona Pedestrian Mall]
- 1965b. Kona Group to Rap Pedestrian Mall Plan. 29 Sept. [HNCM Kona Pedestrian Mall]
- 1965c. Kailua-Kona Mall Plans Opposed. 1 Oct., A7.
- 1965d. Supervisors Will Decide Soon on Kailua-Kona Mall. 7 Oct., A18.
- 1965e. Kona Mall Plan Gains Support. 13 Oct., A4.
- 1965f. Konans Not Sold on Mall Proposal. 15 Oct. [HNCM Kona Pedestrian Mall]
- 1965g. Kona Mall Plan Marks Time. 30 Nov., A5.
- 1965h. Kona Mall Plan Bugged Down. 2 Dec., A9.
- 1965i. Big Isle Supervisors End Action on High Rises. 5 Dec. [HNCM Kona Dolphin Condominium Controversy]
1966. Kona Variance Sought for New Hotel Project. 9 Mar. [HNCM Kona Dolphin Condominium Controversy]
- 1966b. Kona Pedestrian Mall Plans Under Study Again. 16 Nov., A4.
- 1966c. K-K Cattle Pen is Being Removed. 19 Nov. [HNCM Kona Cattle Pen Controversy at Kailua Wharf]
1967. Kailua-Kona. 14 Feb. [HNCM Kailua-Kona 1962/1975]
- 1967b. New Roadblocks Arise to Kona Mall. 15 Aug., B4.
1968. Ho calls off Kona project. 22 Mar., C1.
- 1968b. Kealahou Historical Park and Trail Proposed. 10 Apr., A4.
- 1968c. Plans Call for Marine Resort at North Kona. 13 July, A12.
- 1968d. Kona Divided on Proposed Resort Ban. 23 Aug., A16.

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- 1969. 1-Way Traffic Pattern for Kailua-Kona. 25 Feb. A17.
- 1969b. Big Isle Bay for Marine Conservation. 10 June, A8.
- 1969c. Light Industry Area Unveiled on Big Island. 18 June. [HNCM Kailua-Kona 1962/1975]
- 1970. Kona's Time to Plan. 1 July, A14.
- 1970b. Kealahou Bay Will Be a State Park. 25 July, 2.
- 1971. Kona Surf Hotel Opens Wednesday. 17 Sept., D7.
- 1973. Agreement Will Protect Kona Shrine. 27 Dec., A21.
- 1974. Kailua Mall Gets Strong Opposition. 2 Jan., B6.
- 1974b. On the Big Island. 31 Mar. [HNCM Kailua-Kona 1962/1975]
- 1974c. Kailua-Kona Controls are Mapped. 31 July, A16.
- 1979. Waikoloa's New Owners Decline to Discuss Plans. 9 Jan., E4.
- 1981. Isle Visitors Declined 0.5% Last Year. 23 Jan., A2.
- 1981b. Kailua-Kona Hoping to Lure Tourists with Special Events. 23 April., D1.
- 1981c. 2 Luxury Resorts Still Prosper. 23 April, D1.
- 1987. Refuses to Reconsider Rejection of O'oma II Resort in Kona. 12 Aug., A4.
- 1988. State Opposes Resort Near Wildlife Area. 13 July, A4.
- 1991. Kona Resort Project Resurrected. 12 Mar., A4.
- 1992. Kona Resort Proposal Hits Opposition. 20 Mar., A3.

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- 1966. Multi-Million-\$\$\$ Kona Plan Endorsed. 23 Apr., 1.
- 1966b. Should We Convert Alii Drive In Kailua-Kona Into Mall? 1 Dec., 4.
- 1967. Planners Recommend Kona Maps. 21 Feb., 1.
- 1967b. \$100 Million Master Plan Set For Kona Coast. 24 Feb., 1.
- 1967c. Keauhou Resort Complex Well On Way. 26 Feb., B1.
- 1967d. New Golf Course Proposed By County For South Kona. 25 Oct., 8.

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- 1967e. Editorial. Park Expansion. 26 Nov., 4.
1968. Editorial. Emphasis on "Gold Coast." 5 Feb., 4.
- 1968b. Kona Hilton Opening Brings Room Level To Over 2,100. 25 Feb., 3.
- 1968c. Burns Releases \$15 Million For Kona-Kawaihae Coastline Projects. 11 Apr., 2.
- 1968d. State to Focus Water Search On Big Island. 14 Apr., 2.
- 1968e. Boise Cascade Unveils Plan For City Of 10,000. 8 May, 1.
- 1968f. Gill Sees 7 Key Needs For Tourist Industry. 28 May, 1.
- 1968g. Trio Ink \$250 Million Island Pact. 28 May, 1.
- 1968h. Cross-Isle Highway Plans Outlined At Tourism Conference. 29 May, 1.
- 1968i. Plans For 4-Hotel Complex Announced. 15 July, 10.
- 1968j. Hotel Occupancy Soars On Big Isle. 9 Aug., 10.
1969. Nearly 3,500 New Rooms Planned For Kona. 26 Jan., 3.
- 1969b. State Unveils \$10 Million Plan For Kealakekua Bay. 17 Feb., 8.
- 1969c. Kawaihae Coast Will Awaken to Development Boom. 23 Feb., A10.
- 1969d. House Appeals to Thurston's Conscience on Kona Condominiums. 25 May, 1.
1970. Kealakekua Bay May Be Anchor For Major Island Playground. 2 July, 4.
- 1970b. Girders, Construction Worker's Pounding Reshape Kailua And...New Kona Of Modern Buildings Rises Along Isle's "Sun Coast." 26 July, 2-3.
- 1970c. Sheraton Pullout "Not Surprising." 2 Dec., 12.
1971. Bishop May Save Remaining Historic Sites At Keauhou. 27 Aug., 1.
- 1971b. Patsy Says US Park for Kaloko. 25 Oct., 1.
1972. Proposed Development, Scenic Route Are Termed "Monstrosity." 18 Jan., 1.
- 1972b. Editorial. Visitor Promotion: Which Way To Go? 7 May, 4.
- 1972c. Japanese Money Pouring In. 11 May, 1.
- 1972d. Kailua Declining, Council Flounders. 4 June, 1.

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- 1973. Kailua Aid Plans Hit Double Snag. 16 Feb., 10.
- 1973b. Konans Ask County To Halt Kailua Plans. 20 Mar., 3.
- 1973c. Kailua-Kona Parking Lot Bids Asked. 3 July, 5.
- 1974. Council Kills Mall Plan For Kailua. 24 Jan., 1.
- 1974b. Third Keauhou Hotel Opened. 8 Apr., 6.
- 1974c. Kailua Village Development Bill Gets County Support. 31 July, 1.
- 1974d. Council OKs Bill For Kailua-Kona. 22 Aug., 10.
- 1974e. Kona Chamber Applauds District Approval. 18 Sept., 16.
- 1975. Life Of The Land Backs Kona Plan. 12 Aug., 6.
- 1976. Kailua Village Plan OK'd By Council Panel. 23 June, 10.
- 1988. Makalawena Gets OK. 12 Jan., 1
- 1988b. Makalawena Foes Target Council. 15 Jan., 8.
- 1988c. Bishop Drops Makalawena Plan. 23 Feb., 1.
- 1988d. Awake'e resort Before State LUC. 13 July, 8.
- 1988e. Awake'e Resort Plan Opposed. 15 July, 1.
- 1988f. Against Noise. 18 July, 4.
- 1988g. Council Again Defers Rezoning. 22 Sept., 1.
- 1988h. Mayor Signs Bill But Will Ignore Clause. 2 Nov., 8
- 1988i. Land Use Panel OKs Big Housing Project in Kohala. 5 Dec., 1.
- 1989. Awake'e Withdraws Application. 9 Mar., 1.
- 1989b. State's Growth Plan Killed Awake'e. 10 Mar., 12.
- 1989c. Ground Blessing Held For Ka'ūpūlehu Four Seasons. 2 May, 1.
- 1989d. Huehue Sale Price Is Disclosed. 14 June, 10.
- 1989e. Ironman Is Sold To Florida Men. 5 Dec., 1.
- 1990. Sierra Club Opposes State's Awake'e Land Swap. 27 Feb., 6.

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1990b. State Pulling Out of Awake'e Land Deal. 20 Mar., 1.

1990c. Waikoloan Sold—To Whom? 5 Apr., 8.

1990d. Kunitake Continues Park Crusade. 25 Apr., 12.

1990e. Kohana'iki Decision Postponed. 30 Sept., 1.

1990f. Developers Sued. 16 Oct., 1.

1990g. Commission Clears the Last Obstacle to Kohana'iki Resort. 9 Nov., 1.

1990h. Environmental Group Will Challenge Kohana'iki Vote. 21 Nov., 1.

1991. Developers Ordered to Supplement EIS. 12 Apr., 1.

1991b. Kona Resort to be Subject of Contested Case. 11 June, 8.

1992. Noise, Pollution are Concerns. 22 Mar., 1.

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