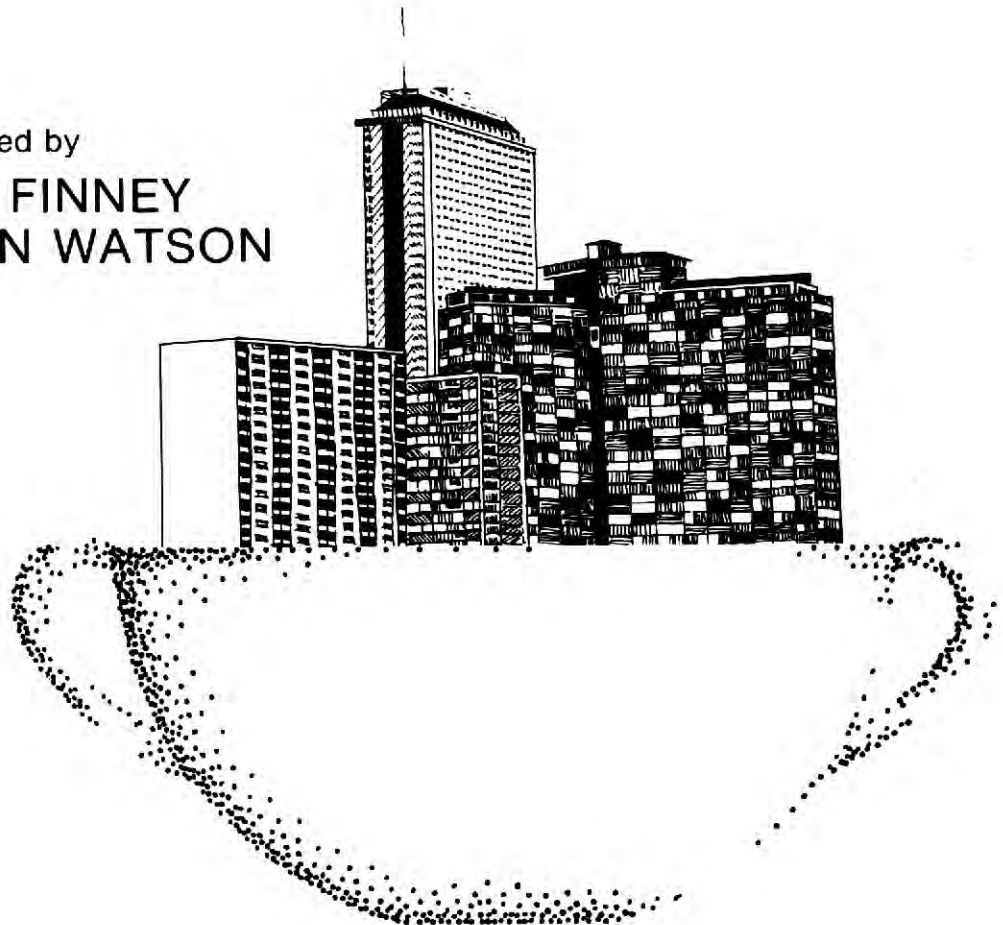


⌘ EAST-WEST CENTER
HONOLULU, HAWAII

A NEW KIND OF SUGAR

TOURISM IN THE PACIFIC

Edited by
BEN R. FINNEY
KAREN ANN WATSON



EAST-WEST TECHNOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT INSTITUTE
EAST-WEST CULTURE LEARNING INSTITUTE

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To the memory of William Summers Johnson,
One of the first persons in Hawaii
to ask that we examine the costs as
well as the benefits of tourism.

A NEW KIND OF SUGAR
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PREFACE

In recent years tourism has come to be a major new industry in the Pacific Islands. Although the islands of the Pacific, particularly those of Polynesia, have long been attractive to outsiders, mass tourism in the Pacific dates from the 1960s when jet passenger aircraft put the islands within easy reach of travelers from North America, New Zealand, Australia, Japan and even, for the wealthier, Europe. With some exceptions this new industry of mass tourism has been welcomed by the island governments. Pacific island populations are rapidly expanding, but agricultural production, both subsistence and cash crop, has not kept pace. Except for a few mineral rich islands like Nauru and New Caledonia, and the huge (for the Pacific) country of Papua New Guinea which has a wide and varied resource base, this means that island governments have been desperate to find new sources of income and employment. This holds true for the few independent states in the region, and for the colonial administrations that still control much of the Pacific and are particularly interested in developing industries that might relieve them of some of their financial burden. As the constraints of limited internal markets and great distance to outside markets would appear to rule out any significant development of manufacturing enterprises, for many governments one obvious response to the dilemma posed by burgeoning populations and shrinking agricultural bases has been to choose tourism as the new growth industry that will help them solve their problems.

Tourism is of course not limited to the Pacific or other warm and attractive portions of the globe. Tourism is a major world industry; just before the recent rise in oil prices tourism had become the largest single item in international trade. It is also an industry that involves travel between industrial areas, such as North America and Europe, and not just between industrial and non-industrial regions. But tourism has a special meaning when it comes to small island countries like those in the Pacific, or those in the Caribbean. Because the islands are small, and because most of them have an extremely limited potential for industrialization in the conventional sense, any major involvement in tourism can easily result in a whole country becoming dominated by this one industry. Tourism is already the largest single industry in Fiji, Guam and Hawaii, and is becoming increasingly important in French Polynesia, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) and several other countries and territories.

A New Kind of Sugar, the phrase which we have chosen to entitle this collection of essays, was first employed to our knowledge by the prominent Hawaiian clergyman Reverend Abraham Akaka who used it a few years ago to hail tourism when he blessed the Kuilima Hotel. This was an apt phrase in the sense that the Kuilima Hotel was then being promoted as the tourist industry's answer to the economic woes of the surrounding community, located in a rural area of Oahu on the opposite shore of the island from Honolulu and Waikiki, which was faced with the immediate prospect of having its major industry, a sugar plantation, close down because of rising costs and the then soft world demand for sugar. We felt, when in early 1974 we first saw the phrase cited in Noel Kent's essay which is included in this volume, that we would like to appropriate it for the entire collection of essays for tourism is indeed replacing sugar, or other cash crops, like copra and vanilla, sold on the world market, as the main single source of revenue and employment in a number of Pacific regions. Now, after a short interval which has seen, on the one hand, some faltering of Pacific tourism due to the spectacular rise in oil prices (and hence air fares) and the not unrelated economic declines suffered by the industrial nations which supply the tourists, and, on the other hand, the concomitant boom in the world sugar market, the choice seems doubly appropriate. It underscores the fact that when islands rely on any one industry for their economic salvation they become vulnerable to world economic trends, with all their ups and downs.

The growing domination of tourism in the Pacific gives many an informed islander cause for concern. While there may be short term economic benefits, such as an immediate inflow of capital and a rise in local employment during the

construction of hotel facilities and related infrastructure improvements, from island involvement in international tourism, the largely unknown long-term economic consequences of this involvement, has led some islanders to question the wisdom of tying their islands too tightly into the world tourism network. In large part their worries reflect the vulnerability of small island societies to an industry which is not only extremely sensitive to shifting world economic conditions and the fickleness of world travelers, but tends to be largely owned and controlled by firms and multinational corporations external to the islands. The airlines which fly the tourists to the islands, the hotels which house them, and even many of the firms which transport and entertain the tourists within the islands are commonly owned, in whole or in part, by North American, Japanese, New Zealand, Australian or European interests. The often insignificant remainder, the crumbs from the table as John Samy refers to it in his essay, is left to the islanders.

In addition to being concerned about the high degree of foreign control of the tourist industry, many Pacific islanders are beginning to worry about the industry's impact on local economic, social and cultural structures, but are unsure of the exact nature, direction and implications of the resultant changes, as well as how to channel those changes for maximum local benefit. What happens, for example, to an island economy when the tourism boom hits, when hotels and other facilities are rapidly constructed, and when farmers and fishermen are attracted to wage labor opportunities in, or dependent upon, the tourist industry? What is the best way to direct investment in tourism so as to yield the highest net economic benefits to the populations involved? Need tourism development necessarily make formerly self-sufficient rural people into waiters, bellhops, maids and others in menial positions who service affluent visitors? Are there alternative structures for developing tourism so that more local ownership and control is assured? Is it possible to build up a viable cottage industry sector based on catering to tourist demand for craft products? Can indigenous art, dance and ritual be taken out of cultural context for presentation to visitors in such a way that meaning and form are retained and not altered to suit visitor expectations? Or, how many visitors can a small island society host before the people lose control of their own culture? These, and many other questions, are beginning to be raised in the Pacific islands as the number of tourists and tourism development projects grow.

When Pacific island governments have attempted to answer the many questions related to tourism development, they have tended to turn primarily to outside expertise. Both because of the structure of the tourist industry, and the relative inexperience of island policy makers and planners in tourism, the usual choice has been to turn to outside consultant firms, most of which are based in the same industrial countries that control international tourism. Although it cannot be denied that these firms have substantial expertise in tourism marketing, and on how to build physically imposing and structurally sound resorts, it is doubtful that they have the capability to fully research such crucial issues as how to make tourism yield maximum local economic benefit, or how to soften the impact of tourism on local socio-cultural structures, and also to give practical guidance on these issues.

The essays in this volume were all presented at a workshop held in Honolulu in May 1974 and jointly sponsored by the Culture Learning Institute and the Technology and Development Institute of the East-West Center. The premise upon which the workshop was based was that there must be a local capability for planning tourism development if island governments are to be able to channel the growth of tourism so that it provides maximum net economic, social and cultural benefits for the island populations. The workshop brought together staff members from Pacific universities and research institutions who are engaged in, or interested in undertaking, research on tourism, together with Pacific island policy makers, planners and administrators concerned with tourism in their respective islands who were asked to identify what kinds of research were needed for adequate local tourism planning and to design a strategy for carrying out that research and for communicating research results to policy makers, planners and administrators concerned with tourism. The proceedings and recommendations of the workshop are being published separately. Workshop participants were also asked to deliver papers at the workshop which either gave the results of their research, or outlined the status of tourism and research and planning in their respective countries. Although some of the papers were not written with an eye to publication,

we have prevailed upon the authors to submit them without substantial modification on the premise that the merit of their early publication and circulation in this collection would outweigh any disadvantages of exposing still preliminary thoughts and phrasings to critical scrutiny. We regret, however, that the presentations of High Chief Fa'ivae Galea'i of American Samoa, Mr. Carl Heine and Mr. J.M. Guerrero of Micronesia, Ms. Piliapo Tamasese of Western Samoa and Mr. Sione Tupounuia of Tonga and the University of South Pacific, as well as a number of presentations by Hawaii participants, were not given in a form that could be included in this volume as their remarks added considerably to the workshop.

Ben R. Finney and Karen Ann Watson

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	Ben R. Finney and Karen Ann Watson	v
I. OVERVIEWS		
South Pacific Economies and Tourism	Cort Kloke	3
The Social Impact of Tourism - A Challenge to Researchers and Planners	Morris Fox	27
The Honest Broker in the Cultural Marketplace	James E. Ritchie	49
II. FRENCH POLYNESIA		
The Tahitian Economy and Tourism	Claude Robineau	61
III. COOK ISLANDS		
Cultural Impact of Tourism with Particular Reference to the Cook Islands	George Cowan	79
Rarotonga Airport: A Preliminary View of the Possible Balance Sheet	Tony LeFevre	87
IV. FIJI		
Tourism: "Who Gets What from Tourists?"	Tony LeFevre	101
Crumbs from the Table? The Workers' Share in Tourism	John Samy	111
V. PAPUA NEW GUINEA		
Tourism and the Artifact Industry in Papua New Guinea	Ronald J. May	125
VI. MICRONESIA		
Micronesia Tastes Tourism	Mike Ashman	135
VII. HAWAII		
Tourism and Quality Growth in the Pacific Area	Shelley M. Mark	147
Research for Tourism in the Hawaii Visitors Bureau	John Simpson	153
Planning for Tourism on the Island of Hawaii: An Overview	Donald Tong	157
Planning for Tourism on the Island of Hawaii: The Effects of Tourism on Historical Sites and Culture	Virginia Goldstein	161

VII. HAWAII cont'd.

Planning for Tourism on the Island of Hawaii: The Effects of Tourism on Natural Resources, Natural Beauty and Recreation	Lynette Roy	165
---	-------------	-----

A New Kind of Sugar	Noel Kent	169
---------------------	-----------	-----

A New Sun in North Kohala	Lawrence Fukunaga	199
---------------------------	-------------------	-----

The Polynesian Cultural Center	Max Stanton	229
--------------------------------	-------------	-----

VIII. TOWARDS ALTERNATIVES AND SOLUTIONS

The Organization and Marketing of Tourism	Herbert L. Hiller	237
---	-------------------	-----

Physical Planning for Tourism Development	Edward L. Inskip	247
---	------------------	-----

Education for Tourism	Manuel S. Alba	253
-----------------------	----------------	-----

I. OVERVIEWS

Why do so many Pacific Island governments choose tourism as a major industry for the economic development of their countries? Cort Kloke's paper, "South Pacific Economies and Tourism," presents what might be called the "hard facts" of rising population, declining agricultural production and balance of payment problems that lie behind these decisions. Critics of Pacific area tourism frequently charge that alternative development avenues, particularly agricultural ones, are being ignored in favor of tourism and its promises of easy money. Kloke is somewhat dubious of the possibilities inherent in other alternatives, given the narrow resource base, small populations and therefore internal markets and the distance from external markets of most Pacific Islands. He also wonders how agricultural development could, for example, markedly alleviate employment problems which are focused in urban, not rural, areas. And, above all he is adamant that maintaining the status quo is not a viable alternative unless islanders are willing to accept declining standards of living. Tourism, to Kloke, is one industry that has the potential for making good use of currently under-utilized resources (including a growing urban labor force), for diversifying island economies and for providing needed foreign exchange. While it is difficult to disagree with the main thrust of Kloke's argument, one could argue that a return to what might be called "former virtues" of the Pacific island societies could, should some recent world economic trends continue, also be considered as a serious alternative. Should, for example, tourism demand continue to soften because of increased fuel costs and economic problems in the industrialized nations, while the cost of imported foods continues to rise, a combination of rigorous population control (presumably by modern methods as opposed to infanticide, expulsion and other Draconian measures formerly practised in many of the islands), a return to self-sufficiency in food production, a drastic reduction of imports of all kinds, and perhaps also an increase in cash crop production (particularly if the price situation for sugar, copra and other island crops remains good), might become an increasingly attractive alternative package.

The development of a tourist industry on an island does not just affect the local economy. It can have a marked effect on social and cultural structures as well (and, we might add, political and environmental ones also, although regrettably these factors were not systematically covered in the workshop). Morris Fox, in his paper "The Social Impact of Tourism," asks how tourism affects the islanders' value systems, individual behavior, life styles, family relationships, creative expression, traditional ceremonies, community organization and in general the quality of life in the islands. Although his paper is valuable alone for the many quotes of islanders' opinions which he has culled from diverse sources, Fox's main point is that we really do not have much good information on exactly what tourism does to island social life. His paper can, therefore, be used to buttress a plea for a concerted research approach to the question. There is a lot of rhetoric, particularly in places like Hawaii and Fiji where tourism has been around awhile and is of major importance, on the social costs and benefits of the industry, but the evidence that unequivocally ties tourism to specific social changes, whether they are judged beneficial or detrimental, is slight. Clearly, if we are to progress beyond this rhetorical approach to tourism's social impact, we must allocate some of our research resources to the question. In part this means making research funds available, but in part it also means that research on tourism must achieve a degree of "academic respectability." At present, many researchers, whether attached to a university or not, do not consider tourism to be a serious topic for research. Perhaps this is Calvinistic avoidance of working on anything that smacks of pleasure, or perhaps it is just that tourism is a novel and difficult subject to tackle. Whatever the case, it is time that researchers showed an interest in this apparently potent but poorly understood force for change in Pacific island societies.

Nowadays it is popular to bemoan how tourism has a deteriorating effect on island cultures--how the commoditization of culture for tourist consumption results in a debasement of ceremonies, dances and other salable aspects of island cultures. Although James Ritchie's paper (which was first delivered at the Pacific Science Inter-Congress held in Guam in May, 1973, and will be

published in a slightly different form in congress proceedings edited by Roland Force), "The Honest Broker in the Cultural Market Place," does not specifically deal with tourism's cultural impact, what Ritchie says about the survival of Pacific Island cultural patterns into the modern era is germane. Pacific cultures have, according to Ritchie, a deep structure that shines through any surface changes to give them a cultural continuity and pattern that is recognizably local if not traditional. Never mind that a Polynesian plucks a guitar and sings a cowboy tune, instead of playing a nose flute and rendering an ancient chant. It is not what he does that counts, but rather the manner in which he does it for it is the style (which Ritchie maintains will be undeniably Polynesian) not the content that matters. Furthermore, says Ritchie, don't worry about cultural borrowing. That Hawaiian dancers perform the Samoan siva and the Tahitian otea as well as the Hawaiian hula is more a sign of vitality of island cultural forms and the enjoyment islanders have of sharing them, than a symptom of cultural deterioration.

But how far can Ritchie's optimism be stretched? Can tourism, as some of its promoters maintain, become a patron to the arts of the Pacific, allowing local activity in music, dance, sculpture and other forms to flourish and local artists and performers to develop modern expressions that have a cultural integrity and artistic merit as well as salability? Or, will tourism patronage prove to be a deadly embrace for island genius? No blanket answer to these questions can be given, but we suggest that a series of studies focused on particular activities, such as May's study of tourism and the artifact industry in Papua New Guinea which is included in this volume, might help us find out exactly what does happen where tourism and island cultural expression intersects.

SOUTH PACIFIC ECONOMIES AND TOURISM

Cort Kloke

A number of South Pacific Island countries and territories have made substantial commitments to the development of a new industry: international tourism. Other islands, less convinced, are more wary, but are closely observing the effects of the tourist on their neighbors.

At issue is the welfare of the inhabitants of the South Pacific and particularly of the islanders themselves. Welfare is a combination of many forces: social, political, environmental, economic, cultural and others. The proper concern of any island society contemplating the changes which may result with the introduction of this particularly disruptive industry is the net result on the welfare of its people, comprising the sum of its desirable and undesirable effects over the full range of social conditions.

Economic consequences, the effect on the material well-being of the society, are a major concern in the evaluation of tourism, and this is the one unambiguously positive effect that can be expected with the development of the industry. The magnitude of that effect is a critical consideration; but unfortunately it is not easily determined. Furthermore, the dynamics of the present economic situation in the area may not be generally well understood, and the effects of tourism must be considered not in isolation, but in comparison with available alternatives.

It is the objective of this paper to provide some economic background to assist in the evaluation of the tourist industry in the South Pacific. An attempt will be made to briefly present a picture of the existing economy and its rather unique features. Some of the more obvious present and future pressures and demands being placed on island economies will be discussed together with the recent performance and future economic potential of tourism.

The South Pacific, as referred to here, includes the small island states and territories of the Tropical Pacific bounded by the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands in the north, French Polynesia on the south-east and New Caledonia and the Solomons on the south-west and west. Papua New Guinea has been excluded from this discussion as its economic situation bears little resemblance to the smaller Pacific Islands.

It is hoped that this brief examination of the South Pacific economies and the economics of tourism will be a useful tool in discussing the proper role of the tourist industry in the islands of the South Pacific.

THE ECONOMY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC REGION

The economy of the South Pacific is in the process of major evolutionary changes. Historically, subsistence always has been and still is the principle economic activity of the indigenous population of most islands, but a transition is being made at an accelerating rate to a cash economy. The original source of change has been the exploitation of the land for export oriented agriculture and mining and these efforts have been made primarily by and for expatriate interests. To a much smaller extent, marine resources are being tapped and recently in a few areas some "secondary" development, industry and manufacturing, has occurred. Metropolitan governments and military establishments have always figured more or less importantly in South Pacific economies, and recently tourism has become economically important.

AGRICULTURE

Subsistence agriculture remains the main economic activity of many Pacific Islanders but measurement of its economic importance is very difficult since no money is involved and only a few countries have at one time or another tried to do so. In 1953, Fiji estimated that 23% of its national income was derived in the subsistence sector; in Western Samoa, in 1958, it was estimated at 50%, and in the Cook Islands in 1964, 26%. Of course, national income includes income to both islanders and expatriates, whereas virtually all subsistence income is earned by indigenous people alone. The point is, of course, that subsistence is still the most important source of livelihood for most Pacific Islanders themselves, a point which is easy to lose sight of since, having no real monetary dimension, it is rarely included in statistical data.

An international market has always existed for the agricultural products which the fertile islands of the area can produce, and with the availability of reasonably good shipping, the South Pacific region has enjoyed fairly substantial development of commercial agriculture, producing primarily for export.

South Pacific export agriculture has come to be almost entirely dominated by copra and sugar, with fruits, vegetables, vanilla, coffee and cocoa playing minor, though in certain locations, not unimportant roles. Most importantly, in almost every individual area virtually all commercial agriculture has been concentrated in only one of these crops. The normal large fluctuations in world commodity prices combined with the susceptibility of these crops to the natural vagaries of weather, pests, and disease has naturally resulted in a rather uneven stream of income from this sector.

Sugar, which is grown only in Fiji, is the most important export crop in the region. 15% of the region's exports, amounting to \$US 27.9 million in 1966, was produced by Fiji sugar, and that figure rose to over \$US 33 million by 1971. Fijian sugar is produced almost entirely by Indian tenant farmers with about half of them working land leased to them by a government corporation which recently purchased the Australian firm which had dominated the industry. Forty per cent of Fiji's agricultural labor force was employed by this industry in 1966.

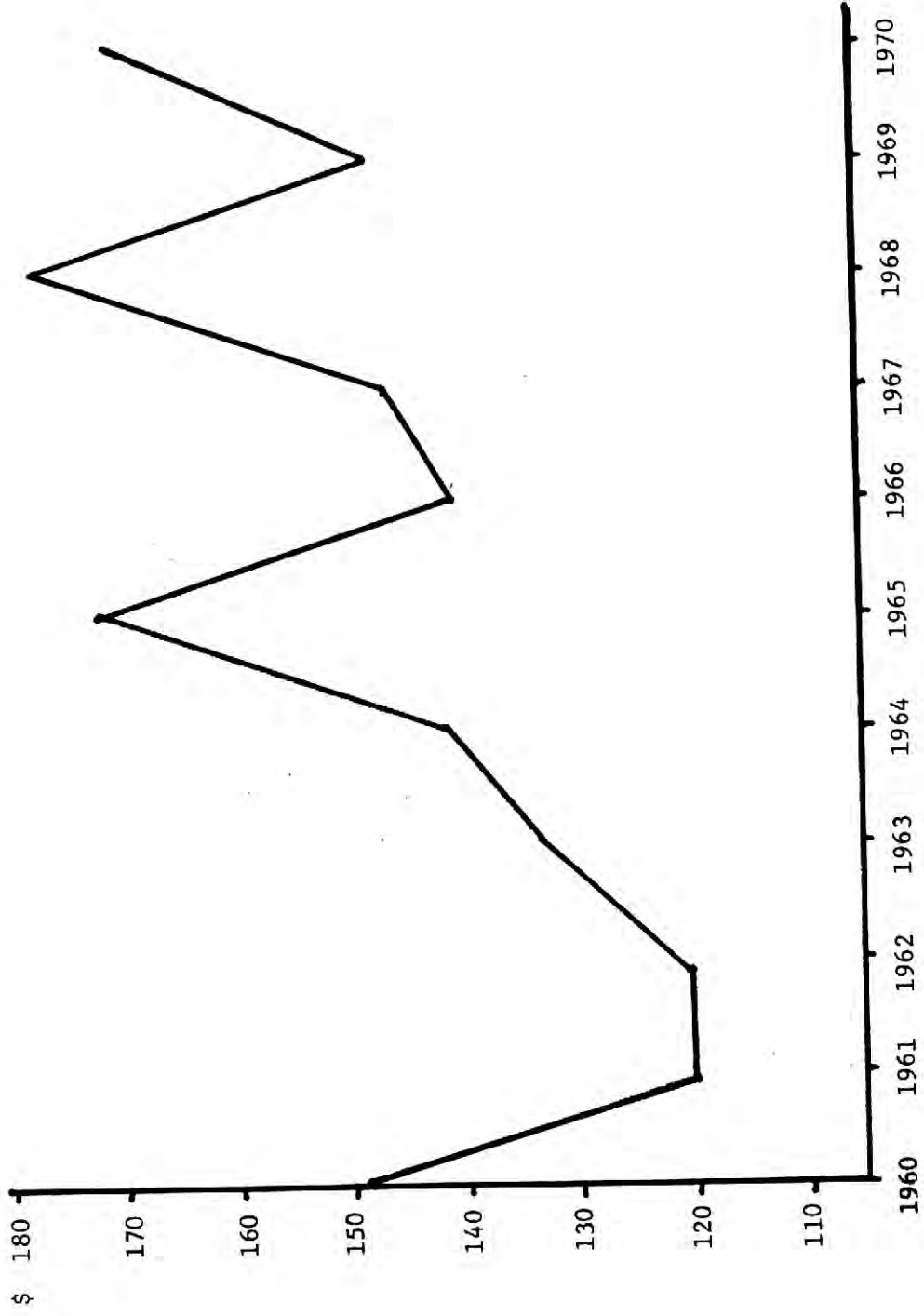
Copra is the second most important crop in the area. It is grown widely, with expatriate owned or controlled plantations contributing about 40% of the region's production which accounts for 6% of the world's production of copra and 9% of world copra exports. Production has grown only gradually, increasing 14% from 1938 to 1965. In 1966, copra exports for the region amounted to about \$US 24.4 million, accounting for some 13% of total exports in that year.

Between them, vanilla, coffee and cocoa accounted for about 2% of the region's exports in 1966. Banana production has been greatly reduced in many areas by disease and weather. If anything, production in commercial agriculture is becoming even more concentrated in a few products.

MINING

In 1966, minerals accounted for 51% of all commodity exports from the South Pacific, with nickel from New Caledonia accounting for 75% of that amount and phosphates from Nauru and Ocean Island, and gold from Fiji making up most of the balance. New Caledonia derived 99% of its export income from nickel in 1968. However, proceeds from the industry fluctuated an average of 38% between 1955 and 1962 despite New Caledonia's power to influence the world market for nickel. Phosphates have been consistent providers for Nauru and Ocean Island. However, soon Ocean Island's phosphates will be depleted, and the same fate awaits Nauru in about 25 years.

FIJI COPRA PRICES (\$US per ton)



Copper has been discovered in parts of Melanesia and promises to become extremely important. Profits from copper in Bougainville, an operation jointly owned by the Papua New Guinea Government and private interests, reached over \$US 150 million in 1973.

INDUSTRY AND MANUFACTURING

Industrial activity producing for export in the South Pacific is confined almost entirely to primary processing of agricultural, marine, and mineral products, although some small scale export manufacturing and assembly operations are carried out on some islands. Sugar refining and copra oil extracting occupy the bulk of the Fijian industrial workforce. Similarly, nickel smelting is virtually the only industrial operation in New Caledonia. On those islands where the local market is large enough to justify it, a narrow range of consumer goods is produced, most importantly in Fiji. However, even in Fiji, these industries only contributed 1% to Fiji's Gross Domestic Product in 1965.

The importance of commercial fishing to South Pacific economies lies not in fishing itself, but in fish processing, since, with the exception of an effort in Palau in the Trust Territory of the Pacific, there is no important commercial fishing by Pacific Islanders. Japanese, Korean and Taiwan tuna fishing boats take considerable catches in South Pacific waters. Some of these catches are frozen and exported from the Trust Territories by an American company, and from the New Hebrides and Fiji by Japanese companies. Two large American canning plants in American Samoa supplied by an Asian fishing fleet provide that territory with its major source of export income. In 1966 fish and fish products contributed 13% or \$US 24.4 million to South Pacific exports, and exports from American Samoa alone rose to \$US 41 million by 1971.

GOVERNMENT ACTIVITIES

Although they can hardly be considered an industry, the activities of metropolitan governments and military establishments have often been and still are very important sources of income in many South Pacific areas providing substantial employment and injecting large amounts of foreign exchange into local economies much as an export industry would. In certain areas, the Trust Territory of the Pacific, for example, it is overwhelmingly the largest source of employment and foreign exchange and provides the stimulus for most of the economic activity of the area. Nuclear test programs by the French in French Polynesia have been of similar importance.

TOURISM

Tourism is, of course, the object of our special interest and its recent growth and expansion in certain areas has been very impressive. The economic importance of tourism to the area will be discussed in greater detail below.

The development of these commercial activities has been both the source and the consequence of change in the South Pacific, and naturally Pacific Islanders look to these activities to insure their future prosperity. Certainly, the basic measure of the "success" of any economy must be the material standard of living which it generates for its participants. In Pacific Islands, of course, expatriates are major participants in the regional economy, so in evaluating economic performance it is further necessary to distinguish how indigenous Pacific Islanders and long-time immigrants themselves benefit from various economic activities. Furthermore, it is desirable to have some idea of future economic needs and the nature of the demands that will be made on the economy to satisfy them.

FINANCIAL GRANTS AND AID FROM OUTSIDE SOURCES

(US\$)

Cook Islands	1968/69	2,296,000
Fiji	1969	1,611,790
Gilbert & Ellis Is.	1968	1,018,680
New Hebrides	1968	1,615,040
American Samoa	1969	7,899,998
Western Samoa	1969	349,440
Solomon Islands	1969	5,911,360
Trust Territory	1969	35,000,000
	1973	60,000,000
Tonga	1969	49,280

Source: Fairbairn 1971 and others.

Demographic data gives fundamental insights into the basic future demands on South Pacific economies.

POPULATION

In 1971, the population of the region was estimated at 1.5 million persons and it is estimated that the rate of population growth is a rapid 3% per year compared to overall world population growth of about 2% per year. More than half that population is under 15 years of age. Overall urban population is growing at 7.5% per year while rural growth is only 1.9% per year. As there is wide variation in these trends in different South Pacific countries, a few tables are presented here to illustrate various demographic facts in individual areas. As there are problems with comparability and completeness in much of the statistical data that can be obtained in the South Pacific, these figures should only be considered as approximate for comparative purposes.

Clearly, the basic indication of this data is rapid change. The population as a whole is growing rapidly. There is a large and growing movement of the population from rural to urban and semi-urban areas. The population is getting younger and, as a consequence of this and the urban movement, it seems reasonable to assume that the workforce available for and demanding cash employment will be growing at a very substantial rate. With the exception of Fiji, no major efforts are being made to check population growth, so it seems reasonable to expect these trends to continue in the near future.

Throughout the world rapid population growth and shifts are leading to manifold and serious social and economic problems. In the tiny Pacific Island countries with their absolutely limited land areas and natural resources, such problems are potentially more severe than in areas better endowed.

Clearly, if the standard of living of the Pacific Islander is to be maintained in the face of this growth, the real absolute income (net of inflation) must grow at least as fast as the population, and the money sector must also additionally grow enough to at least replace the production loss as rural dwellers presumably abandon their subsistence activities in their movement to towns and cities. In the face of these pressures, South Pacific economies must grow at substantial rates if only to prevent an absolute decline in the standard of living, and a substantial portion of the income generated must find its way into the pockets of the Pacific Islanders themselves.

NATIONAL INCOME

In assessing the performance of economies it is very helpful to use measures of national and per capita income for comparative analysis. Unfortunately, this is virtually impossible in the South Pacific. Practices of national income accounting vary widely in method and accuracy and in many cases no such data is gathered. It is difficult or impossible to uniformly deflate existing income statistics to compensate for inflation. And, as was pointed out earlier, very substantial amounts of income are generated in the non-monetary sector, but this component is rarely included in national income statistics. It is also impossible to distinguish the net income to the indigenous population. Thus, comparisons between South Pacific economies are difficult to make and are not really very instructive for our purposes. Still, on an individual basis, it is possible to establish some rudimentary bench marks and discover general trends in income for whole economies, although per capita figures are misleading. An attempt has also been made to show sectoral contributions to the money income generated in each economy to the extent that it is possible to do so from published sources.

SOUTH PACIFIC POPULATION

	Population Est. 1971	Rate of Increase 66-71 Nat. Rate	% of Pop. under 14 yrs. (year)	% of Pop. in Urban Areas 1971	Increase of Urban Pop. 66-71	% Rate of Increase of Rural 66-71	Proportion of Pacific Islanders %
American Samoa	28,500	3.1(4.1)	47(70)	42	6	2	90.6
British Solomon Is.	168,000	2.7	44(70)	10	11	2	98.6
Cook Is.	21,000	2(3.4)	52(71)	30	2	2	96.2
Fiji	531,000	2.3(2.1)	42(71)	34	3	2	44.9
French Polynesia	117,000	4.3	43(67)	57	7.5	1.5	.45
Gilbert & Ellice Is.	58,000	2.6	45(68)	29	9	0.5	98.7
Guam (Civilian)	70,000	4.2	40(70)	89	4.5	2.5	55.9
Nauru	6,700	2.1	40(66)	100	2.1		73.6
New Caledonia	120,000	5	39(69)	59	8.5	1	55.5
New Hebrides	83,500	1.9(2.5)	45(67)	17	9	0.5	94.8
Tonga	88,000	3.0(3.5)	46(66)	28	8.5	1	98.8
Trust Territory of the Pacific	107,000	3.1	46(70)	36	6	1.5	97.6
Western Samoa	145,000	2.2(3.8)	51(66)	21	3.5	2	99.4

This data was primarily derived from the South Pacific Commission Statistical Bulletin 'No. 1; Population 1972' and various United Nations publications. Most figures must be considered estimates. Substantial variation was noted among various statistical sources.

NATIONAL INCOME

Year	Estimated Money Income Million \$US	Per Capita Income \$US	Est. Sub-sistence Income \$US Millions	Est. Per Capita Sub. Income
American Samoa	25.9 GNP	900	.9	
British Solomons	14.6 GNP	175	12.8	153
Cook Islands	3.1 GNP	166	1.1	57
Fiji	141.0 GNP	326	23.0	93
French Polynesia	200.0 GNP	1680	----	----
Gilbert & Ellice Is.	4.9 NNP	93	1.9	35
New Caledonia	178.0 GDP	1760	----	----
New Hebrides	-----	----	----	----
Tonga	14.3	168	----	----
Trust Territory	32.4 GDP	318	----	----
Western Samoa	16.3 GDP	111	15.3	106

Only in Fiji does it appear unambiguously clear that per capita income has been rising. This undoubtedly, is a consequence of its rapidly expanding economy and slowed rate of population increase. Although reliable income statistics are lacking, export statistics suggest that per capita income in American Samoa, New Caledonia, and Nauru has probably been rising, although the share of the indigenous population is indeterminate. In most of the other areas of the region, however, the limited evidence suggests that per capita income has been falling. The government of Western Samoa, for instance, estimated that per capita income in constant prices fell from \$145 in 1958 to \$110 in 1968.

FOREIGN TRADE

The monetized sectors of South Pacific economies are very much dominated by foreign trade, and as trade statistics are more widely and reliably kept it is tempting to view foreign trade as an indicator of general prosperity.

Real standard of living in economic terms is measured in goods and services consumed by the population. In economies with little diversification many goods must be obtained through foreign trade, and in a very rough sense trends in imports might be taken as an indicator of trends in the real standard of living. Usefulness of gross import statistics as an indicator of standard of living is severely limited, however, by the fact that many imported items may not be for final consumption by households, but are used in export industries. Local production of some consumer goods may be declining with some imported goods replacing those formerly produced locally, and substantial amounts of imported goods may be consumed by the households of expatriates who do not form a part of the permanent local population. Particularly in those economies characterized by heavy government spending, large amounts of government or private-capital investment, significant industries dependent on imported raw materials, and large numbers of expatriates employed by metropolitan governments or military establishments, gross-import statistics may actually reveal little about resident real standard of living.

Likewise, export statistics do not yield much information about local prosperity on casual analysis. For example, three sources of foreign exchanges often very important in South Pacific economies are aid and subsidies from other governments, remittances from islanders living abroad, and tourism, yet these items, sometimes called "hidden" exports, are rarely included in export statistics, even though imported goods and services used in tourism and government activities may appear in import accounts. Nonetheless, foreign-trade statistics probably are the best available indicator of economic activity available, the above mentioned distortions notwithstanding.

Exports are typically very heavily concentrated in only one sector whether it be basic agricultural products, processed fish, or sugar, or mineral products. Almost everywhere imports have been growing faster than exports. Where exports for the region, as a whole, have risen by about 150% in the eight years from 1963 to 1971, imports have risen about 370%. The balance of trade is almost everywhere large and unfavorable. This deficit is financed by depletion of foreign reserves, receipts of foreign aid and foreign capital, receipts from the "invisible" export of tourism, remittances from islanders living abroad, and the accumulation of debt to trading partners.

This trade imbalance is a serious problem in most South Pacific economies. To the extent that it is not financed by receipts from tourism or other invisibles, it represents a net drain on the wealth of the economy as its limited capital stocks and resources must be sold to meet the deficit, either currently or in the future.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS OF SELECTED SOUTH PACIFIC ECONOMIES 1938-1971
(\$US MILLIONS)

	1938	1948	1953	1958	1963	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
American Samoa												
Imports	0	1	1	4	14	NA	6	4	12	12	15	NA
Exports	0	0	0	8	NA	NA	20	27	30	28	35	NA
Fiji												
Imports	7	22	27	44	51	73	64	70	79	89	104	128
Exports	8	25	31	34	52	50	45	49	52	57	68	68
French Polynesia												
Imports	2	8	11	13	32	107	167	114	174	109	135	139
Exports	1	9	8	10	10	10	17	13	12	14	18	17
Guam												
Imports	1	10	21	24	33	NA	39	64	65	58	101	NA
Exports	NA	6	4	4	NA	NA	7	8	NA	NA	NA	NA
New Caledonia												
Imports	5	11	22	45	38	77	67	79	93	127	230	233
Exports	4	7	22	27	46	65	78	75	113	134	192	200
New Hebrides												
Imports	1	2	3	4	6	7	8	10	10	12	15	21
Exports	1	6	5	6	6	9	10	12	12	11	13	15
Western Samoa												
Imports	1	3	4	6	8	9	8	8	8	10	14	13
Exports	1	4	5	8	7	6	5	4	5	6	5	6

Source: United Nations, International Trade Statistics 1971-1972.

EXPORTS OF SELECTED SOUTH PACIFIC ECONOMIES 1968

BY SECTOR (US\$ 000)

	Copra	Bananas	Coffee, Cocoa, Spices, etc.	Other Agri- culture	Processing and Manufacturing	Forest Products	Other	Total (Domestic)	Re- exports	Total Exports
Cook Is.	113.5 5.7%	275.0 1.4%	1.8 0.1%	233.5 11.7%	1,541.6 77.4%	---	72.7 3.7%	1,990.7 100.0%	---	1,990.7
Fiji	---	405.8 0.9%	206.1 0.5%	730.1 1.6%	37,082.0a 82.3%	370.6 0.8%	6,268.6b 13.9%	45,064.3 100.0%	11,335.6	56,400.0
Gilbert & Ellice Is.	1,088.9 14.2%	---	---	---	---	---	6,556.9c 85.8%	7,645.8 100.0%	---	7,645.8
Nauru	---	---	---	---	---	---	26,931.5d 100.0%	26,931.5 100.0%	---	26,931.5
New Caledonia	153.4 0.2%	---	609.9 0.6%	47.4	25,651.3 25.5%	1.1	74,225.7e 73.7%	100,690.2 100.0%	---	100,690.2
New Hebrides	6,241.8 53.4%	---	669.1 5.7%	21.2 0.2%	4,561.8 39.0%	28.3 0.2%	161.1 1.5%	11,683.9 100.0%	---	11,683.9
American Samoa	71.0 0.03%	---	---	0.4	2,472.7f 8.83%	---	25,471.0 90.02%	28,015.6 100.0%	---	28,015.6
Solomon Is.	4,066.4 68.4%	---	58.6 1.0%	13.2 0.2%	47.9 0.8%	1,581.4 26.6%	174.27 3.0%	5,936.0 100.0%	284.9	6,221.0
Western Samoa	2,623.0 49.5%	375.3 7.1%	1,798.4 33.9%	293.9 5.5%	188.2 3.6%	9.1 0.2%	9.7 0.2%	5,297.6 100.0%	56.8	5,354.8
Tonga	1,561.3 39.1%	1,806.0 45.2%	---	494.4 12.4%	34.3 0.9%	---	98.1 2.4%	3,994.4 100.0%	---	3,994.4
TOTAL	15,914.1	2,501.8	3,043.9	1,834.3	71,581.0	1,990.7	139,972.0	237,250.7	11,667.3	248,927.8

Source: Fairbairn 1971

Key: (a) Sugar exports accounted for \$28,534.2 thousands of the amount shown.

(b) Includes fish and unrefined gold.

(c) Nearly all phosphate.

(d) Phosphate.

(e) Mainly iron and nickel.

(f) Mainly frozen fish and pet food.

(g) Tuna.

Unless South Pacific countries are willing to rely indefinitely on foreign aid or are willing to sell piecemeal their natural resources to creditor nations, trade must be brought into reasonable balance, either through expansion of exports or reduction of imports. If imports are reduced in such a way as to positively affect the balance of trade, a reduction in the standard of living is implied. Reducing the effects of expatriates or businesses or governmental activities often means a corresponding reduction in foreign exchange inflows so that little or no positive effect on the balance of trade will result. Only a reduction of imports for consumption by local households, while leaving production of foreign exchange earning export industries undiminished, will fundamentally alter the trade deficit. The preferred alternative, of course, is to increase export production while holding import expansion to a much lower rate.

ECONOMIC SOLUTIONS

The resolution of these problems lies in even greater changes in island economies, the alternative being a continuing decline in the standard of living of Pacific Islanders.

Any economy has only certain limited resources which it can utilize to produce income, and ideally, economies should operate to allocate and utilize those resources in an optimal way to produce the maximum sustained (present and future) benefits to the suppliers of those resources, be they human resources, land or capital, consistent with the overall social goals of the societies in which they operate.

The foregoing presented in very summary terms the essential features of the South Pacific regional economy and some of the most obvious and pressing problems that it faces in the near and more distant future. Of course, the economies of individual South Pacific countries and territories differ markedly and each has its unique assets and problems, but virtually everyone shares a need for strong economic growth to support a swelling population, diversification of the economic base to shelter economies from shocks to individual industries, and a solution to stubborn unfavorable balances of trade. The trick, of course, is to establish what is optimal, and specifically, to determine what is economically optimal. The more important social considerations are beyond the scope of this paper.

The various economic alternatives to South Pacific economies must be analyzed to determine not so much their gross potential, which overstates the true gain, but their net return to the island society, coupled with the long range potential and stability of those alternatives. Consideration should be given to increasing the returns and productivity of those resources which are available and presently underutilized. This approach should also tend to further diversify economies. The short- and long-run effects of various alternatives on the net balance of trade must be considered, and other factors, such as the distribution of resulting income and problems unique to individual economies, must be examined. Clearly, this is an exhaustive task, but it will be useful to take a brief look at the major established industries with particular reference to how their past performance and future potential may compare with the newcomer, international tourism.

AGRICULTURE

All forms of agriculture (after mining the most important activity export of the region) could certainly be expanded, increasing income and improving the balance of trade both by expanding exports and by reducing imports of foodstuffs. However, it is immediately apparent that there are some major limitations on the ultimate potential for expansion of agricultural activity because of possible shortages of the two most basic resources required: labor and arable land.

Land is, of course, very unevenly divided among the peoples of the South Pacific, and with the exception of a few of the largest islands, much of the best land is already productive. Furthermore, as the land not currently used will usually be poorer, it is reasonable to expect that its net yield will generally be lower.

With the size and youthfulness of the increasing population, it might be assumed that labor for agricultural expansion would be abundant. However, the population data above indicated that most of the increase is in urban rather than rural areas. If the urban movement is primarily a consequence of inadequate agricultural employment opportunities, then an increase in such opportunities might lead to a reversal of the trend and a formerly unemployed workforce might be a ready source of labor for agricultural expansion. If, however, there are other more important reasons for the urban movement, then agricultural expansion might end up competing for an already fully employed agricultural workforce, tending to drive up its price, rather than utilizing the idle resource, the urban population.

Furthermore, increased agricultural activity will not significantly diversify economies or shelter them from the shocks of weather disasters or abrupt changes in world market prices for those agricultural products, particularly if the expansion is in copra or sugar.

In Hawaii, for instance, just this combination of factors has resulted in a stagnation and some decline in agricultural production, with about 10% of formerly productive land being allowed to fallow. Agricultural work is apparently unpopular. The amenities of urban life, whatever their form, seem to be drawing the population to the urban centers and it is difficult to imagine a reversal of this trend.

Generally, the import content of agricultural production is higher than might appear. Substantial amounts of capital, necessarily imported capital in most South Pacific areas and other imported factors of production are necessary to bring land into profitable production, especially for more sophisticated crops. In Hawaii, the import content for sugar has been estimated at 67%, for pineapple at 45% of gross receipts.

MINING

The extractive industries are an excellent source of income, but increases in output in this industry depend on discoveries more than policy decisions, and in any event these are finite and irreplaceable resources. With the relatively imminent depletion of Nauru's phosphate, only New Caledonia and Bougainville possess large quantities of mineral resources, and even there production could be imperiled by one of the large price changes which have historically occurred in international metal markets. A further disadvantage of some of the extractive industries as practiced in the South Pacific is that they tend to ruin the land for any other productive purpose, and the industry may cause significant environmental and ecological damage if not controlled by careful and costly methods.

FISHING

Fishing is an industry thought possibly to have a good future in the area, although to date there has been no large-scale development of this industry except in American Samoa. And it must be pointed out that the economic success of the canneries on American Samoa may well be owing to their enjoyment of a unique and favorable trade arrangement, whereby tuna canned in American Samoa enters the United States duty free. On the open world market it is doubtful whether

these canneries could compete with Asian operations because of the relatively high wages of cannery workers in American Samoa (over one US dollar per hour) and the relative remoteness of those operations from their markets. In effect, in American Samoa the fish canning industry appears to be a form of American subsidy.

Large-scale commercial fishing has yet to be developed anywhere in South Pacific countries. This type of fishing is a rather technical industry unfamiliar to Pacific Islanders, and local fishermen face formidable competition from Asian fishermen who are highly skilled, efficient and productive.

Nonetheless, this industry may be able to offer employment opportunities to local urban workforces. Establishment of this industry requires substantial capital investment in boats and shoreside installations, and during the early phases in particular, it is apparent that large amounts of foreign labor and management will be required. Thus, it can be anticipated that the import content of production in this industry will be high. According to one study, in fiscal year 1961-62, the total value of canned tuna production in American Samoa was \$US 7,880,000 but in that year it was estimated that only about \$US 1,000,000 went into the local economy, primarily wages of its 343 cannery workers. The Japanese and Korean fishermen, however, took home with them about \$US 4,600,000. Although the value of canned tuna exports has increased at least five times, local employment has not increased in proportion. Furthermore, the industry has apparently peaked and may be in a decline.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES

Development of other industries relying on imported raw materials for manufacturing or assembly operations has been accomplished only on a very limited scale in the South Pacific to date. However, with an increasingly large and young urban population entering the labor market, some potential may exist to develop new export industries in this sector. A garment industry has been in operation in the Cook Islands for some time and, in 1972, a watch assembly plant was planned for American Samoa. Success will depend on the ability of products produced to compete in the world market, however, and this may be difficult due to the relatively high wage rates, low levels of existing skills in the work force, and high costs of transporting raw materials to the islands and shipping finished products back to their ultimate markets. Too, the development of some manufacturing industries has unfavorable environmental and ecological effects, and it is often costly to prevent this kind of damage.

Manufacturing for local consumption is, except for a very few items in a very few places, not feasible because local markets are too small to support an economic scale of production. Tariff barriers can be used to protect infant industries in such a situation, but this has the effect of passing on extra costs to local consumers and might result in retaliatory tariffs from trading partners.

METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENTS AND MILITARY ACTIVITIES

An additional source of foreign exchange are the activities of foreign government and military operations. There can be no doubt, but that thanks to government and military activities the economies of Hawaii, Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and French Polynesia in particular have enjoyed large inflows of foreign or quasi-foreign exchange and many islanders have found good employment opportunities. But the future of such spending is largely beyond the control of the host country and the political policy problems are obvious.

INTERNATIONAL TOURISM

Mass tourism is a relatively new industry in world trade and is particularly new to the South Pacific, yet its growth there has been tremendous. It has become the largest single item in world trade, accounting for about 8% of the total, and it is growing more than 50% faster than world trade as a whole (Bird 1973:83). Tourism is a "glamour" industry and its future is very closely tied to the future economic health of the most developed countries which are the source of almost all international tourists. Studies have shown that income/international tourism elasticities are high. This means that as income rises expenditures on international tourism will rise more than proportionately, and if income falls, tourism will be reduced more than proportionately. Since World War II, however, tourism has increased steadily and dramatically and, with reasonable optimism, its growth can be expected to continue. One of the largest potential future sources of tourist income is Japan, a country naturally situated to take advantage of tourist attractions in the South Pacific. The Japanese appear to have a high propensity to travel and with their rapidly increasing income, revalued currency, and foreign-exchange surpluses, it has been estimated that Japanese expenditures on international tourism will reach 2 billion dollars by 1980, although in view of Japan's recent rapid inflation and the fuel situation, that estimation may be overly optimistic.

As with any other industry, establishing the net economic effect of income generated by tourism and the net effect on the balance of payments will depend on 1) the extent and nature of resources it uses and draws away from other industries; 2) the extent of local ownership of the capital assets of the industries; 3) its import requirements; 4) the proportion of total receipts paid for labor costs; and 5) the share of local vs. imported labor in the industry.

Tourism exploits some unique and very real resources found in abundant supply in the South Pacific, yet there is no demand for them by other industries and they are not currently earning an economic return. They are, of course, the islands' natural beauty, warm weather, interesting cultures, and recreational opportunities. With careful planning, the amount of land required for tourism can be relatively small and such land as is used for tourism development can be expected to have a much higher yield of income than most alternative uses to which it could be put.

Initially, at least, substantial amounts of capital are required, both in the private sector for the necessary accommodations and for the extensive infrastructure, airports, roads, water and power supplies, and sewer systems needed to make it possible for tourists both to come to the destination, and to be reasonably comfortable after their arrival. If the necessary capital can be generated internally, then just that much more of the income generated by the industry will remain in the local economy. However, the returns on capital invested in tourist facilities in other parts of the world have not necessarily been higher than returns to capital in other industries, and the economic importance of this factor should not be over-estimated. The need to make a large capital investment in infrastructure is a very substantial but largely "invisible" cost of establishing the industry, although this cost is mitigated by the consideration that an improved infrastructure serves the local population as well, and its establishment is often an important social objective independent of tourism.

In some small Caribbean countries, government expenditures on infrastructure for tourism have had to match private investment in the industry, although in the medium term it is more apt to be 20-30% of the cost of accommodations (United Nations 1973:56). Some infrastructure services can pay their own way; the cost of others must be borne by the host government. Of course, tourism has the potential to generate large amounts of government revenue through taxes to

pay for this additional infrastructure; whether it does so is a matter of policy. In many tourist areas, including Hawaii, government revenue from tourism far exceeds expenditures for tourist-related services (United Nations 1973: 21-22). There it was estimated, using the least favorable set of assumptions, that the state received 2.8 times as much tax revenue from each visitor as it spent on him.

Import requirements for tourism can be high. If the local economy cannot provide the first class foods, goods, and services demanded by international tourists, they must be imported, and in existing South Pacific tourist establishments they often are. Imports include not only tangible items but such costs as foreign entrepreneurial skills, overseas promotional costs, and returns to imported high risk capital. The total import content of the industry can vary widely, but it is usually no higher than the import content of other export industries. Indeed, in Hawaii, the import content of tourism is lower than that of agriculture and industries producing for local consumption. Most South Pacific export industries are characterized by expatriate ownership and control and their import content is high. Exact determinations, however, are very complicated and the literature is full of conflicting estimates.

Tourism makes large demands for labor, both directly in facilities for tourism and indirectly in the many businesses which support the tourist operations. If the host country can provide that labor, it will retain a substantial portion of the income generated. If other export industries lose their labor force to tourism, the effect is mitigated. If much foreign labor must be brought in, the import content of the industry will rise dramatically, and much of the benefit will be lost.

The range of skills required is wide. Immediate opportunities will exist for unskilled and semi-skilled employment, and as levels of skill increase, the local share of employment can grow. Technically, the industry is fairly simple and local opportunity at management levels need not be denied for lack of highly sophisticated technical skills, as may be the case in more complex industries. A drawback is that the industry can be highly seasonal and the industry can be expected to lay off personnel during slack periods. Wages take a high proportion of gross receipts, accounting for 27% to 40% of operating costs, plus gratuities. Again, the greater the participation of the local workforce, the greater the net effect of the industry on the local economy.

A feature of tourism which complicates attempts to compare its performance with other export industries is the fact that tourists spend their money not only for goods and services provided specifically for them, but also in businesses which serve the local population as a whole, such as transport services, restaurants, bars, shops, etc.

Another possible economic effect peculiar to tourism is the so-called "demonstration effect" on consumption of imported goods by the local population. The suggestion is that local consumption of imports may rise disproportionately as local people more rapidly acquire a taste for imported goods introduced to them by the tourists. This would, of course, be a factor tending to dampen the positive effect of tourism on the balance of trade.

The importance and vitality of the tourist industry in the South Pacific are illustrated in the following tables for eight of the most important tourist destination areas. It is unfortunate in such a vital industry that more current information is unavailable, but collection of data on tourism in the South Pacific is no easier than for any other industry.

MONTHLY PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VISITORS IN 1969

	January	February	March	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December
Fiji	7.9	6.9	7.6	5.9	7.9	7.2	9.1	11.6	8.0	7.5	9.8	10.6
Trust Territory	6.9	6.3	6.4	7.6	6.9	7.8	10.5	14.7	8.8	8.4	7.5	8.4
New Caledonia	12.2	6.0	7.3	6.3	7.6	6.6	8.4	9.5	10.3	7.6	7.9	10.3
American Samoa (1967)	7.0	6.8	6.6	6.9	6.7	8.9	10.8	9.2	9.6	7.7	9.3	10.6
Guam	5.9	6.1	6.7	7.8	7.5	8.7	8.3	13.3	7.0	9.0	10.1	9.8
French Polynesia	7.7	8.6	8.1	5.7	6.8	7.5	8.2	11.1	6.8	9.3	11.8	8.3
Western Samoa	4.8	10.9	12.1	15.2	5.8	6.4	6.2	7.7	5.8	9.1	7.6	8.5
Hawaii	7.6	7.7	8.3	7.4	8.5	10.9	10.5	12.2	9.0	8.6	6.8	7.4

Source: PATA 4th Annual Statistical Report

From the data in the tables on following pages it is clear that growth has been substantial, with annual increases of 20 to 30% per year in the number of visitors in the last decade and similar though uneven growth in total expenditures. Such studies of the future potential for tourism as have been made indicate no lessening of this growth. One estimate for Tahiti projects an increase of over four times in the number of visitors and their expenditures from 1971 to 1980.

Parenthetically, it must be borne in mind that the development of tourism on a large scale is very much dependent on the quality, scope, and frequency of air transport available. Fiji, Tahiti, and Guam are the most important South Pacific tourist destinations, and all enjoy regular and frequent jet service largely as stopover points between the United States and Australia and South East and East Asia. Tourism on a truly large scale is probably not possible without such service, although Western Samoa, for instance, is building a fairly substantial industry based on good regional transport from the major adjacent stopover points.

AVAILABLE INTERNATIONAL CLASS HOTEL ROOMS
AND AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY

	1966 # Rooms	# Days	1967 # Rooms	# Days	1968 # Rooms	# Days	1969 # Rooms	# Days	1970 # Rooms
Fiji	793	8.3	1,140	8.2	1,541	8.9	1,630	8.9	1,985
Trust Territory	-	-	-	-	180	2	238	2	410
New Caledonia	270	7.0	473	8.9	260	8	340	8.2	430
American Samoa	100	4.0	100	4.0	100	3	NA	NA	NA
Guam	NA	NA	290	5.0	400	3.5	331	8	600
French Polynesia	568	6.5	722	6.7	985	7.1	985	6.4	NA
Western Samoa	80	5.5	96	5.2	124	4.1	NA	NA	NA
Hawaii	17,217	10.3	18,657	10.2	22,801	11.3	25,822	11.0	34,245

Reporting standards vary and standards change accounting for some unusual changes.

Source: PATA 4th Annual Report

VISITOR EXPENDITURES IN CERTAIN PACIFIC COUNTRIES IN MILLIONS \$US

	1966		1967		1968		1969		Rank of Tourism Among Exports
	Total Tourist Expenditure	Total Exports*	Total Tourist Expenditure	Total Exports*	Total Tourist Expenditure	Total Exports*	Total Tourist Expenditure	Total Exports*	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2	3
Fiji	14.0	45	12.4	49	20.3	52	26.5	57	2nd
Trust Territory	-	3.0	-	-	0.5	-	0.9	4.2?	2nd or 3rd
New Caledonia	2.0	78	2.8	75	3.2	113	2.8	134	2nd
American Samoa	1.0	20	1.5	27	2.1	30	NA	28	2nd
Guam	NA	7	NA	8	1.6	-	NA	-	1st
French Polynesia	4.6	17	8.0	13	8.8	12	NA	14	1st
Western Samoa	0.3	5	1.0	4	1.0	5	NA	6	3rd
Hawaii	302	-	400	-	460	-	504	-	2nd

*Excludes tourism

Source: PATA Fourth Annual Statistical Report and Various UN and Other Sources.

VISITOR ARRIVALS AT SELECTED SOUTH PACIFIC DESTINATIONS
(VISITORS STAYING 24 HOURS OR MORE)

	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	Est. 73/74
		% chg.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Fiji	14272	14722 (3.2)	18255 (24.0)	24246 (32.8)	31624 (30.4)	40135 (26.9)	44561 (11.0)	56021 (25.7)	66458 (18.6)	85163 (28.2)	18,200
Trust Terr. of the Pacific Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12500	20600 (64.8)	93,000
New Caledonia	1425	2810 (97.2)	3579 (27.4)	4863 (35.9)	5293 (8.8)	6000 (13.4)	7068 (17.8)	15055 (113.0)	17199 (14.2)	16158 (-6.1)	74,500
American Samoa	1223	1023 (-16.4)	1518 (48.4)	1620 (6.7)	1000 (-38.3)	1333 (33.3)	5373 (303.1)	10086 (87.7)	12263 (21.6)	13900 (13.7)	75,000
Guam	NA	NA	100	150 (50)	200 (33.3)	250 (25.0)	1384 (453.6)	26444 (1810.6)	15799 (-40.3)	58256 (268.7)	200,000
French Polynesia	6151	8500 (38.2)	10989 (29.3)	14135 (28.6)	13085 (-7.4)	14830 (13.3)	16200 (9.2)	23574 (45.5)	28402 (20.5)	37294 (31.3)	130,000
Western Samoa	1860	1993 (7.2)	2213 (11.0)	3074 (38.9)	4000 (30.1)	3500 (-12.5)	6742 (92.6)	7094 (5.2)	9303 (31.1)	14137 (52.0)	60,000
Hawaii	2296517	319802 (7.9)	362145 (13.6)	429140 (18.5)	508870 (18.6)	606010 (19.1)	710580 (17.3)	1005790 (41.5)	1209417 (20.3)	1060110 (-12.4)	2440,000 ('72 act)

Source: Pacific Area Travel Association: 4th Annual Statistical Report

SUMMARY

In considering the role which tourism or any other industry is to play in the South Pacific and the lives of its people, the economic imperatives which confront the area must be well understood and considered. It is clear that in most places the status quo is not an alternative. No growth with an increasing population means a deterioration of the standard of living for Pacific Islanders, most of whom are involved in the monetized sector of the economy to some extent. One source of necessary growth does lie in the traditional occupations of the region, but tourism appears to have the greatest ultimate potential of making the best use of available under-utilized resources. Its development will provide vital diversification to South Pacific economies, and it can be an excellent source of foreign exchange to ease balance of payments problems.

The expansion of any industry will require the assistance of outside capital and skills. To suggest that tourism will require more of these foreign factors than any other industry seems unfounded. Each specific case must be carefully analysed for its own merits.

Change must be accomplished carefully and accepted philosophically, bearing in mind an old economic maxim:

"Le utility del chose excusera le noisomeness del stink
(et del tourist)"

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THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF TOURISM -
A CHALLENGE TO RESEARCHERS AND PLANNERS

Morris Fox

INTRODUCTION

When some of us here in Honolulu were sharing our concerns over the impact of tourism on the Pacific islands, it became increasingly apparent that we were dealing with a priority problem about which much was being said but little was proven. In view of the fact that tourism is the single largest item in world trade and looms larger and larger in the Pacific, this examination seemed long overdue.

To talk on the subject of the social impact of tourism to Pacific islanders might seem like "carrying coals to Newcastle" or more appropriately, "bringing palm trees to Polynesia." But this isn't what I'm trying to do. It's more like trying to find ways in which we can protect, nurture and improve the palm trees we have while we harvest and market their coconuts. In other words, how can we, as Pacific islanders, protect, nurture and improve the quality of life on our islands if, at the same time, we sell part of it to the tourist industry? This is the dilemma, and we're here in this workshop to find out what we can do about it. How can we define the problems and get the facts needed to work out solutions?

As you look over the agenda, you can see that the workshop topic has been jig-sawed into many parts which when properly fitted together can give the whole picture--but which individually do not tell the story.

This paper on the "social impact of tourism" is one aspect of the impact of tourism and is, of course, interrelated with others such as economic, physical and political and therefore must be viewed as only part of the whole.

The "tourism" I'll be talking about includes the actions of visitors, of residents and of those who are planning for, investing in, managing, servicing and profiteering from the tourist industry.

I'm using the phrase "social impact" to describe the ways in which the people believe tourism is changing such things as their value systems, individual behavior, collective life styles, family relationships, creative expression, traditional ceremonies, community organization and the quality of island life in general.

We know little about measuring the impact of tourism in relation to other foreign influences of change such as exploration, trade, religion, education, scientific (anthropological) research and the impact of the mass media. Nor do we have facts to show the cause and effect relationship of tourism to social change. Thus, as you will see from what I am about to present, we must rely on observations and assumptions until such time as research produces the facts.

The search for answers to the tourism dilemma in the Pacific was immediately apparent in the first "Press Conference of the Pacific" on the radio satellite hookup via "Peacesat"--which, significantly, was devoted to the topic of tourism. The questions being raised today have a long history.

The early visitors to and the residents of the Pacific islands were well aware of the social impact of such contacts. Oral histories of pre-European interisland migrations and of tribal warfare are replete with examples. Subse-

quent recorded histories of the visits of Europeans more than a century ago also reveal their awareness of social impact. I believe we are all familiar with the picture--so well summed up by Capt. James Cook in his journal,

....we debauch their morals....and we introduce among them wants and perhaps diseases which they never before knew and which serve only to disturb that happy tranquility they and their forefathers had enjoyed.¹

SUPPORT FOR THE GROWTH OF TOURISM

We all know why the tourist industry would like to see tourism grow. Let's look at what some others have had to say.

At the Fourth South Pacific Conference held in 1959, a resolution was passed pointing out the advantages of tourism to the Pacific islands and urging the territories to establish tourist offices and coordinate efforts for the purpose of organizing joint travel tours. This was followed by a survey of the future of tourism in the Pacific in which the economic benefits were again stressed in a discussion of the "multiplier effect" whereby it was claimed that for every \$1.00 consumed by the tourist while visiting a territory, the economy is able to consume more than \$2.00. The report went on to say, "This point should be hammered home continuously in promotional efforts designed to obtain local support for more tourism development."²

In 1964, the South Pacific Commission's Economic Affairs Newsletter included a general resolution adopted by the UN Conference on International Travel and Tourism held in August-September 1963. This resolution, sent to all South Pacific Commission member governments, encouraged the growth of tourism on the basis of its economic, social, educational and cultural advantages to people in developing countries. The circulated resolution contained no reference to the negative aspects of tourism or the need for protective measures.³

In 1967, several Polynesian territories, with the assistance of the United Nations, held a conference on tourism during which the late David Owen, then Co-Administrator of the United Nations Development Programme, said,

All Polynesia and Melanesia will benefit if all the islanders work together in developing its full potential as a visitor destination area sharing common services whilst making the point that each island has something distinctive to offer to the hopeful traveller.⁴

At this same gathering, the Honorable Fiame Mata'afa, Prime Minister of Western Samoa said,

While we in Western Samoa have been for some time conscious of the potential of the Tourist Industry, we have also been concerned at the effect that a full-scale promotion of it would have on our social structure. We are now satisfied that with proper organization and control the two can co-exist successfully, and, in fact, give each other added strength.⁵

Turning to the general public, the reasons people have given for wanting tourism are typified by the following statements:

1. "Tourism will improve our country's economy."
2. "Our family can get rich from our lands and have a good life."
3. "A lot of us folks will have more money to spend."
4. "We are proud to have tourists see our culture and our beautiful island,"

CONCERN OVER THE GROWTH OF TOURISM

At the Tenth South Pacific Conference held in 1970, Fiji's Governor, Robert Foster, made the following observations:

In the twenty-four years since the Commission was formed, the islands of the South Pacific and their way of life have greatly changed.

.....

Tourism has imposed an increasing strain on custom and traditional ways of life; while the drift to the towns and the impact of a monetary economy have brought sociological stresses and problems to a range of countries as far apart as the Cook Islands and Nauru.⁶

The following year, at the Fiji Tourism Convention, Mrs. Masiofo Fetau Mata'afa, Pro-Chancellor, University of the South Pacific, expressed her concern in these words.

....What about our people? What would be the effect on them? They would become servants and show pieces. Many of us have visited such tourist resorts and have heard the remarks of those who served and those who were served.

.....

Is the tourist business in the position to be sensitive enough to take into account the social implications of the impact of tourism on isolated and highly susceptible native cultures?

I could reply to this question in the usual emotional way. I could say that it is our duty and yours to preserve our unique Pacific cultures. I could stress that it took thousands of years to develop and that it would be criminal to sell it for a dollar.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I will not be emotional. I will speak to you in the language of business.

The culture, the friendliness, the songs and dances, the handicrafts and customs of my people of the Pacific are your most valuable asset, an asset which you can use without having to invest one single cent. It is there ready and in the traditional way of the Pacific, willing to help you. Destroy it - and you have destroyed your main asset which can never be created again.

The use of some of our sacred ceremonies as part of tourist entertainment undermines that aspect of our culture which has retained our identity and dignity. It is a very disturbing experience to watch tourists and their children being served with a cup of yaqona beside a hotel swimming pool.

.....

It is becoming a popular but shoddy practice to incorporate the different national dances into tourist entertainment in some of the hotels in this region. As far as the tourists are concerned, they are probably not aware of the fact that they are not seeing genuine dances of that particular country they were visiting.

You may think that this has no implication on the business of tourism. I suggest that lack of respect for the customer reduces the quality of service. A visitor who loses face by accepting faked songs, ceremonials and dances will receive faked service. This I suggest is bad business in the long run, unless you look upon tourism as a 'bonanza' that will be exhausted in a few years.⁷

After pointing out the negative economic impact tourism may have on the local population when there is lopsided development through over-expansion, and consequent evils of having the economy tied to tourism, of having most of the civic improvements for tourists, and of having the cost-of-living driven up and tipping introduced, Mr. Lim Chin Beng, Managing Director, Malaysia Singapore Airlines, speaks of the possible "deterioration of the moral fibre if the country becomes too dependent on tourism...." and "tourists have different ways of living which may not be adaptable.".... "When too much Western influence is being assimilated by the local population" and "the latter's indigenous identity may be impaired."

Another perceptive observation, this one by one of our fellow workshop participants, Sione Tupouniua, focuses on a different area of social concern as he points out,

Tourists arrive at their destination as they expect it to be and as it is advertised. But by their very presence and in their high rate of expectations they are changing these conditions. In fact, this is the dilemma of the tourist industry--that by its existence, it tends to destroy what it wishes to see preserved.⁹

Pacific island government leaders have been faced with making difficult decisions regarding the expansion of tourism because of their concern over the adverse social impact. Here are a few examples:

The Prime Minister of the Cook Islands, the Honorable A. P. Henry, at the signing of the airport agreement with New Zealand on January 26, 1969 had this to say,

I still have mixed feelings because I do not really know what lies ahead of us. It is certain there will be economic and social changes over the coming years, and the airport will accelerate them....We, for our part, are less certain of the economic benefits (than New Zealand)...We are even less sure of the social changes which are bound to take place over the years ahead.....

We Cook Islanders must know what is of lasting value in our culture, and then we must hang on to it. Then whatever changes may come in the years ahead, we and our future generations will maintain our sense of identity in an increasingly complex world. We shall still be able to say, 'This is our land, we are our own people, and this is our way of life!'¹⁰

The Fiji Minister for Communications, Works and Tourism, Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau, spoke at the 23rd Annual Pacific Area Travel Association Conference in Jakarta on April 2, 1974, saying,

Equally grave, to my mind, is the deterioration of the social values in Fijian society....

.....

We as a Government have long said, and we remain completely adamant on this matter, that tourism is going to remain our servant and will not be permitted to become our master.

.....

We recognize some erosion of our traditional social fabric is inevitable in the pursuit of economic prosperity and we are prepared to accept a degree of erosion. What we are not prepared to accept is the destruction of that social fabricWe are taking certain practical steps to ensure that the development of tourism brings with it measurable benefits to our people.¹¹

Island residents in the North Pacific are also concerned about the social impact of tourism. In a report to the Congress of Micronesia, the House of Representatives Committee on Resources and Development said,

Development of tourism in Micronesia is fraught with hazards. The potential impact on the environment and on other characteristics that now make Micronesia attractive to tourists is serious. The effect of tourism on Micronesians and their culture is even more serious.

The Committee realizes that within the districts, the struggle will be severe between those who want immediate, rapid and uncontrolled growth of tourism and those representing the broader public interest and with concern for the long-term effects.¹²

Over in Papua New Guinea, the Minister for Trade and Industry, John Poe, in discussing his Government's plan to replace the Tourist Board with a Tourist Authority said,

It is now quite clear that tourism has entered a new phase of development and the Government must now become much more greatly involved to make sure that tourism makes the best possible contribution to the economy without bad social side effects.¹³

Here in Polynesia, the Honorable Tupua Tamasese, former Prime Minister of Western Samoa, has voiced his deep concern by saying that,

Western Samoa cannot afford to do without tourism but at the same time it must ask itself whether it can afford the more rapid erosion of its society, customs and way of life, which in themselves contain the many checks and balances which have allowed Samoans to have the dignity and peace they have now.....To Samoa it is not just a question of choosing between traditions and customs, and money. It is choosing between money and a way of life, and that decision is not an easy one to make....I think there is no doubt that wherever tourism has affected a country's society or way of living, the result has always been adverse.¹⁴

During a 1969 discussion of tourism by the Legislative Council of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, grave concerns were expressed. The member from South Malaita, David Kausimae, felt that tourism would "ruin the customs of the people," while Jack Campbell, from Makira, said tourism brings "dangers which could not be overlooked."¹⁵

A long-time, first-hand observer of the Pacific islands, Judy Tudor of Australia, included the following in her comments to the people in the tourist industry,

Tourism, like most other things, is best when it comes in moderation. This is particularly so in relation to small Pacific islands where economy is frail and mass tourism can be overwhelming.....But how can small countries achieve moderation in tourism....? I have no idea and suspect no one else has either. Tourism is an industry where moderation is difficult to attain. People who spend large sums of money on building modern hotels or buying modern aircraft are concerned, first of all, to keep them full.

Pacific island governments, especially those lately independent and anxious to continue to live in the manner they have been accustomed under colonial rule, are unlikely to put the peg in on any industry that provides revenue. It is an unfortunate fact...that the returns from tourism come quicker than returns from trying to induce village people to plant.

It is perhaps significant that the few island territories, including Western Samoa and the Cook Islands, that originally turned thumbs down on tourism for fear it 'spoiled' their islands did so before independence and have since been seduced.

But those of us who have benefited from the industry.... might pause a while and reflect. Give a thought to the devastating effect on the life style of small communities that can result from this progress lest, in time, we are regarded as the biggest polluters of them all.¹⁶

From French Polynesia comes another appeal for protection of the social environment. The Mayor of Moorea, John Teariki, told the French Minister for Overseas Territories that he was not opposed to tourism as a factor in Moorea's development "but we refuse a tourism that would only be a form of neo-colonialistic exploitation of our country, and consequently a factor of economic enslavement, of the social disintegration of our people and of the destruction of our environment."¹⁷

Then we come to a more optimistic note. I quote from an interview reported in Tonga during which the Prime Minister, H. R. H. Prince Tu'ipelehake, was asked if he felt his country's culture could withstand the impact of modern tourism development. His reply, "I think if we have faith in our culture and people, we have nothing to worry about. After all, during the last war we had thousands of Americans in the country. To have these men in the country is a big test. But Tonga retained its culture." The Prime Minister referred to the need to organize Tonga's tourist industry, rather than just leaving visitors to "wander around."¹⁸

Moving from Tonga, where the social impact of tourism is only beginning to be felt, we turn to Fiji, where tourism has flourished and find the Prime Minister, Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara quoted as saying,

Tourist operators want to squeeze as much money as they can from their investment, and they could care less what happens to the culture and customs of the people in Fiji. We in Fiji are beginning to learn the cost of tourism not only in money but in many other ways.¹⁹

Now we listen to a Pacific islander, Col. C. M. Bennett, speaking to a group of business people whose profits are derived from the exploitation of the tourism resources of the Pacific.

There are a number of lessons which we must all learn from the experience of others. For instance the desperate attempts on the part of small countries to lure dollar-laden and jaded tourists to their shores may be completely destructive of the social values of that small society. We must also ensure that elements of traditional culture (like fire walking in Fiji, the dance in Bali and the 'whero,' or challenge, in Maori culture) are not torn from their proper context and presented as a tourist gimmick. We must take all steps to ensure that local arts and crafts are not debased, cheapened and made shoddy merely to meet the mounting demand for souvenirs. We must also remember that the main tourist-generating countries are the major industrial countries of the world and that it is the poorer countries which are usually at the receiving end. It therefore follows that the intrusion of large numbers of wealthy tourists, drawn from a totally alien culture and demanding living conditions similar to the affluent conditions of their own society introduces a new and destructive element when juxtaposed with the poverty in which most of these tropical societies exist.²⁰

Then we hear the voice of another man of the Pacific, whose job is to get both an overview -- a broad perspective -- as well as a view in depth, the Secretary-General of the South Pacific Commission. Last year, in his address to the Pacific Islands Tourism Conference, the Honorable G. F. D. Betham focused attention on the social impact when he said,

It is obvious that mass tourism has a strong and often bad influence on the mental health of the islanders, as all too often tourists find the need of escorts. Prostitution and alcoholism are the normal consequences. The former presents a new way of life for the islanders who can obtain more money in a shorter time than if they were to work in the fields.

Although some territories request tourists not to give tips, this is not often respected, thus giving birth to the habit of begging.

The third point on the social aspects--tourism is another pretext for the whole population of villages to go and live in town--they are attracted by the big and easy money. Such movements can only disrupt the traditional way of life and present a danger to the slowly disappearing oceanic culture. The production of handicrafts is also running the risk of being industrialized and losing its normally high quality. The same thing goes for local songs and dancing. It would be hoped that performances which strip not only the performer but the people of their human dignity would not be patronized.²¹

And finally, the concerns regarding tourism as expressed by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization, in somewhat more academic language,

While, as outlined above, many economic benefits can result; there can also be a considerable rise in social disorganization. Older mores break down and the resultant anomie contributes to a lessening of group responsibility and co-operation. Changes in educational levels may accentuate generational conflicts. Money economy becomes predominant with resultant repercussions on the social and cultural fabric of a people.²²

Since we are meeting here in Hawaii within sight of Waikiki, let's see how the impact of phenomenal growth of the tourist industry there is viewed by some Pacific islanders,

In a few short years an uncontrolled tourism boom changed the attractive and modest hotel section into a jungle of multi-story luxury hotels and a hodgepodge of peripheral stores and shops, restaurants, and honky-tonks with all the attendant unpleasant aspects--anything to get a slice of the tourist dollar. Famed Waikiki Beach has become a Coney Island and the hotel area environment can be found in any downtown large city in the continental United States. From the tourist point of view the authentic native culture disappeared, although facsimiles of it are sold.

This series of quotes is an attempt to give a cross section of the concerns which have been voiced by opinion-moulders, policy makers, industry spokesmen and others whose points of view get before the reading public. Now I'd like to relate some of the concerns expressed by ordinary people who, after all, make up the bulk of our island populations.

"We don't want outsiders making money off us."

"Why can't we do these jobs?"

"We don't want our lands taken away from us."

"Some of our own people will play along with foreigners even if it means taking advantage of us to get ahead."

"We don't want to be kept off our lands and our beaches."

"We don't want tourism messing us up by spoiling the scenery, making the prices go up."

"Some of the tourists want a free ride."

"We already have too many of our people leasing their lands."

"I make more money at the airlines than I did teaching school."

"We don't want to be like servants--or like animals in a zoo--and we only get the crumbs."

"Think of it. That meal cost them more than my week's wages!"

"We see tourist money spoiling our young people--they expect to be paid for just being friendly."

"Our girls, and sometimes our boys are being bribed for sex."

"We can't go fishing there anymore."

"Our arts and ceremonies are becoming like businesses--like work."

"Life is getting too tense--too many rules to follow because of all the tourists."

"They ask the silliest questions."

"Our children are getting the dirty-picture magazines the shops say they have to import for the tourists."

"We get bored with the same welcome routine."

THE TOURIST'S VIEW OF TRAVEL

Next, let's listen in on some tourists to find out why they like to travel and what they expect to get out of their trips.

"I'm tired of hearing my friends say, 'Now, when we saw the firewalkers in Fiji' or 'The cutest Tongan girl wanted me to buy this necklace; I just couldn't say no.'"

"We've seen many pictures of the South Seas--and now we'll see this paradise with all its contented people--firsthand."

"I've always liked visiting new places and seeing beautiful scenery like this."

"The pieces of handicraft are so much cheaper here where they're made."

"It was so fascinating to see how those primitive people live--you wouldn't believe it!"

"I'm a shell collector, and I've heard that shells are plentiful and cheap in the Pacific islands."

"The children looked so poor and were so happy to get a few coins."

"When we heard how small their wages were, we left extra tips at the hotel. These people are so friendly and grateful."

"When I'm travelling in these islands I don't have to think about the troubles back home or hear the news--which is mostly bad, anyway."

"This is a chance to get in on the ground floor."

"I'm looking for a quiet place where I can settle down to a simple life with friendly natives."

"She found the nicest man on her last cruise."

"When you visit the South Seas you can enjoy a whole 'smorgasbord of girls!'"

Then comes some of the disillusionment.

"While it's true I didn't pay much for this kava bowl, still, I didn't expect it to crack."

"I went all that way to buy some giant clam shells and you know what they told me? -- 'The lagoon is all cleaned out.'"

"It looked like a beautiful tropical night so I left the hotel for a quiet stroll. Within ten minutes, I had three different boys trying to sell me the services of prostitutes."

"We couldn't see the performance for all the souvenir peddlers getting in the way."

"It's getting so you have to pay the children money to take their photos."

"The children watch grown-ups beg for cigarettes--so they've learned to beg for 'P.K.'"

"Even I could tell that the entertainment was second-rate. Our high school boys can play better 'rock' back home."

"I felt embarrassed when some of the tourists on our bus rushed into these open houses and took pictures."

"We were told that some of the natives were making fun of us tourists in their own language and had the children laughing at us also."

"Imagine those two little girls--who were supposed to be in school--coming down to the beach and asking us to pay them to sing."

"These local tourist papers would make you think all the resort girls are beautiful and available. What a lie!"

"The prices have almost doubled since my last visit--and this lady was overcharging me for some common shells--saying they're hard to find."

"They've stuck some canneries right in the middle of that scenic bay and spoiled its natural beauty."

"Might as well go back home to see the prettiest dancers. They don't stay in the islands when they're 'bought' by our entertainment circuits."

"After seeing how the people are in the villages, I wonder about the town girls parading in their mini-skirts and the idle boys with their long, untidy hair. It's disillusioning."

"They call it a 'religious ceremony' but I heard they get paid for performing it."

THE ENTREPRENEUR

To further understand the social impact of tourism, we need also to understand something of how those persons responsible for making profits out of the money invested in the tourist industry (both local persons and foreigners) view the island residents who own the land, share or sell their island resources and supply the labor.

"If I don't take advantage of this opportunity, someone else will."

"They /the villagers/ will never make anything out of this beautiful beach area on their own. This way they'll be better off than they've ever been."

"These people can never raise the capital needed--so why should they complain?"

"We can't rely on our locals for these skilled jobs, not because they can't do the work but because they stay home or go off to fish when they feel like it and construction costs go up."

"You can't find any nicer people. They're friendly and smiling and the tourists love them."

"We pay them better and give them extras, such as nice hotel uniforms and food to take home, so they'll want to please us--and the tourists who give them tips."

"We put aside part of their earnings so their families won't take all their money."

"After awhile they begin taking all this for granted and sometimes they act like they are bored with their work."

"As soon as they saw the _____ hotel go up, they thought their land was worth 'millions.'"

"Our only source of vegetables is the next village. They've got the idea that because the tourists have a lot of money, the price of vegetables should double overnight."

THE EMPLOYEE

Then, of course, we need to know more about how the employees in the tourist industry feel about their bosses, their working conditions and their experiences--all of which are a part of tourism's social impact. I am not prepared to elaborate on this aspect of the tourist industry. Fortunately, we have heard something about this at this workshop from John Samy of Fiji, who has reported on one aspect--that of the experience of employees in one of Fiji's tourist hotels.

TOURISM IS ONLY ONE CHANGE FACTOR

We need to keep reminding ourselves that cultural change and social breakdown would be occurring throughout the Pacific even if there was no growth of tourism. We need to know more about the ways in which tourism may be accelerating this change. Likewise, we should know more about the advantages as well as the disadvantages of expanding tourism.

THE ISLANDS SPEAK

I sometimes wonder what the islands themselves would say if they were personified and thus could speak as a group of humans. Let's indulge in a little whimsy for a moment and imagine we are hearing the islands speak.

"Many of us are feeling the strain of too many people for our resources."

"We are sad to see our people leaving their food crops in the rural areas to go to the cities and import food from abroad."

"Many of our villagers are now in the towns trying to be like foreign tourists that are swarming over us."

"We are flattered to have so many visitors admire our beauty--that is, our scenery, our resources--for example, our climate; our water for sports and fishing; our plant and animal life; and especially our people. But we worry about the way we and our people are being changed by the visitors."

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE

Here we are today--a group of Pacific islanders searching for workable solutions to ill-defined problems. We are here to better understand the advantages and disadvantages of tourism in the development of our respective territories and countries.

We are here to find ways we can assist our fellow islanders at home cope more effectively with the impact of tourism and thereby develop the best quality of life that circumstances will permit. It appears that the extent to which this happens will depend a good deal on the extent to which the people are involved in the process. This involvement - (the people's effective participation) - depends, in turn, on:

- their becoming well enough informed to make intelligent choices;

- their participation in arriving at the goals (objectives) of tourism in their country;
- their being given the opportunity to help formulate the criteria for measuring progress in meeting such goals;
- their becoming sufficiently involved in the planning and decision-making process to insure compliance with such criteria.

THE NEED FOR RESEARCH AND PLANNING

It is quite obvious that the above steps cannot be taken unless each country has the facts on which community education programs can be built and an enlightened citizenry can then protect its interests in the development process--including the development of tourism.

A review of factual data available on the social impact of tourism--the subject of this paper--is most revealing. While much time and money have been invested in gathering data useful in promoting the growth of the tourism industry through carefully planned exploration of the natural, governmental, community and human resources of many Pacific islands, almost no research has been undertaken to assess the social costs of such tourism development. As a consequence, neither the people nor the planners are in a position to intelligently balance the development process and establish priorities that are in the best interests of the people as a whole.

One challenge to researchers is to reexamine their own priorities so that the data sought, gathered, and interpreted will supply the facts needed by the people and the planners to arrive at sound decisions regarding the goals of tourism and the criteria to be used for measuring progress in meeting such goals.

Fortunately, we are not alone. There is evidence that different segments of our Pacific community are becoming more aware of the serious implications of the social impact of tourism and, perhaps, more significantly, the need for more research, clarification of goals and sounder planning. I should like to cite a few examples.

Those who participated in the 1971 Fiji Tourist Convention in Suva heard this from an international professional in the tourist industry,

National characteristics and natural amenities are the basic raw materials of tourism. We must not allow them to be eroded, whether through ignorance or commercialization....Making a gross oversimplification, I should say that the real problem of the next 20 years will be the investigation and the treatment of the human problems in international tourism.²³

The following year the Pacific Area Travel Association Conference participants were alerted to the need for sound planning when they were told that,

Tourism need not inevitably lead to the commercialization of national culture, to prostitution, touting, hustling and petty swindling. Tourism need not lead to instant misunderstanding and mutual contempt between the traveller and the people of his host-country.

Developed in the right context, tourism can be the bridge to international understanding that we have always claimed it is. Tourism can mean a dignified presentation of national cultures for the edification and entertainment of foreign guests.

If it has not yet become truly so it is because our national leaders have refused to take the travel industry seriously enough, and have failed to integrate it in their broad planning of national development.

This is unfortunate, because integrated planning can amicably resolve the apparent conflicts of interest between the travel industry and other sectors of the economy.

Planning can clearly establish priorities, and planning can equitably judge the profitability and social utility of each separate industry on a comparative table of national goals and aspirations.²⁴

(Incidentally, this was taken from a thought-provoking address on the topic, "Is Tourism Really Necessary?")

The need for a national tourism policy in connection with planning is highlighted in the address given to an earlier group of government and business leaders in the travel industry.

.....when planning for tourism let us remember that the phenomenon of tourism is not a simple and straight-forward one. It is extremely complex with a number of factors requiring prime consideration. The social and cultural factors, for example, are just as important as the economic factor and they must not be overlooked. On the contrary, special attention must be paid to their development because of the benefits they ultimately bring to the national and international economy. A tourist policy stressing the social aspects of a country's way of life is one of the chief means of promoting domestic and foreign demand and such a policy faithfully pursued has decisive effects on the economy. The same holds true for a tourist policy which stresses and protects the integrity of the cultural factor....²⁰

And then the voice of a journalist and world traveller, addressing another gathering of the tourist industry,

The primary decision to encourage or discourage tourism, manage it or let it run wild, to nurture or neglect the tourism environment, that unique and irreplaceable tourist patrimony that all countries have,--that terrible responsibility lies in the hands of government. Furthermore, you are fortunate in the Pacific for you are still young enough in the development of tourism to learn from the painful mistake of others. In your case the old saying is still true and relevant. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. As a matter of fact at today's price it is worth a ton of cure.²⁵

In Fiji, a series of discussions on tourism organized by the Student Christian Movement in January, 1972 led to recommendations which included "the need to review the social impact of extensive tourism and urged the government

to undertake such a study. Real costs which have some direct or indirect association with the industry include increased welfare needs, crime, prostitution, adoption, mental breakdown, alcoholism and other indices of increased social stress."²⁶

One area that has received little attention but is important in researching and planning for the social impact of tourism is tourist motivation and the dynamics of tourist-resident interreaction.²⁷ One observer has raised questions about the lack of knowledge we have regarding the impact of tourist promotion on the people who are then under pressure to deliver the goods and services as advertised. We also lack insight into ways in which misconceptions that result from superficial contacts between affluent tourists from one culture with deprived residents of another, can be minimized. He calls for "a new orientation of tourism and tourist information."²⁸

In discussing the elements which influence the positive and negative aspects of tourist-resident encounters, Willis A. Sutton, Jr., of the University of Kentucky, points out that "empirical descriptions and insightful analyses of the various combinations of these situational pressures and cultural norms are greatly needed to increase our knowledge of social relationships and to determine what steps could be taken to increase the likelihood that touring will, indeed, contribute to understanding and comity among nations."²⁹

Research and planning needed to deal effectively with the social impact of tourism will obviously have to compete for the same resources being used for quick returns in the economic sector. Thus, policy makers need to be convinced that some resources need to be allocated to the social sector. To accomplish this, it would seem wise for such research and planning to be done jointly or cooperatively on a regional or sub-regional basis rather than on a country-by-country basis--a much more extravagant or wasteful approach, depending on how one views it.

The need for such an approach was highlighted by the action of the Twelfth South Pacific Conference when it supported a paper presented by the Western Samoan delegation on September 26, 1972, which called upon UNESCO to mount a study of cultural tourism in the South Pacific.³⁰ UNESCO responded by informing the South Pacific Commission that it may submit proposals for anthropological research late in 1974.

Research and planning on a regional basis has been encouraged not only by the South Pacific Commission but is the direction being taken in the Pacific by the United Nations through its regional Development Programme and the establishment of its regional U. N. Development Advisory Team for the Pacific. In addition, the U. N. has recently inaugurated a correspondence seminar on comprehensive development planning for regions and sub-regions under the Regional and Community Development Section of the Division of Social Development.

ACTION WITHOUT RESEARCH

In closing I thought we might look at some of the approaches to dealing with the social impact of tourism that have already been suggested--without having the benefit of basic research and balanced planning.

One of America's travel editors in speaking about the Pacific said,

I am in favor of an environmental-cultural commission, controlled or quota tourism, and/or anything else that will maintain the culture and tradition of the Pacific countries,

protect their environment, and prevent their residents³¹ from resenting visitors and despoilers of their way of life.

In January 1973, a group of church leaders met in the New Hebrides to discuss strategy for development in the South Pacific. The Conference examined many aspects of the tourist industry and included the following among its recommendations:

- there should be extensive government control of tourism;
- a Tourist Bureau should be established in each territory as a direct government body or controlling board, whose function is not only to promote tourism but also to control it in the best interest of each territory;
- emphasis should be given to tourists' seeing indigenous cultural activities in their traditional setting at specific times, suitable to the local people, rather than out of context - in a hotel, for example, where the relationship is merely economic. In this way, tourists will fall in with the programme of indigenous people rather than indigenes falling in with the tourist industry.
- both tourists and indigenous people should be educated to an understanding of what tourism can really mean and to a concern for building authentic relationships. We advocate that the Church take an active role in this aspect of education and evaluation.³²

In areas where tourism is in its early stages of development, increasing attention is being given to minimizing the adverse effects of contacts between tourists and residents, especially where the income levels are extreme. E. C. Dommen points out that,

Attention generally focuses on three methods of controlling the social relationships between tourists and hosts: educating the host society, influencing the contacts between tourists and hosts, and choosing the type of tourists to attract.³³

He goes on to describe two divergent schools of thought with respect to each of these methods. This rather dramatically illustrates the need for more research. Eberhard le Coutre, in discussing the "psychological discovery of others" suggests a fourth approach, that of educating the tourist. He has noted that,

It was quite depressing to see that many tourists who visit distant countries come back with conclusions that have nothing to do with mutual understanding among people and betray no new broadmindedness or inclination to tolerance. It must be feared that a wrong approach to tourism will often only reinforce deep-seated prejudices and provide a wealth of material for wrong or unkind opinions.³⁴

Here in the Pacific there are several instances of efforts to educate the residents about tourists and the tourist industry. Here are a few examples.

One of the prospective workshop participants, Mrs. Adi Vunivalu of the Fiji Visitors Bureau, has herself been involved in a program to inform school children about tourism, starting when she was a teacher.³⁴ This same Bureau has also conducted radio programs in the Fijian and Hindustani languages "to create a better internal understanding about tourism..." and to "explain the reasons visitors come to Fiji," etc.³⁵

The British Solomon Islands Tourist Authority has published a booklet to help the people of that territory understand tourism³⁶ as has Papua New Guinea.³⁷

So far as I know, there has been no research to evaluate the effectiveness of these educational efforts and thus make improvements.

Proposals for controlling contacts between tourists and residents have been considered by most island governments. One example is found in proposals where by the number of visitors would be limited and control of their contacts with the residents would be achieved by "making immediate surroundings of the visitors so attractive that they can be fully occupied at all times within a restricted area" and by "a geographic separation of visitors from the mass of the people, making it naturally difficult for any large, unorganized and undesirable fraternisation to occur."³⁸

Probably one of the more extensive proposals for regulating the impact of tourism is found in the "guidelines" proposed last year by the Yap District Tourist Commission:

- Tourism development must be designed so that it will renew, strengthen and preserve the culture of Yap.
- Tourism must share Yap's economic development with other forms such as agriculture and marine resources.
- The development of tourism should be in gradual stages so that each level will offer complete, high quality tourism before setting out on a higher level.
- Tourism should concentrate visitors' accommodations and activities in limited areas so that a minimum of foreign influence is exerted on residents.
- Recognizing that there are all kinds of tourists, Yap tourism development will concentrate on attracting specific types of visitors who are compatible with Yap culture.
- No visitor attractions shall be imported that will be in conflict with Yapese culture.
- The district must inventory and protect its historic, cultural and scenic sites and must restrict commercial development of these sites.
- The business of tourism must be of maximum benefit to the people of Yap.
- The business of tourism must be spread among as many people as possible.
- All commercial buildings must have an appearance in keeping with Yapese environment.
- The maximum height of all construction must be limited to no higher than the tallest traditional men's house (about 40 feet).
- Commercial development must be limited to specific, zoned areas.
- The use of local materials and food must be encouraged for all possible construction and operation of tourism businesses.

- All activities must consider their environmental impact.
- The practice of tipping must be discouraged; services and goods must be fairly priced so that tipping is not necessary.
- Both visitor and residents must be well-educated regarding the business of tourism and respect for Yap culture.³⁹

Again, we are witnessing the urge to do something about the social impact of tourism--as best we can--for we can't wait for the researchers and planners. As one journalist observed,

"Tourism is like fire. It can cook your food or burn your house down."²⁵

Let's hope that this workshop will be the start of a growing and expanding effort that will shape the future of tourism in the best interests of the people and their descendants who will be living out their lives in our beautiful Pacific islands.

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THE HONEST BROKER IN THE CULTURAL MARKETPLACE

James E. Ritchie

The Pacific is a big space filled with water. Here and there is land, for the most part little islands, which the rest of the world can regard as of little significance. Oceania is not so much a place as the distance between places. Through climate, environment, and a necessary detachment and seclusion, these islands have provided an uncommonly favored degree of comfort and security for those who live there. For the most part they do so still.

We can speak of an island mind. Those who live on an island, who grow to maturity there, have a view of the world that is spacious in an empty sense as the eye travels to an undisturbed horizon, a view that is particular, local, bounded and proud. Though to others the horizon of opportunity is no longer limited to the horizon visible from the shore (if it ever was), to the islander the limit of his island has been an emotional boundary. Among whatever else may condition their motives one psychological need arises from this view: the need to keep things encompassed; to continue to be able to walk or sail around the edges of a definite world; to know enough of its finite knowledge so that all that needs to be known can be known even if not known; to go to the center of the island and from there to sing or shout or reflect that however shattered it might seem to others, the island experience is, within itself, with all its conflicts, potentially whole.

The mind of those who live on continents is otherwise. If a place is spoiled there are other places to go, other camps to set up, other valleys over the ridge. If resources here are depleting, break camp, move on, there must be more. Wholeness is not easily attained (if at all), but becomes something to dream on, insubstantial as hope. Since land is all around movement in any direction is possible and in a sense has equal possible meaning. Survival is not an issue as it is for sailors and voyagers.

To live in an ocean you must know its tracks accurately well. To live on a continent is to have tracks all around you and to make your own. Continents have provided for, even required, great syntheses of cultures, and the civilizations of east and west have been human kind's answer to that challenge. Islands have never required such synthesis.

Not, that is, until now. The island view has always been, in the best sense, conservative, concerned that the continuities of human expression developed in each place be perpetuated, that its creative capacities be tempered by and contained within clear cultural limits and that the ecology never be forgotten, and that its personifications, in some sense or other, be made sacred or at very least given due respect. On a continent the creative challenge is more urgent for even peasants know that other ways, an infinity of other ways, exist.

With ports and airports, ships and planes and cities, the continent's view has come to the Pacific, even to its littlest places. The impact is strong and abiding; its cultural consequences are not yet clear. Yet the psychological sense of wholeness in island experience, however threatened by the sudden new permeability of boundaries, remains a clear asset for all who have not finally sold their birthright. Over the years I have come to have a certain faith, a (for me) quite unaccustomed optimism about cultural continuities in Pacific Island cultures. Perhaps this is evidence only of my partiality in what I attend to and

observe; perhaps it is more than this. Let me share with you some of the background to this view.

My wife and I have been looking at families in New Zealand over some years now. Jane Ritchie's study of migrant families in Wellington was conducted more than a decade before we finally completed our extensive cross-cultural comparison of Maori and white families in New Zealand. Over that period of time the urbanization of the New Zealand Maori population jack knifed from one-quarter urban, three-quarter rural to the reverse ratio. Yet we found evidence that far from slipping away, the distinctive features of Maori child-rearing, as ideology and as practice, persisted. The work of Alan Howard and Ron Gallimore documents a similar resilience and continuity for a Hawaiian community. If culture rests on what families teach children about how to express human potentialities then in these two locations culture continues. That this is so little recognized betrays the mote in all of our eyes, a secret readiness to see what we want rather than what is there.

My first experiences of Maori culture were not as anthropologist or psychologist but as participant. As a young man I was incorporated by young Maoris, my friends, into an urban Maori community center and its activities. These included weekly dances (so I learned to dance in a freer, more Maori way, than would otherwise have been likely), church services where part of the service was in Maori (and the hymn singing always was), weddings and burials and gatherings to discuss land and legislation and all the important trivia of community concerns. We travelled often to gatherings elsewhere, to the openings of redecorated or new meeting houses, to compete in cultural competitions in song and dance, to historical and traditional celebrations, to religious events of various kinds and to give concerts to raise money for Maori concerns, or simply to show off our expertise in action song and posture dance. This small organization was making Maoritanga not only in the sense of teaching old cultural forms but creating new songs and dance expressions of new concerns and of new personalities. A new action song composed some two or three hundred miles away by Tuini Ngawai, the most celebrated composer of the day, would quickly disseminate by being performed by groups like ours, gathering new associations by each notable performance at each new event, a shared vehicle for contemporary cultural communication.

There was a complex interplay between such composers, their own dance troupes, the strong emphasis on cultural performance at the great private Maori secondary schools, traditional rural meeting places or marae, and urban groups like ours, the most publicly visible tip of the cultural iceberg because it was urban, exhibitionistic, on display.

We lived in a continual aura of cultural criticism. A performance might not meet traditional standards of either excellence or propriety, or both. Our tunes were pop melodies. Our actions were too stylized, too drilled, our technique too jazzy--un-Maori. We included too little that was truly old, genuinely traditional, in our repertoire. We made money from our performing, and used it to give gifts to our hosts, gifts to our members when they married or became 21, for travel to a death wake, or to purchase a headstone for a dead member's grave. We invented traditional justifications for what we did. We worried because we did not know enough of the complexities of tribal etiquette to avoid offense, even sometimes possible supernatural threat for inadvertent error. Both Maori and non-Maori critics berated us for being too modern.

It did not matter. The overt cultural activities, the concert party, the use of Maori language, were merely ways of fashioning a satisfactory life together, of permitting the reality of culture at a deeper level (one of sentiments, of values) to flow on, patterning our relationships. All this is as strong now as ever before.

Family style persists; collective action persists. These are two kinds of culture and in both the islanders' insularity and insulation is expressed.

I was drawn into an understanding of meeting houses and buildings of marae, the central place of Maori villages, in two ways. I helped the people to redecorate an old church (Rangiataea in Otaki) for its centennial. While there the old priest Paora Temuera taught me songs that made sense in the lives and the history of those who built that building and told me tales of how it came to be built. He showed me how judiciously its decoration had been applied. He told me of his feelings that symbolically another church or building, his own home for example, needed only a touch of decoration for him to feel it as invested with the almost physical power to let him feel at home in continuity in his culture, however foreign the structure might seem. A little culture goes a long way provided it is potent.

The other way was less subtle and more substantial. In another place an old man, Tipikaa, carefully instructed me in the etiquette of his tribal marae customs: who should speak first, how a speech should be made, where and what to sing, when to be casual, when to be formal and so on. All this was new to me. But much of it was new for him too. The customs of his marae were changing. Fortunately his community had not had to build a meeting house, a costly undertaking, because they had always had one but they had themselves constructed a modern decorated dining hall, a place de-sanctified and thus free for use for feasting and dancing and discussion of secular affairs in ways far beyond the limits of tradition's injunctions, responsive to cultural pressures and concerns.

Family continues; associational, recreational culture thrives; the people find places where the cultural symbols can be invoked and meaningful discourse continues outside and beyond the world of commerce and movies and technology and schools, beyond the intrusions of the other culture of the urban town.

The wonder is, in New Zealand, not that so much that is Maori has perished but that so much that is new has grown from the Polynesian rootstock now transplanted to grow amidst the asphalt, glass and steel and concrete, noise and crowding of modern towns. The remarkable thing is not that Maoris have learned to handle and use the new social media, the school system and all its ramifications for example, or the machinery of politics and government, but that the Maori tradition with neither schools, curricula, teachers nor any other "modern" instructional aids or means has produced in each generation a new crop of all that it required: poets, bards, philosophers and wise men, politicians, polemicists, mothers and spokesmen, ordinary people and scoundrels.

Apart from a few tour guides and one or two carvers this continuity has provided an economic base for living to practically no one. Concert parties may perform for tourists but earn only trifling sums this way, and if they do not wish to do so, to the fury of tour directors, they won't. The persistence of Maori culture has been private rather than public, part of recreation rather than work, in entertainment not labor, occasional and event related rather than institutional and regularised.

How do people learn this new culture? From other people, so that the rewards are in relationships, culture carried along with personal feelings of regard, of respect, of concern, of fun, of love, and rubbed off by people onto people along the way. The learning is implicit; the reinforcers are powerful ones.

What is such culture for? Ipso facto, sui generis, it is for itself, not this or that but in between, not one thing or another thing or anything but that which acts as context to everything else; a whole optional island view.

Such participatory culture does not now noticeably clash with what the continental mind has brought to the scene. The days of clashes are really over. The political protestations of young Maoris are no longer really concerned with the fashioning of alternatives--the alternatives are already there. Migration out of the Maori alternative is possible as a total act. But most Maoris can and do move with dexterity and assurance from one to the other. Most are not marginal men, nor perplexed, nor confused, nor dismayed, nor tense with dissonance. They are Maori not because they speak the language, not because they eat Maori food, sing and dance in traditional haka or modern action song, vote for a Maori member of Parliament, go to a Maori church, have a Maori name, or pray to a Maori God, not for all of these things or for any of them. They are Maori because they can, when they so choose, act in ways that other Maoris recognize as Maori. He who would call this a thin or fragile sense of identity had better examine his own. Being Maori is an available role that is validated in its recognition by others.

Maoris have refused to accept anyone's dogma about what being Maori should be. Partly this may be because even the most eloquent of their own number have found it impossible to give analytic expression to it. Apirana Ngata invented the term Maoritanga because there was no Maori term for identity or culture. One suspects that he did so to silence the doubters, to attain viability by nominal assertion but also it was a slogan, a rallying point, never an explanation. When challenged to explain he listed: the language, the traditional poetry, history and traditions, the customs of oratory and ceremony, the marae as a meeting place, whakapapa or traditional use of genealogy, whakatauaki--the proverbial sayings, carving, the textile and graphic arts. As in nineteenth century anthropology, culture had to be itemized as content, otherwise it could not even be talked about. But just to do so led to dangers because in this view lay the threat of culture loss, as items dropped off the list, rather than the promise of creative response.

Yet it was the same man who said that all that Maoritanga meant as a cognitive concept, an idea in the head about ideas in the head, could be summed up in the word aroha, a term so drenched in sentiment, so slippery and ambiguous that even now it defies definition. It was, of course, a fine word to express the expressive, to convey the close dependencies of family and tribal relationships, the bonded attachment of man to man, woman to woman, child to child, reciprocity, each to the other and all to the powerful potent symbolism of all that was in his other list.

And it was that man too who set to work using culture as a political tool, even to the point where he challenged the current land settlement laws and regulations and fell foul of a governmental investigating commission. He used culture as a regenerative tool also, fashioning the modern action song, poi, stick games, hand games, haka, into a repertoire accessible to even those most alienated from land and tribe and custom.

The gap which emerged between old and young Maoris in the early decades of this century was as real and as sharp as any existing today. Ngata did not bridge it but let it widen, acting himself, and training others to act, as interpreter from culture as it was to culture as it is.

At times he spoke of culture with nostalgia as in his long poem, "A Scene From the Past," but even as he did so he rolled up his sleeves and set about berating his young folk for the slackness of their performance in the new cultural expressions he created. They loved him for it. He was giving them a way of manifesting an identity that also was within their competence and cost them nothing in renunciation of the modern world of wages, and study, building a home and getting on with the business of being urban.

He had no time for anything which pushed people backwards. He had a Polynesian pragmatism. Culture was what people were doing or could be induced to do. He gave to the past its due; collecting and translating the old poetry; urging the universities to adopt courses in the study of the Maori past; backing the development of museums; facilitating the work of the Board of Ethnological Research; rebuilding meeting houses and restoring ancient places; urging separate development within church organizations; supporting the church secondary schools through times of financial hardship and government coolness. But the past was given no more than its due, and that was assessed, shrewdly, practically. The thrust of everything he did was to consolidate any and every expression of being Maori now. In a conversation I had with him just before he died he bunched his eyebrows at me and castigated me for antiquarianism. In effect he called me to account as yet another Pakeha trying to tell Maoris what to do. I never forgot it but I was, I suppose, as much a creature of my culture as was he of his. He could sit drumming his fingers to a country-western ballad picked on a guitar and give the performer a congratulatory slap on the shoulder for being so Maori while, for the life of me, I could see nothing Maori in the performance.

Much much later I happened to be on the marae of Turangawaewae, a famous place where the symbolic Maori King holds court. It was an event of no special significance except that a party from Tonga was in attendance, as was a touring group of Cook Island performers too. The marae was opened and became a Pacific place for the three days of that gathering. My group returned to the city and now had several new songs to perform. A cultural exchange had taken place. Being Maori now included just a little of Tonga and a tiny part of Rarotonga. The purists sneered but we were having fun.

Years later still I was in Goroka in the highlands of New Guinea at a concert given by teacher trainers during the Goroka show (a biannual event modelled on an Australian rural agricultural and pastoral show, itself a piece of cultural syncretism that awaits its ethnographer). Some girls from Samarai contributed a Maori poi dance and sang one of those same Cook Island melodies that I had learned years before at Turangawaewae. They had learned these from a touring Maori concert party while in Fiji!

Was it that sensing the loss of their own culture they clung to any straw? Not a bit of it. They were in the Pacific, heirs now to all of its cultural riches, supplanting the islander mind not with that of the continental but with their own extension into modern time of sea going traders bringing home riches that would make life more entertaining, somehow more worthwhile. They were having fun too.

Later yet and coming now close to our time I sat in a beachside park in Honolulu and watched a full Maori concert given by a group as much oriental and Haole as they were Hawaiian and the trainer amongst them the only one true Maori. The gestures were softer, the hips more mobile. The aroha was there though. No one had said, "let us share our cultures for the intrinsic delight of doing so," but their leader, a Maori woman, wanting to bring her wares to the cultural market place, did so, both for profit and also for the satisfactions, far from home, of establishing a continuity. The hybrid product would never win a cultural competition back in New Zealand but that is neither the location nor intention and is therefore of no account. Culture is what people do either because they cannot or because they enjoy it. Culture is not some cross to carry; it is a way of having fun.

I found in Hawaii many strange things in the cultural marketplace: Tahitians who claimed they were doing Hawaiian hula; Hawaiians who similarly claimed to perform their hula Tahiti style; Hawaiian hula purporting to be Samoan siva; groups or individuals who revile all this and want to return to the purity of pre-European

chant and dance; a whole night of the songs of the late Queen Liliuokalani presented with the softest edge of bitterness in these latter days of the Hawaiian minority status and continued rip-off. I met a nightclub stripper who claimed that it was traditional to do the hula naked! I found a local nightclub where the entertainment (and seemingly most of the audience) came from relatives of the celebrity performer. They had come to hear him and found themselves performing as well. Each song was preceded by a patter, largely improvised, relating who made the song, then who had made it famous, where it had been performed, how it had been altered. It was a Polynesian family affair. In music, if a rolling stone does not gather moss, it is soon and best forgotten.

In all of this the intentions and the motives were fairly clear and familiar to me. I had heard and experienced it all before, six thousand miles away in New Zealand, in a local bar in Port Moresby, in a nightclub in Palau, after dark in Aggie Greys Hotel. For the Pacific person there is a cultural black market, an underground of familiar exchanges.

Sometimes this may be exploited for tourists but they are in their own way as fickle a transient influence as were the missionaries and the traders and the whalers and the sailors and the military before them. Even when you blast a coral atoll into a shape unrecognizable to its owners you do not destroy their cultural continuity. Because we attend more to the radical effects of environmental change, advances in technology and the public ways of governance we may lose sight of what it is that a mother teaches a child, of how voice and stance and emotions are patterned even before speech itself. Because we are internationally, and massively, persuaded that change is ubiquitous and accelerating we may not be attentive to the change that keeps things, inner things, things important far beyond the small change of day to day transactions, held close within the conservative heart of cultural continuity.

A single creative person attached to the Secondary Teachers College in Goroka set off a burst of cultural construction that the outside world of art has yet to discover. This efflorescence was so simply achieved that it is almost ridiculous to write about it. His central idea, more a set of exploratory actions than a plan, was to teach techniques, printing with silk screens, potting and ceramic sculpture, working with beaten copper, block printing and then to urge his students to use these means to adapt, to respond creatively to traditional motifs. The expressive explosion that occurred has created a new tradition that will place contemporary New Guinean art on the map as securely as the traditional mask makers and haus tambarin painters of the Sepik ever did. The establishment of a centre for contemporary arts and crafts alongside the University of Papua New Guinea is the institutionalization of this innovation.

Somewhat the same resurgence took place in New Zealand when the School of Maori Arts and Crafts was established in Rotorua in the late 1920's. It faded away for a time but the craftsmen it trained, notably Pine Taiapa and his brother, Hone, carved scores of fully decorated houses, reviving a tradition that in itself was an extension of the limited use of carving in pre-European days. Its modern counterpart was re-established in the 1960's just in time to give the craft tradition continuity.

There, as at Goroka, the surviving craftsmen were brought in to interact with young people. At Goroka, for example, the finest painter of haus tambarin (elaborately decorated houses of the Sepik District) was given the status of resident artist for some months. During this time he taught how to make brushes from chicken feathers, how to find, grind, and prepare paints from ochres, soot and ashes and, like a master-painter in renaissance Italy, he roughed out a haus tambarin style decoration on the interior upper end gable of the college theatre which the students then finished off. For him it was a fine Gully Jimson type

wall--an opportunity of a scope that local building construction did not offer. For them it was a participation in a collective product of decorative art, a satisfying collective act. But at the same time they got a feeling in their muscles for the forms of art of this kind, a tuning of their eye to the muted colors of the clays, an appreciation of the increased subtlety that disciplined restrictions and structure provides. And for all of us this example of Sepik art has now come inside where it can be seen today and hopefully for decades ahead. It sets a model of adaption as significant in its own way as the Sistine ceilings are in their tradition.

For a while, in New Zealand, the newly trained practitioners did brash things, struck out in new directions that failed to get momentum. There is a decorated house at Manutuke near Gisborne where naturalistic forms--birds, men, leaves, trees and so forth--were worked into the kowhaiwhai, the traditional scroll decoration of rafter patterns. In another case, at the house called Mataatua in Ruatahuna, the human-like figures at the base of the main roof supports inside the house have black coats, collars and ties, mercifully hidden (these days) by flax cloaks wrapped around them. In both cases we can now recognize a false lead; these elements do not fit harmoniously with the whole stylistic integration of the houses concerned, nor with the continuity of the tradition of decorated houses. Such a judgment can now be made (for what it is worth) and validated by consensus for no imitators emerged; these are one-shot outgrowths from the cultural stem. But this could not be easily seen at the time they appeared as artistic expressions. Only time renders that perspective. He who would presume to know where the zeitgeist is moving runs the risk of being out-flanked as cultural growth continues and is directed not by what one man does but by what those of deepest cultural awareness can appreciate and endorse. Our inability to predict requires of us the suspension of judgments made too soon or too harshly.

Culture is not only art but art encodes its expressions. It is also curious that in the creative expressions of culture, and particularly in new culture, we may learn more readily than in any other way what it is that makes any culture satisfying for its possessors.

Chronologically a child is progressively exposed to his own culture as he grows in a universally determined ordering of experience. Even before speech is patterned the child is shaped by his experience so that his observable habits, the countable occurrences of this or that behavior, are established. Language is an extension of this habit base, needed because alone he cannot control others, or even himself, in satisfying ways. Speech is a surface domain; at one level it is public, objective and capable of study, of explication and reduction to a set of rules. Social organization is the next working area in enculturation. Through observing its forms and observing oneself in such observations, through breaking the rules (and being punished) or not doing so and getting social reinforcements, a largely unconscious understanding of social action is built into behavior. The reinforcement is material, too, in that the social organization includes the ways of getting food and other materially satisfying things. This lays the basis for the enjoyment of socially patterned creativity and funmaking, the secular arts as part of adult action, general rather than specialized, even where specialists exist. Beyond this are the manifestations of religious and mythological understandings that may not be fully enculturated until a person has moved well into the shadow of his later life.

All these are surface structures, manifest, observable, reportable, capable of direct or empirical examination, clearly actions in the world.

Recently linguists have begun to speak of language having a deep structure, a level of organization beyond that merely of grammar and syntax, beyond semantics

or even semiotic. There are deep structural counterparts to all the domains of culture of which I have been writing.

At the habit level there is the whole psychomotor and neuro-humoral status of the person including genetic propensities such as general body shape, skin color, fat distribution and metabolism. These latter do not comprise habits themselves but the interaction between them and patterned experience during development, and after maturity, too, does.

In a similar way language has its deep structure, its basic inner logic related to and integrated with all other manifestations of cultural experience to which language seeks to give expression.

Social structure similarly is actually unknowable in a sensory way, because it is implicit and assumptive. Nothing within culture experience ever reveals it to those who participate. It is not a description of what people do; it is the algebraic statement of the orderliness, of the lawfulness, of cultural experience. It may be less complicated than social organization but it is still far more complex than most anthropological descriptions (ethnographies) allow.

The entertainments and creative aspects of culture have in their deep structure a much higher loading on the ethos, the emotional tone and the messages about emotionality than do any other aspect of culture. And finally religion and mythology have a deep structure that is related to valuing, to ideology and to the patterning of thought forms. Traditionally anthropologists have sought this level of understanding through language and linguistics. No doubt it could be sought there but that is a very complicated way to do so.

What I have said, in effect, is that there is the same deep structure of culture which is manifested in different forms in habit, speaking, social action, song, poetry and other creative arts, and in the mythico-religious life of a people-- the same structure, the same deep structure, the ground swell below the surface waves and winds of change. Now how would I or anyone else ever know that?

Empirically I cannot say though a suitable conceptual and research strategy was in embryonic development in American anthropology in the decades before and after the death of Ruth Benedict. That lead petered out in the cool blast of radical empiricism and behavioristics at mid-century. But there are two kinds of experience that immediately give me confidence to postulate in this way. The first is that people in different cultures select from new alternatives, and they do so in ways that make stylistic sense, even when there is no apparent precedent for their choices and no logical or rational explanation. Palauans now make rubbings from story boards; they do not print fabrics to immitate tapa (though conceivably they might!) Why? Polynesians took up guitars and played music that is recognizably Polynesian; they didn't take up flutes even though nose flutes and other flutes were in their cultural inventory. Why? New Guineans are now producing beaten coppers and they have never even heard of the Kwakiutl who now don't. All of these acceptances require new habits, new language, new forms of social expression; they have developed as new arts, and may at some level or other have magic--mythic--religious implications. The swiftness and smoothness of acceptance of innovation and of integration of it into peoples' lives implies coherence. That ordering comes from the deep structure not of any part of culture but of culture itself.

But my second reason for being confident about all this is purely personal and avowedly subjective. I came to my first enjoyment of Maori culture learning, by rote, the words and actions of concert items I had no surface understanding of except as a means towards group acceptance. To deepen my understanding, like a child, I had to learn the language; with that as base, I could participate in social

action and be absorbed inconspicuously into the ordinary social organization of community and family events. Slowly I came to a level where I could sit with Pine or Hone Taiapa and absorb the knowing of a carver; where I could hear and appreciate the inner voices of the songs and chants. In time I used this kind of material to write for radio and the stage, plays in which Maori performers gave my words new meanings that I had not premeditated. And I am now immersed in the analysis of mythology, feeling through it awareness about (if not of) its psychology, its unique statement of how human beings are and are meant to be.

It seems to me to be no accident that this search over twenty years of my adult life has moved through these cycles. I do not feel that anything I or anyone else knows about me accounts for this succession.

Admittedly, one man's experience, and his theorizing about it is not a reasonable base for a policy concerning contemporary culture but, lacking any other, I can offer some suggestions, not because they are tried and true but because they are possible and possibly credible.

When things fall apart I go to the centre. But if on a Pacific Island no real centre exists for the affirmation of cultural deep structure where then does one go? Maybe to a bar where, with and through alcohol and company, habits, language, social forms, entertainments and "talking story" can come together. Are these now the cultural centres for many Pacific islands? Maybe to a beach where picnicing gets it all together. Maybe to perform at a hotel or a night-club--the only possible centre for some in some places? Maybe just with friends at home. Maybe at a school or in some similar "bit" of the education industry.

I doubt that any foundation or funding agency will accept my plea but there is a story to be told of the bars of Oceania as places where the spirit of local cultures runs strong. I may by now be too old for the rigors of the fieldwork involved but I do in all seriousness commend the suggestion and offer it to anyone who cares to follow it.

Centres are needed, I suspect, in many places where none of the alternatives I offered above apply, and indeed in many where they do. Such expressions are an eruption, through these available vents, of the force and power of the deep structure of the cultures concerned. They are available, though not necessarily appropriate. A centre could give what Maoris have come to call turangawaewae--the place where I stand, the firm base and locus for the individual to seek and enjoy cultural integrity and expression.

If they are to do so, and even if they are not there to do so, we can no longer persist in the kind of exclusive definition of what is, and what is not, proper culture. Nor need we. The level of cultural continuity I have been speaking of is tough, sinewy, but also capable of multi-form expression. Bar songs are it. Beer parties are it. Waikiki is it. Slogans stencilled on tee-shirts are it. And so are electric guitars, modern dyes and paint, mimeographed newsheets, photo-montage, tape recordings, children's art in school classes, legends retold, poems created, cultural competitions.

If I were the honest broker in the marketplace of Pacific cultures, I would have to have a booth for everything and not even shy away from coconut skies. What Pacific islanders are doing expresses their cultures as they are now. If ways can be found to enhance, excite, stimulate, encourage, promote, support any or all kinds of experimentation, sharing, enjoyment, then let such ways be explored and leave it to the culture, carried by those whose culture it is, to select and to determine its own fate in its own pattern of replacement and renewal, of eternal return.

Where creative people arise they should be paid just to be creative, for that will release creativity in others. Where media exist they should be supported in their efforts to draw on local materials and talent even if this is more expensive and difficult than spinning the evanescent "pop". Where they do not exist they should be generated. The school curricula in humanities, in language, and in social science should be exploited for local cultural significance, and everything else that is taught should be trenchantly examined for its relevance to local culture as it now exists, 1974 version (please, future readers, update to your current year).

Every citizen of the new world is entitled to enjoy simultaneously both his or her status as a human being and status as a cultural and therefore cultured person. Sharing cultures may become very important to us all. We cannot do so till we creatively possess and love the culture to which we were born and in which we were raised. Homogenized, synthetic, one world, culture has no mothers' breast, no local place, no network of love. Let us bring all the world's cultures as offerings to the enrichment and the growth of each, not supplant any in the interests of a thin ideology of muddy-minded political internationalism.

II. French Polynesia

Mass tourism needs mass transport. This is particularly true in the Pacific where distances are great and tourism did not become a major industry until a network of airports and, more importantly, regular jet services connecting the region with the Americas and Australasia, were established. The evolution of tourism in Tahiti, the central island of French Polynesia, illustrates this. Tahiti has always been alluring to travelers, particularly those from cold and crowded industrial centers, but until the early 1960's Tahiti was relatively inaccessible because there was no international airport there. Cruise ships and a tenuous air link (involving taking a propeller aircraft to Borabora, where a World War II airstrip was located, and then transferring to a seaplane for the flight to Tahiti) did not allow major tourism growth. Since the early 1960's, however, when a jet airport on Tahiti was completed and direct service from North America, Hawaii and South Pacific points were inaugurated, tourism on Tahiti has boomed. Claude Robineau's paper, "The Tahitian Economy and Tourism," analyzes this boom, both in general terms and specifically in reference to Moorea, a small island off Tahiti where tourism has become the major industry and has drastically changed living patterns.

What role do the indigenous people play in Pacific tourism? If the Tahiti situation, as documented by Robineau, is any indication, the answer is that they are more likely to be taxi cab drivers, waiters and maids than owners and managers of tourism facilities. Prior to the tourism boom there were a number of small, Tahitian-owned, hotels and guest cottages. These enterprises have mostly suffered with the tourism boom, and they have been either bought out or driven out of business as foreign entrepreneurs and international companies have moved in, erected large hotels and captured most of the tourist trade. These new enterprises of mass tourism of course do provide local employment, but as Robineau points out it is mostly of a low level type. This situation, plus other disturbing trends, leads Robineau to wonder whether it would be possible to create what he calls a "unique Polynesian tourism formula" that could both serve the leisure needs of tourists and allow full participation by the Tahitian population in such a way that they mould tourist industry and not vice versa.

THE TAHITIAN ECONOMY AND TOURISM

Claude Robineau

During the last two decades the development of the international tourist trade has expanded so greatly that it has become an important factor in national economies. Moreover, the prosperity of the industrial societies of non-socialist Europe, North America, and Japan, the considerably higher standard of living of individuals in these societies, as well as the fantastic progress in transportation thanks to airplanes with a big carrying capacity have made it possible for the tourist trade to exploit non-industrial countries in Latin America, the Far East and Africa.

In the Pacific, especially the South Pacific, it has been the jet plane, cheap fuel during this period, and finally the steady lowering of the real, not just nominal, air travel rates for tourists, that has permitted the integration of this area into the field of world tourism.

For that part of Polynesia under French domination, the main stages were:

- Until 1959, Tahiti could not be reached by plane except from Fiji over the "coral route" exploited by the New Zealand company, T.E.A.L. ⁽¹⁾, by seaplane via Apia in Western Samoa and Aitutaki in the Cook Islands.

- Beginning in 1959, the French company, T.A.I. ⁽²⁾ established, with a D.C.6 propeller-driven aircraft, a direct line via Saigon, Djakarta, Darwin, Brisbane, Nouméa, Nandi and Borabora where a landing strip had been constructed by the American army during the last war. From Borabora tourists reached Papeete by sea.

- Since 1961, the opening of the Tahiti-Faaa international airport near Papeete has made it possible for the big air lines to serve the territory: T.A.I. (later U.T.A), PAN AM, T.E.A.L. (later Air New Zealand), Qantas, Lan Chile, and finally Air-France, making connections respectively between Papeete and Noumea and Los Angeles, Honolulu and American Samoa, New Zealand, Australia, Fiji, Chile, and latterly Tokyo, Lima and Rarotonga in the Cook Islands.

Before the arrival of big capacity airplanes, the tourist trade was not unknown in Tahiti. But, compared with what we see today, and even more with what we may expect to see tomorrow, it was not a massive tourist business. Since the end of the last war, a number of larger and larger luxury tourist liners stopped over in Tahiti. The French Messageries Maritimes company, using its mixed passenger and freight liners, brought in a few tourists from Europe. However, it was primarily the American shipping lines such as the Matson Line that brought in the largest lots. But, compared to the big capacity airplanes, the surface liners brought in only a sporadic flow of tourists.

As for hotels, a few were kept by Europeans or Demis (part-Europeans) in Papeete. In the country districts and on the other islands, there were some little Polynesian hotels, ordinarily family concerns. The hotel business reflected to some extent the economic structure of that time, colonial and pyramidal: at the top, the European business circles ⁽³⁾; in the middle, the Demis, a group culturally and socially on the fence between Tahiti's European society and culture and the Polynesian society and culture; at the bottom, the Polynesians. In a parallel way, oriented around an economy combining production with trade, the Chinese held, at least in the business world, a keystone position between big European business and the Polynesian commercial vacuum. When, later on, the

hotel business was to expand in the middle 1950's, capital from Tahiti's Chinese society and economy would become interested.

A single forerunner of a future tourism, the Mediterranean Club (le Club Méditerranée), set up in Punaauia on Tahiti's west coast a modest vacationing village of 10 bungalows, or 20 beds.

It was during these years and the five following ones (the first half of the 1960's decade) that the second generation of hotels put in its appearance. This was mainly in Tahiti, a bit in Moorea and the Leeward Islands. There were several reasons for this:

1) The opening of the airport, which made possible for the first time direct communication between Papeete and the outer world. This development made it possible to look forward to a more extensive and continuous flow of tourists. The business world had acquired experience and was familiar with the possibilities of the airplane and how to make use of it in the tourist trade - coupling together, for instance, travel agencies, air transport, and hotels. The fact that Tahiti was behind the times in this field meant that the recipe was known and there was no risk in planning for the future.

2) The 1959 French devaluation, which lowered the Pacific franc by 20 percent in relation to the American dollar, meaning lower local prices for the American tourists.

3) I believe that Metro Goldwin Mayer's filming of the Bounty odyssey which took ten months, used 2,000 extras as well as 8,000 regular employees, and cost 27 million dollars, constituted a temporary economic boom which stimulated the local capitalists to invest, as well as European business people connected with these capitalists.⁽⁴⁾

In 1963-64 the installation of the Centre d'Experimentations du Pacifique (C.E.P.), a French military base for nuclear testing was begun. This installation had considerable effects on the French Polynesian economy, as it brought about the creation of a truly artificial economy:

- by the creation of direct jobs (building and upkeep of the bases and sites);
- by construction of the Papeete port, extension of the airport, civil government constructions so as not to overload the military buildings (administrative buildings, school buildings, hospitals, island airdromes), all leading to the creation of indirect jobs;
- the setting up in Tahiti of technicians and specialists connected with the activities of the nuclear base along with their families (five to ten thousand persons over and above the regular population which was 98,000 inhabitants in 1967), leading to the creation of domestic jobs, programs for the building of lodgings, land speculation on the part of urban owners, and ultimately the stimulation of the demand for work;
- the job pressure brought on a spectacular rise in salaries, the abandonment of agriculture because the new salaried employees could no longer cultivate and the land owners could find only a few very high-priced workers, with a further consequence of a rise in the price of local products, thus favoring imported products. Furthermore, the higher salaries, increasing the demand with the ability to pay, that is, the buyers' solvency, must have induced the sellers of products and services to increase their prices, not only because these products and services were rare but because they knew that the buyers could pay for them. I believe that the salary increase was a causal factor in the inflation, not because the

increase in salaries directly pushed up costs and hence prices but because they allowed larger profit margins to operate.

- local production increased, but not in proportion to the demand. Salaried workers made greater use of imported products; and their high salary level led them to buy more consumption goods for themselves and their homes. These factors added to the presence of a temporarily expatriated European population with a high standard of living caused a considerable development of Papeete's commercial and semi-industrial capacity which allowed, besides the build up of new European and Demi fortunes, the economic rise of the Chinese to an almost dominant place. But the accompanying inflation made Tahiti the most expensive place in the Pacific for tourists.

As of 1968, it was felt that the prosperity connected with the nuclear base would not last. The period of accelerated work had ended and the territory's administration thought about providing a natural relief to this artificial economy by:

- making use of the expansion in New Caledonia connected with the nickel boom as a safety valve for the state of employment in French Polynesia;

- providing some substitution for the flow of salaries obtained from the nuclear base through the expansion of the Territory's economy by having France subsidize the local public operations, through the expansion of the public services, and through progressively setting up a system of social security aligned to France's own;

- promoting the tourist trade to the rank of the basic foundation of the Territory's economy. It was around 1965 that, in order to coordinate the Territory's tourist policy, a Tourist Trade Development Office was erected. From that time on, a tourist policy was progressively elaborated and tourism was promoted to the rank of great pillars on which the Territory's economy was to repose.

This was wishful thinking, although it is undeniable that the tourist trade has grown since the first years of the 1960's.

In spite of the growth of the tourist trade, the ridiculously small role of tourism both in the make-up of the gross domestic product as well as in the balance of foreign trade shows up the artificial character of the Territory's economy where the exchanges or trade and the overall production are blown up or inflated by indirect activities, deriving economically from the nuclear base (Tables 1 and 2). What is evident is that in the future the tourist trade will tend to take a bigger and bigger part in exports, not only because of its own growth but because, unless there is some profound new transformation in the economy, it will fall to tourism to be the only steady "export".

Compared to official economic planning forecasts, the growth of the tourist trade has shown a certain slowness that seems to be due in part to certain disadvantages in comparison with other Pacific islands or archipelagoes (high cost of living, inadequate equipment, low quality of services) but also in part to economic growth tied in with demographic growth and the occurrence of the inflationary period that has prevailed in the Territory since the beginning of the 1960's (and following the establishment of the nuclear base) making it depend more and more on the economy of the outside world.

For the purpose of speeding up development, those responsible for the Territory's tourist industry attempted to work on the hotel capacity, equipment, and quality of service. In particular, in 1968-69, the history of the hotel business in Tahiti entered into a new era, that of big hotels dependent on international

TABLE 1
Growth of the tourist industry in French Polynesia

Years	Number of tourists	Length of stay in days	Number of rooms	Occupancy rate
1959	1,472			
1960	4,087		51	
1961	8,653		236	
1962	10,406		306	
1963	14,135		331	
1964	13,085		425	
1965	14,830	7	336	
1966	16,200	6.5	399	
1967	23,574	6.7	488	64 percent
1968	28,402	7.1	742	
1969	37,299	6.4	985	
1970	48,809	6.1	1,230	55 percent
1971	63,222		1,209	62 percent
1972	69,165		1,261	75 percent
1973	77,988		1,386	

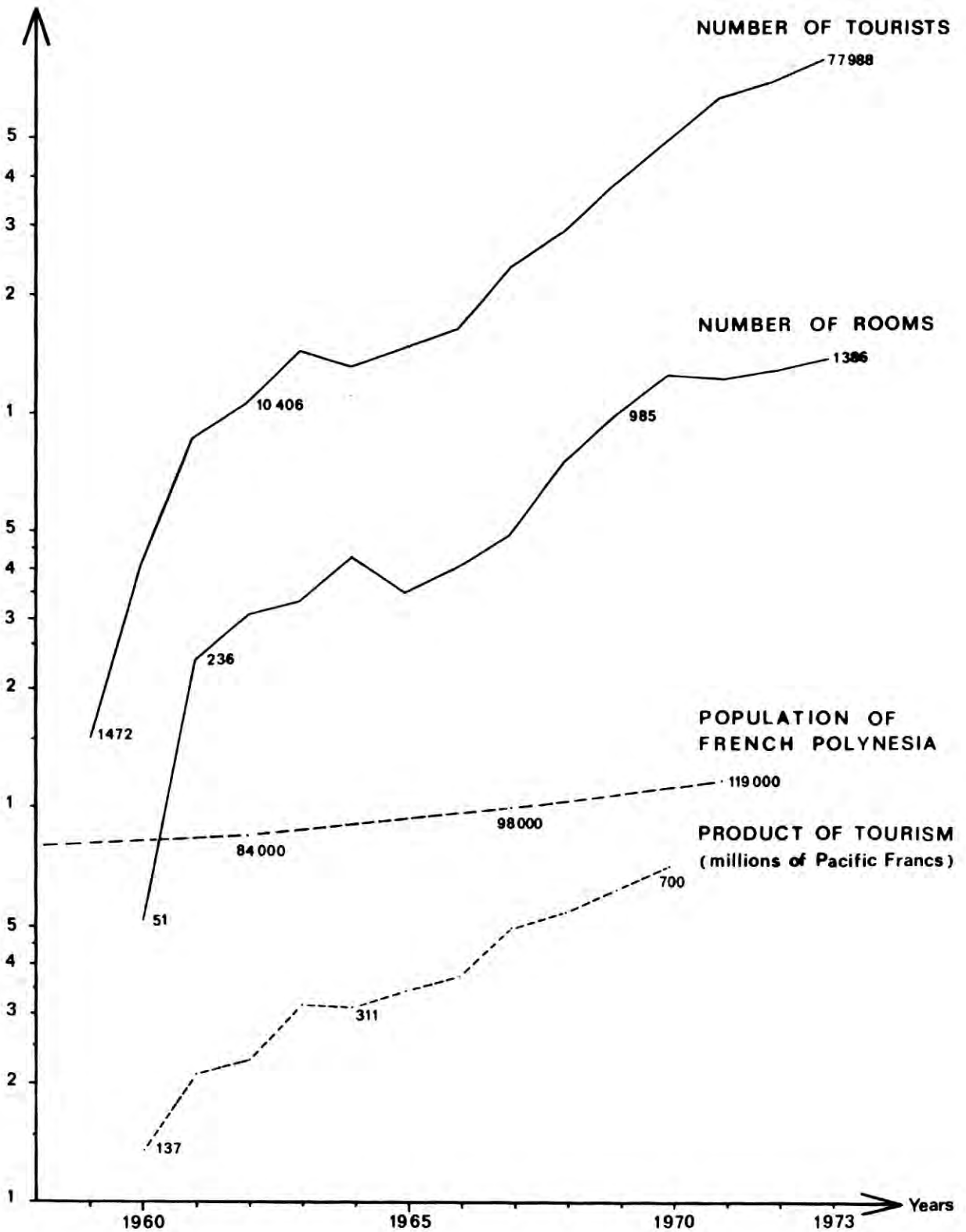
Source: Office of Tourist Development

TABLE 2
Effects of the tourist trade on the French Polynesian economy

Years	Relation of tourism product to Gross Domestic Product in per cent	Relation of tourism receipts to exports in per cent	Relation of tourism receipts to imports in per cent	number of jobs created directly or indirectly by tourism
1959	?	10.32	9.83	
1960	3.21	14.52	12.05	
1961	4.4	21	13.55	
1962	4.5	21.38	11.87	
1963	5.24	30.04	13.89	
1964	3.37	26.87	5.85	
1965	2.56	30.04	4.22	
1966	2.29	22.07	2.90	
1967	2.94	33.09	5.77	
1968	2.73	37.14	4.17	1,500
1969	3.1	35.44	7.07	
1970	3.62	?	?	
1971	?	?	?	2,542
1972	?	?	?	
1973	?	?	?	

Source: Rapports annuels de L'Institut d'émission d'Outre-mer et Comptes économiques de la Polynésie française

TOURISM IN FRENCH POLYNESIA



chains. Two hotels were built in which airlines had an interest, and a third was planned but did not come into being until three or four years later because tourist demand did not follow very closely in the footsteps of supply. In an extremely serious development, the two new ventures affected the 1960's generation of bungalow hotels: most of them are in the doldrums, and the most important of them has had to close its doors. Economically, these two ventures meant the substitution of an international capitalism (American in one instance, French in the other) for local or semi-local capital funds: a further slight step ahead in Tahiti's dependence on the outside world. With these two establishments, the multiplication of travel bureaus, the organization of internal tourist transport, and the development of the local airline network, a whole hotel and business system was set up in order to satisfy the international clientele: to develop the tourist trade, it is only necessary to repeat the same steps over and over again:

- creating further hotel installations, or, more exactly, hotel complexes;
- increase the frequency of international connections and the lines of communication in the network formed by these connections;
- multiply the superstructures of tours and ways to spend one's time.

Problem: what place will the Tahitians occupy in this evolutionary picture? We have already seen that the income brought in by the tourist sector has remained, in comparison to the gross domestic product, both the yield of slight and almost constant up until 1970. What about personnel income? According to the Tourist Trade Development Office, the tourist trade gave work to 2,500 persons in 1971, (5) either directly or indirectly, or 6 percent of the Territory's working population and the amount of income distributed came to 1,004,138,000 FP (Pacific Francs). (French Polynesia's gross domestic product in 1970 was 21,553 million FP.) When one examines the role of the tourist trade from the Tahitian point of view, one must not lose sight of the ethnic and cultural division of labor that exists in Tahiti. Tahiti is a multicultural society, that includes a substantial number of foreigners. However, particularly in light of recent developments, one must resolutely reject both the official classifications and the usual tripartite or quadripartite classifications of groups:

1) to begin with, whether one likes it or not, there are foreigners in Tahiti, the French ranking first in number, followed by those that the French authorities consider foreigners: Americans, other Europeans, Australians, New Zealanders, etc.;

2) then there are people who feel themselves to be, or feel themselves more and more to be, Tahitians. It is here, according to self-classification, that one can speak of Tahitian society and of cultural pluralism within it. The "Tahitian" groups include:

- a) a very small minority of Europeans, usually born in French Polynesia, to whom the term créole seems applicable;
- b) a Chinese minority that considers itself more and more to be of Tahiti (10 percent);
- c) the Polynesia bulk of the population (80 percent);
- d) a smaller mass, intermediate between the Polynesian culture and Western culture, the Demis (10 percent).

Tahitian society is pyramidal in form, the successive stages from top to

bottom being made up of the levels a/ b+d /c. Now, from the point of view of the tourist industry and following from the fact that the Polynesian population (c) is almost completely unqualified, it can be seen that its members hold only the lowest employment positions:

- minor hotel personnel (chamber maids, waiters, manual laborers, gardeners);
- taxi drivers (not always Polynesians, however);
- salaried employees in the shops where the tourist do their shopping, some bosses of enterprises that make curios (but not all), workers in such enterprises;
- some (but not all) producers of flowers and sea-shells used as garlands for the tourists, and especially the working girls who actually make up necklaces and wreaths from flowers and shells.

In brief, the lowest level at which tourist industry work is carried out corresponds to the Polynesian level of Tahitian society. Of course, this lowest level of workers contains a greater number of persons than the higher administrative level and therefore involves a higher total amount of earnings. But, as the salaries are unequal, one may estimate that only a part of the total amount of salaries brought in by the tourist industry goes to the Polynesians. For it to be otherwise would require:

- that the Polynesians be promoted technically and professionally to an extent to allow the great majority of the population to benefit more in the division of tourism revenues;
- that the ownership of the means of production (notably the hotel establishments), and therefore the rights to a share of the income, is shifted to the lower end of the social scale. But, the present orientation towards international mass tourism through the establishment of large scale hotel complexes goes in the opposite direction, as illustrated by the succession of generations of hotels in Tahiti. Some have recommended going back to the semi-family style Polynesian hotel forms. Would this be compatible with the solution adopted at the present time of mass international tourism? Obviously not. Should, then, mass international tourism formula be proscribed? It is not obvious that the Tahitian economy would come out ahead that way.

The present focus on large tourist enterprises adds to the present basic inequality in the allotment of incomes the danger of spatial segregation:

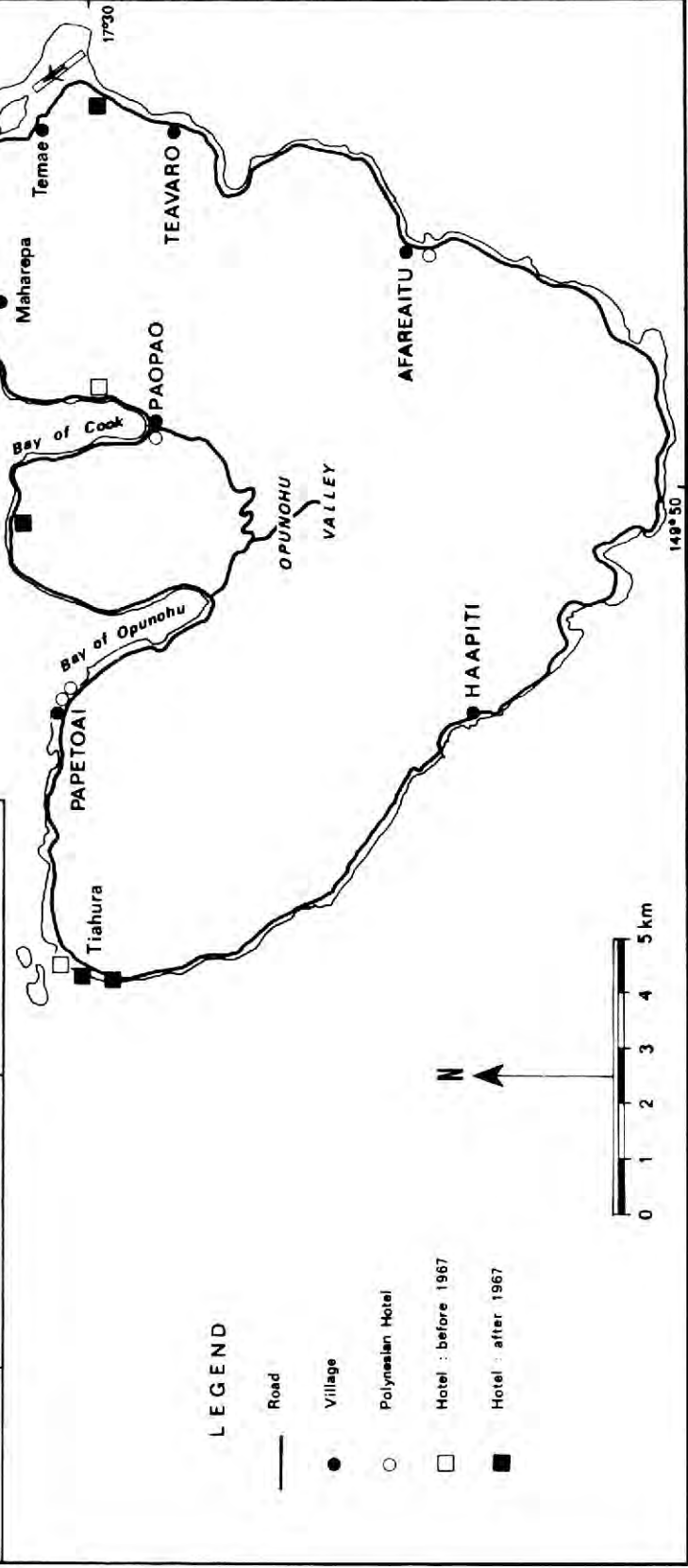
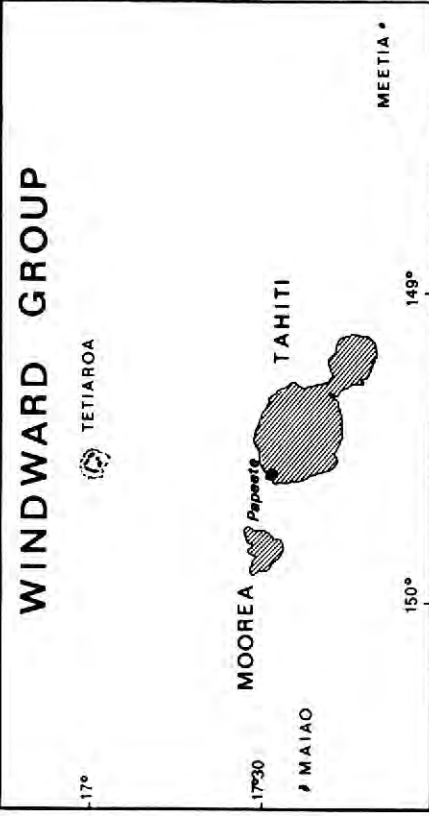
- the building up within the country of geographic blocks or aggregates composed of large scale tourist units which operate as closed systems;
- the movement of the tourists outside the block within a social space cut off from that of the majority of the population: the tourist goes from hotel to tourist site by way of tourist cars; he moves side by side with other tourists; with the services they offer, the big hotel units make it unnecessary for the tourist to make use of the facilities used by the people of the country. Pushed to the limit, this model leads to turning the tourist zone into an annex of the countries providing the tourists.

THE CASE OF MOOREA

Moorea is a small island, 136 square kilometers, with about 4,800 inhabitants. It is 15 miles from Papeete, the capital of the Territory of French Polynesia. Since 1960 its economy has changed from an exclusively agricultural one to a monetary one with tourism as one of the main factors.

WINDWARD GROUP

SOCIETY ISLANDS WINDWARD GROUP MOOREA



LEGEND

- Road
- Village
- Polynesian Hotel
- Hotel : before 1967
- Hotel : after 1967



Until the beginning of the 1960's, Moorea had an exclusively agricultural economy in the sense that, grosso modo, the population lived according to the formula: subsistence economy plus cash crops. The cash crops made it possible to acquire the industrial goods that the inhabitants needed and that the island (as well as the Territory) was unable to supply: lumber, tools and mechanical appliances, metal roofing, tinned goods, rice, salt, sugar, kerosene, clothing, etc. The subsistence economy (tarò patches, banana plots, gathering breadfruit, and a few other cultivated foods plus fishing in the lagoon or on the reef) primarily involved family production for family consumption. However, some portion might be sold, either at the village or district level, or at the Papeete town market, to provide, except at the village exchange level, a source of some money. The cash crops (copra, vanilla, coffee) provided, according to the status of the land on which they were cultivated, either a salary, or a harvest, or part of a harvest. It was, however, the groups foreign to the Polynesians of Moorea (Europeans, Demis, and Chinese) who, as landowners, merchants or traders, actually made the growing of cash crops a commercial system and provided the money that allowed the people to clothe themselves, fill out their diet, build masonry or concrete houses, and purchase such equipment as outboard motors for their boats.

1960 was a turning point. Until then, cash crops brought relatively good prices, allowing the people a minimal standard of living despite their relatively low productivity. The vanilla crisis (caused by disease plus soil exhaustion from badly kept plantations plus a fall in price) was the first blow against the economic edifice of those days: it led to the abandonment of plantations, the departure of certain planters, and the progressive development of a wage economy. But the copra plantations persisted and continued to be, until the years 1967-68, an important parameter of the Moorea economy. (Because of the installation of the nuclear base on Tahiti, copra production declined more quickly in Tahiti.)

Comparative table of copra and vanilla production in Moorea

TABLE 4

Year	Copra (metric tons)	Vanilla (metric tons)
1960	1142	150.6
1961	1317	159.7
1962	1520	131.5
1963	1538	80.4
1964	1651	42.5
1965	1364	29.8
1966	1645	13.6
1967	1273	5.9
first 8 months of 1967	951	
first 8 months of 1968	567	

Sources: Groupement des exportations de coprah de l'Océanie française, Huilerie de Tahiti, Rapport GUESHIER, ouvrage ORSTOM Tahiti et Moorea.

In 1968, the state of employment within the Moorea population was as follows:

- rate of employment within the economically active population 63 percent
- importance of traditional agriculture (food growing, fishing, copra) amongst the employed members of the population 46 percent

- importance of wages amongst the economically active portion of this population 44 percent

A part of the salaried persons worked in Moorea for the government (notably, in public works), on construction jobs, or in the tourist hotels; the rest worked in Papeete on Tahiti--primarily young workers who lived in Papeete during the week but spent their weekends in Moorea where they maintained their permanent home.

87 percent of the island's employed population worked on the island; 13 percent worked off the island. Within the 87 percent employed in Moorea, 46 percent were in agriculture and fishing, and the remainder were divided into three categories:

- 1) 13 percent were government employees (public works, agricultural and forestry service, department of education, health, police);
- 2) 16 percent were salaried hotel employees (hotels and the Club Méditerranée);
- 3) 12 percent were employed in production and services induced by the tourist trade. These included:
 - a) construction (essentially in 1968, extension or creation of hotels, restaurants, Club Méditerranée, private residences) (3 percent);
 - b) schooner transport connecting Papeete and Moorea, and truck transport on Moorea (3 percent);
 - c) transportation of tourists and vacationers by passenger-freight trucks, taxis, mini-buses, etc. (1 percent);
 - d) retail business affected by the tourist trade, including three shops specializing in selling pareus (cloth wraparounds), curios and related items to the tourists, and various industrial services (5 percent).

As for jobs away from Moorea (13 percent), they split up as follows:

- 2 percent were government jobs mainly in Papeete;
- 1 percent were in hotels and restaurants;
- 3 percent with the nuclear base and the arsenal;
- 7 percent in other civilian enterprises.

This exhaustive enumeration shows, across a range of activities, how important the tourist trade was even when it was just beginning.

Before the 1960's, there were small family hotels on Moorea that catered to two groups: a local clientele made up of civil servants or transient professionals or local vacationers, mainly Europeans or Demis; and a few tourists, primarily Americans, who came to Tahiti by sea and later by seaplane.

The modern tourist trade started on the north coast of Moorea, at Cook's Bay (Paopao) and in the neighboring area. This wave gradually grew and in some ten years reached the whole of the northern sea coast and even spilled over into the other sides of the triangle making up the island.

Moorea tourism in its present form is a child of the travel bureaus who take charge of a client in order to show him the beauties and charms of Polynesia: tours and excursions around the island, chants and folk dances, and tama'ara'a (feasts). The necessary ingredients for this Polynesian style tourism are the neo-Tahitian style bungalow hotels, the Papeete-Moorea boat, the colorful passenger-freight trucks, the Tahitian earth oven, and troupes of dancers. These ingredients have been made part of the package tour that brings visitors from their country of residence, guides them through Polynesia, and then brings them home again. For many of the visitors to Tahiti part of their package includes a day or two in Moorea during which they experience a regulated exposure to Polynesian life there as arranged by the travel agencies in Papeete and organized by the tourist hotels on Moorea. (Individual travelers often visit Moorea on a package tour purchased in Papeete.)

This new style of tourism began in the late 1950's when a Papeete travel agency extended its activities to Moorea by establishing a small hotel on Cook's Bay. This magnificently sited hotel has grown over the years, its activities increasing fivefold between 1959 and 1967. The impact of tourism began to be felt among the local population as this hotel extended its "tour" activities through using local passenger-freight trucks to transport tourists around the island, through dance shows (which served to stimulate dormant dancing skills among islanders, particularly those from the ancient village of Temae) and through feasts (which drew on the local production of pigs, taro, breadfruit, cooking plainties and other traditional foods).

During this early period of moderate tourism growth on the north coast of Moorea two developments stand out:

- 1) The inclusion of Borabora in the island "tours," shortening the tourists' stay in Moorea;
- 2) The opening of a second hotel started by a Tahitian but soon taken over by an American group. It is run by Americans who specialize in attracting and welcoming American tourists. The dynamic energy of the hotel is remarkable. It is frequented by a large clientele, attracted by the possibilities of relaxation that the hotel offers him (tours around the island, pleasures of the sea, dance shows by the Temae group, and tama'ara'a). Their clientele is partly brought in by travel agencies, and partly attracted by the hotel's reputation in the United States, particularly among travel agencies and airline personnel there.

Trading schooners, a seaplane belonging to the local air service, and since 1966 a tourist boat brought tourists to these two hotel centers. Each has had its own transportation system and its own little network of services gravitating around it. Each has employed a large staff both for operation (waiters, chamber maids, kitchen staff, repair and upkeep services, garage) as well as for the extensions (masons, cabinet-makers, carpenters). The Temae dance troop was split between the two hotels.

The tourist trade obtained 43 percent of its employees directly from within the district of Paopao (6) and it may be estimated that it "induced" two-thirds of the population's activities by indirect or direct demand for labor.

The Paopao tourist trade has created its double in neighboring Maharepa. This agricultural village of Demis and Tahitians as pictured by F. Ravault (7) mutated into a tourist center with the implantation of the American hotel in 1963 and the polarization of the village people's activities that it brought about. In a manner of speaking, the hotel "digested" the village. Besides this, it attracted or aroused indirectly through what I call the "effect of suggestion," a

set of new activities connected with tourism that turned Maharepa into a second Paopao.

In 1967, building was in full sway in Maharepa-Paopao. Maharepa was preferred over Paopao because of its drier climate and clearer weather. Some Tahitians built housing in order to lodge the new European arrivals (hotel staff, teachers, etc.) and because the weekends began to attract people from Papeete. Europeans bought land and built dwellings. There was a rage for the neo-Tahitian pandanus and bamboo style of architecture. One of these new builders installed a curio shop in his group of bungalows. Similarly, one of the two shops added as an annex a pareu printing workshop. To the East of Maharepa, a European started the first ice manufacturing enterprise in Moorea. To the West, between Maharepa and Paopao, new buildings appeared which were to fill in the empty space between the two tourist complexes.

1967-68: The Maharepa phenomenon, "the demonstration effect" which ended up by creating in this village a double of the Paopao hotel complex, tended to occur again on the North-West corner of Moorea with the Club Méditerranée which catered to a similar clientele, and featured the classic "tour," thereby stimulating a profusion of annex services and a proliferation of enterprises for transporting tourists.

This year of 1968 was also noteworthy for freeing Moorea from being an enclave in its relationship with Tahiti: this resulted from the inauguration of an airport in Temae on the North-East corner for little planes transporting some fifteen passengers. Until then the tourist trade made use of trading schooners making Moorea more than an hour away from Papeete. From then on, Moorea was only seven minutes away from the international airport in Faaa and open to mass tourism thanks to the organization of a true air lift or air bridge between the two islands. From that time on, hotels, curio shops, taxi enterprises, car rentals multiplied. The new hotel installations stumbled along for several years, but, little by little, the clientele followed, and progressively the new hotels began to fully function. Thus, on both the North-West and North-East corners and between the two bays of Cook and Opunohu, and at Maharepa new projects began to spring up. This northern area of Moorea was the site of most of this new tourism expansion, while the other areas remained fairly stationary as new economic enterprises tended to integrate the earlier existing elements one with another, to weld them together. There was, however, some tendency for development to spill out of this framework both onto the South-West and the South-East coasts.

Can the creation of this area and its expansion be attributed to tourism? From the reply to this question, one may draw conclusions about the stimulating and multiplicative character of tourism within the economic system. The reply would have been unhesitatingly in the affirmative if other factors had not entered into play.

- 1) In 1967, before the advent of air shuttle service between Papeete and Moorea, one of the two hotels in the Maharepa-Paopao sector was slumbering; the other, fully active, was functioning almost in a closed circle; aside from the salaries paid by these enterprises (but they represented only a part of the salaries earned in the whole sector) the stimulating effects were slight. The economic reality lay elsewhere in the coming together of a basin area of agricultural production in the process of being reconverted and a consumer environment of Europeans, Demis, and Chinese installed there, opening up an outlet for local produce and having a stimulating effect on the nearby human environment.
- 2) The inner Paopao basin was in a state of complete reconversion: dynamic Demis, Polynesian and Chinese cultivators had replaced vanilla growing

with market garden crops for the local market and the Papeete market, and with pineapple growing. Paopao showed the way, since followed in other areas for changeover from the former Tahitian system of agriculture to a commercial system of agriculture designed to satisfy the local market: the commercialization of agriculture for internal needs goes along with the creation of a Tahitian wage economy.

- 3) A secondary school college was opened in Paopao. That meant teaching staff and pupils coming in from all over the island to live in the virtually empty inland area of this part of Moorea, opening up several possibilities. Public and private investments followed, giving work to construction enterprises and creating employment in the Polynesian neighborhood in the Paopao region.
- 4) Paopao did not escape the attraction for wage laborers exerted by Papeete during the boom years of the Tahitian economy in 1967-68. The infusion of money earned by those who took jobs in Papeete, plus easy credit, led to investment in homes (following Demis and European models), and hence a boom in construction, as well as the launching of new enterprises, notably in transportation.

The success of the Paopao-Maharepa sector was due to a combination of factors. More exactly, tourism developed, thanks to plane service, in the midst of favorable factors: the reconversion of the agricultural basin; the existence of a relatively large market of consumers with a high standard of living; and the existence of available money among the people created in this region of Moorea an environment favorable to taking up the innovations inherent in touristic growth. If the services required by the sudden expansion of the tourist trade upon the opening of the Temae airport, for example, had not been obtainable from suppliers in Moorea, there is no doubt that Papeete firms would have supplied them, in which case the Moorea people would get only salaries from the tourist trade. In addition, tourism development, along with the installation of an agglomerate of Demis landowners and of teachers with a high standard of living, as well as the appearance of complementary services (business, repairs, transportation), led to the birth of a form of urbanization running along the length of the belt road. This urban growth, in turn, led to a new influx of professionals attracted by the presence of a clientele of residents and tourists, and of people from Papeete setting up secondary residences there.

Tourism plus a commercial type of agricultural activities plus the residential phenomenon (permanent and temporary) together created a pole or core of growth on the North shore of Moorea. This core grew under the influence of new developments:

- hotel developments in the empty spaces,
- an administrative development based upon the exploitation of the Opunohu Valley lands (a practical agricultural school plus an experimental station plus a tourist site, viewpoint and archaeological sites).
- the growth of businesses and services.

With a few gaps, this core of growth goes from south of the airport to the East until up to and beyond the Northwest corner of the island. What effects did it have?

- 1) It cut Moorea into two regions: in activities and in landscape there is a marked contrast between the north coast of Moorea, and the south-east and south-west coasts. That is a primary boundary determined by the core.

- 2) Not everyone living along the north coast was equally affected by this growth. From the head of an enterprise, to the operator of services, to the ordinary salaried worker, to the person with nothing, there are varying degrees of integration which allows us to talk of a second boundary.

A part of the population had not been integrated into this growth from the pole and tended to look at the tourist units as well as the European teaching colony as some sort of foreign bodies. This state of affairs connects up with that of the inhabitants of the southern half of Moorea, whose primary resource had become wage labor. For half of them this meant working in Papeete, with its implications: the tiresome coming and going between the village of residence and the place of work and the temporary break-up of the family.

Furthermore, in the urbanized northern region, as in all cases of unplanned and uncontrolled urbanization, a barbarous series of actions occurred: mountain slopes were cut, land was leveled, terraces were constructed, and then building activities would be given up for a while. The trash heaps of industrial civilization appeared here and there; the lagoon suffered from extractions of "coral soup" for surfacing the roads; and the roads were widened and graded so that the automobilists might speed (and break the traffic regulations). In short, the landscape was thrown into a state of havoc. In the five years separating 1969 from 1974, the contrast is eloquent.

And there is more: the third generation of hotels has appeared on Moorea. They are still in the bungalow style but with the introduction of a luxuriousness that requires inputs and resources that place them beyond the possibilities that the Polynesian human environment can offer. Of course, to flatter the tastes of the clientele, the creators of the hotels designed developments which were the exact opposite of the little Polynesian family hotel. In the long run this means a reduction of the Polynesians to the role of suppliers of unskilled labor, because a sophisticated hotel set-up involves a degree of sophistication on the part of employees which would tend to eliminate Tahitians from the hotel industry.

The conclusion that I draw from this analysis is the following: As the Moorea example shows, there is a contradiction in Tahitian tourism between, on the one hand, the dynamic force of international tourism aiming at re-creating (or, even more, magnifying) in the tourist areas the comfort that a clientele with a high standard of living is familiar with (or at least dreams of) and, on the other hand, that which a beautiful but poor country, where the tourist trade must be a key element in the economy, can offer. A unique Polynesian tourism formula is called for to reconcile these two conditions. Such a formula would make it possible for the whole population to participate, and would also be acceptable to the clientele who would adapt to it. In this way tourism could become more of a means of diversion, of making acquaintances, and of leisure for people than a financial business dominated by money.

NOTES

- (1) T.E.A.L., Tasman Empires Air Lines.
- (2) T.A.I., Transports aériens intercontinentaux, a French company integrated in 1963-64 into a new company, the U.T.A., Union de Transports aériens.
- (3) In the broad sense of the term, that is French, Europeans stricto sensu, Americans, and New Zealanders. The main business firm in 1960 was a New Zealand concern.
- (4) Rents tripled; employed labor was paid four times the local rates.
- (5) Estimated at 40,000 persons, 1971 Report of the Institut d'Emission.
- (6) In 1968, 89 jobs out of 203.
- (7) RAVALT, 1967, Maharepa. Etude de structure agraire, ORSTOM, mimeographed.

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III. Cook Islands

What will tourism do for, or to, a relatively isolated small island society? The Cook Islands is a country that persons asking that question might well turn to, for it is a tiny nation and has only recently opened its doors to mass tourism. With only some 21,000 inhabitants the Cooks is one of the smallest of Pacific island nations, and, as its jet airport was not opened until December 1973, it is one of the Pacific's most recent entrants into the international tourism game.

The Cooks are closely tied to New Zealand. Although fairly autonomous in a political sense, the country is heavily dependent on New Zealand in an economic sense. Many Cook Islanders live and work in New Zealand. Much of the Cooks' agricultural exports go to New Zealand, and, most importantly for this discussion, cash grants from New Zealand as well as more indirect payments keep the Cooks afloat financially. It therefore made sense to New Zealand planners to open the Cooks to tourism in order to provide a new industry that might increase local revenue, provide new employment opportunities and perhaps stimulate agricultural production and other local economic activity.

Although it is obviously too early to make any definitive analysis, both George Cowan, in his paper, "Cultural Impact of Tourism with Particular Reference to the Cook Islands," and Tony LeFevre, in his paper "Rarotonga Airport: A Preliminary View of the Possible Balance Sheet," have tried to make educated guesses as to the probable effect of implanting this new industry in the Cooks. Both authors are nominally optimistic, but in fact betray a great concern about the possible harmful effects of tourism.

LeFevre, a young English economist, takes great pains to prepare an advance balance sheet on Cook Islands tourism which would seem to show considerable benefits: a thousand new jobs; increased domestic revenue; increased government revenue; and opportunity for increased agricultural exports (via cargo shipment on tourist jets to New Zealand). Nonetheless, this optimistic forecast is tempered. He warns us that since most employment opportunities will probably be for low level positions, they are not likely to attract the better educated Cook Islanders and stem their migration to New Zealand. Tourism employment opportunities may indeed further stimulate migration from the outer islands to Rarotonga, the central island where the tourism industry will be centered. LeFevre is also worried about the inflationary impact of tourist development, the financial burden on the Cook Islands government of infrastructure improvements, the sharp rise in imports that will accompany tourism and the effects on land tenure of tourism development and speculation.

Cowan, a Cook Islander and a professional planner, looks at the social and cultural sides of tourism as well as its economic aspects. Cowan is certainly no traditionalist who bemoans any change in Cook Islands society, and, on the whole, he attempts to look forward to the possible beneficial effects of the industry. In particular, he examines the possibility of planning tourism so that it serves to reinforce and enhance local socio-cultural structures. Tourist hotels should be located, for example, so as to provide rural employment yet not detract from rural life styles. These and other planning suggestions are put forward in the hope that tourism could be structured in such a way as to enhance, not destroy, local structures. However, the reader cannot help but get the feeling from Cowan's paper that he is fundamentally suspicious, as are many educated Pacific Islanders, about the possible negative side effects of tourism, particularly when he states that the government must take firm steps to see that tourism serves the people and not vice versa.

CULTURAL IMPACT OF TOURISM WITH
PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE COOK ISLANDS

George Cowan

BACKGROUND

Different opinions have been expressed for and against tourism. Those who advocate tourism view the immense economic benefits which can accrue from this one industry to help mitigate the balance of payment problem that is a typical feature of most developing countries, a situation brought about by the over-reliance on imported goods to satisfy the needs, or to fulfill the ambitions or aspirations, of a large number of island communities today. While the economy of most developing countries is still largely subsistence, the demand for imported commodities clearly suggests the changing pattern in the life style of the people in many Pacific Islands.

The demonstration effect of exposure to the outside world has influenced the attitudes, standards, consumption, value judgement and other behavioural patterns of the Cook Islands people whose culture has been undergoing tremendous changes since the "overthrow" of the pre-contact traditional culture and customs by the "puritan missionaries" more than one hundred and fifty years ago. Trade and commerce, following the advent of Christianity, also created a great impact on the socio-economic life style of the people whose primitive technology and techniques of undertaking much of their economic activities have been superseded by the more efficient modern technology and methods.

Although the pre-contact culture had inevitably been undergoing changes the post-contact culture in its modified forms has experienced a much greater rate of change in accordance with the accepted current life style of a modern society. The degree of changes depends largely on the frequency of contact with the influential dynamic world of technological innovations. Thus the comparatively more sophisticated urban society of Rarotonga, the capital and largest island in the Cook Islands, has greater contact with the outside world than the unsophisticated traditional and almost insular society of Pukapuka, whose people retain much more of the old life style with a certain degree of modifications.

All the newly emerging Pacific Islands countries, having adopted the modern and therefore non-traditional form of government, share one common aim, that of accelerating the economic growth while aspiring to attain self-sufficiency in the modern world of competitive trade and commercial activities. In a pre-contact setting these countries, as individual island communities, existed under a purely traditional social or political system. They had different sets of values and were economically self-sufficient. But the economy of their individual and almost insulated world suited the simple needs of the people at that time as reflected in the many forms of cultural expression which became the basis for the present modified culture of the people.

Thus a people's living culture because it is never static continues to undergo a process of change or adaptation to conform with the current way of life. Though the traditional or pre-contact culture of Rarotonga had almost disappeared at the introduction of Christianity, the modern Cook Islands culture, which is characteristically local, is clearly a manifestation of how the people within a society continue to conform or adapt to changes.

The concept of a Cook Islands culture is modern, created after the fifteen islands, geographically scattered widely over 850,000 square miles of the South

Pacific, were grouped together for colonial administration convenience to form what is now one of the tiniest self-governing countries within the Pacific region. Cook Islanders, viewing themselves now as a nationalistic entity, have therefore evolved, for over a hundred years, a Cook Islands culture based on the old cultural forms, traditions, or customs but modified and adapted to enable the people to exist in a modern and dynamic world.

Internal and external mobility of the people, with the advent of faster and safer sea-transportation and air travel that act to break the barrier of cultural insulation among the island communities, is an important attribute of the acceleration in cultural change or modification. Cook Islanders frequently participate in international travel under different motivations, particularly to the urban centers of New Zealand, thus becoming more and more exposed to the complex life or economic activities of an industrialized society. The actual changes that have evolved are, consciously or unconsciously, acceptable to the people as these reflect a way of life which has been taken for granted by the people themselves who are the "actors" in this cultural evolution.

As we begin to look to the future, it is only natural that we express concern about what the future might hold as we utilize the value judgement of today to interpret or shape our future as though to see through a "crystal ball". History which, however, has taught us to be wary provides the guideline for our future development plan in order that we might continue to maintain the quality of life that is representative of our present value judgement.

If the past seemingly tends to have been over-glorified it nevertheless provides the inspiration to develop a nationalism that makes concrete the modern concept of a Cook Islands culture thus giving the people a sense of national identity. The Cook Islands National Arts Theatre, local Youth Clubs, Women's Federations activities, as cases in point, are example of this cultural manifestation inspired by the traditions or customs of the Cook Islands.

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

The tourism "storm" is already sweeping through the Pacific carrying in its "path" value changes that are responsible for the production of cultural innovations, for better or for worse. Autonomous Pacific Islands countries especially those which are not endowed with natural mineral wealth, while looking toward tourism as an alternative potential revenue earner, are conscious of the impact of tourism on the culture or life style of the people.

As governments of the emerging countries lament the future and utter destruction of the traditional cultural forms, or customs, which will be price to pay for modern technology and economic gains, each country expresses the desire to promote a tourism development plan that will mitigate the cultural impact and social conflicts. The cultural impact of tourism development, therefore, although not as quantifiable, should be given as important a consideration as the economic impact.

The cultural and social implications of tourism have been given important considerations as a basis for the formulation of planning policies and specific objectives during the preparation of the tourist program for the Cook Islands which began with the construction of the international jet-airport in Rarotonga. The airport construction work, being a part of the tourism program, did create an impact on the social system as young people from the traditional neighbour islands were attracted to Rarotonga, hopeful of employment as labourers on the airport, or to participate in any other work program associated with, or generated by the airport

development. Several of the labourers at the end of the airport construction went further afield to the urban centers of New Zealand, partly for economic reasons and partly to fulfill personal motivations, having been exposed to a new and more exciting way of life.

The world-wide phenomenon of urbanization, therefore, while it disrupts the social structure in the rural villages, has a manifest effect on the culture or life style of the people, as more and more of the local people, in one way or another, become exposed to a new way of life and the value systems that evolve. It is in the traditional home islands or villages that the traditional cultural forms express the value systems of the people based on the social structure that exists.

In the Cook Islands experience the jet-airport becomes the "gateway" to the outside world as more and more Cook Islanders now have greater opportunities to "rub shoulders" with many different people from various cultural groups. While the main aim in the tourism development for the Cook Islands has been to encourage foreign visitors to visit the Cook Islands, so far there have been many more Cook Islanders travelling unrestructured into New Zealand, or returning, than there have been foreign tourists arriving at Rarotonga since the opening six months ago of the airport. That means over the next few months the twice weekly planes between Rarotonga and New Zealand are heavily booked in advance mostly by Cook Islanders. Of course this trend can be disrupted as more airlines obtain landing rights in Rarotonga in the near future.

As this process of urbanization continues more and more Cook Islanders will become absorbed or assimilated into the industrialized society of New Zealand, leaving behind a disrupted social structure in the traditional villages and a demographic imbalance of very young and very old people. To disrupt the village life can also mean the disruption of the culture base of the society as the people continue to travel back and forth between the village with its unsophisticated way of life, and the complex life of the urban areas. The demonstration effect of travel, therefore, can affect value judgements as reflected in cultural change or culture evolution.

Tourism should be developed according to a planned program in order to reinforce and help implement the stated government policy which basically is to mitigate undesirable cultural changes and to reinforce cultural traditions. The promotion of tourism in the Pacific, as in any other parts of the world, emphasizes the uniqueness of the people and their culture, set within a pleasant environment that appeals to a large number of people from the temperate countries. Generally, the main markets for tourism are the developed countries whose people have different social values which can influence their attitudes either for or against the local culture or traditions.

The development and location of tourist hotels in relationship to the traditional villages with their slower tempo of life should be given special consideration such that the life style of the people is not disrupted too much. The hotels will provide employment opportunities for some of the local people while serving as a useful market for the sale of their garden produce or local handicrafts. In a sense, hotel development as an important aspect of tourism, can be a source of economic benefits and cross-cultural exchange. Hotels, in order to meet the requirements of the tourists, generally will competitively set a high standard of hygiene and efficiency and from this the local women who are employed on the hotel domestic staff might learn good house-keeping.

This cross-cultural exchange can create a better understanding between the visitors and the local people regarding the differences or uniqueness of one another's culture. Through this mutual understanding and respect between the visi-

tors and the local people a better human relationship should develop. Perhaps, this is one way in which tourism can help to bring the different peoples of the world to understand one another and to respect one another's points of view. Moreover, the local people might be encouraged to become more aware or proud of their heritage which may stimulate the interest to revive the traditional-based local cultural expressions.

One of the obvious problems which may be a hinderance to the achievement of this important objective of human understanding is what might be termed as "cultural arrogance" that will only strain the relationship between the cultural groups in contact. "Cultural arrogance" especially on the part of some tourists can result in unpleasantness and bitterness. In essence, tourism should be educational to promote human understanding rather than to create conflict.

It is said often that one of the main tourist attractions in the Pacific is the "friendliness of its peoples" as a part of a general Pacific culture, together with the diversity of the peoples' cultural manifestations. This image can be quickly destroyed, as frequently happens in other tourist centers, because of "cultural arrogance" or sheer ignorance on the part of a few visitors. Such an attitude by a few can develop into the usual stereotype that may cause the local people to categorize all tourists as arrogant and cynical. Or the local people may develop a feeling of insufficiency and withdrawal as they submit to what they then consider to be the superior culture of the tourists to the neglect and therefore discarding of their own cultural heritage. Misunderstanding and prejudice breed bitterness.

By the same token "cultural arrogance" on the part of the local people is equally bad. The local people should not attempt to impose their own culture or their own value judgements on the visitors. Visitors can be educated, by tour promoters for example, to respect and understand local culture but this should never be forced "down the visitor's throat" - to put it crudely. A culture that has evolved locally will be better understood by the local people and is more meaningful to them because it is a part of their every day life. Visitors may not completely understand all that is precious to, or appreciated by the local people. This does not necessarily mean disrespect or contempt of the local culture by the tourists whose value judgements may be quite different.

It is almost a universal tendency to regard one's own society and culture as being superior to all others. This has happened throughout the Pacific during the colonial era during which the Pacific Islands cultural manifestations were either despised or tolerated by foreigners, or by the modern generations of Pacific Islanders themselves who have come into cultural contact with the outside world through education, travel to other countries, or as a result of tourism.

Tourism as an agent of change has its merits and demerits. While it contributes to the economic progress, it can also stimulate a sense of confidence or pride in the minds of the local people about the uniqueness of their interesting cultural heritage that is based on ancient traditions. The interest displayed by tourists in the expressed cultural forms of the local people is reflected in the development or rejuvenation of the local arts and crafts, or songs and dances providing the people with a sense of cultural identity. But the most important aspect of this development is the feeling of confidence of the local people in themselves and therefore in their own unique culture even if these are a representation of the modified forms of the living culture of the people.

One can only express sentiments about the culture of a glorious past which, perhaps, might have suffered over-glorification by "romanticists". Yet if we attempt to recreate the past for its own sake then we are drifting away from reality. A culture that is already "dead" can never be revived successfully

because the people who are the performers of this cultural expression have already evolved new sets of values which will therefore make all that is past hopelessly meaningless. The traditional cultural forms, however, can be the foundation in the evolution of a living culture that might be more meaningful to the people. That means the traditional style may be merged harmoniously to blend with the new to create a modern form that can still project a characteristically local image. This surely is one method by which the "power" of tourism can be "harnessed" to enhance, but not to over-glorify, the local culture in a manner that will give both the local people and the visitors a sense of psychological satisfaction and mutual achievement.

Feasts or festivities which are an important aspect of a local culture that have been adapted to conform to modern requirements have been incorporated into the tourist program as a feature of special interest for the visitors. The regularity by which this particular program is presented as a standard tourist attraction will help to perpetuate the interest in this important aspect of the local culture and customs, reflecting the way of life of the people generally.

One of the aims in the Cook Islands tourism development policy is to spread the social and economic benefits from the tourist industries to all sectors of the society. The people in the rural areas must not feel neglected but must feel that they are an active component of the whole development, even though they might not necessarily come into contact (or conflict) with the visitors. There must be sufficient incentives provided to retain the people voluntarily in their traditional areas to alleviate the problems of urbanization and socio-cultural disruption.

The villages must be made sufficiently attractive socially and economically for the people to remain in their traditional homes. Experience however shows that the centripetal-pull of the urban centres will continue to lure the people away from the "dull" life of the isolated villages to the "bright lights" of the town. In the urban areas new values will evolve through the demonstration effect of exposure to new ways of life, modern technology and gadgets.

This process will be accentuated by the frequency of contact with the tourists and their different, if not peculiar, styles of behaviour which the unsophisticated local people will quickly emulate. The longer the duration of their stay within the urban centers the more will the migrant groups forget the old way of village life and "all its necessary components." Admittedly, urbanization has been taking place all the time but the advent of tourism with all its sophisticated development or activities will greatly help to accelerate the process.

Of special interests to the tourists and to the local people are the historic places which are the mute remnants of a culture which, though forgotten, has become the foundation of the culture that is now living. In the tourism development plan for the Cook Islands great emphasis is accorded this important aspect of cultural preservation in association with the development of cultural institutions for the perpetuation of the local culture. Cultural institutions like the historic places that should be preserved are developed for research and educational purposes, or as an important public amenity for the use and enjoyment of both the visitors and local people.

It is hoped that funds derived from tourism, and the general interests in the local traditions, will help to develop and not to destroy the local culture or way of life of the local people in their own environment. This may only be achieved through the wisdom of sound and positive planning based on the local needs of the people, and through the cooperation of all those concerned with tourism development. The developing Pacific Islands countries should study the mistakes made by the developed countries with long established tourist industries and not be over-engrossed by a count of their successes which can distort reality.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Culture which reflects a way of life is dynamic as it continues to change in degree according to the internal and external forces that generate these inevitable changes. Under the impact of tourism which the newly emerging Pacific Islands countries have learnt to accept as an important component of the economic and social development process, cultural changes, though unquantifiable, will be accelerated at a much faster rate than ever before.

Rather than lament the passing of traditional cultural expressions governments of these developing countries, having accepted tourism as a means by which each government hopes to meet or fulfill its socio-economic obligations according to the demands of a modern world, must objectively and positively learn to "harness" the influential "powers" of tourism to help fulfill their aims and aspirations while not destroying the quality of life of the people. This may be an ambitious assumption to make but, rather than adopting a defeatist attitude, the government of a developing country while looking at reality must guide its tourism development so that tourism will become the "servant" and not the "master which determines its own course. But first each government must be certain of the "felt needs" of its people as the basis for the formulation of development policies, planning, strategies and priorities. Secondly, a government must be positive about its aims and what it hopes to achieve, and it must take steps to see that benefits accruing directly or indirectly from tourism are distributed fairly to all sections of society so that a socio-economic balance is maintained to avoid strain.

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RAROTONGA AIRPORT:
A PRELIMINARY VIEW OF THE POSSIBLE BALANCE SHEET

Tony LeFevre

INTRODUCTION

Cook Islands opinion on the new airport at Rarotonga is divided. To some, the arrival of the first Air New Zealand jet on December 4th 1973 signalled the advent of progress and the airport as knocking one further nail into the already half-submerged coffin of traditional Polynesia.

If it is conjecture whether the net result will finally be viewed as favourable, it is nonetheless certain that the airport will have a substantial influence on the small island economy of just 21,000 inhabitants spread over 751,000 square miles of Pacific ocean. The obvious employ for the modern airport and the jet aircraft which will fly to it, is a tourist industry. Such a prospect is by no means attractive to all Cook Islanders but the opening of the airport is a tacit admission by the government that a visitor industry, if only in a modest form, is in some way considered expedient. Although tourism development will be the major influence on the social and economic balance sheet for the new airport, improved air communication could stimulate and facilitate expansion of other possible activities in the Cooks. It is the purpose of this paper to raise the important issues of the balance sheet of the airport over the next few years.

TOURISM GENERATED INCOME

The expenditure of \$16m ¹ by the New Zealand government on the modern airport, the keenness of Air New Zealand to fly to Rarotonga and the physical beauty of the islands all suggest the birth and expansion of a Cook Islands tourism industry. The existence of even a modest industry will have substantial repercussions on the social and economic framework of such a small and dependent economy.

Most recent estimates show that the gross domestic product of the Cooks in 1970 was \$8.3m (\$8,300,000) with a trade deficit, mainly financed by New Zealand aid of \$5.9m.² Recent market research in New Zealand and a survey of planned tourist plant expects an annual visitor flow of 12,000 visitors. It is further estimated that these 12,000 visitors will generate approximately \$3m in purchasing power⁴. It is anticipated that the ability of the economy to expand to meet this 26 percent increase in demand will be severely stretched.

The fact that approximately 70 percent of demand is currently supplied by imported goods indicates the under-developed state of production in the islands. It follows, therefore, that even if we make the very unreasonable assumption that tourist expenditure comprises the same import content as total local consumption there will be a tremendous leakage in the gross tourism earnings. However, even with the paucity of hard statistical data the investigation warrants deeper analysis.

Consider first table one. Column one lists the latest estimates of good domestic product broken down by sector. The third column shows my "guestimates" for the technical coefficients for gross tourist spending. These suggest how

each tourist dollar will be spent and are based on experience in Fiji and other resorts together with an appraisal of the ability of the industries in the Cooks to expand output in line with tourist demand. Column four shows the resulting tourist consumption expenditure on each sector on the assumption that the estimated 12,000 visitors spend \$3m per year. These figures, rough orders of magnitude as they inevitably are, can be used to suggest the expansion and possible bottlenecks of the economy as the tourist industry grows.

Columns five and six estimate the annual demand put on the sectors over the next five years of the anticipated expansion and construction of tourism plant. These estimates are likely to be on the low side as only proposed plans have been included and the development of other ancilliary services seems probable. Column seven gives the resulting estimates for total tourism demand and column eight shows the total demand placed on the economy from both local and tourist demand. Finally column nine shows the change in output needed to accommodate this increase in demand.

On the basis of these estimates the total supply of goods and services into the Cook's economy will need to rise by a fairly staggering 26.09 percent. The estimates anticipate an increase in local supply of 22.92 percent and a residual increase in imports of 30.58 percent. Any shortfall in local supply to meet this demand will merely increase the import bill. The tourism coefficients (column three, consumption and column five, investment) have been estimated on a most optimistic view of the potential of the economy to develop. The resulting demand estimates should therefore be taken as the maximum increase possible in domestic output. In some instances, it has been necessary to use a lower coefficient than would normally be indicated by tourism demand, as a greater increase in local output would simply not be physically possible. Nevertheless this suggests that the situation in the longer term should improve somewhat as a reduction in the import content is to be hoped for if local output can be motivated to expand. However this, unfortunately, has not been proved as an automatic mechanism and in some less developed countries tourism development has led to high import propensities for some commodities. There seems to be a case for ensuring that policy measures to stimulate higher local production have high priority.

The most cursory of observations of agriculture in the Cooks suggests that the 0.15. 1970 output coefficient is an undervaluation. A substantial proportion of the population is dependent on agriculture although only a relatively small percentage is grown for cash purposes. It is for this reason that the estimate of the tourist demand in this sector is a most modest one. Not only will the cash motivation be necessary, but also a complete change is needed in cropping to cater to the basically European diet of the tourists. Such changes will inevitably take time. Suitable land for crop farming is also scarce and it may be that it will only be found on the outer islands. This would be one way of ensuring a wider distribution of the tourist dollar. The largest single problem of this idea of growing the food on the other islands for the tourists who stay at Rarotonga is the difficulty and expense of inter-island shipping.

The demand potential for mining and quarrying is considerable but the restraint will be the physical production possibilities. Local products for construction would be much cheaper given the expense of transporting such bulky items to the remote Cooks. The 41.8 percent estimated increase is one therefore constrained not by demand but by supply. At present all this sector is managed by the government and serious consideration will be necessary if some part is to be handed to private enterprise in an attempt to expand production. The low output coefficient for manufacturing perhaps best illustrates the underdeveloped nature of the economy. Industry is confined in fact to a fruit juice cannery and to clothing manufacture. Recently two companies have been established to

<u>Tourism Generated Income</u>	(1) 1970 Output	(2) Output Coefficients	(3) Tourist Consumption Coefficients	(4) Tourist Consumption Expenditure	(5) Tourism Investment Coefficients	(6) Tourism Investment Expenditure	(7) Total Tourism Demand	(8) Resulting Total Demand	(9) Change in Output Needed
Sector	NZ\$'000			NZ\$'000		NZ\$'000	NZ\$'000	NZ\$'000	(7) + (1) x 100 percent
1. Agriculture/Fishing/ Pearl Shell	2189	0.15	0.015	45			45	2234	2.06
2. Mining/Quarrying	17	0.001			0.01	7	7	24	41.18
3. Manufacturing	907	0.064	0.03	90	0.14	98	188	1095	20.73
4. Electricity/Gas/ Water	158	0.011	0.01	30	0.05	35	65	223	41.14
5. Construction	764	0.054			0.3	210	210	974	27.49
6. Wholesale/Retail/ Hotels/Rest.	1136	0.08	0.4	1200			1200	2336	105.63
7. Transport/Storage/ Communication	599	0.042	0.05	150	0.05	35	185	784	30.88
8. Finance/Insurance	76	0.005			0.005	3.5	3.5	79.5	4.60
9. Public Admin/ Social Services	2262	0.16			0.005	3.5	3.5	2265.5	0.16
10. Other	212	0.015						212	
11. TOTAL Gross Domestic Product	8320	0.59	0.505	1515	0.56	392	1907	10227	22.92
12. Imports less Re-exports	5864	0.41	0.495	1485	0.44	308	1793	7657	30.58
TOTAL SUPPLY	14184	1.00	1.0	3000	1.0	700	3700	17884	26.09

Table 1.

manufacture local handicrafts. Both are now trading successfully and tourism growth should provide an opportunity for greatly increased expansion in this field. Here is an opportunity for income generation from an industry which does not necessitate heavy capital investment and which does not necessarily need to impose the rigid sociological organization of the factory line. Tourist consumption expenditure is expected to increase manufacturing output by 10 per cent and the construction of tourism plant is expected to add a further 20 per cent increase in demand. This would comprise the 'soft-ware' as it were of the hotels and include furniture, interior decorations and wall and floor coverings. The investment coefficient of 0.14 is an optimistic figure as little production of this nature is now undertaken in the islands and some form of encouragement will be necessary to stimulate local enterprise to take advantage of this increase in demand.

The anticipated increase in the demand for electricity, gas and water (41.14 percent) is disturbingly large, as this implies substantial infra structure investment by the government. Further increases in power supply will necessitate increases in generating capacity, using very expensive fuel input.

Despite a heavy annual rainfall the water supply in Rarotonga is far from satisfactory and certain parts of the islands still have a water supply which is below standards for human consumption. Currently the U.N. is investigating the possible physical solutions to the problems. Whatever scheme is finally adopted it will involve substantial capital investment with a high import content.

The power and water sector is the one sector where a shortfall in local production can not be solved by an inflow of imports. This means that it is likely to present a serious bottleneck to tourism development.

Many economies undergoing a rapid growth in tourism have experienced growing pains in the construction industry which have been manifested in large price increases. It is likely that the estimated increase of 27.49 per cent in the construction industry will be no exception. With 64 per cent of this sector in a few private hands, some governmental control will possibly be necessary. The size of the construction industry at present is not large and the projected building of the White Sands hotel will almost double the industry. During the period of construction of this hotel income and jobs will be generated but after its completion the sector may well revert to its small size and jobs will be lost. It is easy to understand the disruptive nature of such expenditure.

It is estimated that 40 per cent of the total visitor expenditure will flow into the wholesale, retail hotel and restaurant sector. This will be the principal tourist sector. The 1970 output figure of \$1.36m was mainly produced by retail and wholesale organizations; the increase in income will be mainly generated within the hotels. The sector will not only change in size but it will also change its composition.

The anticipated growth in the transport and communication sector will also necessitate some imported capital expenditure to improve and increase the provision of public transport. At present there are no regular buses and the taxi-service is at full capacity catering to the local demand.

TOURISM GENERATED EMPLOYMENT

Table Two sets out estimates for the employment created as a result of the expansion of the tourist industry. The situation here looks promising as my "guesstimates" show that the tourism expansion is expected to produce an additional 985 jobs.

One of the most disturbing aspects of the Cook Islands in recent years has been a rapid increase in migration of islanders to New Zealand. In 1971 108 persons migrated while in 1972 and 1973 the net loss was close to 1000 persons. Whilst it is not known for certain why there has been this rapid increase, a lack of suitable employment opportunities at New Zealand rates of pay in the Cooks is normally cited as the most pervasive cause. In terms of numbers only the tourism expansion could go a considerable way to providing employment opportunities for Cook Islanders.

However there are a number of restraining considerations which should be borne in mind. First the profile of those migrating to New Zealand may be a very different profile from those whose services will be demanded in the wake of tourism expansion. The really damaging aspect of the migration to New Zealand is that it has increasingly been a migration of young, educated and skilled people and it is open to consideration whether these people are more likely to find suitable employment in a tourism oriented Cook Islands economy.

The largest single increase in employment will come naturally enough from the wholesale, retail hotel and restaurant sector. On these calculations the expected 1976 total of 202 beds will provide employment for an estimated 350 people or approximately 1.7 persons per hotel room. The number of skilled people in this total is not expected to exceed 25 persons and most of the employment offered is likely to be at the lower end of the income scale.

Tourism expansion could mean greater scope for entrepreneurial talents in either the manufacturing sector or in the transport field. Mention has already been made of the potential market for tourist souvenir and handicraft production while the shortage of taxi and bus transport could provide additional opportunities for local businessmen.

The low increase in employment for the agriculture sector reflects the present subsistence nature of the sector. There are substantial opportunities for increased employment in market gardening for the tourists. Again however, one must question whether such employment opportunities are similar to those sought by those who are at present leaving the islands for New Zealand.

In summary, in terms of numbers the opportunity for approximately 1000 extra jobs must appear as a definite plus on the airport's balance sheet. Whether or not it can halt the migration to New Zealand depends, so it seems, not so much on the total number of jobs involved but on the number of opportunities for skilled persons, who would otherwise have migrated. On the pessimistic side, this increase in employment could have deleterious effects, if it detracts labour from already useful and productive sources.⁵ Workers who leave the fields and become waiters produce a much smaller increase in net output (if any at all) than those who were previously unemployed. Competition between tourism and other sectors for scarce labour does not seem unlikely and the obvious area of conflict will be between agriculture, the government as the principal employer and an expanding private sector.

THE LAND PROBLEM

The traditional pattern of land tenure in the Cooks is not at all suited to the buying and selling of land which usually accompanies an expansion of the tourist industry. Most of the land is communally owned and many of the owners are not now resident in the Cook Islands. A land bill amendment, recently passed, has meant that leases for land can be contracted with the written agreement of as few as 25% of the owners. This was passed to facilitate land deals but there is a fear now that tourists expansion could produce some

TABLE 2:

Tourism Generated Employment

	Current Employ- ment	1970 Output	Output per Man	Tourism Generated	
				Output (from Table 1),	Employment.
		\$'000	\$	\$'000	
1. Agriculture ¹	est 6000	2189	364	45	124
2. Mining ¹	est 20	17	850	7	8
3. Manufacturing	511	907	1774	188	106
4. Electricity/Gas/Water	27	158	5852	65	411
5. Construction	270	764	2829	210	74
6. Wholesale/Retail Hotels/Restaurants	409	1136	2780	1200	432
7. Transport/Storage Communication	429	599	1396	185	133
8. Finance/Insurance	15	76	5066	3.5	1
9. Public Admin/ Social Services	762	2474	3247	3.5	1
	8443	8320	990	1907	890
				Airport	95
				TOTAL	985

1. Most of this employment is in the subsistence sector and hence it is difficult to estimate actual man hours. This is an estimated figure given the male population.

undesirable repercussions and unsettle the precarious agreement on the whole question of tenure. Already, the negotiation and the final agreement on the site for the proposed White Sands hotel had shown that there may be reasons for concern.

This case history is indicative perhaps of future trends. On 5 April, 1972, Cook Island's Holdings Ltd, a wholly owned New Zealand company with directors resident in Invercargill, signed a 60 year lease for an 8 acre site with a majority of the local owners at a rental of \$200.00 per annum. There is no official record of any premium being paid on this lease. After a slight modification to the lease in 1973 to allow among other things for a change in the company name to Aroa White Sands Hotel Ltd, protracted negotiations took place between the directors of this company and the consortium⁶ interested in the building of a 150 room hotel. Finally late in 1973 agreement was reached and the New Zealand company liquidated its investment in its 8 acre site for a figure reported to be around NZ\$75,000. There is no evidence in the official records that the local landowners received any part of this premium.

It should be noted that this all occurred prior to the completion of the airport. The present laws provide little protection against land speculation by foreign overseas companies which could completely upset the rather unsteady nature of current land tenure. Nor do the existing laws stipulate that rents be made a function of the trading profits or of the improved capital value.

The present underdeveloped nature of the economy is the main reason why rents are so low, compared to New Zealand or Australia. Although this provides a strong inducement for foreign capital it could also lead to considerable inequity in the distribution of tourist generated income. The one existing hotel, the Trailways motel with 40 double rooms, currently pays \$100 per annum and 1 percent of gross receipts. There seems to be a prima facie case for legislation to ensure an equitable distribution of the gains from tourism, for to assume an automatic mechanism yielding a socially desirable solution is to wear glasses of a very rosy hue!

THE EFFECTS ON THE PUBLIC ACCOUNTS

The 1973 estimates put government expenditure at \$4.3m for recurrent expenditure and \$1m for capital projects. Out of this total expenditure of \$5.3m only 2.3m was raised within the Cook Islands. The balance has met by a direct cash grant from New Zealand of \$2.2m and the rest by overseas loans. Given this order of financial dependency the Cook Island government is obviously anxious to generate as much taxation revenue from tourists as possible. In fact it is claimed by the New Zealand government that this is one very important factor on their decision to spend the \$16m on the airport so that the Cook Island government will become financially much more independent.

Currently no policy decisions have been made although the tourist authority is considering a departure tax for all visitors. It is difficult to estimate accurately the maximum possible taxation revenue that the government could extract from the \$3m of current tourist consumption; Indirect taxation of beer, liquor and cigarettes consumed by tourists could provide substantial revenue but the 'duty free' nature of the shopping industry will yield little to the government. An airport tax of \$2 per visitor could make the tourist authority self-financing. If pressed for an estimate on the maximum revenue possible it is likely to be within 10 to 20% of the tourist expenditure, which is the estimate commonly used in less developed countries.⁷ This would provide the Cook Islands administration with extra funds of somewhere between \$300,000 to \$600,000 directly from tourist expenditure. Additional revenue would be generated from the induced increase in income, and all this could make a substantial contribution

to reducing the need for a New Zealand grant to keep the administration solvent.

However, as mentioned earlier, the government will be forced to spend more on infra-structure development, particularly on the provision of water and electricity, before it can get its share of the tourism cake. Such expenditure should be put on the debit side of our balance sheet.

NON-TOURISM RELATED CONSIDERATIONS OF THE AIRPORT

The improved air service with New Zealand could be beneficial to the fruit growing industry in the Cooks. Over recent years the record of fruit exports has been disappointing, particularly for tomatoes and citrus fruit. This is shown in Table three.

Table 3. Value of some Fruit Exports 1968-1972 NZ\$

	Bananas	Tomatoes	Oranges	Mandarines
1968	10493	84858	48819	44098
1969	82334	27676	128412	113822
1970	277281	437	132538	78254
1971	433345	157	63035	46649
1972	104435	1706	5516	33696

Source: Statistics Office Rarotonga

One factor, which it is claimed has been responsible for this situation, is the poor shipping services between the outer islands and Rarotonga and between Rarotonga and New Zealand. The air cargo space available on the jet aircraft provides an opportunity for quick and efficient transport. This is already being used and the air cargo rates are significantly lower for transport from Rarotonga to Auckland than they are for transport from Auckland to Rarotonga.

This air cargo service could be a direct benefit to the economy and enable additional crops to be exported. Pineapples which earned \$7384 in 1967 and nothing in 1972 could be exported in this manner. Similar opportunities arise for mangoes, avocado pears and other tropical fruit.

Mention has already been made of the migration out of the Cook Islands and the most controversial issue at present in the Cooks is the fact that the airport is facilitating an acceleration of this trend. In fact, tourists going to the Cooks are finding it difficult to reserve seats on the home journey as these are

full with migrating Cook Islanders. However, it would appear a little unjust to blame the airport for the manifestation of a symptom without looking at the cause of the problems. As suggested earlier, it may be that the airport could contribute to the solution of the whole problem of migration.

THE BALANCE SHEET

Whilst it is not possible at the present time to calculate sums of dollars and cents, the above, it is hoped has set out the most important economic issues of the new airport. These can be set out schematically so that some very tentative conclusions can be formulated.

Table 4 Rarotongan Airport: The Economic Balance Sheet

<u>"Pluses"</u>	<u>"Minuses"</u>
* Provision of approx. 1000 jobs and the 'hoped for' effects that this will have on migration.	* Government expenditure on infra-structure development.
* Increase in Domestic Income of \$10.2m.	* \$7.7m Increase in Import Bill.
* Increased government revenue.	* Possible inflationary consequences of labour conflict between sectors.
* Opportunity for increased export earnings from fruit growing.	* Possibility of disturbing whole land tenure issue, through land speculation. Short-term acceleration of migration

If it is the aim of the Cook Island people to become more economically and financially independent then the tentative conclusion must be that the new airport will make a substantial contribution towards this aim. However it will not do so automatically and positive policy measures will be necessary to ensure that the maximum economic opportunity is taken from the airport.

These preliminary findings do suggest a number of danger zones, as it were. The first concerns the optimistic nature of the "guesstimates" used and the possibility that these can not be met if the trade gap widens further. As it is, the import bill is expected to rise by \$7.7m. Any shortfall in domestic output is likely to be quickly met by an increase in imports.

The second area of concern is the land question and the tourist authority is already considering some policy possibilities to prevent land speculation and real estate manipulation by foreigners. The political controversy and the social implications of this issue makes it essential that effective policy measures are introduced.

The third possible problem is the conflict which is likely to develop for scarce skilled labour, within the economy. Whether this is manifested in a conflict between agriculture and tourism or between government service and tourism, suitable training is likely to both ease the conflict and provide Cook Islanders with more attractive employment opportunities.

If these three problems can be accommodated in a satisfactory manner then these findings imply that the balance sheet, on economic criteria alone, provides some net return to the Cooks. The magnitude of this return and the social and political implications of the airport are issues of great concern to the islands and ones which warrant a substantial and thorough research program.

FOOTNOTES

1. All dollar values are in New Zealand dollars. One New Zealand dollar equals approximately US\$ 1.45.
2. U.N. Advisory Service Report on National Income Estimates, May 1972 by S.E. Tiwari, Statistics Office, Rarotonga.
3. Cook Island Tourism Preliminary Market Survey by Author, University of the South Pacific, Feb. 1974
4. This is based on two assumptions - first that the average expenditure is \$36 per day and second that the average length of stay is seven days.
5. It may be useful to mention here the case of Beqa in Fiji where the popularity of the island firewalkers has resulted in their relinquishing of some of their farming duties so that they can entertain tourists. The result has been a fall in agricultural production on Beqa.
6. This consortium comprises Air New Zealand, Tourist Hotel Corporation of New Zealand and the Cook Island government.
7. The UNDP master plan for Fiji tourism uses an estimate of approximately 15 percent of tourism receipts for possible taxation revenue.

IV. Fiji

Fiji is the leading country in South Pacific tourism, judged in terms of tourist arrivals and revenues. Although Fiji tourism does not begin to rival that of Hawaii, tourism development in Fiji bears some similarity to that of its North Pacific neighbor. Like Hawaii, Fiji lies on major trans-Pacific air routes, and is close to industrial nations with affluent potential tourists. Hence, when the jets were introduced in the early 1960's Fiji was ideally located to attract visitors, particularly from nearby Australia and New Zealand. Since then tourism has grown rapidly so that, again like Hawaii, it has overtaken sugar as the country's main industry. Tourism is then truly a "new kind of sugar" for Fiji, and the authors of the following papers have tried to assess its nutritive value for Fiji and its people.

Tony LeFevre, in his paper "Who Gets What from Tourists?," starts out by outlining some crucial facts of international tourism development that are especially relevant in the Pacific. There are substantial economic forces which tend to lead to foreign domination of the industry, at least in its early stages of development. First, today's jet aircraft are so expensive that it is unlikely that small Pacific countries will be buying any Boeing 747's, or their equivalents, and establishing international airlines to bring tourists to the islands. Second, the major drive to build the large and luxurious hotels currently favored in international tourism comes in large part from the foreign airlines which, above all, want to fill the seats of their expensive jets with paying tourists. This means that two major sectors of tourism, the airlines and the major hotels, are likely to be foreign dominated in the Pacific. LeFevre seems to more or less accept this as a given, and suggests that Pacific countries should look for indirect benefits rather than direct ones as tourism's major contribution to local development. Tourism's main indirect benefit could, he posits, be the stimulating effect tourism expenditures could have on the local economy, primarily through removal of market size constraint so that local industries might have a chance to develop on an economic scale. He then goes on to examine the economy of Fiji to see if tourism has indeed acted to open up the rest of the economy. His evidence, however, is largely negative which leads him to suggest, among other things, that countries cannot sit back and assume that tourism development will automatically work for their benefit. LeFevre pleads for a serious commitment to tourism planning on the part of Pacific countries. It is important to understand what he means by planning. He does not mean planning for marketing potential resort development sites to foreign investors, for the mass selling of island holidays to tourists or for the construction of sanitized and pretty resort complexes, which are the main types of activities that now pass for "planning" in Pacific tourism. Rather, he calls for a type of planning that regards tourism as a potential resource, not a panacea, that can only be exploited by structuring the industry in such a way that it helps the local economy over general development obstacles.

John Samy's "Crumbs from the Table? The Worker's Share in Tourism," a paper which has previously appeared in Pacific Perspective, Vol. 2, No. 1, is one of the most interesting micro-studies in Pacific tourism. Samy analyzes employment patterns in a Fiji resort hotel and finds them to be highly stratified according to ethnic group. Caucasians dominate the management, while the other ethnic groups, primarily Fijians and Indians, fill most of the lower ranking jobs. Furthermore, among the non-Caucasians he finds that jobs are assigned according to ethnic stereotypes (as the management apparently readily admitted). The "extrovert" Fijians are given jobs in reception or the tour desk where they project the proper "South Seas image" expected by tourists, while the allegedly "introvert" and harder working Indians are more confined to accounting, gardening and other behind the scenes positions. Samy's paper, however, does more than just document this stratification. He inquires into general questions of the qualifications, work histories and job satisfaction of the hotel workers to build up a well documented case study of tourism employment. Although Samy's paper is certainly not a diatribe against tourism along the lines that the industry is creating "a nation of waiters and busboys," it is obvious that Samy, a citizen of Fiji, did not like what he saw in that hotel.

TOURISM: "WHO GETS WHAT FROM TOURISTS?"

Tony LeFevre

In 1972, tourists in Fiji spent approximately F\$37 m (F\$37,000,000).¹ In terms of gross expenditure, this made tourism the largest industry in Fiji. Ten years ago tourism expenditure grossed a mere \$3.6 m. Little wonder then that so much attention is being given now to this new animal--we are anxious to drink its milk, whilst at the same time we are becoming a little concerned about its enormous appetite for our social, cultural and economic food.

However, Fiji and the South Pacific are, by no means alone in this desire to succour this new pet, to provide it with an elaborate and expensive cage and to get their share of its allegedly valuable affection.

Last year for the first time the gross receipts from international tourism became the largest single item in international trade.² In the space of less than three decades tourism has been transformed from the rich prerogative of the few, to a major consumer industry. By 1971 the number of world tourist arrivals had increased to 181 million from 71 million in 1960, an increase of 155 per cent in just over a decade.³

Prior to the second world war mass international tourism simply did not exist and, until the early sixties, tourism development was concentrated in Southern Europe and certain areas within and around the United States. However, since then tourism has become more widespread and few less developed countries have not considered it as a panacea for their economic ills.

Opinion is divided as to what actually motivates the individual to become a tourist. Whether there is some inherent human desire to travel, or to widen experience, or whether tourism is merely a good with high demonstrative and status effects, the ability to become a tourist originates from higher levels of income in developed countries.

The tourist's desire and ability to pay for something at least ostensibly different from his everyday life has been quickly recognized by governments in the less developed world. To the tourists, these countries offer a new experience and normally one that can be enjoyed in a popular climate.⁴ The almost universal attempt by less developed countries to try the tourism road to development has been coupled with certain economic forces operating within the airline industry to produce a rapid growth in tourism in many less developed countries since 1960.⁵

The birth of Pacific tourism on anything like a substantial scale also dates back only to the early sixties. While Fiji boasted 18,255 visitor arrivals in 1962 other tourism centres around the world were just beginning to emerge. In Africa, Kenya and Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean and Seychelles, in the Far East Singapore and Bangkok, and in the Pacific this was the time of the start of the huge tourism boom.

All these centres had one common denominator. They were all located on international world air routes and therefore had already established transportation routes for their visitors.

The historical fact that tourism development has tended to take place along international air routes is important in understanding the likely development

of the industry. This fact also suggests that there are substantial economic forces which lead to foreign domination of the industry at least in its early stages of development. These forces arise from the economics of operating large jet aircraft, the oligopolistic nature of the airline business and the marketing cartel of international air tickets.

The existence of these forces also makes it difficult to maintain the position that it is coincidence that currently the principal overseas agents behind hotel investment within the Pacific are international airlines.⁶ The nature of airline cost schedules coupled with the I.A.T.A. pricing policy means that the marginal cost of one extra passenger is very low and hence the subsequently high motivation to maintain pay loads as high as possible. The fixed costs of each scheduled air flight are extremely high. The capital cost of the aircraft,⁷ the salary of the crew, airport charges, fuel and maintenance all vary little with the number of seats occupied; hence, the marginal costs of an extra occupied seat is minimal.⁸

International airline fares are negotiated through I.A.T.A.⁹ and are based on the existing number of airlines being given quotas to fly certain routes at agreed and fixed frequencies. Prices are fixed so that no airline can offer lower fares for scheduled flights. In theory, monopoly pricing in an oligopolistic situation results in oversupply. In practice it means that airlines are flying their craft half full and passengers are paying extra for the privilege of being able to occupy two seats instead of one.¹⁰

Growing pressure to reduce fares and so improve pay loads has squeezed airline profit levels and motivated them to look elsewhere to restore these profits. Hotel development in far away places is an obvious solution. Fly the guests to these hotels at the very low marginal costs and earn the profit on their hotel stay.¹¹ The close bond between international airlines and tourism development implies that the tourist industry will tend to be foreign owned at the outset and that a desire by less developed countries for a divorce of this marriage, expressed in their insistence on domestically owned hotels, may mean no industry at all. This suggests that the primary objective of research should be an investigation of whether, even with this likely foreign domination at least at the outset, the industry is still worth developing. In effect the less developed countries must ask "What is in it for us?" Foreign domination may be inevitable at the beginning even if it is only for the very practical reason that hotels without airports are really non-starters.

Looking at the problem in this way suggests that what the less developed countries are doing is scrambling for the crumbs, falling from the foreign guests sitting at the foreign tables. This, however, is not either to depreciate the sources of real gain within these crumbs or to deny the poor morsels on the grounds that they cannot afford the feasts.

Let us, then, suggest some pointers to an answer "who gets what from tourists?" As indicated above the huge increase in global tourism has been financial manna to the international airlines, and few would deny that they, at the very least are doing very nicely from the tourism boom. In this respect the geographical remoteness of the Pacific islands offers a special attraction to these bodies.¹² Given the nature of the international airline business it seems very unlikely that less developed countries will be able to reap many benefits from this end of the industry.

Given the fact that hotels also will tend to be foreign dominated there will be few direct financial benefits here. In fact on the face of it, this section of the accounts may well be in the red if the public sector is called on to provide the expensive infrastructure to service these hotels. Where then are the benefits of the industry to the domestic economy? These benefits lie in the potential catalytic nature of the industry and its potential to open up the economy and to remove the market restraint on future development. These benefits are external to the industry and it would seem that this rather extreme assumption may be the most appropriate one for less developed countries to adopt--the industry itself will yield few direct benefits although the side effects, the externalities or spin offs, may be substantial. This has important planning implications.

The largest single spin off which the industry can offer the less developed country is the removal of the market size restraint. By the very nature of their poverty most less developed countries have a restricted domestic market and this means that production is small-scale, high cost and susceptible to monopoly power. Tourism expenditures open up the domestic market and provide the opportunity for new industries to develop on an economic scale.

This is not to imply that expansion of the domestic market by tourism expenditure is free from difficulties. It is likely to be accompanied by structural inflation as the economy adapts to the changing pattern of demand. The most obvious industry which can benefit from this market expansion is food production and it is to be hoped that further tourism expansion will be accompanied by a growth and greater efficiency in domestic food production.

However, let the point be emphasized that there is no automatic mechanism here. Cases can be cited where food production has in fact fallen with the expansion of the tourist industry, because the industry has opened up more efficient channels of importing. All that the expansion provides is the opportunity for further development.

We should be looking therefore into the supply considerations of possible industries to discover their more efficient expansion in line with the increase in demand. Attitudes and values are important here as empirical evidence suggests that it is not enough just to remove the market restraint and trust in the price system to do the rest. Positive encouragement is needed to motivate local business if advantage is to be had of the increased demand, and if so, research should be guided towards the most efficient techniques for such motivation.

Let us use some figures from the Fiji economy as examples of how far the industry has opened up the economy in Fiji. Here I am most grateful for the work done by Mr. E.C. Dommen employing the input-output table for Fiji 1971.¹³

Table One shows how the tourist spent each \$100 in Fiji during 1971. The first important point to note is that this represents only current expenditure by tourists and does not take into account any of the investment expenditures undertaken for new hotels and ancillary facilities. All that these figures show is the gross spending in each of the sectors. Notice that the largest expenditure item is shopping (52% of expenditure), and that a further third goes on hotels and restaurants. Now, as Mr. Dommen has admirably demonstrated, this expenditure works through the economy and using his estimates, the tourist expenditure in 1971 of \$33.1 m produced 7,000 jobs and contributed \$15.5 m to G.D.P. in terms of value added.

Inspection of these figures yields some interesting facts on who gets what from tourists. Over 90 per cent of tourist expenditure is spent in only four sectors--imported goods and distribution (which is predominantly the duty free business), hotels, restaurants and transport. The relatively low figures for the rest of the economy suggest that, despite a very high rate of growth, during the last decade, tourism has not to any really significant degree opened

up the rest of the economy. On the basis of these figures, the full potential has simply not yet been reaped.

TABLE ONE
TOURIST EXPENDITURE IN FIJI
1971

Imported Goods	\$ 33.08
Hotels, Restaurants	33.00
Distribution	13.71
Transport	12.00
Textiles, Wood & Plastic Products etc.	2.00
Other Services	2.00
Other Agriculture	1.50
Other Food Manufacturers	1.50
Indirect Taxes	<u>1.21</u>
	\$100.00

Source: Input-Output Tables. National Accounts of Fiji 1970-71. Vol. 4. Bureau of Statistics, Suva.

TABLE TWO
CONTRIBUTION OF TOURISM TO a) EMPLOYMENT, b) G.D.P.
(VALUE ADDED)

	<u>Employment</u>	<u>Value Added</u> (\$ '000)
Hotels and Restaurants	1,700	5,292
Distribution	1,194	4,217
Services	1,168	1,518
Agriculture & Food Processing	1,086	1,053
Tours and Transport	960	2,009
Textile, Wood, Plastic Products etc.	428	500
Electricity, Gas and Water	135	315
Banking and Insurance	61	150
Building (maintenance)	128	133
Other	<u>say 140</u>	<u>313</u>
	say 7,000	15,500

Source: The Economic Impact of Tourism by E.C. Dommen. Parkinson Memorial Lecture, University of the South Pacific, November 1973.

The impression is further confirmed by noticing the contribution of tourism to gross domestic product (GDP) and the employment created. These are reproduced in Table 2.

Of the estimated 7,000 jobs created by the tourist dollar, and this is under 5 per cent of the labour force, 4,000 were confined to the hotels,

restaurants, distribution and services sector. These same sectors provided 73 per cent of the total value added.

So, from the point of view of tourist current expenditure, the tentative conclusion is that the industry, although it has expanded considerably itself, has had only a limited effect on stimulating other sectors of the economy.

The picture on the capital investment point of view is much less clear and no definite statistics are available.¹⁶ Nevertheless it is evident that considerable amounts are involved and that these will generate repercussions throughout the whole economy. Although specific conclusions in an area with so few hard statistical facts is risky, one or two general comments can be made. First, because of its once and for all effect, investment expenditure tends to be particularly disruptive. It provides jobs, generates income and most importantly engenders high expectations, but only for the period of construction. So long as the boom continues the problem is postponed; once it slackens or drops, acute problems are likely not only on economic but also on social grounds.

Second, investment expenditure by the private sector calls forth complementary public sector expenditure. New hotels require new roads, new sewage systems and electricity, gas and other ancillary services. In less developed countries undergoing rapid tourism development it is not unusual to detect some bias towards tourist related facilities and away from the more general need.

Third, because of the paucity of domestic funds most investment tends to be foreign and this raises not only economic issues but perhaps more importantly the social and political issues of who controls what. Economically the matter is fairly clear cut. So long as the net capital inflow is used entirely on services which are designed to earn foreign exchange the balance of payments is improved both now and in the future. However, if overseas investment is used for non foreign exchange earners (roads, water and electricity supply) then while capital inflow today solves today's balance of payment crisis it may produce tomorrow's problem of outflow. Socially and politically the issue is much more intractable, and raises the whole nexus of political versus economic independence.

The problem can also be seen in terms of public or private ownership of the industry. Theoretically one could either plumb for complete public ownership or leave the whole development to the market. Practically private investment runs the profit centres (airlines, hotels, restaurants, taxis) and the free goods are left to the public sector (infrastructure). Public sector expenditure on such tourism associated investment, (roads, sewage, electricity) which yields no direct return, warrants special investment appraisal.

Whichever approach is adopted it calls for scarce resources and foreign exchange since many development ingredients cannot be domestically produced. It is erroneous to assume that money is the only scarce factor; knowhow, managerial skills and hotel technology are all lacking in less developed countries. The comparative attractiveness of private overseas capital over government raised loans is that private capital normally comes in with the entire package of scarce factors. There are also bureaucratic and financial problems about public sector management which tend to make governments shy away from direct involvement.

The scope for government revenue from tourism expenditure, both capital and current, is considerable and is an area which merits special investigation. This is one way in which governments can recoup at least some of the hefty infrastructure investment needed for tourism development. Whereas the maximum taxation revenue possible is something for which governments normally aim, a sense

of balance is warranted to ensure that the country is not pricing itself out of the market.

Associated with the tourism taxation possibilities is the question of what incentives are necessary to induce the inflow of private capital. There are a number of issues here which merit investigation. First, at all times, the degree of bargaining power of the less developed country must be realised. Hotel incentives to build in Miami, Florida, for instance, are less necessary than the incentives to build in one of the lesser known and as yet underdeveloped areas of the Pacific. The incentives necessary depend very much on the competition from other countries for the scarce capital. As a consequence, there is the danger of less-developed countries competing so vigorously for this capital by way of investment incentives that the price that they are paying for this capital reduces to a bare minimum the domestic advantages of the industry.

There are certainly historical examples of this happening but it has normally been a transitional problem and one in which the governments have been quick to tighten up their previous over-generosity.¹⁶ Nevertheless, policy decisions on these fiscal policies are best based on a thorough investigation of, first, the international market conditions, and the price elasticity of tourism demand, and second, the net domestic effects of the industry without the taxation revenue.

What does all this imply? What are the immediate policy and planning implications? These, it seems to me, are fairly obvious and the crucial point concerns planning. Tourism planning in the main has been concentrated in the wrong place. It has been concerned with the marketing, the selling and the town planning considerations of "pretty" hotel developments. Without denying the validity of this type of information it is pertinent to question whether from the less-developed country's point of view, it is the most important information to guide their planning and policy decisions. What is needed is not so much the knowledge of how to build pretty hotels but rather how to involve as much of the local economy as possible in their construction and service. What we should be planning is the spin-offs, the externalities of how best to use our crumbs. This type of planning needs research in how best the growth of tourism fits in with the structure of the economy. In an economy where the structure is completely undeveloped and the rate of development in tourism rapid, such changes are inevitably problematic. Research into the way in which this change can be accommodated is needed. We need to be looking at industry projections, analysing the effect of bottlenecks. In Fiji, for instance, we should be looking at how the construction industry could expand without high price changes.

The one point which cannot be emphasised too strongly is that tourism development to a less-developed country is certainly not a panacea. There is no automatic mechanism whereby tourism is fed in at one end and a developed economy, whatever that is, emerges at the other. What can be said is a much more conditional statement that tourism development could provide a valuable opportunity for less developed countries to surmount certain obstacles to development.

Finally, I would like to plead for a sense of perspective in an area where little objective study has been made and yet much by the way of polemic has been expounded. The discussion is normally nostalgic, rueful of change and rather reminiscent of King Canute! It is fairly easy to understand such subjective feelings. Tourism epitomises the luxury of development and in societies which have yet to experience the necessities, to suggest that grandiose tourism development produces local resentment is, to some, to state the obvious. Equally apparent is the racial tension involved where waiters are black and those waited upon white. There is a vast area in which objective study would be a preferable alternative to subjective emotion. A sense of perspective is neces-

sary for the road to social prosperity is not one normally devoid of social costs. Historically all economic developments have produced sociological dysfunctions and in fact some have considered that they are necessarily complementary. In this respect there may be grounds for supposing that the ill effects of tourism development are certainly no greater than, say, the ill effects of the industrial revolution in Western Europe or the "economic miracle" of the Soviet Union. This is not, however, a matter to be settled "a priori." It can only be satisfactorily resolved after we have done the looking, but let us now begin to look in the right direction.

FOOTNOTES

1. There is some confusion as to this figure due to the introduction of exchange controls and the suspicion that certain tourist flows went by unrecorded by the banks. One Fijian dollar equals approximately U.S. \$1.25.
2. Gross International Tourism receipts for 1971 were U.S. \$19,900,000,000 and increasing at 14.3 per cent per year.
3. International Union of Official Travel Organizations, Switzerland.
4. It is usual to expect the tourist to display a preference for sunshine. If this is so, then the average climate of less-developed countries is conducive to some kind of development and not, as normally considered, detrimental.
5. This has led to certain incongruous foreign policies of less-developed countries. Certainly, English readers were most surprised to see a four-page pull out advertisement recently in the Times (September 1973) for holidays in Uganda. One speculates whether all "English" tourists would be welcome!
6. Witness until recently the growth in the Pacific of Americana Hotels, a subsidiary of American Airlines. B.O.A.C. and Qantas also have substantial and growing interests in the area, as does UTA in French speaking areas.
7. As an example of the capital costs involved, a Boeing 747 "Jumbo Jet" costs between U.S. \$20 m and \$25 m (depending on specifications and spare-part contracts).
8. Neglecting the theoretical economic problem of indivisibilities when an extra passenger necessitates an extra flight.
9. International Air Transport Association.
10. This phenomenon is clearly observed when comparing the high-scheduled air fares (low occupancy) with the low-charter fares (high occupancy).
11. I.A.T.A. regulations permit price competition on completely inclusive tours so long as the price of the complete tour is greater than the price of scheduled air fare. The tour operator's answer is to build luxurious and expensive hotels.
12. It is expected that the increased cost of fuel and the consequent reduction in flights over the Pacific will have a substantial effect in reducing airline involvement and hence growth in Pacific tourism.
13. See "The Economic Impact of Tourism" by E.C. Dommen. R.W. Parkinson Memorial Lecture, University of the South Pacific, November 1973.
14. Tourism Development Programme for Fiji. UNDP/IBRD. Government of Fiji, Belt Collins and Associates et al. 1973.
15. If we take the proposed increase in just hotel rooms from 1972-76, as estimated in UNDP report, this involves an investment of approximately \$35 m over 5 years or \$7 m per year. One project, the Pacific Harbour Development is

expected to involve an investment in excess of \$210 m over 20-25 years. In the three years up to now it had already ploughed \$16 m into the project.

16. The case of the initial development of tourism in Tunisia is such an example. The incentives offered included a virtual ten-year tax holiday, import rebates, low rates and public amenity changes, low-interest rate loans on domestic funds and full guarantees of unlimited repatriation of profits, of currency convertibility and against expropriation.

CRUMBS FROM THE TABLE?
THE WORKERS' SHARE IN TOURISM

John Samy

The tourist industry in Fiji has recently suffered much criticism the essence of which is that tourism does not benefit the people of Fiji nearly as much as is claimed. In addition to questions of economic costs and benefits of tourism, much concern has been expressed over its social implications, particularly to the extent to which tourism exploits, dehumanizes, and dislocates local life as well as develops envy and resentment in the local population.

This paper is based on my study of employment patterns in a luxurious, multi-million dollar resort hotel. It shows how mass tourism is likely to affect the division of labour in the host society. Local participation in hotel employment is not only minimal and of a menial nature, but it is also based on racial and ethnic criteria. Expatriate and local Europeans occupy top-paid managerial and executive positions involving far greater economic and social benefits. This racial pattern of job distribution in the hotel is institutionalised and is based largely on prejudice and stereotypes.

In the hotel studied, specialisation was based on sex and ethnic origin rather than on skill. There was a wide range of jobs but most of them required little skill and training, except at the managerial and professional levels. The case study showed that unskilled and service personnel changed jobs fairly frequently and that changes between levels of skill were largely limited to those with formal qualifications or specialised skills. Expatriates and all Europeans held high-salaried senior positions while locals were predominant in the service and unskilled roles.

On the questions of job satisfaction, security and aspirations, those in senior positions were found to be more satisfied with their work, working conditions, salaries, status roles and housing than those with lower salaries. Those in less skilled, lower paid jobs derived less satisfaction the longer they worked. This has important implications for the future of this relatively new industry.

Furthermore, the case study supports evidence elsewhere, such as in the Caribbean, that the development of exclusive, self contained, luxurious, multi-million dollar international standard-type resorts in relatively unsophisticated social environments creates not only resentment but also confirms prejudices, particularly in a country with a colonial history such as ours.

THE CASE STUDY - EVIDENCE

General

The first stage of the hotel involving 108 rooms began operating in October 1967 with 160 employees. By August 1972 there were 204 rooms (with another 24 nearing completion) and 396 employees, of whom 16 were casual workers and 129 women. The following table shows the distribution of these employees in terms of their ethnic origin.

TABLE 1 ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYEES

	Fijian	Indian	European	Part-European	Chinese	Other	Total
Numbers	235	131	16	12	2	-	396
% of Total	59.3	33.1	4.0	3.0	0.6	-	100

There were 109 different kinds of jobs in the hotel and 16 departments. Within each department there was a hierarchy of posts that defined to some extent the responsibility and areas of authority for the respective jobs. Sex determined job distribution to some extent. Only women were employed as reservation officers, while the tour desk, reception/front office, laundry, switchboard and the 'house' (that is, guest rooms, etc.) all employed more women than men. By contrast, only men worked in the stores, maintenance and industrial departments, bars, gardens, the band and as porters and security guards. More men than women worked in the administration, accounts, the dining room and the kitchen. Table 2 illustrates these patterns.

Ethnic origin was more important than sex in determining job distribution. Table 3 shows the relationship between the ethnic origin and the distribution of workers. Certain departments were predominantly staffed by people of one ethnic group. The stores and the laundry were the only departments with fairly even ethnic distribution. Europeans predominated in administration and reservations; the majority of them were expatriates occupying almost all the executive and managerial positions.

The tour desk staff, barmen, porters and security guards were all Fijians as were most of the staff in the reception and front office occupations, the band, the switchboard, the dining room and the house. Indians were predominant in the accounts, the maintenance and industrial activities, the gardens, and the kitchen. They held such jobs as the accountant, accounts clerks, cashiers, carpenters, mechanics, utility drivers, cooks, bakers and pantrymen, gardeners and labourers.

Fijians were chosen for jobs which involved direct contact with the tourists. Indians, Chinese and to a large extent Europeans, because of the nature of their work, had no real contact with the tourists.

Sample

A sample of 96 was carefully drawn from the 396 persons employed in the hotel.¹ Henceforth, the sixteen departments in the hotel (as in Table 2) are categorised under eight headings to make the analysis simpler. Departments with similar or overlapping functions were grouped. For example, administration, accounts and the stores are grouped in the "management and control" category, while the reservations, reception, front-office, switchboard and the tour desk are grouped as "reception and liaison with clients" category. Europeans, Chinese and 'others' are treated together as "Others," simply because there were few Part-Europeans or Chinese working in the hotel.

Job History

Most of the respondents had worked in this hotel for over half the time they had been in paid employment. Fijians and "Others" had spent on average 60 per cent of their working years in the hotel industry, while the Indians had spent only 45 per cent. However, both the Fijian and the Indian male respondents had been employed outside the hotel industry for more than half of their working years.

Fifteen per cent of the Fijian respondents had left their cane farms to take jobs as storemen, gardeners, waiters or barmen. The reasons they gave for leaving the cane farms were either that cane farming was too difficult, that the cane price was too low, or that the "hotel would give more money" so that every two weeks they would "have cash." Some left just because they "wanted a job" (emphasis added), implying that being a cane farmer was not necessarily being with a job. Most of the Fijian men had been employed before either as labourers, casual cane cutters, crew on inter-island ships, or construction workers. Only two Fijian men said that they had been village gardeners before joining the hotel.

By contrast, 45 per cent of the Indians previously worked on cane farms. Most of them said that their "land had been reserved" (i.e., taken over by Fijian landowners after their leases expired) or that they had insufficient land to support their large and increasing families. One Indian had bought new land when his cane farm was reserved, but took the job in the hotel to pay the debt incurred in buying the land. The other Indian respondents were either in wage employment for the first time, or had previous experience in such non-farming occupations as carpenters, plumbers, drivers, clerks or unskilled workers.

Indian women spent more time working in the hotel industry than either the Fijian women or the women in the "Others" category. This was because for almost all of them the hotel job was their first cash employment. These women were solely responsible for the economic welfare of their families, and the hotel gave them a source of livelihood in an agricultural area where it was difficult to find wage employment. Most of the Fijian women, on the other hand, had previously been in cash employment outside of the hotel industry, more than half of them as nurses who had either married or gone on maternity leave and stayed at home until an employment opportunity in the hotel arose. Most of the former nurses became waitresses or housegirls. The rest of the Fijian women had either left school or village domestic work to take jobs as waitresses, housegirls, or laundry hands.

The managerial, executive, supervisory and highly skilled professional and technical workers in the hotel are referred henceforth as the "staff"; all others will be referred to as the "lower-category workers". The top-paid, professional and technical staff had been recruited either from overseas or from other hotels or urban areas. They were predominantly European or expatriate. The lower-category workers had been largely drawn from the rural areas and unskilled employment. Previous employment experience in hotels had not been a major pre-requisite for recruitment.

Unlike the lower-category workers the staff gave different reasons for leaving their previous jobs and taking the present ones. The staff came for promotion or on transfer, or because they wanted "more money" or "better prospects." The executive and managerial staff expressed the view that in their professions it was necessary to move from hotel to hotel "for experience." In contrast with Fijians and Indians, the "Others" said that they took their present jobs mainly because of the "good future prospects" (33%) or because these were

"better than the previous jobs" (27%). They found their present jobs more challenging and involving a broadening of their experience in the hotel industry. The management of the hotel had offered, and in some instances even created, positions for some such staff workers. None of the staff interviewed gave financial reasons alone for taking their present employment, but were looking ahead to ascertain how much they could improve their positions in the future.

The lower-category workers viewed their jobs primarily in terms of immediate material and financial needs rather than planning for the distant future. In this respect, when 15 per cent of the Fijians and 30 per cent of the Indians said that the present job was "better than previous jobs" they indicated that this was mainly in terms of the marginal increases in pay rather than in the nature or scope of the work they did.

About 39 per cent of the respondents had acquired their jobs through relatives or friends already working in the hotel. Another 25 per cent had applied to the management in person. Management itself offered jobs to 14 per cent (all involving specialised skills and technical know-how from executive management to carpenters, mechanics and cooks). As the first construction stage was nearing completion, the hotel recruited some construction workers (almost all of them Fijian) as carpenters, waiters, barmen, porters and labourers.

Fijians (36%) and Indians (44%) acquired their jobs mainly through known contacts with the hotel or by applying in person (Fijians 33%, Indians 26%) to the head of the employing department. Only two of the 39 Fijians and one of the 27 Indian respondents said that they had received promotion. Of those in the "Others" category, 33 per cent acquired their jobs through friendly contacts in the hotel or through persons who knew the management.

The Work Climate

This section deals with job satisfaction, security and job preference. Employees were asked to explain what they liked and disliked about their jobs, whether they could keep their present jobs as long as they wanted, how long they wanted to keep them, and whether they would prefer other jobs, in the hotel or outside.

The workers' varied responses were classified in three pre-coded categories: instrumental, relational and expressive. In the "instrumental" category the attitude to the job was essentially a "kind of depersonalised detachment rather than an immediate involvement or engrossment in the job tasks,"² that is, the job was treated as a means to an end rather than an end in itself. For example, workers' complaints about too much responsibility, pressure of work, tiredness, inadequate pay; or such likes as that the "job is too easy" or that it is a light job, etc., were instrumental responses. "Relational" responses were those where the satisfaction or dissatisfaction involved inter-personal relationships or social situations, such as complaints about lack of co-operation, isolation, or "bad superiors". The "expressive" category included responses where feelings were expressed about the nature of work in terms of immediate involvement and meaning to the worker, for example, when a job was regarded as "boring", or when it was accepted as creative.

Although most workers expressed either relational or instrumental dissatisfactions with their jobs, there were differences between the ethnic groups. Fewer Indians had complaints than either "Fijians" or "Others". Thirty-eight per cent of the Fijians complained about not having enough pay relative to the work they did or the income the hotel made. The housegirls complained that the pressure

of work was too high and that they often felt fatigued at work. Most of the Indian complaints were about wages.

Indians and Fijians who expressed relational dislikes tended to compare themselves either with the Europeans or with the staff. All Europeans, as well as a few of the local people who constituted the staff, enjoyed special benefits. For example, Indians and Fijians complained about such "house rules" as that which required lower-category workers to leave the hotel immediately after work and not mix with the guests, while the staff were not so restricted.

Staff living on the hotel site included all Europeans, expatriates, and a few Part-Europeans and Chinese. They received free meals, laundry, fully-furnished free accommodation, free medical and entertainment allowances as well as considerable discounts on travelling expenses. Some Fijians and Indians who felt they were shouldering the same responsibilities as those who received "live-in" status considered themselves discriminated against. The hotel's policy was that only those classified as "irreplaceable" by locals could live in.

One local staff respondent felt that Fijians and Indians had "very little chance." Indian and Fijian workers gave examples of Europeans being given higher salaries than local people in the same department with more senior jobs and more responsibility, and of Europeans who started much later with lower salaries being sent overseas for training to come back and occupy top jobs. One Fijian respondent in a supervisory position claimed that the management treated locals "as animals because of their skin."

Of respondents in reservations and reception, 57 per cent expressed relational dissatisfactions, but the remainder had no complaints. A senior European staff complained that the Fijian workers in his departments were "unreliable" and often did not turn up for work. Similarly, a European responsible for the porters and the security guards complained that they were "insolent and lazy" and often "answered back." Tense relations existed between the chef (an expatriate European) and his subordinates.

There were significant differences between the Fijian and Indian workers regarding work satisfaction. The satisfactions Fijians derived from their jobs were largely relational (51 per cent) and instrumental (36 per cent). Almost all the Fijians occupied jobs involving face-to-face contacts with the tourists. The management strategically placed the Fijians in the hotels as porters, housegirls, waiters, tour guides and security guards. Most of the Fijians liked their work because they could "make friends," or because they could "really look after the guests," or because the work they did was such that it made them feel they "pleased a lot of people." Some simply said that they liked "serving the tourists." One waiter remarked that "by providing good service I represent the Fijian people to the outside world." Thirty-six per cent of the Fijians who gave "instrumental" reasons for liking their jobs felt so either because their jobs involved "light work" or because they could get "tips." Some of the housegirls said they liked their jobs because they could "learn the basis of modern housekeeping," an interesting comment on the impact of hotel models on village domestic life.

Unlike the Fijians, only 11 per cent of the Indian respondents had relational likes for their work. Those in the accounts felt that they had an "understanding superior" or that the management was helpful. Most Indians had instrumental likes while 30 per cent felt expressive satisfactions in their work. Those in the account and in the kitchen felt they could learn valuable skills.

Most of the workers in the "Others" category largely felt relational satisfactions. Those in superior-controlling positions liked training others. These people generally liked the hotel as a place of work. The staff who were entitled to live-in benefits mentioned this as a reason for liking their work.

Everyone in the hotel except for a small group of casual gardeners was on a full-time job. Asked about job security, 93 per cent of the Europeans, Part-Europeans and Chinese, and 82 per cent of the Indians and Fijians felt confident that they could keep their jobs as long as they wanted.

Seventy per cent of Fijians but only 52 per cent of Indians reported receiving promotions, but in many cases this meant increases in pay only for the same job. In contrast, 67 per cent of the respondents in the "Others" category received promotion not only in pay but also in terms of major shifts in their responsibilities.

Asked if they would prefer any other job in the hotel, 52 per cent of respondents said "yes." More Fijians (62 per cent) wanted other jobs, but mentioned only jobs which were generally regarded as "Fijian" jobs. Similarly, the Indians showed preference for jobs which were generally regarded as "Indian" jobs. All those in the lower category jobs took for granted that they could not aspire to jobs in the "staff" category because these needed higher formal education and skills.

Indians were generally uncertain about their chances of occupational mobility. Lower-category Indian workers, and some staff, felt that Indians were "second choice" to Fijians for any job in the hotel. They recognised that Indians could not become porters, waiters, barmen, security guards, receptionists or housegirls. Except for one who wanted to be a receptionist, Indians who preferred a change of job thought mainly of being carpenters, cooks, drivers, and labourers. Indians felt that they had little choice but to stay where they were. Those in the "Others" category who preferred other jobs thought of vertical mobility, and felt they had the necessary experience and training for more responsible positions.

Job Evaluation

The head of the hotel management confirmed that "an ethnic approach was applied" in the allocation of jobs. He felt that the European was more a "public relations man," the Fijian "an extrovert" and the Indian "more an introvert." For jobs involving contacts with tourists, he regarded Fijians as "more successful" although "probably less efficient," while Indians were chosen for jobs such as gardening because they proved to be "more a farmer than the "Fijian." In departments consisting mainly of Fijians, the management tried to have a Fijian "controlling the Fijians" because he was then a "blood brother" and the workers listened to him.

Workers clearly associated certain jobs with particular ethnic groups. It was generally agreed that the following were "Fijian" jobs: waiter/waitress, bar-waiter, porter, security guard, reef guide, receptionist, tour desk attendant, and housegirl. The various ethnic groups differed in their explanations as to why these were "Fijian" jobs. The Europeans in the hotel thought "the tourists came to see Fijians" and therefore Fijians in these jobs promoted "guest perception and acceptability." Other reasons they gave were that the Fijian was "good at service," that "his mentality was not high enough" and that his "eagerness to work was low." Some Europeans felt that those jobs "did not require much skill" and that because "the Fijians in the hotel were not much educated," they were "not fit for jobs with responsibility." However, in fact, Fijians ranked second to "Others" in their formal educational attainment and qualifications.

Indians thought it was the hotel's policy not to allow Indians into these jobs. One Indian felt that Fijians were not able to do other work because they "create nuisance, noise, steal and do not attend to work." The Fijian respondents themselves explained that it was the hotel's policy that only Fijians could

do these jobs: because the management "trusted the Fijians" because they could "attract the tourists with their beautiful smiles and appearance: and their "friendly faces." One Fijian respondent said the Indians "never give the very bright smile or say the big 'bula' as the Fijians do."

Jobs in the hotel identified as "Indian" jobs were: cooks, carpenters, drivers, clerks, laundry hands and gardeners. Europeans explained that the Indians had a "better sense of the need to work" and were eager to work and to have more responsibilities. The Fijians felt that the Indians "worked hard" and had the "qualifications" for these jobs. The Indians themselves answered that these were "Indian" jobs either because it was the "management's way" of allocating jobs, or because the Fijians lacked those skills.

Jobs which most respondents felt were for Europeans included all those at the managerial and executive level. Some Fijians felt the hotel did this to preserve the European's status, others thought Europeans were "clever and more experienced" and were the "best leaders" and were not biased in giving instructions to other ethnic groups. Some Fijians also felt that there were "not enough locals trained for such jobs." Some Indians thought that the Europeans had "experience" while others felt that because the "hotel was their's," the Europeans "did not give chance to the others" and that the Fijians and Indians "respected and were afraid of them."

The Europeans felt the jobs were occupied by Europeans; firstly, because if Indians and Fijians held responsible positions things "collapsed" since they "lacked experience and confidence." Secondly, the Europeans felt that the tourists expected such posts as General Manager and his assistants to be filled by Europeans.

Tourism and the Host Community

Erik Cohen notes that most tourists enjoy change and novelty only from a strong base of familiarity which enables them to feel secure enough to enjoy the strangeness of what they experience. Thus, tourists like to go out only a certain distance for new and strange experiences, but before these get extreme or prolonged, they shrink back to what they are familiar with, which may well be the carpeted, air-conditioned rooms or the typical 'home' type meal.³

Contemporary institutionalised tourism is a mass industry; where the tour is sold as a package, standardised and mass-produced. The tourist is given the illusion of adventure although all the risks and uncertainties of adventure are avoided. The novelty areas, places and attractions that the tourist visits are in most cases transformed or manipulated to make them 'suitable' for mass tourist consumption. Of the many examples of this phenomenon in the hotel I studied, I will mention only two. Tourists could order "Prime New York Cut Sirloin Maitre D'Hotel" or "Fillet Mignon Henri IV" or "Kebab A La Greque," but they were listed in the hotel's menu under such captions as "Ai Tekitekivu" or "Tavu" or "Kakana ni Waitui" to give the tourists the impression of their being exotic Pacific foods. In another example, the tour section in the hotel advertised:

... A rare opportunity to attend a Fijian Maqiti (feast) at the picturesque village of.....

All the traditional foods will be served in a setting and atmosphere that is fast disappearing. This occasion presents a rare chance to witness a way of life that gave birth to the legend of the South Sea. Guests are strongly recommended to avail themselves of the opportunity.....

The implications of the above for the quality and nature of interpersonal relationships between tourists and the host society are borne out in Mr. R.J. Scott's paper, 'The Development of Tourism in Fiji since 1923.'⁴ He says that one of the main cliches of the tourist trade is that "travel broadens the mind" but,

today, travel, far from broadening the mind is actually contriving to shrink it. Along with the benefits of efficiency and labour-saving that the package tour concept has brought, with it comes the concomitant danger of stultifying sameness. As our people in Fiji go about their daily tasks of serving the visitors we see an endless succession of the same little old ladies, with the same blue hair rinses, spending the same life insurance money and speaking in the same accents of the same things which have penetrated their similar perceptions. And what of little old ladies? As they climb in and out of their same cars, their same planes, their same hotel beds, as they eat the same foods, drink the same drinks and buy the same souvenirs is it to be wondered that many cannot tell from one day to the next which country it is that they are presently visiting? These people travel the world like registered parcels, blindly unaware of the local populations, their aspirations, problems and tragedies. Instead of promoting mutual understanding they promote mutual contempt.

Let us now look at another major component of tourism. The administrator/promoter operates in a highly competitive world market. He aims to attract as many tourists as possible, and to do so makes his offer as attractive as possible. Some of the things that he can provide in Fiji can be readily offered anywhere: luxurious accommodation, exotic food, swimming pools, etc. To come to Fiji, the tourist is offered more. Fiji's "isolated" location, attractive scenery and tropical climate provide a geographical resource which is cultivated to attract visitors.

The other widely-exploited factor is the "indigenous" culture. The promoter sees the native Fijian's way of life, traditions and customs in a way that suits his purpose of attracting visitors. The travel brochures and advertisements illustrate the exclusive image of the "sun-drenched South Pacific where men's longing for a paradise, where nature and man are in harmony, and where peace comes true." They are told that they can see the Fijian natives dressed in grass skirts and performing war dances, both of which they abandoned generations ago. The tourists are brought in to see the "happy-go-lucky, smiling and carefree" Fijians. Fijians employed in the hotels are expected to play out this role in return for a wage. The Fijian particularly is therefore made part of the commodity package that the promoter/administrator offers.

The hotel studied employed Fijians in jobs with direct personal contact to fulfill the tourists' expectations. These expectations are largely predetermined by the image that the promoter advertises abroad to attract the tourists. The hotel management continuously reminded Fijians how to behave "like natives." Fijian workers were extremely conscious that as Fijians, they were expected to be smiling all the time, regardless of their feelings. This was an integral part of their daily, routine work and some even carried a poem on "The Value of a Smile" to remind themselves of this.

The workers in the hotel tended to categorise jobs on ethnic grounds, reinforcing the principles on which the management institutionalised discrimination in the allocation of jobs. As the tourist industry grows, more and more

people will look for jobs in hotels and other tourism-related industries. The racial pattern of employment could provide a source for inter-ethnic tensions and conflict, not only between Indians and Fijians but also between these two ethnic groups on one hand and the Europeans, particularly expatriates, on the other.

The socio-psychological impact on locals who come from relatively unsophisticated backgrounds, who work to please wealthy, rather fussy, and highly materialistic tourists in their enclaves of privilege is particularly difficult to assess. But it needs urgent attention. Experience so far with such tourism indicates that those with enough free time and free money for travel abroad inevitably carry with them a prestige status, and indigenous cultures are made to feel underprivileged and unimportant by comparison.

NOTES

1. The sample response rate obtained was 84.4 per cent. Most of the non-respondents were Fijians, the reason mainly being the failure to contact them rather than refusal on their part.
2. Blauner, R., Alienation and Freedom, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, p. 26.
3. Cohen, E., "Toward a Sociology of International Tourism," Social Research, Vol. 39, No. 1, pp. 164-82, 1972.
4. Scott, R.G., "The Development of Tourism in Fiji Since 1923," Fiji Visitors Bureau, Suva, 12 May 1970.

V. Papua New Guinea

Of all the major Pacific Island countries, Papua New Guinea is perhaps the least likely one to become significantly dependent on tourism and, therefore, to become so vulnerable to the forces and trends in that industry. This is because, in Pacific island terms at least, Papua New Guinea is a huge country with a diverse resource base. It is a major producer of several export crops and is rich in minerals; one of the world's largest copper mines is located there, on the island of Bougainville. Planners and politicians have therefore felt little compulsion to push for large scale tourism as a mainstay of the economy. Nonetheless, tourism is of modest importance there, and can, as R.J. May points out in his paper, "Tourism and the Artifact Industry in Papua New Guinea," have a marked effect on traditional crafts and perhaps also on some remote regions where artifacts produced for tourists may become a major local "cash crop."

Generally, tourism is usually condemned for its effect on local artistry, whether it be in Mexico or the Pacific. In Papua New Guinea, which is world renowned for its "primitive art," particularly its wood sculpture, tourists (and visiting academics, businessmen, U.N. officials and others) usually try to purchase at least one artifact to take home with them. This visitor demand has been blamed for a number of things: the loss of "cultural treasures" (the export of which is forbidden but not easy to enforce); the creation of hideous "airport art" forms; and, at best, the freezing of art styles in pseudo-traditional forms that have a sure market appeal. May is perhaps less disturbed about the development of an artifact industry to satisfy visitor demand than some students. He says, in effect, let us accept it as a given and then see what policies might be instituted that would both protect Papua New Guinea's cultural heritage, and see to it that local artists and craftsmen get maximum possible return in a market which (as currently constituted) is frequently not very rewarding to the producers.

TOURISM AND THE ARTIFACT INDUSTRY
IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

R.J. MAY

INTRODUCTION

This paper comments on two aspects of the impact of tourism on art in Papua New Guinea and then discusses some possible policy measures. With respect to government policy in this broad area, other Pacific countries are, in many instances a long way ahead of Papua New Guinea. First, however, two general comments: one on the definition of art; the other on the general impact of tourism on Papua New Guinea cultures.

(i) The definition of art. It will be useful to distinguish several categories of Papua New Guinean art artifacts and crafts. These, of course, are not clearly defined categories but form a continuum between wholly indigenous and wholly imported art forms. At one end of the scale is true traditional art, that is, objects made within a traditional society for use - religious or secular - within that society or for trade with traditional trading partners. (For simplicity the term "art" will be used to describe all such artifacts, whether or not they can be said to have any aesthetic quality). Within this category one might distinguish "pure" traditional art from contact-influenced traditional art, the latter differing from the former in the materials and tools used to make it and in the possible use of new imported design elements.

Further along the scale is what might be called pseudo traditional art. At its best, this includes carefully made reproductions of traditional items by artists who have been brought up within the traditional culture but produce artifacts for sale. At its worst (for which the term "airport art" is generally reserved) it consists of stylised works, whose relation to anything within the traditional culture is at best tenuous, and mass produced often by people with little knowledge of the traditional culture or perhaps not even members of the society whose art they purport to portray. Towards the other end of the scale are works which combine (generally unhappily) traditional art forms with a degree of individual creativity and "adaptive" art, such as handbags made of tapa cloth. At the far end of the scale are wholly introduced art forms (such as, in Papua New Guinea, weaving and wheel-built kiln-fired pottery) and the work of individual creative artists.

(ii) The general impact of tourism on traditional cultures. The impact of tourism on traditional cultures is only one element of the much broader phenomenon of cultural invasion. Undoubtedly tourism has had an impact on the cultures of "traditional" societies but it is equally certain that its impact has been less than that of missions, colonial administrations and other agents of "civilisation." This is so for at least two reasons: first, large scale tourism has occurred only recently, well after traditional cultures have been thoroughly exposed to other outside influences; secondly, unlike many of these outside influences tourism is not specifically committed to changing traditional societies and indeed often has an interest in preserving them. Specifically in Papua New Guinea tourism is still fairly small scale, and because of the geography of the country, the lack of roads and the high cost of internal transport tourists seldom range far. And, apparently unlike those in Africa, tourists in Papua New Guinea are seldom seriously interested in the country's art.

THE IMPACT OF TOURISM ON ART

Given the above reservations tourism can be said to have affected Papua New Guinea art in several ways.

At one level, tourists have been destructive of traditional art through the purchase and removal of it. Since 1966 national cultural property has been protected by an ordinance which prevents the export of artifacts without a permit, but the provisions of this ordinance are difficult to enforce effectively, especially in the case of tourists. However, a limited analysis of dealers' sales suggests that tourists are not major buyers of true traditional art, the bulk of which is sold to overseas collectors and other dealers. And the chances of casual tourists obtaining true traditional art of any note in villages are probably slight, especially since in the most likely collecting area, the Sepik, tours are often arranged and conducted by artifact dealers themselves.

As against this it might be argued that by displaying interest in traditional cultures and helping provide a continuing market for traditional art, tourism has done something to preserve traditional cultures and their art. The truth probably lies somewhere in between: tourism, along with other aspects of the cultural invasion has been responsible for the loss to the country of a large part of its material culture - at least some of which might otherwise have been preserved within the country. But in some of the more culturally robust areas the provision of a market for traditional art (some forms of which were never intended to be permanent), or the extension of traditional markets has helped to keep cultures alive and to preserve traditional art forms. In other words tourism has both preserved some true traditional art and it has promoted pseudo traditional art.

The promotion of pseudo traditional art is a second sort of effect of tourism. Purists tend to condemn all pseudo traditional art: "airport art" for its general lack of authenticity, craftsmanship and aesthetic, and well crafted reproductions for perpetuating a static art form which has "lost its meaning." Others argue in defense of airport art that any commodity which transfers income from relatively rich foreigners to locals with the mutual satisfaction of buyer and seller, aesthetics aside, has something going for it (and in any case every society has its kitsch). They also argue in defense of reproductions that a pleasing art form is worth perpetuating even if it has largely "lost its meaning." The position one adopts depends essentially on one's value judgements. What can be said, however, is that the existence of a large and fairly indiscriminating market - or the belief that such a market exists - has led to the mass production of commercial items with an inevitable loss of quality of craftsmanship. This loss of quality has been partly the result of breaking the link between the art and its traditional religious or secular function in the society, partly the result of producing large numbers quickly and partly a reflection of the fact that non-traditional craftsmen have been attracted into the industry. At least until fairly recently this tendency was encouraged by the policy of most dealers of buying bundles of artifacts in villages and paying a total price for the bundle (some dealers not knowing good from bad also retailed on this principle, charging average cost plus mark-up), and by the policy of paying a fixed price for a certain type of artifact. Such policies, by giving no differential return to superior quality or authenticity discouraged craftsmanship. However, in recent years, assisted by the buying policies of some of the more enlightened dealers and with a growing awareness among artists that there is a "collectors'" as distinct from a "tourist" market, there has been some reversal of this tendency and an improvement in the quality of artifacts coming onto the market from some areas.

"Faking" is a special subcategory of pseudo traditional art. Since the art of traditional societies by its very nature tends to be repetitive, and given

that the distinction between true and pseudo traditional art is often a vague one, it is hard to draw a firm line between fakes and non-fakes. Certainly there has been artificial aging of artifacts, especially on the Sepik, for some time but such aging has been for the most part fairly obvious and the prices charged for such pieces by artists has seldom given much indication of a deliberate desire to defraud buyers in order to get a higher return. In recent years one or two highly skilled Sepik craftsmen have made replicas of old pieces from outside their own societies, but again the newness of the replicas has been fairly obvious and the prices charged close to prices charged for "airport art" masks of comparable size. In the highlands, on the other hand, there has been some quite unambiguous (and very obvious) faking of stone objects for sale to tourists (which contains a nice irony, since stone artifacts are prohibited exports). Where "fakes" are inflicted by producers on buyers who would not with full knowledge buy them, the result might be regarded as a form of taxation on tourism whose progressivity varies with ignorance (it might also serve as a fine on would-be-infringers of the national cultural property preservation legislation). However it is unfortunate when producers sell such pieces, fairly ingenuously, to dealers who in turn sell them as genuine items at correspondingly high prices.

A third effect of tourism has been to stimulate a bastardisation of traditional art. Where the effect has been to adjust traditional forms to meet foreign (mostly "Western") standards or tastes - as in the reduction of the once splendid Telefomin shields and houseboards to suitcase size, the addition of feet to traditionally round-bottomed pots (not to mention the mass production of chalices and candle holders), or the mass production of carvings of copulating pigs - it is at least explicable. Less easy to comprehend is the reason for producing Trobriand Islands carved elephants and Woodlark Island copies of Chinese carved goldfish.

The introduction of non-indigenous crafts - specifically kiln-fired glazed pottery and wool weaving - seems to have been aimed at creating a local market as much as providing a supply for sale to tourists. These projects appear to have been reasonably successful on a very small scale with substantial government input. On the other hand the situation with respect to creative art, at least in the plastic arts, is bleak and tourism is unlikely to do anything to change that.

In summary, tourism has had an ambiguous impact on Papua New Guinea art. Along with other agents of cultural invasion it has played a part, though probably a small one, in the removal of the country's cultural heritage and it has contributed to a decline in the average level of craftsmanship in the art which is produced. On the other hand it has contributed to the preservation of traditional art forms (and in recent years possibly to an increase in the number of well made artifacts). To date it has done little for creative art.

Apart from this, what tourism has done has been to provide a source of income to many people, especially in less well endowed parts of the country. In order to assess the value of this it is necessary to turn to an examination of the structure of the artifact industry.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE ARTIFACTS MARKET

(i) Ultimate buyers. There are at least two overlapping but fairly distinct markets in artifacts: one created by "collectors," who are usually interested only in terms of a certain quality but are likely to have a continuing interest, the other by tourists or other casual buyers who are mostly interested in acquiring one or a few items, usually as souvenirs of a visit.

For the collector, "quality" is defined in terms of ethnographic authenticity, aesthetic appeal, rarity, or some combination of these three. Mostly, collectors are buyers of true traditional art and the higher orders of pseudo traditional art though they may also purchase bastardised ("transitional") art. The ultimate buyers in the collectors' market are museums and art galleries and private collectors. They probably obtain a large part of their collection at auctions in the main international art centres. Some also collect in the field. For the rest, they purchase from dealers.

Casual buyers tend to fall into two groups: those who want something (a "genuine" something) which captures the spirit of the primitive and exotic (phallic crypts and arrows are popular) and those who demand something, preferably but not necessarily distinctively Papua New Guinean, which is decorative, useful or "amusing" (wooden bowls and basketry - much of which is non traditional - are popular). In both cases the dominant preference seems to be for objects which are small and inexpensive.

(ii) Ultimate sellers. The ultimate sellers are the villagers and urban migrants who sell the items they, their friends, relatives or their ancestors have produced. Occasionally ultimate sellers sell to ultimate buyers - collectors may buy in the field, tourists may buy in villages or from hawkers in towns. But more often they sell to dealers.

(iii) Dealers. There are several classes of dealer. In Papua New Guinea there is a handful of dealers with shops in towns who cater for both the collector and the tourist market. With one exception these are run by expatriates, several of whom have wider business interests in the town in which they operate. These probably handle the bulk of the artifact trade. Their profits come in part from a large turnover of tourist pieces on which there is a relatively low mark-up, and in part from a small turnover of expensive collectors' pieces on which mark-ups on purchase price may be very high. In addition to these there are several smaller dealers, also mostly expatriate, who handle tourist items, again often in conjunction with other business. A third group of dealers in Papua New Guinea consists of professionals who specialize in obtaining mostly collectors' pieces in the field. These make the bulk of their income by selling directly to ultimate buyers, to overseas dealers or to the large dealers within Papua New Guinea who have a good knowledge of the international market. But in order to make field trips profitable they often (and it seems increasingly) purchase tourist items in bulk from less accessible areas for sale to other dealers. Often this group also has other business interests, such as conducting tourist expeditions or buying crocodile skins. Another group might be described as incidental dealers (though the dividing line between this and the third group is tenuous). This includes missionaries, administration field officers, a not insignificant number of academic fieldworkers and some airline employees, who in the nature of their work either spend a large amount of time in the field or are able to exploit an extensive field network. The missions - notably the Catholic Mission in the Sepik and the United Church in Milne Bay - have been amongst the largest and most efficient artifact dealers in the country.

In none of these groups do Papua New Guineans play much part at all. In recent years five noteworthy local businesses have been established. In one, a Papuan assisted by a Development Bank loan took over a small artifact business in Port Moresby in which previously he had been employed. In a second, a group of Sepiks set up a small business in Port Moresby dealing in cheap, middle Sepik style tourist items. In a third, a group of Sepik river people set up a small cooperative style enterprise in Wewak, with commercial bank and Development Bank finance and substantial (and generally inept) assistance from the Department of Business Development. In the fourth, a local entrepreneur

set up a small roadside business in the Maprik area. In the fifth, a local businessman set up an artifact shop, in conjunction with other tourist activities, close to Goroka and subsequently established a small shop in the Goroka market. Only the first and perhaps the last of these can be described as having been a success. In addition several expatriate businessmen have taken local partners into their business, in most cases, it might be conjectured, as some insurance against possible refusal of the right to trade in artifacts.

In a number of areas, especially in the East Sepik District, a degree of local involvement has been achieved through local government council artifact enterprises. However with one notable but short-lived exception in Angoram, local government council enterprises have not been successful. They have run into two basic problems: lack of understanding of market prices (tourist items have generally been overpriced in relation to the big dealers in towns, and councils have refused to pay high prices for collectors' pieces), and difficulties in locating and meeting the demands of buyers, including dealers.

In addition to the dealers within Papua New Guinea there are a number of dealers throughout the world (but notably in Australia) who deal exclusively or incidentally in the art of Papua New Guinea. They will not be considered here except to note that several of these conduct regular field trips to Papua New Guinea. An analysis of field trip budgets of two such dealers showed that a quite small part of their total expenditure was on the purchase of artifacts (and much of this represented purchases from dealers). Rather the great bulk of their expenditure went on air fares, hire of vehicles and canoes, freight, and in one case hotel bills. Because of this the mark up on the pieces purchased in the field by such dealers is usually high, underlining the advantage enjoyed by missions and others - including, potentially, the government - who can minimise such overheads.

(iv) Price structure. It is in the collectors' market that high prices are paid and received for Papua New Guinea art. But this market, like all international market in art, is by its very nature a thin market in which prices vary often sharply between individual pieces and according to the state of the market. It is difficult to generalise about prices - often two apparently very similar pieces will go for markedly different prices at a single auction - but successful dealers have a "feel" for the prices they can get for individual items and profit from a specialised knowledge of buyers' demands.

A number of factors go into the determination of price in the collectors' market. Aesthetic qualities, and to a lesser extent craftsmanship, are of course important but not as important as in other parts of the art market. Ethnographic authenticity on the other hand is of major importance; collectors usually will pay higher prices for pieces whose provenance, use and age are known and will often buy only from dealers they trust to supply such information (though many dealers are not beyond manufacturing data for their client). Rarity is usually important. Age which sometimes seems to be valued as such, is often sought after as a proxy for ethnographic authenticity.

Inevitably the prices received by Papua New Guinea villagers tend to be below those paid for comparable pieces in the major international art centres at least by the cost of their freight to major centres and usually by this plus the cost of collection plus the mark-ups of one more dealers (which, of course, cover rent, wages, etc. as well as profits). In recent years, however, competition between dealers for the few remaining collectors' pieces has substantially reduced the incidence of downright exploitation of villagers. Indeed in recent years the worst offenders have often been casual visitors, such as academic fieldworkers, who have known enough to pick "good" from "bad" but have been totally ignorant of market prices.

In what might be loosely described as the tourist market, on the other hand, items are pretty much standardised and although prices do vary between dealers (reflecting the imperfection of the market) ultimate sellers are usually well aware of retail prices, and competition ensures that dealers mark-ups allow only a reasonable profit margin and that the prices charged by different dealers are not far out of line. Prices in this market tend to reflect costs (mostly close-to-minimum wages).

TOURISM, ART AND GOVERNMENT POLICY

This paper suggests that government might have something to contribute to art in Papua New Guinea in at least three areas: (i) measures aimed at the preservation of national cultural property; (ii) policies, as thought appropriate, concerned with such matters as preservation of traditional art, promotion of artistic creativity and the influencing of standards in pseudo traditional art; (iii) policies affecting the artifacts market in such a way as to ensure the maximum possible return to Papua New Guineans.

(i) Cultural property preservation. There already exists national cultural property preservation legislation, which apart from making provision for the declaration of national monuments, prevents the export of artifacts without a permit issued by the museum (certain classes of artifacts "commonly produced for sale" have been given a general exemption). This legislation was recently amended to prevent the export of any items made before 1961. As noted above, however, this legislation has proved difficult to administer effectively, especially in respect of tourists (though these are unlikely to be major offenders). In any case such measures can be no substitute for an active programme of field collection, recording and monument-watching by museum authorities, and these in turn are unlikely to be wholly successful without an intelligent and informed interest on the part of villagers.

(ii) Policies for art. Under this heading are included policies aimed at three very different objectives.

Policies aimed at the preservation of traditional art are frequently attacked, often by those most involved in the arts, on the grounds first, that policies designed to prop up art forms which because of changes taking place within the society are naturally on the decline can only lead to the preservation of a formalised pseudo-art devoid of meaning and soul, and second, that in any case traditional art was itself never static. As against this it can be argued that - provided this does not constitute the only element in a national arts policy - such measures may preserve something that is unique to Papua New Guinea and for which there is an international demand. Moreover, a continuing traditional art might provide an artistic outlet, as well as a "cash crop" to some, committed to the traditional culture and lacking in artistic creativity. Within recent years the Papua New Guinea Department of Education has taken a stand on this issue through the appointment of a director of cultural affairs to draw up a cultural programme for schools. The Australian government has also recently sponsored one very successful cultural rescue operation in the Western District of Papua. And as suggested above, tourism might help to preserve and promote at least some aspects of traditional cultures.

With more efficient marketing arrangements (see below) government might also help maintain the standard of craftsmanship in the production of pseudo traditional art. What little evidence there is to date suggests that, at

least over a considerable range, the return to an artist per man hour rises with the "quality" of the work.

Artistic creativity must come from within, but government can assist its development through such measures as the provision of grants to enable creative artists to work as artists. Despite the establishment of a Creative Arts Centre in 1972 little has been done by government for creativity in the plastic arts; private individuals have been little more successful. Meanwhile there are a few talented artists in the villages whose only outlet is commercial dealers and a few local (expatriate) residents. Tourism has probably given a little support to this small market but is unlikely to make a major contribution.

(iii) The artifacts market. The production of artifacts is by no means a major industry in Papua New Guinea but it is a not insignificant source of income to Papua New Guineans and is a source of cash income to some of the people of the less developed and resource poor parts of the country, such as the Sepik river and parts of the Western District of Papua. Moreover it is one of the few means by which tourism contributes directly to the income of Papua New Guineans. It is important therefore that government policy assist Papua New Guineans to get the maximum possible return from the market.

At present there is little to encourage this. Government activity to date has been largely confined to "improving" production, with the assistance of the U.N., by obtaining the services of a European potter who introduced wheels and kilns (an economically unsuccessful if not generally disastrous venture), and recently deciding to import a woodcarving machine. Apart from the fact that these two measures have tended to substitute imported capital for abundant labour, the assumption that revenue will be increased in the one case by "improvement" on a traditional craft and in the other by increase in supply, is dubious. Moreover both measures affect the tourist market where mark-ups are small, and ignore the collectors' market where mark-ups are relatively high. On the other hand little has been done in what should be the most fundamental objective of getting ultimate sellers closer to ultimate buyers.

One measure discussed within the national government and by at least one local government council has been the restriction of artifact dealing by expatriates. However, in the absence of international marketing facilities comparable to those now provided by a few expatriate dealers, wholesale restriction of expatriate dealers is most likely to lead to a decline in artifact sale with no gain to the ultimate sellers. Profits in the artifact business come from a high turnover of tourist items and an ability to locate or get close to an ultimate buyer in the collectors' market. Both these require expertise and there is no evidence to date that such expertise exists within the government. (This is not to say, however, that dealers should not be licensed.)

Another possible measure is competent extension work in art producing areas, but again what little has been done in this area has been generally inept. Perhaps a more worthwhile scheme would be the employment of a part time (and perhaps honorary) person with a knowledge of the art and the structure of the market to regularly visit local government councils interested in artifact businesses to advise them on buying and selling policy.

The most obvious need, however, is for an efficient national marketing authority, perhaps specialising in collectors' items and employing an expert collector. Ideally, this would be attached to the museum (as has been done with ranging degrees of success in other countries). This seems to offer a number of possible advantages:

(a) Because a collector employed by the government would be in a position to keep costs down by being able to call on vast field networks for local knowledge, transport and accomodation, an active expert collector would be in a good position to out-compete other dealers simply by paying more to villagers and selling with a lower mark-up; this would reduce the expatriate content of the market without the risks entailed in direct restrictions on dealers. The fact that many collectors would feel "safer" buying from a museum shop than in the field or from dealers would also give it an advantage.

(b) By paying a reasonable price to ultimate sellers for well made artifacts a government buyer could both ensure a fair rate of return and exercise some control over quality.

(c) A more or less full time field collector should be in close touch with the situation in the field and thus able to collect art and data systematically, to keep an eye on national monuments and to be reasonably well informed on the activities of dealers and others. He could also advise (if he did not replace) council and other local artifact enterprises and provide a dependable market for them. Profits from such an enterprise could finance the cost of the collector and provide funds for the museum's own purchases.

SUMMARY

This paper has argued that the effects of tourism on art have been ambiguous. The traditional cultures of Melanesia were under seige long before the advent of large scale tourism. Tourism, by increasing the intensity of contact with outside cultures, may have accelerated a decline in traditional cultures, but on the otherhand by providing a positive interest in traditional things it may well do something to help preserve some aspects of the traditional cultures - such as secular art - and by providing a larger market it may even stimulate artistic creativity.

The main impact of tourism on art, however, has been to promote the development of pseudo traditional art. One may regard this in itself as either a good thing or a bad thing. The fact remains that it has happened spontaneously, and that artifact production provides a source of income and perhaps an artistic outlet to some people who in a changing society might otherwise be deprived of both. If one accepts the existence of an artifacts market, then one may consider alternative policies to ensure that subject to national cultural property preservation, local artists and craftsmen get the maximum possible return from that market. Policy-making, however, requires an understanding of the structure of the market. This paper has described the main elements of the market in Papua New Guinea and has briefly discussed some of the policy issues.

VI. Micronesia

The tourist boom is coming, say some, to inundate the tiny islands of the Trust Territory of the Pacific, which everyone seems to prefer to call Micronesia despite the fact that this is basically a geographical term that includes independent Nauru and the Gilbert Islands, a British possession. Although Micronesia is currently administered by the United States, many observers feel that the Japanese, not the Americans, will be the most numerous tourists there. Micronesia and Guam (a U.S. possession which is geographically part of Micronesia), are the tropical islands closest to Japan and its affluent and pollution sickened tourists. These islands, which were administered by Japan from World War I until the American forces conquered them in World War II, also have a lingering sentimental appeal for some Japanese who would like to visit former Japanese settlements, old battlefields or the burial places of Japanese war dead. Japanese tourists are already numerous on Guam, which has superior airline connections and a spate of new high rise hotels, and it would seem only a matter of time until the air links and hotel facilities are developed to service mass Japanese tourism in the islands.

Mike Ashman, in his paper "Micronesia Tastes Tourism," points out that one of the primary anxieties of the Micronesians, in face of this projected tourism boom, is that because of their immaturity in the tourism field they will not be able to develop sufficient controls to guide tourism growth the way they want it to develop. Micronesia is perhaps unique in tourism planning in the Pacific in the apparent degree of local autonomy given over to the districts. Each of the six districts has a tourism commission made up of concerned citizens who are charged with discussing tourism alternatives and formulating a set of goals for local tourism development. Ashman cites the goals for Truk tourism which he says are fairly representative of the general approach of the other districts. The Truk goals, which reflect a great concern for harnessing tourism to serve local needs with minimal social, cultural, and environmental disruption, seem exemplary. But, one wonders whether they will actually be implemented by legislation and actual programs, and whether once implemented they would prove workable. It is perhaps unfair to say that we should look to Micronesia to see if such an approach to tourism planning is workable, for these small islands have a history of being most vulnerable to powerful outside forces. Nonetheless, it would probably be instructive for other Pacific nations to monitor this brave effort and explore its possibilities.

MICRONESIA TASTES TOURISM

Mike Ashman

Micronesia's tourism business observed its sixth birthday during the week of May 20 - 27, 1974. We are just beginning to taste the fruits of tourism development and our reactions are mixed. Many Micronesians say tourism is delicious, others find it hard to swallow. We are interested in learning from the adventures of others who already have passed through the tasting period and are in the position of looking back and saying, "The results would have been more beneficial if only we had avoided eating that particular tourism dish." One might say that Micronesia is in a position of possibly being farther ahead of other Pacific countries because we are farther behind in our development.

Prior to 1968, virtually all travel within the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (Micronesia) was for business purposes. With two thousand tiny islands scattered across three million square miles of an ocean area equal in size to the United States, the transportation difficulties in attempting to travel among the six administrative districts were great. It wasn't until May 1968 when scheduled air service was inaugurated by Air Micronesia that enough airplane capacity existed to permit pleasure travel. And with the establishment of Air Micronesia tourism was born.

Since then, visitor entries have grown at an extremely rapid pace. The average annual growth of visitors over the past six years has been 35%, and last year alone the increase was 49% over that of the previous year. Translating these tremendous gains into absolute numbers of travelers, in 1973 there were nearly 60,000 visitor entries, roughly equal to half the size of Micronesia's resident population of 115,000 persons.

It was steady hotel growth that made the rising number of entries possible. Before 1968 travelers stayed at small government-operated hotels, most of them averaging ten rooms in size, which were more like boarding houses. Now, there are nearly 900 rooms in more than three dozen hotels ranging in size from tiny modified private homes to a 200-room resort. We note with pride that of Micronesia's 40 hotels today, 34 are wholly owned by Micronesians and 30 of these already have Micronesian managers, as well as many other Micronesians in upper-level positions.

Realizing that this growth has taken place in six years gives rise to one of our primary anxieties; that is, not being prepared with sufficient controls to guide tourism in the direction the people of Micronesia want it to develop.

During the short span of six years from 1968-1974, nearly 200,000 persons, with very little encouragement, decided to come to Micronesia. The government has not actively promoted tourism. We do have informational literature and brochures for visitors and we do participate in joint promotion through the Pacific Area Travel Association, Pacific Islands Development Commission, and others. But most of the funds available to the tourism office have been spent in trying to get ourselves ready for tourism. So far, the marketing carried out (and it has been well done) has been by private businesses: the airlines, hotels, shipping lines, travel agents and wholesalers, and others in the private sector.

When the Trust Territory government set up its first full-time office of tourism three years ago, one of the first major objectives was to see that a tourist commission was established in each of our six districts. These commissions now exist, created jointly by the district administration and district

legislature. Each district now has a body of concerned citizens in whose hands lies the development of tourism.

A second government objective, following upon the formation of the commissions, has been to seek the establishment of tourism goals in each district. With six distinctly different cultures, sets of attitudes, and stages of modernization or westernization or progress (whichever term one prefers), we felt that it is important to avoid trying to set up a single headquarters-directed program for tourism development. Better long-term results would be attained if each district discussed the alternatives and decided what kind of tourism would best meet that district's economic and social needs.

Progress towards setting goals has been slow, we believe, mainly because the business of tourism is not well understood. Commercial tourism is a recent addition to the islands of Micronesia, but the concept of tourism really is not so recent. For many generations Pacific islanders have traveled for pleasure. Yap had its social event called mit-mit, Palau and its klechedaol, and the other island chains also saw large groups of people, sometimes entire villages, traveling to another village or island for feasting, singing, dancing, story-telling, and just plain friendly association. While there often was a ceremonial exchange of local monies and presentation of gifts, there was really no payment expected except in the form of reciprocation: "Next time, let's get together in my village."

Today, we have groups of pleasure travelers arriving aboard jet aircraft, seeking to purchase the same kind of hospitality with coupons from a travel agency and dollar bills. What has been the result? Let's take a look at some of the reactions by local people to the visiting strangers.

One of the most common complaints by tourists is the lack of local food. It is estimated that about 90% of all food served to visitors in Micronesia is imported. The tourist-oriented hotels and restaurants, several times a week feature breadfruit, yams, tapioca, reef fish and other local delicacies; but evidently, it is not often enough to satisfy the desires of all visitors.

Part of the problem, according to some hotel operators, is difficulty in obtaining the products. This may seem strange when every homesite around the hotel has gardens filled with these food-stuffs. But there is only enough for family use. There usually is no surplus for sale. When asked, the few small farmers who grow produce for sale, argue that it is the hotel's fault for not serving local food, and they cite instances when a hotel will express a need for a certain amount of local food items but then not buy them from the grower because hotel occupancy is below what was anticipated and the food is not needed. We need advice on a successful means to correct this supply and demand problem whose solution is vitally important to tourism if more Micronesians are to benefit economically.

Beyond this supply and demand problem, there lies a second stumbling block with regard to certain foods. We have had meetings with hotel operators when we suggested making papaya available every morning for breakfast. The response on numerous occasions has been, "Papayas are used for feeding pigs. Wouldn't it be an insult to offer pig feed to tourists?" And sometimes we have proposed that hotels have a stalk of bananas hanging somewhere in the public spaces so that hotel guests can walk by and break off a banana for a tasty, island snack. Again the response has been similar. "Bananas are for poor people. Tourists have lots of money. They can afford better food. Should we insult them by offering them something worthless?"

This attitude is easy to understand once it is acknowledged that most people hesitate to serve a plain, everyday meal when company comes for dinner. Tourists still are looked upon as guests in Micronesia rather than as paying customers. Our dilemma is how do we not destroy this hospitable attitude, while at the same

time, get across the idea that a tourist comes into Micronesia with the hope of experiencing local life-style, including sampling local foods, and is willing to pay for the opportunity.

Other interesting examples of local attitudes are found in the field of hotel construction. There have been occasions when a Micronesian who owns or controls some land and has money for investment will begin construction of what appears to be a store, a family home, a warehouse or some other common structure. Suddenly, small rooms appear and when the building is nearly complete, the owner will reveal he has a new hotel. Apparently, some Micronesians do not want to disclose their business plans until the last moment. This kind of hotel usually does not meet the expectations of international visitors. It is box-like, not "south seas" in architecture or atmosphere, and often is in a poor location. Later when it is too late the hotel owner learns that many tourists will pay a good price to spend a few nights in a grass shack with no electricity, while in contrast, a Micronesian aspires to a functional concrete cottage with an electric light bulb hanging from the ceiling.

Understanding tourism is an aim of the government's program of district tourism workshops, written material, and participation in Pacific conferences. Nearly seventy persons from Micronesia have attended the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) Workshops and Conferences during the past three years. We see progress but we need more general education on the subject of what and who tourists are and what they are seeking.

Throughout Micronesia we recognize a desire to bring about changes so that visiting guests will have the best of what we really do not have. But at the same time, there is a strong feeling that for ourselves, we would like to retain the best of our own long-standing traditions.

At Nett Municipality in Ponape, a village and school have established a cultural center patterned after Hawaii's Polynesian Cultural Center at Laie. It is a small production, unsophisticated, very authentic and delightfully educational. Some 80 students, as part of their social studies curriculum, learn traditional dances and make handicraft under the instruction of village elders. Visitors willingly pay admission to share an afternoon in this setting.

Here at Nett, one day, when the performances were over and the tourists had finished taking part in a sakau ceremony and had departed in their canoes for a return trip down the river, we sat for awhile with the community leaders who wanted to talk about how to improve the presentation. Among the suggestions was one to make picture taking more successful. It had been an overcast day and I noticed that many visitors found it too dark to take pictures of the people making handicrafts under the thatched-roofed shelters. We suggested removing two pieces of reed walls near the roof at each end so that more daylight could come in. After the proposal was made there was a long silence until one of the village elders said, "If we take away those pieces of wall it will no longer be Ponapean construction." And I thought, isn't this great! How refreshing it is to find people who want to be honest in their approach to tourism.

They were urged to keep it Ponapean architecture and to continue to remember that if one changes too much to accommodate tourism, he will be destroying the very reasons people want to visit. So it was decided that on overcast days the handicraft demonstrators would sit at the sides of the shelter rather than in the darker center of the room...and a bit of Micronesian culture was not destroyed.

But not everyone shares this sense of maintaining cultural identity and a relaxed Pacific island atmosphere. When the government began its tourism program, one of our first thoughts was to bring the members of each district tourist commission into Hawaii to spend several weeks at Waikiki. We wanted them to experience staying in a first-class hotel, seeing good restaurant and tour guide service,

talking with businessmen, and in all other ways possible gather background for making wise decisions regarding tourism growth at home. We assumed the eventual feeling would be anti-highrise and in favor of low-key development. This indoctrination program was never funded and did not materialize. And I think our assumption was wrong as subsequent events seem to demonstrate.

For in Honolulu not too long ago, I chanced to meet a group of Micronesia's elected district leaders standing in front of the tall Ala Moana Hotel. In the course of our conversation I asked how they would like to see something like this mammoth hotel on the shores of their tiny islands. The answer to me was surprising. They said seriously that they thought it would be good to have such a hotel because big hotels were impressive and would create much needed employment. I baited them by asking, "Do you mean you'd like to see your sons and daughters working as bellboys and waitresses in a highrise like this, overflowing with tourists demanding this and that?" The reply was, "The only people in that hotel that are smiling are the bellboys and waitresses. They look happier than the tourists do and probably have more money in the bank, too."

And on Saipan, when a seven-story hotel was proposed, a group of young people requested help in drawing up a petition to show that the general public was opposed to the highrise development. A persuasively worded document was written and circulated. It was not long before the petition was dropped. It seemed the only real opponents to highrise development were the young people, most of whom had been away to college and had returned determined "not to have another Waikiki." The older folks, in general, declined to sign the petition because they felt that if there is a big hotel "that's progress." There is no question that a big city atmosphere holds glamour for an islander as well as the proverbial country boy.

Early in the development of tourism in Micronesia we began looking for indicators of the general attitude of people toward serving others. There has been apprehension among some people who believe that because of Micronesia's traditional structure, there would be strong resistance to working as waitresses, bellboys, and other service-oriented positions. This was based on the fact that for centuries the residents of Micronesia were structured into clans or other groups ranging in status from a paramount chief or king down to the lowest clan of the hierarchy. It was anticipated that no one would want to work in serving others and thereby take on the appearance of being the low clan on the totem pole.

Up to the present time, no negative trend has been observed. We do have many instances of poor service but it is more from lack of training than any objection to the job. However, as we see more and more hotels being built, we know larger numbers of people will enter hotel work; and this attitude is subject to change. We are interested in learning how others have been successful in convincing a population that service in hotels and restaurants is just as honorable as the jobs of retail sales clerks, hospital orderlies, office receptionists and other people-to-people positions.

Sometimes in our meetings with tourist commissions and with other community leaders, we are asked, "Tell us what is best for us." Our oft-repeated answer goes something like this: "Please don't ask me what is best for you. I am not a Micronesian and therefore do not know what is best for Micronesians. It's the same as if you were to go to the United States and tell Americans what is best for them. So, although I cannot tell you what you should want, I can give you the alternatives. If you do it one way, the result probably will be this. If you do it another way, it will result in the following. Or if you do it this third way, you can expect this to happen. Now, if you will discuss these alternatives among yourselves, you then can decide what action is best for you."

Later on, when we've asked why do so many Micronesians want to be told what is best for them, the most frequent explanation is that for centuries, the decisions were always made by hereditary leaders or foreign government administrators. Making decisions is a new role and for some people it is a bewildering experience.

Let me emphasize here that I am speaking a good deal in generalities and primarily with reference to the field of tourism. There are exceptions to all the examples I am relating. For evidence of good decision-making, look at the impressive record of the Congress of Micronesia, the work of our Micronesian government officials, and the rise of some of the Territory's leading Micronesian businessmen. And we are being told that today in the field of political awareness there is an ever-increasing desire to know the issues, to speak out on them, and to want to vote on them. It is in the area of small business operations, community development and general community understanding and attitudes in relation to the changing world around us that a greater comprehension would be helpful.

As we are passing through this transitional period leading towards greater citizen involvement, there are several interesting illustrations demonstrating the conflict being experienced.

In one district where several small hotels had preceded the construction of a large luxury hotel, it so happened that tourists began by-passing the smaller units and flowing to the larger resort. The concerned small businessmen asked, "Can't we get the legislature to pass a law requiring that a certain percentage of tourists have to stay at the small hotels?" Here is a classic conflict between the old way in which the Chief distributed the benefits amongst his people, and the new way which comes with the change to a system of free enterprise and competition.

Not too long ago I spent a day and an evening in one of our districts talking about tourism development with two groups of people. The lengthy daytime session involved non-Micronesians, all of them working outside of government employment. There was great concern among them that the culture of Micronesia would be destroyed as the result of tourism. Several persons denounced the "prostitution of Micronesian culture" through performing traditional dances for money.

That evening when the same subject was held for discussion among Micronesians, the debate was very revealing. On the matter of performing traditional dances for tourists, a young lady eloquently spoke against it, saying the dances were intended to be done on specific occasions and in certain settings. To dance on a stage or at an airport or for any commercial reason would destroy the meaning of the dance.

When the young lady had finished, an older woman spoke. She was from a district that is fiercely proud of its culture. She is one of the island's leading women dancers and is involved full-time in community development programs. She said she thought that dancing for money had several redeeming benefits. Among them, it would renew interest in learning the traditional dances. Young people of today, she said, no longer seem as interested as before in learning the old ways. Dancing for pay would give them an incentive to learn, would give them spending money which parents cannot provide, and would keep them busy during otherwise idle hours when they might get into mischief. She said she had observed the pleasure that tourists get from seeing traditional dances and felt that sharing this part of Micronesia's culture with visitors has many benefits.

Underlying all these examples, I believe it is quite obvious that in Micronesia there stands a very strong culture that already has absorbed many layers of outside influences without severely altering the basic traditions. With Microne-

sians steering the course of its development, there is a good chance that tourism will not wipe out those things which are Micronesian. We frequently emphasize that we do not want to be another Waikiki, not because we think Waikiki is bad, but for the simple reason that we want to be Micronesia and believe we can have a satisfactory visitor industry in being ourselves.

We recognize that with so little land over so great an expanse of water, there will be a limit to the number of tourists who can be handled as human beings. We see the trend toward more and more group travel and wonder to what extent we can participate in this burgeoning activity without turning our living guests into commercial objects to be handled like the processing of air cargo.

"How much is too much?" What types of visitors should be attracted?" "How do we spread the business of tourism among as many Micronesians as possible?" These and other questions now are being debated by Micronesia's six tourist commissions. To get an idea of how the district commissions are attempting to set controls so their tourism programs will best meet the districts' economic and social needs, let us look at one set of proposed goals.

The following happens to be from Truk District. The other five are similar in their approach although differing somewhat in specific objectives. The Truk tourism goals still are in the status of being proposed and are subject to change as the community discusses the issues. The plan is to have a final set of goals adopted by the district legislature and administration so actual programs can be developed to attain the objectives.

PROPOSED GOALS FOR TRUK TOURISM

1. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT MUST BE DESIGNED SO THAT IT WILL RENEW, STRENGTHEN, AND PRESERVE THE CULTURE OF TRUK.

Let us find ways to make sure our culture remains strong. Let us make sure that any changes to our culture are good changes which the people of Truk want to accept. Being proud and happy that we are Trukese, we want to accept changes that are good for us and will continue to let us be Trukese.

2. TOURISM MUST SHARE TRUK'S ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITH OTHER FORMS SUCH AS AGRICULTURE AND MARINE RESOURCES.

Let us make sure that when we create new jobs, that not all of them will be in tourism, but that we will have new jobs in agriculture and fishing, too. We want all three kinds of economic development as well as others, if possible. When we grant new business licenses or economic development loans or permit foreign investment, let us approve businesses in all kinds of economic development. Let us train our young people for jobs in all three areas.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM SHOULD BE IN GRADUAL STAGES SO THAT EACH LEVEL WILL OFFER COMPLETE, HIGH-QUALITY TOURISM BEFORE SETTING OUT ON A HIGHER LEVEL.

Let us temporarily hold to the present number of 143 hotel rooms for this district. Let us make sure we have enough rental cars, restaurants, boats and other tourism facilities to make Truk's 143 rooms a first-class tourist destination area. Holding to the present number of rooms will limit our visitors to a maximum of about 300 persons per day which is more than ten times the present number of tourists. We want to taste the fruits of tourism before we decide how much more we want.

(Let me interject here that the next goal has been the most puzzling objective under discussion in all districts. It faces the question of how much contact should there be between residents and visitors. On one side there is the fear that by allowing frequent, very close personal contacts, there will be a rapid erosion of culture as well as the destruction of the alluring island atmosphere that now attracts visitors. On the other side there is a fear that by isolating tourists into resort areas, with only occasional contacts outside, there will be created a core of affluence, like a castle of rich people surrounded by the serving class, which would lead to envy, resentment, antagonism, and the eventual destruction of the visitor business. The following two statements, therefore, are under debate in order to determine which of the two, or combination, is best for Truk.)

4. (A) TOURISM SHOULD CONCENTRATE VISITORS' ACCOMMODATIONS AND ACTIVITIES IN LIMITED AREAS SO THAT A MINIMUM OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE IS EXERTED ON RESIDENTS.

-- or --

(B) TOURISM SHOULD NOT SEPARATE RESIDENTS AND VISITORS BUT AIM TO BRING THEM TOGETHER FOR THE GREATEST MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND FRIENDSHIP.

5. RECOGNIZING THAT THERE ARE ALL KINDS OF TOURISTS, TRUK TOURISM DEVELOPMENT WILL CONCENTRATE ON ATTRACTING SPECIFIC TYPES OF VISITORS WHO ARE COMPATIBLE WITH TRUKESE CULTURE.

Let us decide what kinds of people we want to visit Truk. Will it be divers, fishermen, honeymooners, and others? Once we have decided on the kinds of visitors we want, let us then develop attractions that will bring them here.

6. NO VISITOR ATTRACTIONS SHALL BE IMPORTED THAT WILL BE IN CONFLICT WITH TRUKESE CULTURE.

Let us look at each proposed tourist attraction to see whether it will weaken our culture. Let us study whether its benefits are greater than any harm it may bring. We are not opposed to changes, but want to try to make all changes good ones.

7. THE DISTRICT MUST INVENTORY AND PROTECT ITS HISTORIC, CULTURAL, AND SCENIC SITES AND MUST RESTRICT COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THESE SITES.

We know Truk has many historic, cultural and scenic attractions that should remain free for residents and visitors to enjoy. Let us conduct a total inventory of our sites and decide which ones should be kept free from commercial development.

8. THE BUSINESS OF TOURISM MUST BE OF MAXIMUM BENEFIT TO THE PEOPLE OF TRUK.

Let us create only enough businesses to meet our own employment needs and not create jobs that must be filled by outsiders. Let us emphasize training of Trukese to fill all present and future jobs.

9. THE BUSINESS OF TOURISM MUST BE SPREAD AMONG AS MANY TRUKESE AS POSSIBLE.

When considering new business proposals, let us approve those which offer greatest opportunity and participation to Trukese. Where possible, large proposed businesses should be required to permit participation by small businessmen; for example, a hotel can be granted a business permit to operate rooms, restaurant and laundry service, but can be required to contract out its needs for rental cars, boats, tours, gift shop, etc.

10. ALL COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS MUST HAVE AN APPEARANCE IN KEEPING WITH TRUKESE ENVIRONMENT.

Let us establish a design review board that will make sure that all new commercial construction looks like it belongs in Truk and adds to the beauty of our islands.

11. THE MAXIMUM HEIGHT OF ALL CONSTRUCTION MUST BE LIMITED TO NO HIGHER THAN FORTY FEET.

Let us make sure that the islands of Truk always will look like garden islands of beautiful trees and beaches.

12. COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT MUST BE LIMITED TO SPECIFIC, ZONED AREAS.

Let us adopt master plans for our district and make sure that living and recreational areas are saved for those uses.

13. THE USE OF LOCAL MATERIALS AND FOOD MUST BE ENCOURAGED FOR ALL POSSIBLE CONSTRUCTION AND OPERATION OF TOURISM BUSINESSES.

Before we look for imports, let us make sure we have tried to use our own resources.

14. ALL ACTIVITIES MUST CONSIDER THEIR ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT.

Let us make sure we do not destroy our natural surroundings.

15. THE PRACTICE OF TIPPING MUST BE DISCOURAGED; SERVICES AND GOODS MUST BE FAIRLY PRICED SO THAT TIPPING IS NOT NECESSARY.

Let us make sure that employees are paid fair wages for their work. The people of Micronesia have always been friendly and generous by nature, so, let us make sure that we do not start being friendly to strangers only for money.

16. BOTH VISITORS AND RESIDENTS MUST BE WELL-EDUCATED REGARDING THE BUSINESS OF TOURISM AND RESPECT FOR TRUKESE CULTURE.

Let us conduct educational programs in school and on the radio to explain tourism to our people; and let us prepare material to be given to visitors so that they will know and understand about Truk before they arrive at our islands.

These affirmations, set out in the form of sixteen goals, describe the direction tourism now is aimed. We know that being able to see the target is much easier than hitting it, and that our work really has just begun.

Now what does all this mean? After six years what is the status of tourism in Micronesia? It would appear as if Micronesia, hungry for the fruits of economic development, were standing before a huge banquet table spread with a wide variety of exotic, unfamiliar foods...deliciously appealing to sight and smell. Here are the caviars, pate de foie gras, partridge in sour cream, escargots, potatoes stuffed with veal and mushrooms, roast goose with chestnuts, rum baba, plum pudding, and a host of other gastronomic mysteries.

As we examine the spread, our question centers mainly around whether such magnificent economic delicacies garnished with leafy green dollar bills, pesos and yen, really taste as delicious as they look and whether they are as nutritious as our common breadfruit, taro, yams. A few persons in Micronesia already have ventured to take a nibble in tourism and most of them approve. Some persons

definitely do not want to try for many reasons: the foods of tourism are alien, they will replace what has been our staff of life for centuries, they will cause illnesses to the community from changing to too rich a diet, and other similar compelling reasons.

Most of Micronesia, standing before this splendid feast, hesitates because what is displayed before us is strange; and there is a strong desire to know more about the ingredients and the preparation of the dishes before helping ourselves to a generous serving. We know we hunger for economic nourishment to help us become more self-supporting. We wonder how much of our future economic food supply should come from the groves and gardens of tourism development.

We want to learn from the experienced gourmets of the Pacific, the island countries which have developed tourism, which dishes brought stomach aches and which supplied the wholesome nourishment to keep island economies alive and growing healthfully. With assistance, we can return to Micronesia with proven recipes for each of our districts to consider as they plan their menus for economic development.

VII. Hawaii

Tourism is a massive industry in Hawaii, one that far surpasses sugar, pineapple and other agricultural activities as the major industry of the State. In 1974 nearly 3,000,000 tourists visited Hawaii. That is over three visitors for each of the State's 850,000 residents. Tourism, after the State and Federal government, is Hawaii's major employer, and while industry claims that tourism is a "billion dollar industry" may stand some scrutiny, there can be no doubt that tourism is the major force in Hawaii's private sector. The success story of Hawaii tourism is well known throughout the Pacific, and not a few island politicians and businessmen have expressed an interest in following Hawaii's example, on a smaller scale perhaps, in building up a prosperous tourist industry in their own home islands. While in a sense an examination of contemporary Hawaii tourism does allow islanders from elsewhere in the Pacific some insight into the benefits and the costs of major tourism development in their islands, it is perhaps not out of place here to point out that Hawaii-style tourism might be a deceptive model for emulation.

First, Hawaii tourism was built on a much stronger economic base than now exists in most other Pacific Islands. Hawaii already had a developed economy before tourism grew, over the last two decades, to its present proportions. Sugar and pineapple gave the Islands a strong agricultural base, and Federal government activities, particularly in connection with Pearl Harbor and other military bases, constituted the other major industry of the State. The population was literate, relatively well-educated and skilled. The basic infrastructure, the roads, airports, water systems and all the other facilities needed to start mass tourism, were already there. This developed state of Hawaii's economy before tourism expansion contrasts markedly with the relatively underdeveloped state of the economies of other Pacific islands whose leaders might be tempted to think that their islands could easily follow in Hawaii's footsteps.

Second, Hawaii is close to its main market, the other states of the United States, particularly to those on the Pacific coast. For the people of the American mainland Hawaii is easy to reach, without language and custom barriers, and it is relatively cheap to fly there. While air fares from the Pacific coast to Hawaii are among the cheapest, on a per mile basis, in the world, air fares beyond Hawaii are among the most expensive. While some Pacific countries have tried to tap the American mass tourist market, particularly in this era of economic decline in the United States, their efforts have not been very successful. And, although Pacific countries might point out Japan as a potential source of millions of tourists, one wonders whether, except for tiny Micronesia lying virtually on Japan's doorstep, a major Hawaii-style tourism boom based on the Japanese market is in the offing.

Third, and most relevant to the following papers, Hawaii tourism development has not been without its problems, particularly if we are to believe the industry's critics. Tourism in Hawaii is accused of causing a decline in agriculture, of leading to the overurbanization of Honolulu, of spoiling once beautiful and open beaches with concrete high rises, of increasing the crime rate, of depressing wages while inflating price levels, of exacerbating racial conflict, of increasing big business and foreign domination of the economy and a whole host of other ills. This critical view of tourism has been most thoroughly developed by students, ecologists and Hawaii's few radical thinkers. Two of the papers in this section express this critical view. Noel Kent's essay, the title of which we have appropriated for the entire volume, is a comprehensive denunciation of the entire industry that virtually leaves no stone unturned, while Larry Fukunaga's "A New Sun in North Kohala," focuses on the impact of tourism on one region of the island of Hawaii. Although one might be tempted to dismiss these essays, and other similarly critical analyses, as exaggerated and emotional reactions to progress from radical and student minorities, it would be a mistake to assume that criticism of the tourist industry is limited to special groups.

Concern over the continued rapid expansion of tourism is widespread in Hawaii, and it can almost be said that the issue is not whether or not to control tourism growth, but rather how. Predictably, industry spokesmen favor voluntary controls. But, judging from the current debates in the State Legislature, it would appear that the industry cannot escape some sort of increased government regulation. Given the relatively unplanned state of Hawaii's economy, what regulation of tourism growth there has been has come primarily through State and County agencies empowered to zone land, grant building permits or provide infrastructure improvements needed for tourism developments. Increasingly, these agencies, which once gave virtually any tourism project a green light, are coming to think twice about facilitating further growth. For example, Shelley Mark, the former Director of the State Department of Planning and Economic Development calls, in his paper "Tourism and Quality Growth in the Pacific Area," for the State to re-examine its policies on tourism growth and consider social, moral and environmental factors as well as purely economic ones in planning tourism's future. This same trend is also evident on a local government level, as the three papers on "Planning for Tourism on the Island of Hawaii" illustrate. The three authors, all young planners employed by the County of Hawaii, express a great concern that tourism developments do not disrupt local social patterns, cause environmental degradation or rob local people of recreational space and opportunities.

Max Stanton's paper, "The Polynesian Cultural Center," focuses on one of Hawaii's most unusual, and controversial, tourism facilities. The Polynesian Cultural Center is a Mormon enterprise which, in quasi-Disneyland style, attempts to introduce visitors to the architecture, customs and dances of Polynesia. It is closely allied to the local campus of Brigham Young University; students from all over Polynesia work at the center as dancers and guides to earn their way through the university, and a portion of the Center's profits go for direct support of the university.

Jack Simpson, the President of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau, was the sole representative at the workshop of what might be called the tourism establishment of Hawaii. His paper, "Research for Tourism in the Hawaii Visitors Bureau," focuses on the type of research on tourists (inquiries into their spending habits, their preferences and their satisfaction) that the industry finds essential for its planning. Although his paper was in no way a defense of Hawaii's tourist industry, he does make an apt comment worth repeating. He points out that while sugar plantations and the plantation life style are currently favored by many of Hawaii social critics, just a short time ago when sugar was king in Hawaii it was reviled as the exploitative industry that was the major cause of Hawaii's social and economic ills. Now that tourism is number one, it suffers, says Simpson, from this same stigma of success--which is perhaps the price tourism must pay, we would add, for being a new kind of sugar.

TOURISM AND QUALITY GROWTH IN THE PACIFIC AREA

Shelley M. Mark

Once upon a time--two and a half centuries ago, to be more precise-- in the year 1711, to be still more exact--the South Sea Company was incorporated in England. It was a rather wild and very crooked scheme involving a variety of financial projects which focused on the alleged wealth to be found in trade in South America and the Pacific area. It attracted enormous attention and investment in its day--more than half a century before Captain James Cook "discovered" Hawaii. But the scheme failed. Histories of economics still relate the awesome tale of the great "South Sea Bubble" which burst, and which included, among other things, the equivalent of an impeachment trial of the Prime Minister of England--who was acquitted by a narrow vote but who then resigned in disgrace.

I note this to remind all of you that what we will be discussing here today--tourism and quality growth in the Pacific area--is not really a new subject. The continuing attraction of the Pacific region represents a yearning which spans centuries and includes all peoples; it is humanity's longing for a lost Eden, for a faraway place beautifully described by Mark Twain as "the soft airs of those Isle of the Blest" where "its balmy airs are always blowing, its summer seas flashing in the sun, the pulsing of its surfbeat is in my ear; I can see its garlanded crags, its leaping cascades, its plummy palms drowsing by the shore, its remote summits floating like islands above the cloud rack; I can feel the spirit of its woodland solitudes, I can hear the splash of its brooks; in my nostrils still lives the breath of flowers that perished 20 years ago..."

This is the real as well as the romantic Pacific we talk about when we discuss Pacific tourism. Mark Twain was talking about Hawaii, but there are hundreds of other Islands throughout the Pacific which might qualify for that splendid prose. But increasingly today, economic barons of our time ask a key question:

How do we turn all that beauty into profit? How do we make a buck or two out of it?

Those are the pragmatic questions of today's tourism entrepreneurs. Environmentalists ask another:

How do we preserve it all from misuse and degradation?

As a result of the very real interest in Pacific tourism development, various Pacific Island countries are understandably both fascinated by the potential for profit and wary of the potential for damage. And quite logically they look to Hawaii for sisterly counsel--not necessarily committed to accepting such counsel, of course--and for the perspective which comes from experience and perhaps a little wisdom. So for the experience, let's take a look at where we've been and where we seem to be headed in tourism. And for the little bit of wisdom perhaps, let's consider where we ought to be going.

Of course, we realize we live in an imperfect world, and there are costs and limitations to all progress. In Hawaii, we did our best to expand what had been a sluggish economy, and we succeeded beyond the dreams of most Islanders. The decade and a half following achievement of Statehood in 1959 has given us progress and prosperity, but it has also been a period of learning and experience. We started out with the dynamic leadership of Governor John A. Burns, who with splendid cooperation from our Legislature, determined that the economic development of our State should be stimulated, but based on sound, long-range planning. Thus we saw a very considerable expansion of our tourist industry, increasing diversification in agriculture and light industry, growth in scientific

activities and science related industries. We saw a lesser role, relatively speaking, for our plantation agriculture, with pineapple withdrawing, though sugar seemed to be stabilizing as the result of continuing operating economies and high world prices. Military expenditures continued to play a prominent role in our economic life, although they were exceeded by tourist expenditures for the first time.

In more precise terms and looking at the past ten years, we find our resident population has increased much faster than the national rate, going past the three-quarter million total. Add to this the armed forces and civilian tourists in our midst, and we may have close to 900,000 people in our islands on any given day. This may still seem small, compared with some of the regions or countries represented here today, but I believe it significant in terms of where we've been and what we might expect for the future.

Over the same period, we've witnessed a doubling of State income levels, and average annual rates of increase of employment at 4.1 percent, prices at 3.2 percent (apart from the much sharper increases of the last couple of years), defense expenditures at 8.5 percent, and tourists at 20 percent. Thus it can easily be seen that our considerable population and economic growth of recent years has occurred primarily because of the sharp expansion in the tourist and defense sectors of our economy, which in turn have stimulated growth in the rest of our economy. Most of the State's recent employment growth, for example, has taken place in the service and trade sectors, which support and depend upon tourism and Federal spending.

Yet during this dynamic growth period, we became even more sensitive to the notion that more is not always better and that rising economic indicators don't really measure our greatness or failure, happiness or sorrow, satisfaction or distress. We sensed a great need for new and improved measurements. We sought to establish more precise environmental indicators to measure the spoiling and saving of our physical surroundings. We felt the need to develop new social indicators to balance against our economic indicators and to help us measure that most elusive of all human concepts, our "quality of life." We have seen that swift economic growth can be a two-edged sword: It can cut the complex knots of poverty, joblessness, business stagnation and social decline, and create new enthusiasm for living, growing and prospering. At the same time, it can wound an Island society by a crude cutting of past cultural ties, a destruction of more peaceful life styles, by harmful intrusions into the natural environment, by increasing social tensions, and by decreasing a people's sensitivity to values which have been treasured for many generations.

This new climate of thought led us logically and systematically through our comprehensive State planning program and process to carry out specific efforts directed toward environmental enhancement and quality growth. Let me give you a brief listing of some of the major efforts:

We thoroughly overhauled our State General Plan--the first in the nation, incidentally--and developed a basic framework of community goals, planning data, and economic projections for a statewide program-budgeting system. We have just completed our second revision of the General Plan, in which we set forth the ingredients of a State growth policy, and recommend a policy of slower growth for Hawaii over at least the next decade.

We prepared and updated our Statewide Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Plan, which makes Hawaii eligible for millions of dollars of Federal funds to build and maintain a system of State and County parks, recreational, surfing, historical and other sites on each of our islands.

Our Statewide Open Space Plan, prepared by former Secretary of Interior, Stewart Udall, provides the basis for preserving what might be called our State's

"territorial integrity." It has resulted in legislation leading to a "Fund for the Environment," a mechanism for our Department of Land and Natural Resources to preserve and properly utilize open space in Hawaii.

We completed a two-volume Hawaii Tourism Impact Plan, which has provided resort design standards for areas throughout the Pacific, a system for developing and managing a network of shoreline trails throughout the State, and a pioneering set of social indicators testing the relationship of rising tourism activity in a community against public welfare problems. Another result of this tourism plan has been the passage of legislation requiring our counties to prepare urban design plans to preserve and enhance the quality and appearance of our resort areas.

Still another of our planning projects included a very detailed measurement of the varieties of costs--social, economic, and physical--which result from expansion of subdivision development and other urban activities into prime agricultural lands on our capital island of Oahu. This Central Oahu Study has assisted our State Land Use Commission and other agencies in balancing benefits against costs in evaluating the long-range implications of decisions concerning the proper use of lands in this strategic area.

Closely related to all these activities and products of our State planning process has been our State Land Use Law, which has enabled the State, through its Land Use Commission, to guide and influence growth patterns. This law was the first of its type in the nation, and has as its primary purposes the preservation of agricultural lands, along with the orderly development of urban areas. It has worked to curb urban sprawl and land speculation, and to preserve our agricultural lands in a manner which provides open space and economic benefits at the same time.

Now to dispel the notion that we have all our problems under control, we've had the coming and going this year of the energy crisis. For a time our shortages of gas and oil were real enough and the lines at service stations were certainly long enough. But with the somewhat tentative accommodation in the Middle East, the lines seem to have disappeared and we seem to be returning to a free-flowing economy and a free-wheeling society once again. Yet it may well be said that the greatest danger or lesson from the current energy crisis is that it seems to have gone away.

It is still apparent that prevailing world energy policies are based on an expectation of continuous expansion of the use of non-renewable resources, particularly fossil fuels. We seem to be hoping that the energy crisis will be resolved by discovery and development of even more non-renewable resources than are now known to exist.

While it may conceivably be many years before all the world's non-renewable resources will be consumed by present economic systems, it is clear that the more a society increases energy use in relation to its availability, the more costly energy becomes. Witness the recent sharp increases in gasoline prices. Present economic conditions demonstrate that as easily recoverable world reserves are depleted, the value of the remaining reserves is sharply escalated. Moreover, we face sharp competition for the available supply not only from other industrial powers, but also from newly developing nations and the oil-producing countries themselves.

An energy policy that does not take these conclusions into account is shortsighted, self-deluding, and can promote the most extreme forms of economic instability in the future. Responsible policy requires comprehensive planning for an orderly transition to a society where energy is no longer a cheap nor readily available resource and where conservation and recycling of non-renewable resources are ingrained in our productive processes and consuming habits.

In other words, we no longer can opt for wasteful energy uses simply because of short-term economic advantage. Immediate and permanent energy and non-renewable materials conservation programs should be instituted in every sector of our society.

We are clearly at a crossroads in our planning for the future and must face up to the needed changes in philosophy, values, habits, and practices relating to our use of these scarce resources. Rather than squelch the movement towards environmental quality, as some have feared, the energy crisis should stimulate imaginative thinking and innovative action so that conservation measures go hand in hand with environmental cleanliness.

It is time indeed for the nation and the State to re-examine their policies on economic growth. Can we continue to go along on the premise that "more is better" or "big is beautiful" or "fastest is the mostest" as we closely examine the underlying trends in resource cost and availability that the current energy crisis has brought to the surface? In Hawaii, there has been an unmistakable shift in community attitude, reflecting a concern that the costs of rapid growth may outweigh the benefits, and a belief that a more moderate growth policy would achieve a better balance between benefits and costs.

Just as we have recognized the major generator for much of our recent economic growth to be the tourist industry, we will now need to demonstrate, through imaginative planning and innovative implementation, that we can maintain a healthy economy, while slowing down its rate of growth, through judicious tourism management. Over the past 20 years, tourist expenditures have grown at an average annual rate of about 20 percent. This is extraordinarily high, and represents a very heated economy. Such a growth rate must be reduced; otherwise, it will result in excessive dependence of the State on this one industry, buffeted as it may be by external forces beyond our control.

A comprehensive State growth policy will obviously have many facets and can be directed toward several goals. While we may be concerned with slowing down the overall rate of growth, it is possible to bring about a better balance by directing new growth toward areas which have developed at a less rapid pace in the past. For this reason, a faster growth for tourism on our Neighbor Islands, which are still relatively under populated, than for Honolulu can be recommended.

There are a number of specific actions that might be taken in this effort to slow the overall growth of tourism in the State. Restrictive standards in State consideration of land for hotel and resort uses might be applied, particularly for productive agricultural lands and lands with high conservation value. The counties might and should apply more restrictive zoning standards for resort and hotel uses, with the aim of selective, quality tourism growth, rather than simply more rooms, and higher yet. Waikiki itself needs to be downzoned by the City and County to an amount much less than the present zoning, which still permits more than 50,000 new units to be crammed into the present land and seascape.

Of course, there's always the alternative of doing nothing--to refuse to do anything to improve Waikiki, letting it deteriorate, as some seem to be advocating, until the industry wakes up and polices itself. But this is clearly irresponsible. Tourism is indeed a fragile industry, and we must be exceedingly careful, despite disagreements, to avoid actions which will seriously hurt this important economic bedrock for so many of our citizens. If Waikiki fails, the Neighbor Islands will fail and fall with it. There can be no independence on the part of Hawaii, Maui or Kauai, no matter how well these dynamic Islands promote their own image and environmental excellence. Waikiki now is a world-wonder; if it deteriorates, much of Hawaii's economy, on all Islands, will deteriorate proportionately.

By controls over where tourism is to be located, how fast hotels and other tourism facilities are built, environmental, esthetic, and a score of other factors, we have considerable power to influence tourism's growth and curb its excesses. However, these controls in the hands of the State are--and should be--limited; in our type of economic system, the State must rely heavily on understanding a voluntary acceptance by its citizens of "guidance by policies" rather than solely by law or regulation.

For this audience, I need not stress that when we speak of quality growth in the Pacific area, we are speaking of vast numbers of peoples of greatly varying cultures, economies, creeds, stages of development and basic needs. Many of these developing Pacific regions need fundamental political, social and economic reforms before their people can advance to a better quality of life. Development, or growth, is a key to that better life pattern. Gunnar Myrdal put it this way: "Development is in fact nothing but the upward movement of a whole social system, not just production. That movement encompasses levels of living, attitudes, institutions and even policies."

Planning for quality growth must not be considered a frivolity or luxury for use only by more advanced countries. A planning process which fully recognizes the unique conditions and characteristics of the developing country, but which is still able to capture the best and expunge the worst of the Western experience, is essential to orderly and beneficial growth and sound management of a nation's resources.

Quality growth which brings quality to life might well be defined in terms of balance among economic, social and environmental elements. This contrasts with purely quantitative growth which traditionally has seen its ideal in increased money, markets, manpower and machinery. It is up to each region to assess its own cultural treasures, economic and social resources, environmental conditions and other basics, and then determine the various tradeoffs required to achieve better balance. For example, if more hotels are to be built to bring in more tourists to bring in more money, there should be a measurement of the degree of loss of a native language among native children, and the social, historical and cultural cost of that loss--as well as its monetary cost. The decline and fall of the Hawaiian language has been one of our cultural tragedies.

Or another example: if more tourists are brought in and their demands require a diminishing of high moral standards and a deterioration of an ethical environment, these serious losses must also be considered. The Cook Islands, for example, and the Kingdom of Tonga undoubtedly would vehemently reject what the Western world accepts so casually and carelessly--cultural deterioration, a 42nd-Street-New York-type of sleazy growth in downtown Honolulu, and crass commercialisms in the heart of Waikiki. Hawaii's problems with tourism include a distressing parallel decline in both the physical and ethical environments. So far, emphasis has been almost totally on stemming the physical decline, while the grosser ethical deterioration seems to be increasing.

I suggest that all of us today resolve to promote this deeper and finer appreciation of the nature of "quality growth" and "quality of life." We must expand our vision to include much more than the physical dimensions, urban design, the ideal placement of buildings, the preservation of open space and the other now-standard "stock items" of quality development. When tourism is considered in this light, it can become a great blessing for a community. It becomes a true hospitality industry, a meeting of persons in a recognized climate of mutual respect and honor, in which hosts and guests share and give the finer gifts. Conversely, tourism seen only in terms of numbers, dollars, high-rises and degree of rake-off, tends to destroy some very sacred relationships, and diminishes mankind.

RESEARCH FOR TOURISM IN THE HAWAII VISITORS BUREAU

J. Simpson

First and foremost we at the Hawaii Visitors Bureau would recommend to countries thinking about developing tourism that before going into tourism or any other economic area their planners carefully examine all the alternatives. No matter what course or combination of courses are chosen, rest assured that it will have impact on the way of life of the people. If at all possible if there is more than one economic alternative make use of each, as long as there is no conflict between them. There is a danger in being too dependent upon one economic source.

Much has been said pro and con for many years about the value of tourism. Interestingly enough the bulk of the con remarks generally come from those recently arrived as residents in a moving and vital tourism area. One would immediately anticipate that as the President of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau I am pro tourism and therefore my remarks are as open to question as are those who are opposed, and I hope that you do question as it is only through this route that I feel one gets to the real meaning.

Tourism, like any other industry, can suffer from the stigma of success and the attendant physical growth and economic importance that comes with it. Having achieved growth and a modicum of stability, it can become the target of political demagoguery. Hawaii is a good case in point. I can remember growing up here when sugar was the major and really only solid economic force we had. At that time everything that was wrong was the fault of the large agricultural interests. Now that tourism is number one in our economy, it is blamed for all manner of ills -- to much in-migration, high welfare costs, high cost of housing, food, etc., and now everyone wants to save poor agriculture.

It is a definite peril of being large and for tourism it is extremely critical that demagoguery not work as tourism is a very fragile industry. Being a service industry it depends upon people to operate it and if they become disenchanting, then this is the end of tourism and there are good examples particularly in the Carribean to support this premise.

I feel that I can look at the changes we have gone through economically and say that for myself and what I would like for my children, tourism has been good. This is particularly true in view of the alternatives which would have entailed leaving here. This is not to say that what we have is perfect -- nothing is. We can always improve upon and by hindsight, we could always have done a better job. We often are wont to look ahead and view only problems; we seldom look behind us and see progress.

Now, let's go forward on the assumption that a given country is desirous of going into tourism. Number one on the list is the absolute requirement for a well defined and thought-out detailed Master Plan. A country must regulate growth and not let growth regulate it. The Master Plan must take more than just the physical into consideration. It must include impact upon the people, (historical and cultural as well as education and training). We can not emphasize too strongly, the people impact.

It is the opinion of the Hawaii Visitors Bureau that research is the key to the success or failure of any advertising and promotional effort. We attribute our success to one of the outstanding research departments in the field of tourism. Our research is not only the basis for decisions we make for our programs, but is relied upon by many corporations in the industry.

It is initially through research that one determines where are the major market areas and what each market area looks for when it travels. Not all nationalities want the same experiences when they go on vacation. Some are very happy just to lie in the sun while others must be constantly on the move. Each, therefore, has different requirements and depending upon which is the major market, plans are made accordingly both in physical plant, and advertising and promotion. Even within some markets one will find differences in demand based upon the season of the year.

Having done the initial research, it is then important to keep it going as conditions and markets do change. We are daily collecting data upon which our program decisions are made. Even more important than the basic demographics are the degree and changes in markets and the satisfaction of the visitor. We feel very strongly about the latter item and have what we consider is a comprehensive program for monitoring the degree of satisfaction in various components which go towards making up the whole of tourism.

We recommend that those countries not already members of The Pacific Area Travel Association, become members. PATA has over a thousand studies relating specifically to the Pacific. Members can draw upon this existing source of data which is of great value.

Now, allow me to get a bit more specific on various programs in our Research Department.

BASIC DATA PROGRAM

This is the body of information which could be likened to a census except that it is done on a daily basis of the arriving visitor population. There are a number of sources which can be used to obtain this. One of the most common world-wide is the International Embarkation/Disembarkation Card. However, as most of our visitors arrive from the Continental U.S. we were without this source so we developed our own form. We were fortunate as it is mandatory for all passengers arriving from the mainland U.S. to be given an Agricultural Declaration Form and we attach our confidential passenger information to this declaration.

From a computer compilation of these forms, we monthly publish a research report and annually, a more detailed report is made. These reports tell us how many visitors arrived, where they come from, how long they stayed, their age, whether they intended to visit another of our islands, their occupation, sex, whether they are a part of a group, and the purpose of their trip. This gives us the raw data about our visitor and delivers information not normally on the standard E/D form. It is the very information we need to assist us for example in selecting the media to reach our potential first time and repeat visitors. From the profile we develop of our visitor, we carry the research further to the demographics of various publications; then we select those which most closely align with our market or a new market we wish to reach.

VISITOR OPINION SURVEY

From the basic data forms we randomly select daily a number, and along with a letter from the Governor, we mail another form to the home address of the visitor. This is a more detailed form in which we measure the degree of satisfaction with the facilities and specific activities, along with their general impressions. In this questionnaire we ask the visitor how Hawaii compared with other vacation areas, and in addition compare the visit with their expectation. From this point on we go into more detailed questions island by island, asking

the visitor to rate on a five point numerical system the hotels, carriers and other services. By having similar questions for each island we are able to monitor changes in degree of satisfaction and at the same time compare each island with the others - and where possible, pinpoint problem areas.

We also provide space on the form for respondents to write comments on various categories if they wish. We keep a careful year by year comparison of the favorable and unfavorable comments. In addition, where the comments refer to a specific property, we forward those to the property involved.

In my personal opinion this survey of visitor satisfaction is one of the most important segments of our work in research. It is vital that the satisfaction with an area and with specific major activities be constantly monitored so that corrective measures can be taken in problem areas. The fact that people care enough to voluntarily write comments makes it even more worthwhile.

VISITOR EXPENDITURE STUDY

We are presently in the beginning of what we intend to have as an ongoing visitor expenditure study. Prior to this new program we would periodically engage an outside research firm to conduct an expenditure survey. The periodic survey was updated by changes in the price index taken in conjunction with a question on our visitor opinion survey relating to what the visitor spent in Hawaii. We started the pilot for this program in the fall of 1973 and went into it on a full time basis on January 1, 1974. Again we use the Basic Data Form from which to select at random the visitor who is to be approached to participate in the program. To date our results have been most gratifying and the cooperation by the visitors has been outstanding.

This study will allow us to compare and see if there are differences in spending patterns by time of year, age, section of the Country, group versus individual traveler, length of stay, etc. Through this information we can further refine our marketing. The intelligence gained may mean that we change marketing thrusts and we are looking forward to the end of the year when we will have a full twelve months of reports.

RESIDENT SURVEY

We in the Hawaii Visitors Bureau feel that it is important that the residents be surveyed from time to time to monitor their acceptance of the industry. The Bureau did this in 1972. Ours was not as direct as that of Singapore which conducted a similar survey also in 1972, but it is the results which are important, not necessarily the method.

HOTEL INVENTORY

Our Research Department also periodically reproduces a visitor plant inventory. The publication lists existing and planned hotel accommodations by district for the State. Where possible, the completion date of the facility is noted.

This is just a very sketchy picture of the research work done by the Hawaii Visitors Bureau. There are many other studies we prepare which I have not bothered to mention as these are offshoots of the major studies. Once the basic data is in the computer, it is only a matter of cost in getting out any variety of reports one deems necessary to properly perform the marketing function for tourism.

PLANNING FOR TOURISM ON THE ISLAND OF HAWAII: THREE VIEWS

TOURISM ON THE ISLAND OF HAWAII: AN OVERVIEW

Donald Tong

The Island of Hawaii is about 4,030 square miles in area, or roughly 2½ million acres in size, with a population of about 67,000 people. Hilo, the capital city, has about 28,000 people, or 34,000 if we take the nearby outlying communities which are basically sugar plantation camps turned partly into "bedroom communities."

Most of the island's visitor destination developments are in areas designated as urban by a State Land Use Commission appointed by the Governor. However, of the island's 2½ million acres, only 1¼ percent ($\frac{33,000}{2,573,400}$) is urban. Thus, Hawaii's urban areas are in small proportion to its overall land mass. Yet, this fraction of land supports an industry which apparently surpasses in dollar sales the sugar industry which is our main agricultural product -- \$81 million per year for the visitor industry, \$70 million per year for sugar. Incidentally, the proportion of resort to agricultural acreage (not all of which is necessarily under cultivation) is 100,000 acres in Agriculture, 1,000 acres in resort developments.

I do not bring out this proportion of urban land to overall land mass to minimize our concern, but only to illustrate that with proper controls and standards only a small amount of direct land mass is needed to bring in a major industry. But, it is the other 98-¾% that the visitors mutually share with residents during their visit, and which they aesthetically enjoy.

Unfortunately, the visitor industry is nearly always predicated on utilizing the most beautiful land areas available. This is understandable. But often the best beaches and surrounding areas, bays, and scenic lookout places to which the general local public used to have access and enjoy are also desired by the private resort development. If a local government is to keep these areas for its people and still encourage the industry (which is not interested in ugly or non-scenic areas) then hard and fast rules have to be implemented before the development is planned.

It is easily understandable that some of the smaller island countries express some dismay over the fact that it is foreign capital and investment that account for the major development-owner status which is so prevalent, and yet the land is owned by the native people ... or once was.

To a fairly significant and possibly rising degree, the island of Hawaii's resort development is also owned by non-locals. Of course, changes in ownership occur so rapidly nowadays that what is locally owned today, for example, could be purchased by Japanese or Canadian corporations tomorrow. The American free enterprise system allows this, however.

It is not surprising to me that the ownership and management of resort developments often belong to larger, established, industrialized nations. It is, after all, their cultivated expertise in development and management that brings the capital investment with them. Their material wealth initially is needed to capitalize on the natural resources and beauty. These are the two ingredients then, which apparently make for a thriving visitor industry. Those with expertise--the know-how--are the only ones able to financially carry out development in our society, and then maintain the flow of visitors afterwards.

Then, also, the airlines management and the vast publicity, promotion and tour processing machinery need a large population base to work from. Wealth in the form of available vacation dollars is necessary, and that can only come from the wealthier nations. An interesting statistic is that the average American couple's vacation costs \$2,000. Certainly today, for example, in such nations as India, mainland China, or the Trust Territory, people have not achieved the economic standard which would permit them to be the bulk tourists in Hawaii as Americans, Canadians, and Japanese are right now.

From the point of view of concern for natural beauty and environment, it is thought by many to be highly desirable to have the kind of development represented by Rockefeller's Mauna Kea Beach Hotel. Although that hotel is of exceptional quality, it has essentially taken for itself a public beach which has become lost to use by the general public. The land was subdivided and roads were built in such a way that the Mauna Kea Beach resort land-locked Mauna Kea beach from public access, because the beach is bordered by cliffs and private land at its extreme ends, and accessible to the public only by sea or via the privately owned road.

From the standpoint of high quality development, another economic fact emerges. If we limited Hawaii to Mauna Kea Beach and Waiakea Village type developments, how often and consistently throughout the year could we realistically expect to fill it up with their \$40-, \$80- and even \$100- per day hotel rooms as compared with \$18-20 per-day rooms? Put another way, can the airlines afford to promote first class seats (\$190) instead of tourist price seats (\$116)? Still another example would be the support services: would 100 first class tourists consume more locally-grown papayas than 1,000 economy class tourists? Would the farm or agriculture economy be better off selling 10 cases of guava juice or 50 cases everyday?

Easy as it may seem to equate quality with high prices, the two are not necessarily directly in proportion to each other. One of Hawaii's attractions has been the kindness and warmth of our people, and this spirit envelops the visitors. But I believe that this spirit of Aloha can so easily disappear with an increase in population, and also with the increase in sophistication--and changing lifestyle of the people, especially the younger workers.

If standards of development are left completely to the entrepreneur, then the mass tourist, the quick and constant hotel room turnover, the cheap exploitation of the natural beauty and resources will prevail. Fortunately, our island has been able to keep the quality fairly high.

As one contrasts or compares the Kaanapali area of Maui with the visitor destination areas of the island of Hawaii we should realize that in Kaanapali there was basically one land owner who could dictate the development conditions and dictate the master plan. Our Island's land ownership, at least where the resort development is located and with the exception of some small lots, is held by different land owners and often in odd shaped lots. The more well planned developments are easier to build in larger areas where the flexibility and available options of design are readily attainable. Perhaps in some Pacific island countries, the ownership of the land or at least the development rights are under governmental strict rule. I certainly consider that condition to be a distinct advantage in areas where controls are needed. You can understand that in our free enterprise society the setting of standards and controls would be more difficult; however, there is the growing awareness and emerging of the latent "power of the people" to express their uninhibited protests to undesired development. I think this kind of public interest and activity is necessary.

I would like to give some new examples of local government control on our island's visitor industry development. We have had a few resort

facilities which have treated our natural resources badly. To prevent their recurrence, our County both through some painful experiences and to a large degree out of foresight, has started to impose certain conditions to avoid the pitfalls of the past. These conditions were implemented by adoption of County goals, policies, and standards by ordinance and known as the General Plan.

1. When zoning of land for resort uses (as well as other uses), we now impose construction time limits for the start of the buildings.

2. We also impose a housing survey condition, and could impose employee housing requirement if the situation warranted it.

3. We are also empowered to require manpower development training.

4. We can require that employee housing be actually built before an occupancy permit of the resort hotel (for example) is granted.

5. We require that a bona fide historical sites search/survey be made prior to development, and a solution found to preserve these sites.

6. We can require that the developer provide all the amenities--such as sewer treatment plant concurrently with the development should the County feel that the need is there.

7. We require of oceanside development that access to the shoreline be granted so the public can continue to enjoy their time-honored use of this publicly owned seashore.

8. We can require that the development provide its own recreational facilities so that the general public's facilities are not overrun or overwhelmed by the visitor.

It is within the subdivision and zoning processes that we impose these conditions, and as said earlier, we are granted these powers by virtue of a General Plan which enunciates goals, policies, standards, which were adopted as law in the form of ordinances.

In conclusion then: Our Island of Hawaii has determined its goals through a lengthy period of public discussions between the government and the people. We can thus call our overall plan a people's plan. Where it touches upon the visitor industry, the County has specifically stated policies regarding development such as:

- o limiting the amount of adjacent land subdivision (resorts often claim the need for "vacation house/lot subdivisions.")
- o construction time limits
- o housing for employees
- o historical sites surveys
- o requirement of capital improvements by developer
- o access to shoreline
- o requirement of private recreational facilities so as not to overwhelm
- o attempting to obtain EIS for resort/condominium development

The immediate tendency for creating a profitable product seems to be to mass produce--have more sales of more airplane passenger seats, sell more meals and services to more people. But too easily the accompanying proclivity for mass production to be of cheap quality and to jeopardize the industry follows. So we must guard against this. We think we have learned to protect our people and our land and yet derive a significant income from tourism, a tremendously large and potentially greatest income industry.

In the final analysis, our Island of Hawaii also seeks to encourage industries other than tourism. We have espoused diversification rather than dependence and total concentration on only tourism though it is very profitable because on the human side the job opportunities and the servitude type of employment is not what we want for all our young people.

PLANNING FOR TOURISM ON THE ISLAND OF HAWAII: THREE VIEWS
THE EFFECTS OF TOURISM ON HISTORICAL SITES AND CULTURE

Virginia Goldstein

Back in 1964, the central question at the County of Hawaii's conference on tourism was one which in essence asked "How do we catch up with the rest of the State and get our slice of the tourism pie." We saw the problem as "What do we do to encourage the tourist to come here." The answers that the County got were rather simplistic and straightforward. The airlines people said, "Build your airports to accommodate the transpacific jet lines." Others said, "Build your convention centers, increase the number of hotel rooms; sell your attractive and scenic spots and sell yourselves."

A short five years later, in 1969, the message from the Mayor was slightly different. We said instead, "How do we guide the tourist industry?" In fact, it was, "We must guide it." Already the doubts were being formed. The need for the preservation of our historic sites and the maintenance of our integrity were mentioned. And we recognized at the point that our attempt at guiding the tourism industry was not great. In 1974 we, along with the rest of the State, advocated a policy of controlled growth for Hawaii's tourism industry. As so aptly put by the Temporary Visitor's Industry Council report, the Steinian approach no longer was applicable. A tourist is no longer a tourist is a tourist. And we talk instead of the kind of tourist we want, perhaps quality rather than quantity.

Where we once embraced each arriving tourist with lei in hand, we now take a more cautious approach. All this, I think, is reflective of the growing uneasiness and the awareness that perhaps the benefits derived from tourism do not quite compensate for the social costs involved.

Well, if back in 1969 we talked of the need to maintain our integrity and preserve our historic sites as part of our cultural heritage, what have we done?

We have, I think, first made up our minds as to what it is we want. This is reflected in the adoption of the General Plan. We have listed elements which are of importance to us and which need to be considered in all of our planning efforts. Among these twelve major elements is one of historic sites. The goals and policies under this element of the General Plan mandate that the County embark on a program of the restoration of significant sites on County lands. It lists prehistoric sites which are of importance, yet recognizes that by no means is this list definitive. It also requires that developers, be they of resort projects or land investment projects, complete an archaeological survey if there are indications of historical or cultural values on the lands proposed to be developed. As a result, archaeological surveys have been conducted for the major resort areas such as the C. Brewer Ninole/Punaluu resort project, for the Kalapana-Kaimu Kupahua Land Development project and for the Keauhou Beach Resort Complex. The developers have incorporated the recommendations of the archaeologist into their development plans.

In addition, in cooperation with the State's program of historic preservation, we have been monitoring all permits for possible adverse effects on the State or National Register sites. We also have been conducting in-house reviews of all rezoning, subdivision, variance and special permit applications for the possible effects on listed or known historic sites. We are now working on a comprehensive historic preservation ordinance which will hopefully put into effect a County historic preservation program, and guide the private sector also in this area.

Admittedly, the system is not yet perfect, but we feel it has been a good step in the right direction.

While we can point to specifics with historic sites, it isn't quite as easy to do so with the social and cultural aspects. We acknowledge that there are problems. We feel in varying degrees the tensions and uneasiness generated by conflicts in values within the individual as well as within the community. An example here might be the factionalization of a small community divided by one group supporting the development of tourist facilities while another strongly is opposed to it. We hear complaints of the loss of beach areas and access to the shoreline. Within the employment picture, how it is that the top managerial positions are held by outsiders, while the menial jobs are for the locals. We read reports that speak of the increased family instability rates as these rural, agriculture based communities switch to a resort service-oriented employment. (People have been calling it a switch from rural to urban situation, but I think this is really not necessarily the case, because these pockets of resorts really have not taken on the trappings of an urban environment. To a large extent, they are surrounded by an agricultural base be it ranching or horticulture of some sort.) Perhaps it is just this contrast between the two lifestyles existing side by side or even having to split one individual's life between the two which increases in tensions. For some of these problems the causes cannot be simplistically determined, and they may be part of an underlying malaise that, as a nation, we are now facing.

But what are we attempting to do. Quite frankly, I think we are at somewhat of a loss. Possibly because it is difficult to measure the extent of the social costs. On a broad level, we have taken the position that whatever else, or rather, however else the tourism industry is to go, it shall first take care of the needs of the local residents. We are embarked on a program of proceeding cautiously, sort of like shifting down to first gear on a car going down a steep slope.

It isn't however, as though we are doing nothing about the situation. Within the past month, the County Council has passed a quality control bill, which would require of resort developments an environmental impact statement, and the approval of this statement before development can proceed. Thus, the developer would have to assess the impact of his project on the community around the project and the community from which he expects to draw his employment.

We also now require through plan approval that shoreline developments provide public access to the beach.

In addition, the County partially funded a community profile study. This particular study, done in 1970, was carried out through the State Planning Office and the Community Action Programs. While there are methodological faults in the study, it contains not only the normal statistics on population, educational level, residence, etc., but also attitudinal information such as communities were asked to rank items which they feel are needed, i.e., employment, educational facilities, better transportation, etc. They were asked also to assess their feelings about the community in which they lived and their feelings about tourism. As I said earlier, there are faults with this particular study, but as a gross indicator of differences in attitudes from community to community, I think it can be used as a planning tool.

Another more detailed study, this time a supplemental anthropological study, was done as a result of an application for the Kupahua Resort Development in Kaimu-Kalapana. In a sense, it is a baseline study on the community at Kalapana, reflecting possible areas of conflict, present attitudes and recommendations. Interestingly enough, it supported some of the findings of the Community Profile Study.

Some of the recommendations which resulted from the study are well taken.

1. That communications lines be established between the developer and the community in which he places his project. That the values of the community be taken into consideration in these discussions lest there be misunderstanding and lack of support.
2. Likewise, this should also apply to governmental agencies. Within such a tight, close-knit community, this lack of communication can sometimes be viewed as secrecy, simply because most information is public knowledge.
3. That public access to beach and shoreline areas must be maintained.

In closing, I would like to suggest an idea which may or may not have merit. In trying to put together this paper and in thinking about tourism, I wondered why it was that this particular industry generated the resentment that it did, or does, because I think that some of the social changes would result from the introduction of any new, major industry. We will run into the problem of in-migration, housing, etc., with the expansion, say, of diversified agriculture or with research.

In discussing the question and asking opinions, it seems that the other industry which creates a similar sort of resentment is the military, and what they both have in common is that they depend upon the in-migration, in large numbers, of people who do not expect to stay here -- people who are in essence transients. The degree of stay, of course, varies. Still, these are people who have their basic emotional and social ties elsewhere. Though other industries cause in-migration, those that do come must in some fashion become involved with the community and the area. Some may not especially like what is present, but still must tolerate, adjust, make concessions or help improve conditions.

The visitor who comes here need not make these concessions. In fact, removed from the normal social constraints and limitations of their own community, peer groups, friends, and neighbors they may exhibit behavior which may be inhibited under normal circumstances, hence they may overstep their own normal bounds or the bounds of the visiting community. They are after all not involved here and need not learn the social cues. Possibly it is this cumulation of overstepped boundaries which adds to the tensions and conflicts, with social cues being misunderstood on both sides.

If this is a factor underlying some of the problems and if Pacific Islanders choose to expand the tourism industry in their areas, it might be wise to list as one of the policies a campaign of educating visitors before they arrive of some of the expected social behavior.

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PLANNING FOR TOURISM ON THE ISLAND OF HAWAII: THREE VIEWS

THE EFFECTS OF TOURISM ON NATURAL RESOURCES, NATURAL BEAUTY AND RECREATION

Lynette Roy

The County of Hawaii's recreational activities are directly responsive to its natural environment. Tourism and resort development, which have recreation as one of their prime advertised attractions, are also responsive to the natural environment. The combination of the two--resort/tourist oriented facilities and recreation--has definite mini-max affects on the County's natural resources and beauty. In other words, minimize the adverse effects and maximize the quality and beauty of our natural assets.

In terms of recreation the Big Island, composed of seven different climatic zones and hence seven biomes, provides tourists and residents with a wide spectrum of alternatives, from skiing on the slopes of Mauna Kea to deep-sea fishing off the world renown Kona Coast. Because of the Island's unique composite features, one could visualize the entire Island as one enormous park or playground providing active and passive use.

To pinpoint and evaluate the effects of tourism and resort development on the natural environment it is necessary to keep in mind the sensitivity of the environment to human influences. Adverse effects, not excluding eradication, are oftentimes irreversible. A concept that has theoretically become trite, but in practice seldom used, is that nature can never be dominated, but rather cooperatively engaged within a symbiotic relationship.

For the planner the problem of reaching an equilibrium between visitor use and resident use rests not only on the use of the land, but also on how the land is used; a balance of social consciousness and economic return. For every resort development the question remains, what in our natural environment do we give up? The question is one of priorities. Hawaii's natural beauty is dependent upon open space and much of the natural resources can be saved and secured by open space and agricultural zoning designations. Resorts and recreation within the County are in stiff competition for prime recreation areas, essentially those lands along our shorelines.

Tourist attractions on the Big Island run the gamut from sightseeing to hiking, hunting, fishing, boating, swimming, skindiving and golf. For the most part, tourists expect to find these services within reach of their hotel. On this Island visitors have a chance to drive distances to seek different attractions, and appreciate the vastness of the Island's resources and beauty. However, once they reach their destination they remain mainly within the resort area, expecting these facilities to be made available to them.

Our greatest resource in the state is water, some areas boasting of the highest quality water in the world. With these standards to consider, a conscious effort is necessary for any planned development which will inevitably affect the natural environment. In the past biological ecosystems have been irreparably damaged by direct sewerage discharge. In addition, prime beach areas have been foreclosed to the general public. Hawaii Island has a total of 313 miles of shoreline and of these 313 miles, 19.4 miles are actual sand beach shoreline. Therefore the shoreline resources here are at a premium.

Flora and fauna are affected by the introduction of exotic species and the eradication of endemic species. These modifications, if left unattended, result in an uncontrollable decline in native vegetation and wildlife. Hawaii's physical resources, above ground and underground water, flora and fauna, display the intermingling beauty of the island. We are in a transition state;

The local population's use of the shoreline differs from the tourists' use in that many local residents obtain their food supplements or delicacies to enhance their meals directly from the shoreline, tidepools and reefs. This is true to an even greater degree in many of the South Pacific Islands. Many areas where hotels have been built, are now out-of-bounds for this type of activity. Shoreline accessibility is a prime concern to the local people. Many resorts have stifled, if not flatly denied this public access. All resorts are "available to the public - if they can afford it. Many areas that were once favorite fishing holes are cramped, closely by virtue of a hotel being almost at the water's edge, hampering access. This is coupled with the showcase, stage atmosphere where the tourist feels obliged to be provided with a demonstration of the art of shore fishing.

Local people avidly engage in camping activities. Several campsites within public beach parks have been closed to camping as a result of abuse of facilities by transient visitors who initially made their residences in these areas for long periods of time, disregarding any regulations for sanitation and health. The desecration of the areas, including Kahaluu Beach Park, and Napoopoo Beach Park, reached the stage of being completely out of hand and disease spread to the resident. Drug abuse was and still is a major factor in controlling adverse affects within park areas where people have made their residences. It must be remembered that it is not the tourist who suffers, it is the local resident.

Shoreline water resources are not the only water resources available to the County. Brackish water fishponds remain in different areas as evidence of traditional Hawaiian aquaculture. According to the County's General Plan, "it shall be the policy of the County of Hawaii to assist the expansion of the agriculture industry especially diversified agriculture, through the protection of prime agricultural lands, capital improvements and other programs and continued cooperation with appropriate State and Federal agencies." "Agricultural land shall be used as one form of open space or as green belt." Fish culture produces more protein per acre than land based agriculture. It is an asset which is dependent on land use inland of each respective pond. It is an attractive feature to the resort developer to enclose a fishpond about his resort, however by doing so he destroys the very attraction he once sought. Any construction around or inland of these ponds contaminates the water and destroys many organisms within the ecosystem.

Further inland, one finds tremendous resource value in fresh water from beautiful waterfalls. Coupled with the aesthetic values, the streams are bountiful in fresh water fish and there are a few streams remaining that still produce prawns and shrimp. Some of these waterfalls can be seen from a vantage point on the road. Others require hiking into the countryside for some miles. Some of these areas are prime targets for resort development, and the only way these efforts have been resisted has been through the efforts of cohesive concerted community objection.

The National Parks have helped in preserving acres of pristine native rain forest lands within Hawaii Volcanoes National Park. It is the only active volcano in the United States and one of the prime visitor attractions exclusive to Hawaii. Visitor use is confined mainly to daily through traffic, but there is one hotel facility for those who desire longer stays, especially while the volcano is erupting. The City of Refuge National Park is an attempt on their part to preserve the cultural resources with controls in order to allow both visitor and residential use.

The County has taken a comprehensive approach towards resort planning and development. By implementing policies in the General Plan and the proposed

Environmental Impact Statements on future developments, controls can be instituted to contain such resorts within designated areas. A balance is necessary so that instability of resources and public/tourist tensions are minimized. This is designed such that development is orderly and broad-based in its foundation, has quality in growth and the ability to absorb rather than saturate the influences of tourists and resort development. Planning must take into serious consideration the cost/benefit ratio and decide what, if anything must be forfeited in the name of resort development.

The State has formulated policies, under the State Comprehensive Outdoor Recreation Plan, calling for evaluation of all outdoor recreation activities, resources and programs that are significant in providing outdoor recreational opportunities within the State to include the needs of all segments and provide for a quality environment within both natural and man-made settings.

The Hawaii County Recreation Plan calls for preserving and developing suitable parks and recreational resources to meet the expanding residential and visitor needs. Their main objective is to assure open space, public access and free use of the shorelines and park lands. Legislative action on proposed shoreline setbacks could prove to be a positive step to preserve the shoreline areas and many of the resources within the zone.

In closing, I submit that open space is the key to the preservation and assured continuation of our natural assets, for without it and extreme care and attention in promoting and maintaining the irreplaceable beauties of the island, there will be an extreme loss in the very attractions that originally drew the visitor to the island. There must be the element of reciprocity in sharing Hawaii Island with visitors, not offering ourselves at so great a price as to jeopardize the welfare of the island's resources, beauty and its people. Hawaii Island cannot afford wearisomely protracted drains upon its resources without some form of deliberate and directed renewal. The concept of sharing, rather than offering, is the buffer directing courses of action to maintain the island of Hawaii, in itself as an entire park, an entire resource to ourselves, to the nation and the world.

A NEW KIND OF SUGAR

Noel Kent

One morning recently, one Hawaiian resident remarked to another that the one-millionth tourist of the year would arrive in Honolulu by air that afternoon. "Let's go out to the airport with a shotgun" was the response.

Honolulu Advertiser 1968

Please Don't Visit Hawaii Until We Can Save What's Left.

A flyer handed out at airports
by Hawaii residents to discourage
potential tourists 1970

We've come a long way and it's important to keep the momentum going.

Jack Simpson, President,
Hawaii Visitors Bureau 1974

At precisely 8:35 every morning as the commuter steps off his bus from the New Jersey suburbs and onto an upper platform of Manhattan's Port Authority Bus Terminal, he is immediately confronted by a large, colorful billboard bearing the picture of a group of lovely islands, and emblazoned with a most inviting caption: "Come to our part of the world - We've been going there so long - We call it our part of the world - United Airlines."

One day, already weary from the ordeal of his daily ride across the cold, bleak landscape of northeastern New Jersey, but further resigned to the prospect of nine drudgery-filled hours in the big city, our commuter lingers for a few wistful moments in front of the advertisement . . . and then suddenly makes a vow to take his next vacation from the office in the Hawaiian Islands. He won't be alone. Across North America, along clogged Southern California freeways, in St. Louis and Seattle office buildings, Detroit and Toronto suburbs, everything conspires to make a Hawaiian vacation seem like that trump card that will vanquish (if only for a while) the mounting dilemmas of living in the late twentieth century.

People who can afford costly vacations in Hawaii are being lured by a promotional campaign of startling intensity, a flood of advertising, blanketing the mass media with the charms of the islands. Moreover, the scope of this drive to draw tourists extends far beyond the United States itself. Walk along a major downtown street in Paris, Cologne, Vancouver, London, or through one of the enormous Tokyo department stores, and you will find those sensual photographs which have made the name of Hawaii synonymous with "paradise" the world over. From the windows of travel agencies, airlines offices, banks and tourist information centers, the exquisitely lovely girl of mixed racial extraction, her long, dark hair falling over a slender, ivory-tan figure (to a background of an enchanting mountain brook or palm covered beach) stares out at the pedestrian or motorist on the street. To those who dwell in the darker cities of the North, Hawaii beckons as that lost Eden of innocence and freedom, at the edge of the horizon, only a plane ride away.

That this image may only be an echo of the truth, but an echo of the realities of life in Hawaii today and the tourist experience, itself, does not seem to

disturb its creators. Indeed, those who have worked at promoting Hawaiian tourism are master psychologists able to take their place with anyone in the public relations business. By their own yardstick of achievement (namely, the growth of revenues and profits for the industry they represent), the advertisers of "paradise" have been eminently successful.

Tourism has emerged in recent years as the biggest and most profitable industry in Hawaii with nearly every year marking spectacular increases in the numbers of arriving tourists. Growth has been truly phenomenal: in 1946, only 15,000 people journeyed to the Hawaiian Islands; by 1974, the figure was threatening to mushroom past 3,000,000. What can explain this tremendous upsurge in "visitors" (the official public-relations term used by the resort establishment in place of the more vulgar "tourist")?

Certainly among the most important factors are the fairly high level of post-World War Two middle-class affluence in North America and also Japan; the cheaper, faster and more frequent jet service to Hawaii (a 1946 Hawaii-bound traveller would board a Pan Am DC-4 on the West Coast for a nine and three-quarter hour trip costing \$195; twenty-five years later, our passenger could choose any one of a dozen airlines flying direct to Hawaii from most of the major United States and Canadian cities and Tokyo, in about half the time for half the cost); the annual multimillion dollar advertising campaign staged by the Hawaii Visitors Bureau and some of the airlines and the evolution of Honolulu into a booming convention center serving large organizations.

And yet, the spectacular success of the tourist industry in attracting customers is only the tip of the iceberg. For its very success has given tourism such a pivotal role in the Hawaii of today that increasingly anxious questions are being raised about this giant in our midst. Questions like what is the continuing impact of the massive tourist presence upon the local residents of the islands, their lifestyle, perspectives, economic opportunities? And along with this, what does uncontrolled and ever-expanding tourist growth ultimately portend for the future?

ON THE BEACH AT WAIKIKI

As recently as the mid-1950's, the tourist industry occupied a decidedly minor, if promising, niche within the Hawaiian economy; the rate of growth being limited to the raising of perhaps a small hotel or two in Waikiki every few years, while the neighboring islands remained almost entirely free of hotels and tourists alike. Around 1955, as heavy advertising and better trans-oceanic transportation began to exert a strong influence, noticeably larger numbers of tourists arrived in Hawaii, a development, which in turn gave the hotel industry a powerful impetus for expansion.

Naturally, the initial focus of building was in the already widely-known Waikiki section of Honolulu, the scene of a lovely beach once reserved for the surfing pleasures of the Hawaiian nobility during the days before the coming of the Haoles.¹ Although for a long time, the most prominent resort in Waikiki had been the Royal Hawaiian Hotel, a brightly painted island replica of North African architecture dating from the twenties, the construction boom soon manufactured dozens of high rise structures which dwarfed the Royal into comparative insignificance. Between 1955 and 1968, twenty-two hotels were built in the tiny Waikiki area (only 450 acres) and as tourists from North America, Japan and Europe flowed into Hawaii in the 1960's, side by side with soldiers on leave from Vietnam, the rate of construction heightened to a maddening pace. Construction workers found themselves laboring ten and twelve hours a day, six and seven days a week to finish these new hotels in the shortest possible time. For the local person who might occasionally saunter over to Waikiki for a movie, or just to look around, every month seemed to add a freshly-made giant to the skyline above

Kalakaua Avenue; eight hotels completed in 1968, seven the following year and a record shattering eleven new hotels completed in 1970.

True, Waikiki is but a miniscule enclave attached to a much larger island, and yet its incredible concentration of tourist industry (it contains more hotel rooms than any city in the United States, except New York) renders it of crucial importance to the daily life of Oahu. One could even say that Waikiki organizes much of the functioning of the island around it. Beginning with the darkness of the pre-dawn hours and continuing throughout the day, workers wait along the streets of Kalihi, Palama, Moiliili, Makiki and Kaimuki for the buses that will take them to their jobs in hotels, restaurants, bars, gift shops and night clubs. Several thousand more join the flow of traffic to the airport for work tempered to the airline schedules of incoming and outgoing tourists. Much of Honolulu now shops at the massive Ala Moana Shopping Center, originally designed to be near enough to Waikiki to draw the lucrative tourist souvenir dollar. Not to mention entertainment. With the great bulk of movie theaters and night clubs to be found in the vicinity of Kalakaua Avenue, locals bored with the lack of cultural facilities in their own neighborhoods gravitate toward the glitter of Waikiki, even when they have no particular aloha for the place. Added to all of this, of course, is Waikiki's powerful emotional impact upon Oahu's people, whether Waikiki hotel worker or casual visitor. All are exposed to the volatile rhythms and values of a Waikiki lifestyle very different from local mores. Maybe, this is positive; a point of vital comparison with their own lives, their own backgrounds. Maybe. But there are also those who do not believe this to be the case, who instead believe that (in the words of a group of Hawaii-born students studying at mainland universities) "Tourism is a devastating virus that weakens our resistance to plastic living and superficial aloha."

The very special character of the Waikiki world generates some of the same predatory offshoots so common in other resort areas. Because there is a great deal of money in Waikiki. Money which is going to be spent to satisfy the heightened sense of need and insecurity projected by the dense, nervous crowds in the streets, wandering aimlessly along Kalakaua, Kuhio and Lewers, past bars and travel agencies, movies and clubs, far from home, transient, perhaps lonely. Enough, in fact, to inspire a decade-old war between the local syndicate (usually recruited from the impoverished Waianae Coast and Kalihi) and its mainland counterpart, with a continuing violence that has claimed a score of lives in recent years. No longer do stories of bodies discovered near remote sugar cane roads or along deserted beaches arouse much interest. But the killing continues. One particularly savage spree of murders (including a Waikiki hotelman and a local teenage girl) led the Honolulu Star Bulletin to editorialize that "Honolulu is now a city at war with a vicious criminal underground."

As for the stakes involved, they are indeed lucrative; control over the highly profitable multi-million dollar prostitution racket in Waikiki and also the flourishing trade in hard drugs. A clear majority of prostitutes working the streets are mainland women under the tight guard of their "protectors." "The scene is incredible down there," explains one former Waikiki taxi driver, who once augmented his income by steering male clients to available women. "The girls are scared to death of the pimps. They are virtual prisoners. I remember one girl who just ran back to the mainland to get away, but the pimp followed her and threatened to kill her whole family. She finally returned."

Unfortunately, the widespread Waikiki drug traffic does not stop at the boundaries of the Ala Wai Canal. Heavy drugs like heroin and cocaine are appearing throughout Hawaii as the number of local users steadily rises. By the early 1970's, more than 11,000 referrals were being sent to the courts annually for drug abuse, while the State Government admits: "For every official statistic reported by the police and courts there are many unreported situations." The syndicate demands as total control over drug distribution as it does over prostitution: In 1969, a pair of young surfers lying on the warm sand of a North

Shore beach noticed two men approaching them. "We hear you've been dealing around here," said one man. Before they could respond, he whipped out a revolver and murdered one of the youths right on the spot. Five years later, among the hilly stretches of the upper Palolo Valley, a solitary place long favored for drug transactions and car stripping, a series of Wild-West gun battles erupted between independent dealers and the drug "establishment" resulting in at least one death.

Some of the hotels along Waikiki have major investors with syndicate connections, interests who are organizing a well-financed campaign to promote legalized gambling in Hawaii. The tropics have always attracted the mob; witness the role of Havana as the gambling capital of the Caribbean before the Cuban Revolution sent the syndicate packing to Miami. And Hawaii, with its enormous influx (and quick turnover) of comparatively affluent tourists would provide an idyllic sort of island Las Vegas operation that could be expanded to startling dimensions. Immediately after completion of Del Webb's Kuilima Hotel, some of its first visitors were at a loss to comprehend the purpose of a series of apparently useless fixtures and electrical apparatus along the walls and ceilings of some of the hotel's larger ground floor rooms. Only after a bit of reflection did it occur to them that the builders of the Kuilima had some other purposes than just a hotel in mind.

Right now, however, the syndicate must remain content with a slice of the hotel profits, prostitution, drugs, small time gambling and also the \$100 million Hawaiian entertainment industry. One tourist executive tells Advertiser reporter Sanford Zalburg his anxieties about the widespread night club practice of paying off tour companies to "guide" unwary tourists to their shows: "Frankly, I'm frightened. It's a very serious thing, because the syndicate is very much involved in show business in this town as you know. At the same time, I don't want my name used. I don't want to be dead." Some of the performers are on the string, too. Reliable rumor has it that one of Hawaii's leading entertainers lost so heavily in Las Vegas that his future is now at the disposal of the casino's owners.

Surveying Kalakaua Avenue for the first time, an airline stewardess whose occupation has given her a certain familiarity with the leading vacation spots of North America, remarks with a knowing smile: "Well, it's the strip, just like Miami Beach and Las Vegas, and they told me this place was different." Waikiki has indeed become so overburdened with skyscraping hotels that each new addition makes it more difficult to sell the place as the "real Hawaii," even with the massive public relations buildup accorded the "Paradise of the Pacific." There are just too many of the evils present in any high density area, and tourists confronted with tightly packed streets and beaches, air and water pollution, gross overcharging and the overpowering sense of spatial and spiritual alienation radiating from Waikiki's concrete jungle are starting to filter the word back to Chicago and San Jose that "Hawaii just isn't worth it."²

So while the real estate developers and their financial partners continue to build in Waikiki, they are increasingly attentive to new areas on Oahu, such as the North Shore, the Windward and Makaha-Waianae coasts, and to the still rustic islands of Kauai, Maui, Molokai, Lanai and Hawaii. By 1971, over forty hotels girdled the coast of the Big Island, the great majority built during the late sixties. On the other islands, a cascade of construction during the early seventies had tripled Maui's room capacity, increased Kauai's by a third and Molokai's by eighteen times.

Since the advent of mass-production capitalist technology in the nineteenth century, an inner dynamic of the business process has emerged which forces corporations to seek a constantly rising volume of production and sales, enlarged market operations and an ever higher return on investment. Stagnation in the modern capitalist world invariably leads toward swift decline, or else absorption

into a more dynamic competitor. Acutely aware of the need to expand their financial interests and annual profits to maintain their corporate position, the dominant Hawaiian firms made the crucial decision some years ago to replace their longtime island mainstay, agriculture, with the much more profitable resort trade.

Consider the economics of such heavy investment in tourism. For one thing, island hotels top the United States in occupancy rates and profit ratios. In 1969, for example, Hawaiian hotels had the very prosperous occupancy level of 75.6% and profit ratios after taxes of 27.5% (as compared to the national hotel average of 19.8%). Perhaps the most significant criteria of all, profits per hotel room, amounted to \$3,014 in 1970, by far the highest in the United States. State officials like Department of Planning and Economic Development Director Shelly Mark may talk a blue streak about a "more moderate growth policy to achieve quality goals," but as long as tourist investment promises so much return, the resorts will continue to go up. And since greater profits are realized with an increase of hotel capacity, the future will surely bring more skyscrapers. In May 1974, crowds of awed spectators lined Kalakaua Avenue to view the spectacular dynamiting of Hawaii's oldest high rise hotel, the Biltmore, to make way for a \$100 million, forty-three story hotel. A glimpse of the world to come.

As the big corporations move into tourism with a vengeance, land is being rezoned as quickly as possible, blueprints drawn up and construction begun without delay. Since the Big Six³ and their allies control the lion's share of usable land in the Hawaiian Islands, their reorientation of the State's economy in the direction of tourism is but a routine matter. In those areas where the local firms are unable to build because of prior commitments or lack of financing, mainland corporations like International Telephone and Telegraph, Boise Cascade, Signal Oil and Eastern Airlines are encouraged to fill the "vacuum" as long as they meet the occasional obligations (such as partial local financing, locally-owned building materials, etc.) laid down by the local land owner.

If the pace of resort (and its accompanying luxury subdivision-condominium) construction continues at the present rate, by 1990 or so, the waving fields of sugar cane, the neatly planted rows of pineapples, bananas and macadamia nuts and the enchantingly open vistas sweeping from the mountains to the shore will be only a distant memory for the people of a new and vastly different Hawaii nei. And there is something to remember about all of this; although the decision to transform the base of the island economy to tourism is having a terrific impact on the lives of Hawaii's people (jobs, lifestyle, traffic congestion, etc.) they were never once consulted as to their ideas about what kind of a place Hawaii should become. Eight hundred thousand people have thus been forced to abide by the judgment of a few score corporate executives, even when they had no voice, much less a real role in the making of that judgment.

TOWARD THE BRAVE NEW WORLD

Corporate executives make no pretense about the kinds of plans they have for the future of the islands. "Tourism is Hawaii's future hope," glibly announces cigar smoking financier Chinn Ho, who recently sold his Ilikai Hotel to Western Airlines for a tidy \$12 million profit, while Lowell Dillingham freely discusses his own vision of what time (and money) could ultimately make possible:

In my judgment, Hawaii's biggest source of growth is due to a greatly expanded tourist industry . . . while those resources are being developed as rapidly as money can do it, our effort to keep increasing the visitor plant must continue.

Dillingham's thoughts, which are presented in the magazine, Honolulu, become more intriguing as he elaborates the scope of the corporate design for Hawaii: ". . . these islands may together build such a combined visitor recreation facility as the world has never seen with a multiplicity of resort complexes throughout the islands." Such strong faith in the almost unlimited potential of Hawaii as the hub of the rapidly expanding trans-Pacific tourist trade, is concurred with by Robert Auslin, President of the Pacific Area Travel Association, who declares the Pacific Basin to be on "the fringe of a new era in international tourism."

In the early 1970's, it is impossible to venture very far in any direction without being struck by the absolute deluge of hotel construction along the length and breadth of the Hawaiian chain. The "outer" islands, in particular, have become the focus for a series of truly grandiose resorts that are radically altering their very landscape.

On the Big Island, C. Brewer erects vast hotel complexes at Hilo Bay; Dillingham, Lawrence Rockefeller's Olomana Corporation and Eastern Airlines, the consortium responsible for the luxurious Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, is throwing up a cluster of major resorts (at the cost of more than a quarter of a billion dollars) on twelve thousand acres of land along the Kohala Coast. At Anaehoomalu Bay, Boise Cascade's spacious \$446 million hotel-residential complex is taking shape on thirty thousand acres obtained from the Parker Ranch. At Puako Kaupuelo, the Signal Oil Company is building a very substantial resort area, while luxury hotels are under construction on Bishop Estate land around Keauhou Bay. Kailua-Kona, often called the "second Waikiki," is the scene of such intensive construction activity that it may well eventually rival the first Waikiki.

To the northwest, on Maui, those longtime overlords of the valley island, Alexander and Baldwin, are developing an \$85 million project expected to yield eleven thousand hotel rooms when completed. In 1974, A & B embarked on a \$43 million joint venture with Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, aimed at creating two large new resorts at Wailea. Along the lovely coastline of the Kaanapali, groves of trees are bulldozed to facilitate construction of Amfac's longterm development at the sight of one of Maui's prettiest beaches. New hotels are also on their way in Kahalui and Hana, while a \$243 million resort city rises on the western edge of Molokai, a joint project of Molokai Ranch and the Louisiana Land and Development Company. In Hanalei, Kauai, a subsidiary of the Consolidated Oil and Gas Company of Colorado is building a "total community" of hotels and second homes for the retired wealthy, on acreage purchased from American Factors. Other resorts are springing up at Waipoili Beach, Poipu, Coconut Plantation and Lihue.

As we can see, the day may come when people reflect upon the sixties and seventies as that "quaint time" when tourism was still in its infancy and the islands retained their sense of charm and ease, their almost unparalleled sheer physical beauty; the calm before the coming of the storm. With supersonic jets of a dozen airlines converging on Hawaii from East, South and Northwest to disgorge hundreds of passengers at every landing, tourist projections for the 1980's and 1990's assume astronomical figures. Edward Barnett, former Dean of the University of Hawaii School of Travel Industry Management, calculates that 7,178,021 "visitors" will be arriving in the islands by 1986, or four and a half times the number who thronged to Hawaii in 1970. And Barnett's projections are if anything, minimal. A 1971 study by U.H. professor, Louis J. Crampton, forecast 10 million tourists a year in Hawaii by 1980.

In order to accommodate these staggering numbers of people, a massive construction program will be implemented by the corporations on a scale, to quote Lowell Dillingham: ". . . as the world has never seen." The Travel Industry Congress set up by Governor Burns in 1970 to establish goals for the tourist

industry arrived at the probable figure of 62,000-79,000 hotel rooms in the islands by 1985. As if this wasn't impressive enough, the Congress report adds: "Thus land now zoned in the state would allow for the future construction of well over 300,000 rooms by 1985 . . ." Some quick multiplication shows that if the latter figure is realized, either in 1985 or at another date in the future, Hawaii would have eleven to twelve times as many hotel rooms as existed in 1970. We might also consider that Hawaii's feudalistic pattern of land ownership is a firm guarantee that the Big Six and their associates will have sufficient choice land for the building of countless hotels well into the next century. Castle and Cooke's little fiefdom, the island of Lanai, is a case in point; a ninety thousand acre property that holds enormous potential for future tourism. Presently planted in pineapples, Lanai should have space available for prime oceanfront resorts decades from today.

In the distance, rising out of the horizon was the island of Oahu, passing first the timeless landmark, Diamond Head, then the harbor close by and Punchbowl and the marvelously green Koolau mountains looming in the background. As the ship berthed at her pier on the Honolulu wharf near the Aloha tower, excited passengers, thrilled to arrive in Hawaii after a week at sea, grabbed at the myriad of colored streamers tossed from the shore; musicians dressed in white playing a welcoming Hawaiian favorite, as brown-skinned hula girls in grass skirts gracefully offered the traditional island greeting; lei sellers in their long muumuus stringing ginger and pikake and plumeria and carnation leis mingled gaily with the crowds of expectant people lined up along the shore, taking photographs and shouting to their long-awaited friends and relatives; the sleek white Matson liner shimmering in the morning sun. A montage of sights and sounds and smells uniquely Hawaiian. Such was "Boat Day," the tourist's introduction to Hawaii only a scant quarter of a century ago.

The tourist stopping in the islands as recently as the early fifties usually came by sea and stayed for a month or so at the Royal Hawaiian or the Moana, sometimes in the process, striking up a passing friendship with some resident Haole family. After all, with such a sparse number of tourists taking the fabled voyage to Hawaii, and the island folk always anxious for news of the current fashions, political rumors, business trends, sports, etc., visitors were eagerly appreciated and treated to traditional hospitality at its best. There might be all day journeys to the Pali, or a picnic at the North Shore, or perhaps an excursion to Maui or Kauai.

Tourist industry employees were generally pretty relaxed, friendly and somewhat curious about the tourists. One Waikiki oldtimer remembers "when an elevator operator at the Royal would get hot and tired and just leave the elevator and take off and go swimming." At one of the handful of nightclubs and restaurants along Kalakaua Avenue, a tourist easily made acquaintance with other malihinis (newcomers) and also some of the residents who frequented the place. And the beachboys always had time to give you a casual surfing lesson.

The old tourism should not be romanticized too much. It was still, after all, tourism; the tourists almost never came into real contact with the dominant plantation milieu; they did not meet local non-white families, or begin to comprehend the depth of anguish that lay just behind the smiles of many Hawaiians . . . or see the urban slums. Yet, there was probably an element of genuine aloha for the tourist, the experience was leisurely enough to afford some time for reflection and at least an appreciation of the cultural diversity and stunning natural beauty of Hawaii.

Today's tourist experience is vastly different. Much more impersonal, more frantic, totally removed from authentic contact with island people and far more manipulated. What modern tourism seems to avoid at all costs is the genuine interaction between tourist and resident on the basis of mutual respect and sharing.

Better the elaborate charade than a world of flesh and blood people with their anxieties and pilikia, their joys and triumphs. The encounter between the tourist from Des Moines or Nagoya and the \$2.80 an hour room maid is basically inhuman; a meeting between master and servant, devoid of substance or warmth, of any sense of guest and host greeting each other in one's home.

And if today's experience is pretty unreal, tomorrow's has all the promise of the human regimentation of Huxley's Brave New World, mixed with a little of the modern alienation of a Godard or Antonioni movie. At their "leisure," as on their jobs, people will be encouraged to cease being autonomous, living, thinking human beings capable of making their own choices. One of the leading planners and "ideologists" of Hawaii's tourist explosion, Edward Barnet, draws an all too real vision of the tourist industry's ultimate ideal; the tourist as an easily exploitable commodity programmed in and out of certain pre-determined slots:

When Pan Am buys thirty-seven 747's at over \$20 million a piece, that is capital investment that requires that others or even their own Intercontinental hotels must build multi-million dollar hotels to have sufficient slots into which they can place the delivered bodies. Multiply this by all the other major airlines and we are talking about a lot of capital. These bodies have to be fed and laundered and smiled at, for they are not just bodies, they are individuals seeking their own souls. Yet to make this pay off and to lower the unit fixed costs of handling one individual on an individualistic basis, there must be volume

(italics added)

The unmistakable look of the new tourism points to close control over practically every tourist activity. Of course, what largely accounts for this is the rising prominence of the tour group business, which now brings almost half of all tourists to the islands on "quickie" four to six day, or seven to ten day pre-packaged tours. In addition to travelling, living and returning as a unit, the tour group members can usually be persuaded to patronize certain nightclubs, certain inter-island tours, certain points of tourist interest. Tour groups are not limited to the North American market, either. Lacking travel experience and command of English, the Japanese tourist (now constituting 10% of the trade) overwhelmingly chooses highly supervised tour groups for a Hawaiian vacation. Gently humorous stories abound about the mores of Japanese tourists in Hawaii who always seem to travel in large groups and in a kind of semi-military type of formation. Recently, one American tourist curiously eyeing a hundred or so middle-aged Japanese men and women walking in neat files two abreast near Kapiolani Park, asked me with all innocence: "Are those people having some kind of demonstration?"

The rapidly changing approach to tourism is also strongly reinforced by the resort interest themselves. C. Brewer, for one, is pioneering a "total tourism" scheme on the Big Island. Upon arrival at Hilo Airport, the tourist will be swept into a waiting McKenzie Tour Organization (Brewer owned) vehicle, transported to Brewer owned eating facilities around the volcano area, and subsequently deposited in one of Brewer's slew of projected hotels in the neighborhood of South Point. In short, the tourists (and their checkbooks) will never be permitted to escape from Brewer control while they remain on Hawaii. American Factors, which has acquired a tour and taxi company to complement its own Hawaiian Discovery Tours, also seems to be moving toward "total tourism."

One wonders if the late seventies and early eighties must inevitably witness the spectacle of Hawaii becoming a sort of Brave New World of tourism; millions

of North Americans, Japanese and Europeans equipped with cameras, bright flower-print aloha shirts and muumuus propelled along a pre-packaged road to their dream vacation. Not having struck some rapport with a local family or experienced the exhilaration of a real Hawaiian luau with all the terrific camaraderie and warmth and the soft, healing music that lasts all night and on and on until the morning (people playing music they really feel deep inside, music they really care about); not having hiked the old mountain trails overgrown by guava, lehua and kukui, or learned something of the history and traditions of the people who first came to Hawaii nei or of the struggles of later immigrants for a measure of dignity, the tourists will return home to inform friends and relatives what Hawaii is really like.

Herbert Hiller, a tall, spare, ascetic-looking man with warm, intelligent eyes, has devoted many years to studying the Caribbean tourist experience, both as press agent and later, Director of the Caribbean Travel Association. One of a growing number of observers to regard tourism as an important social phenomenon rooted deeply in the psyche of industrial society, itself, Hiller provides some intriguing insights into what he calls the "migrations of the sick." For Hiller, the failure of tourism to provide a genuine human experience reflects the failure of a materialistic, profit-oriented system to provide a genuine life experience in general:⁴

People are sent by their travel agents to have a good time. It is not what constitutes a good time that guides the travel agent at work. It is the profitability of the sale. It is the dependability of the commission . . . It is the most of what can be organized for sale to the most. The person who buys the product from a supermarket shelf to feed the family during the work year also buys the product packaged by a wholesale tour operator for distribution to the retail travel outlets of the marketplace. As we search among the supermarket shelves for the good life, the same who organize production of consumer goods also send us abroad in search of the "good life." As we train our medical profession and our food industry to be unconcerned with nutrition, so we send people to consume travel without regard to the experience . . . Tourism does not deal with the larger reality.

AN OPEN PUBLIC TREASURY

In the spring of 1969, the State of Hawaii's business magazine, the Hawaii Economic Review hailed the announcement by C. Brewer of plans to build a farflung resort complex consisting of eight hotels along the island of Hawaii's Ka'u-South Point coast, under the banner headline: "One Billion in new resorts planned for counties on the Big Island." The reaction of Governor John Burns was quite in character: "It puts into excellent balance the growth pattern for the Hawaii County Coast from Kohala to Ka'u. The state looks forward to working closely with Brewer, in insuring the orderly development of the Ka'u area and in broadening the economic base of the Big Island."

The State provides a multitude of services for the tourist industry, the most basic in some ways being rezoning. Such rezoning is a quintessential service performed for the developers. By simply affixing their signatures to a document, the land commissioners create "instant value" and profitability for investors, while simultaneously establishing the legal legitimacy for the construction itself.

During the 1974 five-year State Land Commission Boundary Review, a convenient time for landowners to upgrade their land zoning, applications were received for

a flood of zoning changes to accommodate a host of subdivisions, hotels and condominiums. Among the requests earmarking resorts for intended construction were projects in Hauula and Ewa City, Oahu, Kilauea and Koloa in Hawaii, Makena, Maui, Kapuaokoolau, Molokai and on the Big Island - South Kohala, South Kona, North Kona, Awakee, Ooma, Ka'u, Kaloku and Keahou. If more than a decade of past history is a reliable guide, then these applications will be judged not on their ability to preserve a decently balanced environment in Hawaii, or in relation to the welfare of the general population, but rather on the basis of political power and deals between land commissioners and landowners.

In 1964, an occasional Hawaii visitor, the novelist Philip Wylie, reflected on how Hawaii had changed since his last visit eight years earlier: "It was easy enough to predict in 1956 that Waikiki would soon become a hotel wall, a reach of diminishing beauty along which ultimately, nothing would greet the eye, but glass and steel and concrete. And on this, my third trip, I see that this has just about happened." Yet, even at the time that Wylie was writing his epitaph for Waikiki, the last of the residents of the old Waikiki, people like the singer, Kui Lee, who could never leave "the Jungle" (as the area was known) even after he had become a well-known entertainer, were being forcibly evicted from their homes. Massive resort construction was the order of the day, and the State Land Use Commission still recognized no necessity to downgrade Waikiki's zoning to provide for at least a partially livable urban scene. Of course, the landowners and developers of Waikiki are among the most powerful interests in the state and many have had direct links with the land commissioners themselves. Today, Waikiki contains about 22,000 hotel rooms, but is zoned for 50,000 more and all indications seem to point to almost every last one of these being built.

While rezoning probably creates more "instant" profits than any other type of government action (witness the \$4,500,000 accruing to developer Joe Pao and Hawaiian Pacific Industries from the rezoning of Mount Olomana on the windward coast of Oahu) there are also some highly important government subsidies flowing from public funds. Perhaps the most conspicuous gift of public largesse to the corporations lies in the millions of dollars handed over to the Hawaii Visitors Bureau (HVB), the most prominent public relations organ of the tourist industry.

The strikingly rapid increase in tourist growth dating from the mid-fifties, has been accompanied (and partly caused by) the considerable sums spent by the HVB in promoting tourism throughout North America, Oceania, Europe and Japan. From offices located in New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Tokyo, the HVB bombards prospective vacationers through newspapers, magazines, television and radio with the enticements of the "pearly isles." The organization, in its annual report, reassures us that it is "selling the total image of Hawaii to the world via every possible means of media and persuasion." And apparently with some degree of success. A 1963 Gallup Poll found twice as many Americans choosing Hawaii for their ideal "dream vacation" as any other place mentioned. In recent years, the HVB has been waging a determined campaign to expand the islands' share of the convention business, principally, in order to fill the immense convention facilities of the Sheraton-Waikiki, the Hilton Hawaiian Village and the Ilikai Hotel. "We're shooting for a goal of 500,000 people a year," says HVB executive Robert Niehoff, referring to the booming convention traffic.

Such intensive sales promotion is an expensive affair, calling for the allotment of substantial amounts of money. Indeed, the HVB budget for 1974-75 was fixed at \$2,297,963, the State providing \$1,692,963; a ratio of three government dollars to each dollar given by the tourist industry itself. This has in effect created a situation where public funds are being used to underwrite an advertising campaign for corporations raking in the highest rate of profits in the North American hotel industry. These same corporations feel little, if any, compulsion to support the HVB since they know that the State will always cover the agency's budget deficits. One food company doing a large yearly

business with the Waikiki hotels gives only a hundred dollars annually, while a similar firm donated twenty dollars. Even the hotels themselves contribute very little; one large hotel chain gave \$20,000 in 1968, a fairly typical year, but the bulk of the contributions ranged from \$1,000 to \$5,000 and many consisted of much less. A businessman in Waikiki voiced the sentiments held by many of his colleagues: "Why should I give? I pay taxes on my business and the government gives the HVB over a million dollars a year."

A glance at the HVB's Board of Directors casts some light upon the source of the organization's powerful support. Such influential figures as Chinn Ho (who calls the Hawaii Visitors Bureau "a happy marriage" between the State and private business), Lowell Dillingham, the Bank of Hawaii's Clifton Terry, the Honolulu Advertiser's Thurston Twigg-Smith, William C. Rowland of Hawaiian Telephone and Kenneth Char of Aloha Airlines are members of the board. The additional presence of avidly pro-tourism labor leaders Robert McElrath of the ILWU and Art Rutledge of the Teamsters, as directors of the HVB, guarantees the enthusiastic backing of the unions. When the late Jack Hall (once considered by some of his fellow HVB Board members as "one of the most dangerous men in the United States") was still on the island scene, he served as the organization's vice-president.

Thus, buttressed by a Board of Directors that reads like a Who's Who in Hawaii Business and Labor, the HVB maintains an unbeatable lineup for securing a permanent lien on the public treasury. Even after a sharp public scandal in 1968, including documented charges of mismanagement of funds and lack of public responsibility on the part of top officials, the HVB received a record appropriation of \$1,555,000 from the State Legislature for 1969. And this was 10% more than requested by the pro-HVB Burns administration.

The HVB, does however, have its critics. Recognizing that the agency's sole interest lies in as rapid an increase of tourism as possible in order to fill the massive hotels looming up over the islands, Tom Gill, for one, accuses the HVB of being "a force for unlimited and even irresponsible expansion of tourism, without regard for the public interest." Gill specifically charges HVB Chairman Robert Midkiff with conflict of interest, because among Midkiff's extensive business duties is a vice-presidency of American Factors, one of the largest land developers and resort owners in the islands. Of course, on that score, it is possible to indict every one of the Bureau's directors; they all have strong vested interests in the extension of the tourist industry, whether bank president, land developer, utilities executive or labor leader.

Midkiff, HVB President Jack Simpson and Vice-President Thomas Hamilton (the former University of Hawaii president who established the Travel Industry Management School at UH), along with other industry leaders, have consistently demanded larger State subsidies for the resort trade on a number of different levels. Their principal demand is for greatly expanded public works to make projected (or existing) hotel complexes economically viable. They need not be unduly worried, however, because the State Government has eagerly jumped into its growing role as financial patron of the tourist industry. To placate the resort lobby, the State has gone to fantastic lengths over the years building costly sewers, parks, roads, yacht harbors, etc., before the planned resorts were even out of the blueprints. One noteworthy incident occurred in 1963, when Matson Navigation Company executives were discussing the possibilities of constructing a resort development at Kihei, on the island of Maui. Apparently, this talk was enough to stimulate the legislature into authorizing an appropriation for a water system in the near vicinity of the Matson property. Later, problems arose and Matson abandoned the proposed project, leaving the unused water pipes still laying around in Kihei for years afterward.

Though much of the capital improvements budget passed by the legislature every session is directed toward providing this basic infrastructure for resort

development, corporate demands continue to escalate. A special Joint Interim Committee on the Tourist Industry appointed by the State to make recommendations on the future of tourism, and numbering among its members luminaries like Chinn Ho, Bank of Hawaii's Clifton Terry and W. Hillendahl, Hilton executive Robert Burns and First Hawaiian Bank's Thomas Hitch, strongly urged (to nobody's great surprise) more extensive public funding of the industry. One of their most significant recommendations was the establishment of a "Travel Industry Development Board for joint planning between land owners, developers and state and county agencies." (*italics added*) If implemented, this would mark another major step toward the final obliteration of the ever thinner line separating the State government and so-called "private enterprise," the formal acknowledgment of a relationship which already exists. The result would be a gradual integration of "public" and "private" (both completely meaningless terms today) in a new sort of corporate state, composed of public officials with tourism-land development-financial interests and corporate officials with political interests.

State subsidies for tourism come in a variety of sizes and shapes, everything from comparatively unimportant "Visitor Destination Areas" to massive capital improvements. Since one of the unquestioned dictums held by resort owners is that tourists are not satisfied unless they are training their cameras on specific "places of interest," a series of "Visitor Destination Areas" have been created at the cost of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Around 1968, well-informed individuals were mentioning the figure of \$60 million, as a reasonable estimate of public costs in financing the assorted needs of tourism through 1975. Even this astronomical sum was finally revised upward; at the spring 1971 session of the State Legislature, appropriations totaling \$100 million were made for a "face-lifting" of Waikiki. Millions more were dumped into infrastructure for resort areas in the other islands.⁵ The dailies justified these expenditures during a time when the local economy was reeling under its sharpest crisis in a decade and a half: ". . . legislators fear that a valuable source of State tax revenue could be eroded by sagging tourist counts, if Waikiki's look is not improved quickly and drastically."

A pretty hollow analysis. Too many hotels, too many tourists, too many cars and the utter commercialization of everything within the radius of a mile from the "strip" are the root causes of Waikiki's oppressive atmosphere. Nothing is done to confront these problems, meanwhile, current corporate plans call for the construction of massive new hotels.

And how valid is the widely accepted notion that tourism is invaluable as a source of state tax revenue? The 1970 State-commissioned Baumol Report on tourism found the present ratio of spending to be one dollar of government money necessary to bring in \$2.50-\$5.00 of tourist money into the islands - a ratio which would decline in the eighties to one dollar of government money for every dollar and a half brought in by the tourists. The authors conclude that this will make the continued financial support given by the State to the resort corporations a definite liability from any standpoint of fiscal responsibility. The Baumol Study also strongly emphasizes that in addition to the purely financial aspects of the tourism equation, social costs such as pollution, traffic jams, overcrowding and inflation must be considered in evaluating the total impact of tourism in Hawaii.

Former government economist William Johnson concurs with the Baumol Study's essential analysis that the State will be faced in the not too distant future with steadily decreasing returns on its financial aid to the tourist industry. Johnson himself foresees sharply increased State expenses as large numbers of desperately poor Filipinos, Samoans and other Pacific immigrants enter the islands to staff the hotels. Taxes gathered from both tourists and these new workers will not be adequate to cover the immense costs of providing new schools, hospitals and social services needed by the newcomers. Johnson estimates that the State will be forced to expend three times as much in social outlays for the

new workers, as they themselves contribute to the public treasury in taxes. In short, according to the prevailing criteria of the capitalist system itself, profitability, future government aid to the resorts will be just plain "bad business."

While almost every capitalist industry has at one time or another experienced problems with overproduction, the tourist industry has proven particularly vulnerable to economic trends and business recessions. Since the investments and assets of the resort firms are so heavily concentrated in land and buildings, overhead costs are not only high, but also extremely difficult to reduce. Even in times of recession and economic downturn, hotels must continue to pay interest rates to the banks, as well as real estate taxes on their holdings. At the heart of the resort industry's crucial dependence upon government subsidies to survive is precisely this perilous economic situation. This is especially true in Hawaii, where all the imbalances of capitalism seem to be found in abundance.

The sixties witnessed an astonishing increase in both the number of new tourists and new hotels in the islands, but the recession which hit the United States toward the end of 1969 caused a fairly sharp decrease in the growth of tourism, leaving the hotel industry over-extended and over-built. Consequently, many new resorts were left practically empty and as the months passed in rapidly worsening financial condition. Average occupancy levels in Waikiki, a sure weathervane of industry prosperity, plummeted from the remarkably high 96.7% in February 1969, to 70.7% by December. Now the latter figure is still quite respectable and very much in the black financially; however, it is only an average figure which doesn't reveal that the entire range of occupancy was 53%-80%. Hotels in the lower percentile were losing money every month and floundering dangerously close to bankruptcy.

The traditional response to low occupancy rates has been to implement a more intensive HVB campaign to attract tourists to the islands, and this strategy was the one relied upon (especially in regard to the vast, new Japanese tourist market). Yet, during this period of economic uncertainty, when people were reluctant to travel, even a markedly increased public relations crusade did not suffice to keep some of the hotels solvent. And therefore, the State itself entered the picture directly, as a consumer of the resort industry's services, in order to salvage several hotels on the brink of ruin.

In 1970, the University of Hawaii Board of Regents voted unanimously to lease 60% (seventy-four rooms) of the total capacity of the Royal Prince Hotel in Waikiki for student living quarters during the coming year. The contract stipulated that the University would pay the owners of the hotel a rental of more than \$157,000, thus assuring them a very profitable year. It should be noted that in the summer before the lease, only thirty of the seventy-four rooms in question were occupied. In fact, according to John Hawkins, who, as Assistant University Housing Coordinator, was deeply involved in the affair: "The Royal Prince was actually in danger of going bankrupt, losing its original investment and being foreclosed by Queens Hospital, the owner of the lease notes."

There are some additional facets to this. Despite the fact that a number of studies (three by the U.H. Housing Office and one by the Associated Students of the University of Hawaii (ASUH) had concluded that the project was unfeasible, because of unreasonable student rents (\$303.20 per month for a one bedroom apartment), distance from campus, cramped quarters and lack of cooking and parking facilities, the Board of Regents rammed the contract through anyway. The Regents, led by their chairman (and also Chairman of the Board of American Factors) Harold Eichelberger, also ignored an ASUH poll which showed more than eighty percent of the University students opposed to the Waikiki rental. A description of what transpired at the Regents' meeting on the day of the contract ratification is supplied by an ASUH special report to the student body:

On June 10, 1970, at the regular meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of Hawaii, Regent Chang⁶ pulled from his suit pocket a resolution which did not appear on the agenda for the meeting. His motion, consequently, committed the University to lease 60% of the rooms of the Royal Prince Hotel for one year commencing June 15, 1970, at an annual rate of \$157,716.00. Regent Farias seconded the motion, and then, after cutting off any discussion by the ASUH President, who tried to oppose the motion, the Board of Regents adopted Regent Chang's motion unanimously. At that time, the Board of Regents forced the University of Hawaii to become one of the worst rent-gougers in the State of Hawaii.

This speaks volumes about how top businessmen and politicians make decisions in Hawaii. At one point during this charade, when the elected student representative (ASUH President Linda Luke) was in the midst of presenting the students' case against the Waikiki rental, she was interrupted by the Chairman of the Regents who said that since some of the board members had "important" business engagements elsewhere and had to leave, they were going to vote immediately on the issue. After a unanimous vote in favor of the resolution, the Chairman turned to Miss Luke with a smile and asked her to continue the ASUH report.

With economic conditions still depressed in 1971, the Regents renewed their contract with the Royal Prince, while booking four floors of another financially troubled Waikiki hotel, the Coco Palms, for 1972. "It is a clear example of the contradictory elements of capitalism," comments John Hawkins, the former U.H. Housing Coordinator, who carried out a number of feasibility studies on Waikiki student rentals. "Business failures asking the State to temporarily pull them out of the hole, until the economic situation changes!" Indeed, a cycle exists in Hawaii which promises to continue indefinitely; periods of prosperity encouraging a flood tide of hotel production, followed by economic downturn and threatened resort bankruptcy on a large scale. This, in turn, leads to the State expending huge sums to restore resort solvency, until the next boom period comes along. A more irrational system would be hard to conceive

THE NEW SERVANT CLASS

The emergence of the Hawaiian Islands as a leading escape mecca for millions has resulted in enormous fortunes for those corporations well placed in land and capital to exploit the tourist trade. While the almost one billion dollars flowing into the islands annually from tourism helps to promote a very handsome return on investments, this prosperity has been the exclusive preserve of wealthy investors and high-ranking corporate managers. For the working people of Hawaii, the widely acclaimed "age of abundance" has never materialized; tourism has only brought the same kinds of low-paying, menial, deadend jobs that have always been the lot of the local workers. The setting of a luxury hotel may be a world away from the sugar plantations, but in terms of the degradation and oppression of human labor, it is probably a good deal worse.

For a state that is consistently second only to Alaska, as the most expensive place to live in the United States, and where the cost of living is approximately 30% higher than on the mainland,⁷ hotel workers receive shockingly inadequate wages; in June 1970, the average weekly earnings of island hotel workers amounted to \$73.54. The wage range ran like this: hotel clerks, \$1.85-\$2.45 an hour; busboys, \$1.60-\$1.78; chambermaids, \$1.60-\$2.20; counter girls, \$1.60-\$1.90; housemen, \$1.75-\$2.25. The average annual income of Hawaiian hotel workers, in 1970, was slightly more than half of the \$8,169 figure the United States Department of Labor-Bureau of Labor Statistics listed as necessary to

support a family of four, at a minimum standard of living in Hawaii. A "moderate" standard of living was computed to be \$12,776. Although industry spokesmen may claim that their employees make substantial additional amounts from tips, my informants who work in the hotels tell me that only about one out of five employees actually receive tips, and that for many of those who do the amounts are not in any way substantial.

Exactly four years later, hotel wages had risen to \$94.21 a week, but with tourist and non-tourist workers alike reeling under the pressures of a skyrocketing inflation which had reached 14.5% during the first three months of 1974 in Hawaii, real income had definitely declined. If we use the Fall 1966 Department of Labor base figure of \$217 per week, as an adequate budget for an "urban worker's family of four," (a figure derived from an examination of actual spending practices in Hawaii), and simply apply the increases in the cost of living up to mid-1974, we arrive at a figure of \$315.95. This would be more than triple the amount of money hotel workers earn. Plagued by low hourly wages and a limited number of hours on the job, (an average of 28.9 hours a week in 1974),⁸ much of the hotel labor force must seek second jobs. Looking at the various wage scales in Hawaii, we also see that tourism is the lowest paying of all major industries: \$94.21 per week as against \$284.33 in Contract Construction; \$228.00 a week in Communications and Utilities; \$172.14 in Manufacturing; \$126.55 in Finance.

Those in the upper echelons of the tourist industry will not acknowledge the economic plight of many hotel workers, and in fact, along the new frontiers of tourism like Molokai and Lanai, they spread the rumor that tourism is a "high paying industry."

So it should not be surprising to find that even in a time of increasing unemployment in the islands, many locals are reluctant to make beds, do the laundry, wash dishes, bus tables and clean up after tourists. During the late sixties, there were hundreds of hotel job vacancies (especially in the most menial positions, such as maid-housemen, a job with 264 unfilled openings at one point in 1969), yet, many unemployed workers were still unwilling to enter the hotel service trade. But as people must somehow live, the dictates of economic necessity win out in the end. Most families are unable to subsist on welfare or casual labor for very long, and without other alternatives, people enter tourist employment. In the early seventies, when the full impact of the mainland business recession was striking the islands and hotel jobs were practically the sole positions open to the unemployed, a young worker named John had his first experience in the trade:

I searched for a job, for any job for weeks and weeks, and I wasn't very particular, but the only thing available were taxi driving and hotel work. So even though I really hated having to take the job, I started working for the Holiday Inn in Waikiki as a busboy.

Working conditions are pretty bad. You are always on your feet and running, because the bosses are always pressuring you for more work. My bosses are always getting pressured to make sure that I am busy setting up tables and racking dishes. Since there aren't enough workers, there is just too much to do. My hours are 6 a.m. to 2 p.m. and the money is really low; \$1.92 an hour and \$2 a day in tips. For me, a single guy without a family, it's just enough to get by living as cheaply as possible, but all the other guys have at least one other full time job.

You always have to be nice to the customers regardless of what they do. My boss calls it: "A Holiday Inn Attitude."

There are millions of rules about what you can do in the hotel and where to go and not to go, and the managers even tell us that we musn't engage in certain things off the premises, like leafletting or talking politics, or about forming a union. Oh yes! The profit sharing plan really gets me mad, too! After three months on the job, you are "allowed" to donate 2%-6% of your salary to the company, in order to receive a lump sum later, and if you don't agree, the bosses simply fire you. I wish that I could quit, but there just aren't any jobs

"I came here three years ago from the Philippines," sighs Leo, a small, whip-thin, tired looking man of about thirty-eight or nine, who like most foreign workers in Hawaii, occupies the lowest rung in the hotel hierarchy and is assigned the most undesirable jobs. Leo also works as a busboy in the Holiday Inn. "I have seven children. They are all I have. If you have no children, you have nothing. If you have one, what if he die, then who takes care of you when you old? I don't know how I can work so hard, twelve hours a day, in two hotels, but what else can I do? It's a job."

Whether union or non-union, the conditions of hotel employment are scarcely condusive to the "good life." A worker in a unionized hotel in Waikiki speaks of his situation:

I walked through Waikiki, from hotel to hotel, looking for a job and finally found one at the Hilton Hawaiian Village as a dishwasher. The pay was \$2.13 an hour, at first, but after a one-day strike, it went up to \$2.43. Most of the guys on the job have two full-time jobs, so they work eighty hours a week, especially the Filipinos and Hawaiians. It's a terrible thing, they only get four or five hours of sleep a night.

My shift is 4 p.m. to midnight and conditions are lousy. Usually, there is about an inch of hot, sticky water on the floor . . . There are never enough people to do the job and one time I remember being all alone in the kitchen with 1500 luau bowls to do myself. The floor has potholes and people are always tripping around and sometimes getting hurt . . .

The union by the way is the Restaurant and Hotel Workers Union, which doesn't do a damned thing for us. On my shift, there isn't even a shop steward on the job. Dues are pretty high considering our wages: \$5 a month with a \$50 initiation fee. There are meetings, but we are never informed

Even the more "glamorous" and higher paying jobs, like that of a cocktail waitress, bring their share of pilikia. A softspoken Oriental woman discussed her work as a cocktail waitress at two major Waikiki hotels:

I was really unhappy working at both of those places. We were extremely overworked because of understaffing and they would always make you run, since the customers were always growling about the service. Morale was real low among the workers and people were always fighting each other. The bartender was very nasty to all the waitresses and we were having a lot of problems with him.

The union made sure that the older workers weren't too badly treated, but the management would get away with what it could--layoffs were frequent, there were too many tables to wait on, and if the customers walked out without paying, that happens, you have to pay for it out of your own pocket. They say you are negligent, but it's impossible to help. Finally, I was so sick and disgusted, I quit.

A tourist industry manual describes the kinds of jobs that are being created: "Of our predicted 40,000 new employees by 1975, many will have unskilled jobs which will need no formal training." Some comparatively high-paying jobs in lower management will be opened up, but these will be the distinct exception, rather than the rule. Current projections foresee tourism becoming a larger source of income by 1985 than all other island industries combined, yielding an anticipated two billion dollars a year. If present policies continue, however, this is all going to be pretty irrelevant to the workers who constitute the very lifeblood of the whole operation; their work will remain monotonous and oppressive; their future bleak and anxious; their lives draining away in the service of tourism. Rene Kajikawa, a local activist involved in the struggles of hotel workers, sums up the thoughts with which many islanders view their future: "The local people are becoming a service class whose livelihood is increasingly dependent upon the primarily Haole-owned and run tourist industry."

Thousands of additional tourist industry jobs need to be filled within the coming years, and barring economic stagnation or collapse, the growth of tourist employment will continue throughout the seventies and into the next decade. Therefore, the question which is of vital concern to the corporate interests is whether or not Hawaii, with its small population, will be able to generate a sufficient labor force to meet the industry's needs. The University of Hawaii's Edward Barnet, the former dean of the Travel Industry Management School, with the support of the HVB and the labor unions, advocates using unemployed and underemployed people in the islands to supply the necessary work force: "A tourist manpower policy built on the concept of utilizing the labor force reserve would tend to dry up social ills and thus enhance the general image of Hawaii as a Paradise of the Pacific."

Apparently, tourist industry planners like Barnet feel that by channeling the poorer elements among the local island population into the resorts, they will effectively defuse the spiraling social unrest so visible in today's Hawaii. In view of the hardships faced by most tourist workers, however, one may wonder if this isn't an excessively optimistic forecast. And of course, in the act of deciding to limit the highest aspirations of thousands to carrying trays and sweeping floors, the corporate planners hark back to the worst days of feudal Hawaii; the rather arrogant and dictatorial notion that working people in Hawaii should have no control over their own lives.

Edward Barnet, whose office was taken over by irate student demonstrators some years ago when he tried to recruit University students to serve as strike-breakers during a hotel strike, sounds a note of paternalism as he provides an easy rationale for the use of the poor as a lowly-paid hotel service class: "We thought we could save a great many dropouts and give them a chance to get off welfare. It is not any kid that is college oriented."

In looking at the large numbers of people on welfare as potential resort labor, Barnet and others conveniently ignore Department of Social Services statistics showing the great majority of welfare recipients to be members of families with small children and the aged and disabled. Children comprise two of every three among the welfare populace. And even within the insignificant number of welfare cases who are capable of working, there are insurmountable

problems centering around the fact that transportation, babysitters and other expenses would devour the small wages obtained from labor in tourism. Indeed, most welfare people certainly welcome steady employment and a job that could raise their standard of living and put some food in the refrigerator; however, for the pittance they will be paid as maids or janitors, they might just as well stay home and take care of their children. Actually, giving someone "a chance to get off welfare" implies some meaningful alternative to public assistance. And most welfare clients do not consider tourist employment to provide any real improvement over their situation now.

"It seems to me that Hawaii's welfare system is liberal enough to insure that the poor will not riot in the streets of Honolulu, and yet restrictive and repressive enough to manipulate the poor into the worst jobs the society has to offer," is the feeling of Lena Reverio, a heavy set woman in her early fifties, who has emerged as a dynamic leader of Honolulu's welfare rights struggle. "The myth of the lazy welfare recipient is designed to hide what common sense tells us--that other people are like ourselves, that they want to work, but they don't want to be exploited and that there is no dignity in raising enough money to starve upon."

Barnet's neatly-packaged assignment of locals who are not "college oriented" to the resort trade is a real gem of irony since it is the principle function of his own Travel Industry Management School (TIM) to recruit college students into tourism careers. Founded just when Hawaii was on the eve of the super-tourist boom of the mid-sixties, TIM is dedicated to filling the manpower needs of the rapidly multiplying resorts and their complementary businesses. While leaving the menial jobs for the less educated, TIM's own stated purpose is "to develop future business leaders to coordinate the expertise of specialists and manage the varied parts of a travel enterprise." In other words, to train lower echelon managers and supervisory personnel for tourism.

The basic TIM degree program consists of a two-year course in hotel management, accounting, business methods and in related fields, in addition to a required eight hundred hour work stint at a tourist industry job. Such a formidable work prerequisite for a degree serves several functions; during a period of labor shortage, it affords the hotels, gift shops, restaurants, etc. access to a ready supply of cheap student labor, and the TIM student, by working for six or nine months as a clerk, busboy or waitress, learns the methods used by workers to sabotage company efficiency. One TIM graduate who worked in a gift shop in Waikiki's International Market Place, and also in various hotels to complete her eight hundred hours, discusses this: "Under the TIM work program, you are not supposed to understand the nature of the work you're doing, or the kinds of difficulties involved, but only how to manipulate the workers better after you graduate and become an assistant manager or supervisor. You learn how to organize it so that you can get the most out of their labor." Our informant, Vivienne Soh, a slender woman originally from Singapore, eventually left the tourist industry to become a teacher of young children. Let us briefly quote Ms. Soh:

Graduates from TIM are able to get jobs, if they are lucky, at \$500 a month in middle-management jobs, like assistant dining room manager, etc. At the school, they keep telling us that anyone can rise to the top, but that's not true, because local people don't really have a chance, especially if you're a woman. When they want a top management person, they always import a Haole from the mainland for the job, leaving the locals in subordinate spots. Eventually, the whole tourist business gets pretty sickening; you end by being completely obsequious to tourists and higher management, and all you can think about are promotions and tips.

Boasting an enrollment of seven hundred students along with a hefty annual budget from the University, TIM furnishes the corporations with both a cheap source of immediate labor and also a long-term source of middle-management people. But a handful of managers cannot make a hotel function; modern tourism demands a host of semi-skilled and unskilled workers performing a variety of different tasks. Enter the community colleges and Honolulu's Kapiolani Community College, in particular. Kapiolani's Commercial Food Service Program is only one of the subject areas offered by a college whose main orientation lies in channeling predominately working class youth into "occupational areas based on job opportunities and employment requirements." In order to determine available "job opportunities," college officials have "invited a number of community leaders to advise the staff on the development of curriculum in accordance with requirements in their fields." From the outset, the subject matter of the school has been formed and modified by businessmen interested in filling their own personnel needs: the beneficiaries of employee training at public expense.

A student who enrolls in the Commercial Food Service Program finds a number of different degrees and programs offered at Kapiolani. He can choose a thirty hour program in General Cooking, which includes such courses as "Food Preparation," "Introduction to Food Service" and "Fundamentals of Cooking," in order to obtain a college certificate, or else pursue the sixty credit hour Associate Degree Program in Food Service. This program features subjects like "Dining Room Service," a six credit course whose catalogue description reads: "Study and practice of a variety of table services with proper serving etiquette." Other courses offered in the Associate Degree Program are "Short Order Cooking": A manipulative skills course in preparation and serving foods that require only a short time to cook and are a common bill of fare in coffee shops, drive-ins and cafes," and "Buffet Preparation," whose course description goes: "Preparation of salads, canapes and hors d'oeuvres, rice and vegetable curry, preparation of buffet center pieces and culinary show pieces." Restaurants, coffee shops and drive-in facilities exist on the campus to train students for employment in these tourist-related businesses.

Probably the most harmful aspect of the vocational school-community college scene is the systematic programming by middle-class oriented high school teachers and guidance counselors (usually Oriental and Haole) of working class youth from Kalihi-Palama, Papakolea and other urban areas (usually Hawaiian, Filipino, Samoan) to enroll in Kapiolani and similar schools, and from there into low-paying jobs in restaurants and hotels. And this is happening at a time when these young people could be coming alive to the full scope of their interests and potentialities. At nineteen or twenty, the parameters of lives will be clearly defined, the lines drawn, the compass set for the future, the circle closed. True, the initial paychecks may look substantial enough to someone just a few years out of high school, especially a person who has never had too much in the way of clothes, cars, motorcycles, etc.; half-a-dozen years later, that pay envelope is not going to be much larger, but there will be rising rents, maternity bills, high food costs and a host of other expenses to be reckoned with. A followup study of 1968 Kapiolani Community College graduates in the Commercial Food Service Program, done in 1969, showed that those with degrees were receiving \$311 per month, as against \$277 a month for certificate holders. These wages, extraordinarily inadequate by any island standard, are the reward given to the graduates for up to two years of faithful study and preparation.

Thus, a community college supposedly designed to bring educational opportunities to all, in reality, helps to perpetuate the same working class from generation to generation, thereby providing a source of technically trained, semi-skilled manpower for tourism and other industries. Programs like the one at Kapiolani are ideal for corporate purposes; the students acquire just enough "polish," semi-sophistication and school-induced conformity to be useful on the

job, but they are not exposed to the kinds of courses, teachers and activities which might broaden their dimensions and world outlook, and cause them to question some of the values of their society. For the employer in almost any business, there is no greater treasure than a worker who is technically competent, yet personally docile, of undeveloped intelligence and subservient to authority.

To study tourism is to realize that this is an industry which clearly does not want human beings, either as workers or customers, who are thinking, critical and independent. From all, it demands a kind of robot-like conformity. Sometimes, walking through Waikiki, looking at the hotels, so white and plastic and inert; the tourists in their gaudy new aloha shirts; the workers who service their needs; I think of those hi-rise Parisian suburbs, so strikingly portrayed in the films of Jean Luc Godard: "At this moment," writes Godard, "the whole area around Paris is being reorganized. On a vast scale the region is being transformed and what strikes me is that it is really being rearranged as a huge brothel. One finds here the things that characterize the brothel, the inhabitants are obedient and docile and they are prostituting themselves."

Tom Gill charges that the manner in which the local working class is being driven into the hotel industry recalls the old plantation days, when fearing the effects of prolonged schooling on their potentially volatile workers, the planters tried to discourage formal education, deliberately keeping schools understaffed and inadequately funded. In South Africa, this goes under the name of giving the natives a "waiters education." In basic agreement with the Gill analysis, economist William Johnson asserts that the tourist industry, and particularly, the HVB's "worst activities include an organized effort to divert high school youths from their education to meet the labor shortage, in such jobs as parking lot attendants, bell hops and chambermaids and so on."

Hawaii has always had a sharply differentiated class structure, and the introduction of tourism as the backbone of the island economy is serving not only to intensify existing class divisions and antagonisms, but also to create new forms of conflict. "The pyramidal structure created by tourism is one of the worst things about the whole business," says one Waikiki waiter. Top management positions will be reserved for Haole executives brought in from the outside (Sheraton, Hilton and the hotel chains import their own managers from the mainland, while even Japanese owned hotels often use Haole management firms). A local Japanese man working in a middle-management position at a Kalakaua hotel complains that "all the high level management jobs are given to Germans who come from Europe. The locals never have a real chance here." Lower management and supervisory jobs will gravitate to TIM graduates; semi-skilled and skilled work in areas like food preparation will be assigned to community college people and the heavy duty, menial jobs (dish washers, maids, janitors, busboys, etc.) left for the poor and others in the working class.

And even though Robert Burns, former manager of the Kahala Hilton Hotel (who incidentally is one hotel executive who started at the top--as a restaurant owner-operator in Florida) asserts that "a young man can start as a valet and move to waiter, desk clerk and on up to desk manager," the workers know this is not the case. As one busboy, working in Burns' own hotel, observed:

They always say that you can get ahead, but I know guys who have been here for years on the same job. Eventually, they get sick of it and quit. The only way you can get a little higher up - I mean from busboy in the informal dining room to busboy in the formal dining room - is by being a candy-ass and fawning on the managers. If you do that enough, maybe you can even get upstairs to room service where you really have it made. You know, a room service guy can get in on the gambling that goes on all night here and doesn't

get busted by anybody, and get really good tips. But no higher. If you start at the bottom, you stay there.

Despite the continued flow of millions of State tax dollars into TIM and the Kapiolani Community College training programs for tourist industry personnel, some witnesses of the current scene are openly skeptical about the ability of the industry to recruit enough workers to fill the additional jobs being created in the immediate future. They note that corporate planners have not dealt with the problem of how to transfer people from the densely populated Honolulu area to Maui, Hawaii, Kauai and Molokai, where the bulk of the new tourist jobs will be located. Tom Gill, for one, has doubts about the prospects of local people pulling up roots to work in hotels and related businesses: "The best figures are an average of \$75 a week in tourism," he said in 1970. "That is less than \$4,000 a year. How many will move from Oahu for that munificent sum?" In turn, both Gill and William Johnson endorse the proposition that the hotels will be forced to import thousands of workers from the mainland, or abroad, to fill the gap, at a cost of millions to the State government for essential services like schools, hospitals and welfare. This, of course, would mean enormous subsidies for the tourist industry; and consequently, a substantial rise in taxes placed squarely on Hawaii's working people.

Already, the trend toward employing immigrants from the Pacific Rim as a complement to local workers in the tourist industry is well established. Under the liberalized immigration laws of the 1960's, thousands of Filipinos are entering Hawaii annually, along with a sprinkling of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans and Pacific islanders to fill the dirtiest and most ill-paying jobs available in the hotels. Walk through the service quarter of almost any hotel in Waikiki, the places the tourist never sees, and note the strikingly international character of the workers; local Hawaiians, Filipinos, Japanese and Haoles, mixing with newly arrived Filipino villagers from the Ilocos, California surfers, Hong Kong Chinese speaking a high-pitched Cantonese, Okinawans and large-bodied, affable Samoans. A 1969 HVB study counted 45% of all hotel workers as born outside Hawaii.

The desperate poverty of most of the immigrant workers and the fact that many mouths may depend on their wages, dampens labor militancy and gives the resort managers a formidable weapon for labor "peace." But sometimes, conditions become intolerable even for workers wedded to jobs by sheer necessity. In an October 1968 article in Beacon magazine, "Tyranny in Our Hotels," a former maid describes a situation at one Waikiki hotel which had deteriorated to the point where workers, enraged by abuses like forced kickbacks, planted stooges and stolen tips, gathered at a Kalihi home to plan the knifing of a supervisor. They were only dissuaded at the last moment. The writer quotes a dialogue between two Filipina maids at this hotel:

Benita: "We can't do anything but work because we have nothing left back there and we have very little here."

Felicita: "We are treated like animals sometimes. Rush, rush, rush, all the time. No time to breathe. I cry. I have to cry, because if I do not cry then I get mad and maybe say something and they fire me."

Benita: "I cry too. But I cry because we cannot do anything. We do anything, maybe they deport me back to Cebu. I cannot go back. I make like I'm happy when the big bosses around. They say everything all right? And I want to tell them that everything is NOT all right, but then I think of my kids and the rent and my husband's age and I say: "Yes sir, everything is just fine."

Even if the apparently limitless supply of Pacific labor fails to materialize for one reason or another, there are still millions of unemployed workers on the United States mainland who form an easily accessible labor pool in time of need. Tourist industry spokesmen are brutally candid about the possibilities here: "Hawaii's living costs are high, true, but at least 3 million mainland workers have no jobs at all and low pay jobs in Hawaii with minimal housing can be attractive." (italics added)

On the financial end, tourism executives are supremely confident that no matter what the costs of training local people to work in the resorts, or of importing immigrant labor from wherever deemed most desirable, the State treasury will always remain at their disposal to do with as they wish. This is probably a sound assumption.

A TALE OF TWO TOURISMS

February 1966: A group of international students are visiting the island of Hawaii, a trip whose itinerary includes a tour of Rockefeller-Dillingham's new and luxurious Mauna Kea Beach Hotel. Between the two gold-plated Buddhas at prayer, we cross into the spacious hotel lobby, where an elaborately coiffeured hostess ushers us along the richly decorated main floor. She seems as distantly efficient and wholly impersonal as the massive pillars supporting the hotel superstructure. We ride the elevator up to a spot near the top of the Mauna Kea, far above the ocean swelling out in the distance below, and are escorted in to view a "typical" Mauna Kea room. Proudly displaying the special liquor cabinet located in a cranny of the room, our guide informs us that it is carefully designed to keep the guests' drinks sufficiently chilled through warm Hawaiian evenings. The students say nothing. There is a moment of uneasiness. We look at each other with embarrassed half-smiles, or just shuffle our feet awkwardly on the floor, eyes lowered. Finally, in a halting voice, someone inquires: "How much does this room cost?" The reply seems crisp and hard: "Sixty-five dollars a day."

Ten minutes later, as we walk out of the hotel and back into the bright afternoon sunshine, an Indian student pauses for an instant to consider what he has just seen and heard. He says something to us, softly and clearly, but with the contours of his face betraying a tension that is barely controlled: "Sixty-five dollars a day. In my country, most people don't earn sixty-five dollars in a year."⁹

In 1967, a significant segment of Hawaii's most influential resort interests, calling themselves the Legislative Interim Joint Committee on Tourism, met under the auspices of the State Government to discuss the future of tourism. This committee, in its final report emphasized the importance of the well-heeled tourist: "A tourist industry . . . aimed toward providing a vacation land for the affluent would make a desirable setting for long term profitable business enterprise." Ironically enough, two of the committee members who endorsed the report were Dave Thompson of the ILWU and Richard Tam of the AFL-CIO; the implication being that both unions are opposed to their own mainland members (certainly not "affluent" by American standards) ever seeing Hawaii because of lack of cash to throw around.

The Hawaii Visitors Bureau is also very explicit about the kind of tourists it thinks desirable: "The HVB programs concentrate on attracting people with \$10,000 or more cash income after taxes to visit the islands of Hawaii throughout the year." Convinced that the tourist capable of unloading reams of *kala*¹⁰ at a sitting, is far more worthwhile than his poorer compatriot who uses State and private funds in social services and capital improvements, but doesn't particularly enrich the tourist industry, the powers that be are determined to

- a) "make the highest financial return on the smallest traveler volume" and
- b) "to aim at that level of traveler who wants the best and is able to pay for it."

What the hotels would really like is the sort of visitor who appeared on Hawaii's shores a generation or two ago; when the tourists were affluent enough to spend freely and they stayed two or three times longer than the contemporary tourist. But, of course, this is not possible. Now, tourist figures are computed in the millions, not the thousands and today's tourist is from a very different social milieu than his 1920's predecessor.

A profile of Hawaii's typical tourist would reveal a middle-aged blue collar or white collar worker with seniority; a plumber or electrician; a teacher or accountant; an engineer or a programmer; people who can afford a Hawaiian vacation, but will stay only a brief time, take in a couple of shows, perhaps journey out to Sea Life Park or the Polynesian Cultural Center, or Maui or Kauai. They will not spend a great deal of money on their vacation; according to airline studies, the range is usually \$800-\$1200 per couple.

Some of the really affluent crowd still come to Hawaii, drawn by the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, or perhaps, now, Kuilima, but the more sophisticated rich traveler has long since abandoned the "honkytonk" of Hawaii for more exotic points West and South; Fiji, Micronesia and Tahiti. "Fly with us to our Outer Islands - Fiji," advertises an American airline. Fiji's expensive resorts currently attract about 200,000 tourists annually and predictions are for 800,000 by 1980. Continental Airlines' new hotel in Saipan is a new attraction for those seeking to recapture the kind of "primitive experience" which Hawaii can no longer offer. So a new tourism is being prepared in the Western and South Pacific, for the wealthy clientele that once exclusively patronized Hawaii as a Pacific vacation spot. In fact, one Hawaii-based company, Pacific Basin Travel Systems, intends to capitalize on this trend by "offering the top quality accommodations and services that the affluent and seasoned traveler expects to find." The firm has plans for establishing at least thirty hotels throughout the Pacific on this basis.

The character of this new tourism has made the Hawaiian tourist industry terribly vulnerable to the uncertainties of economic conditions. No longer can hotel managers ignore an economic slump, as they did in the forties and fifties, shielded by the wealthy, who continued on their island jaunts heedless of rising unemployment and widespread economic troubles. Today's mass tourist industry, a super-sensitive barometer of economic change, depends on millions of people having enough economic security to embark on a costly trip across the Pacific. It depends on the proper functioning and indefinite expansion of a worldwide capitalist system burdened by monetary crisis, political instability, soaring inflation, energy problems and rising worker militancy.

In times of economic stress, the people who would ordinarily choose a Hawaiian vacation, may very reluctantly cut down on food and clothing expenses, but they will certainly eliminate their trip to the islands. A slight economic tremor in Japan, or in the United States and Canada, will mean some reduction in tourist growth, a few bankruptcies of smaller hotels and some extensive layoffs. (During the 1970-72 recession, when many of the resorts were losing money - Inter-island Hotels, then the largest independent hotel chain in Hawaii, lost over \$3 million in the early seventies - there were large numbers of hotel workers layed off, three hundred and fifty workers in January 1972, alone). A major tremor, in the form of a sharp recession (economists tell us, of course, that a repetition of the 1929 crash and subsequent Great Depression is "impossible" today), will result in a swift fall in arriving tourists, a host of bankruptcies and mass layoffs.

For American Factors, International Utilities, Boise Cascade and Kenji Osano, multi-national economic titans with interests scattered over continents and oceans, the temporary (or permanent) collapse of Hawaiian tourism might mean a mild dip in annual profits, a reduction in dividends and corporate earnings. To the workers, who are totally dependent on the industry for their livelihood, it would be a catastrophe. Since about a third of all island workers are employed in tourism, the industry's failure would have crippling repercussions upon the entire economy; much as if sugar and pineapple had crashed forty years ago.

Besides economic crises, one other force exists capable of fatally undermining tourism. Chinn Ho confides in his friends: "Even if we pave over Hawaii, people will still come, because it's a better climate than Florida." He is probably right. The plastic living and over-commercialization which mass tourism seems to inspire are gradually destroying the very attractions responsible for bringing the tourist here in the first place. And vacationers in increasing numbers are becoming somewhat disenchanted with the glories of the "Paradise of the Pacific." Yet, one suspects that conditions in North America and urban Japan will deteriorate even faster than in Hawaii, and as this happens, levels of vacation expectation will also dwindle. To the alienated refugee from the smog and traffic of the Ventura Freeway, and the pollution and noise of Tokyo and Osaka, the somewhat murky waters of Queens Surf Beach and the mild traffic jams along Kapiolani Boulevard are probably a source of relief, and in a way, a kind of "paradise." What will keep the tourists away, however, is the compelling hatred with which local people are beginning to regard tourism.

THE VIOLENT FUTURE

On the western tip of the island of Hawaii, in the near vicinity where Captain Cook made landfall on Hawaiian shores, is the area known as Kailua-Kona. Not too many years ago, one remembers a charming little village here, the sort of place visitors like to call "quaint," marked by only a couple of hotels, a limited number of tourists and an economy rooted in coffee farming, fishing and ranching. A place of strong community feeling where people remain close to the land and sea and still speak in hushed voices tinged with awe of the larger-than-life alii, such as Kamehameha, who once trod the volcanic earth of Kona.

Beginning in 1966, however, a massive resort construction effort aimed at taking advantage of the region's great natural beauty has transformed Kona into the prototype of a modern Hawaiian, boom-time commercial town. In an article entitled: "Just what's happening in Kona?" appearing in Honolulu, Sarah Crawford captures the new atmosphere: "The sounds of hotels and condominiums going up fill the air from morning to night punctuated by dynamite blasts from the direction of Keahole Point."

The sudden influx of both tourists and wealthy mainland immigrants into Kona is devastating the lifestyle of the local people; old and leisurely ways of rural Hawaiiana are reluctantly giving way to the fast-moving business aura of speculation and "get-rich quick" operations. Over seventy thousand lots are being held for speculative purposes in Kailua-Kona, land values rising to \$10,000-\$20,000 and more an acre for raw agricultural land, not yet even rezoned for urban use. Inevitably, a terribly severe housing crisis has developed, with simply no place to live for many people. Every available room and apartment has been rented, most at exorbitant rates, while people seeking rentals have been known to go from house to house searching for a place to live. Thus workers employed in the town (and especially those working in the new hotels) must either commute on a daily basis along the winding volcanic roads to Hilo, or live in Kealekekua, which is rapidly becoming a proletarian service colony for the affluent of Kailua-Kona.

Sometime in 1967, I remember meeting a burly, young Hawaiian man walking along the streets of Honolulu, perhaps twenty years old, and last seen a few months earlier working on a Kona fishing vessel. Asked what had brought him to Oahu, the ex-fisherman explained: "You know it's all finished over there. All the Haoles and the hotels come in and mess the place up. Tourists are all over now and there's no place for local people. So I left." Current predictions are for eight million passengers to pass through Big Island airports by 1980, and Kailua-Kona is going to be a focal point of the coming flood. *Après moi, le deluge.*

Kailua-Kona represents only one of the many areas being subjected to the onslaught of corporate developers these days, as the rush for profits creates haphazard and irresponsible building throughout the islands. Bankers, land developers and insurance companies are throwing up resorts everywhere, with a glib indifference to the longterm impact this is going to have on the local communities. Their conduct is guided by the profit motive; the time to cash in on the Hawaiian bonanza is now. And yet, these decisions, formulated in carpeted, mahogany-panelled corporate board rooms, in New York, San Francisco, Tokyo, Honolulu and Hong Kong, by a handful of men examining a series of investment reports, will shape the lives of people living in the islands today, and the lives of generations to come.

When Dillingham and Rockefeller have completed their sprawling Big Island resort complex, there also will be a "service town" of 20,000 people to house the hotel workers and other employees. One feature of Signal Oil Company's hotel development at Puako Kaupuelo is the establishment of a new town of 40,000 people, including a workers' ghetto (located at a goodly distance from the paying customers, of course). And one notes this same concept in the plans for the formidable number of hotels and residential units now under construction in Oahu's spacious Kalama Valley; an area will be set aside expressly for the workforce living quarters. Of course, it was precisely this specter of the abject subservience of tourist employment that impelled proud and independent-minded residents of Kalama Valley (a newly urbanized area on Oahu), like pig farmer George Santos, in 1971, to launch an unprecedented land eviction fight against the powerful owners of Kalama, the trustees of the Bishop Estate.

So part of tourism's new "total" approach is going to include company towns. The wheel of history spins full circle. In the same way that the old plantation aristocracy held agricultural workers in a state of feudal dependency through ownership of the houses they lived in, modern resorts will be able to threaten rebellious workers with outright eviction from their company-owned homes. During the dedication ceremonies marking the opening of Del Webb's Kuilima Hotel, the Reverend Abraham Akaka, Hawaii's most well-known clergyman and chief blessing of hotels and condominiums, hailed the Kuilima as "a new kind of sugar." An intriguing phrase. And perhaps far more relevant than even the good reverend himself realized.

As the local residents in places like Kalama Valley, Waikiki and Nawiliwili are pushed out of their homes to make way for tourists and wealthy newcomers; as people wait in vain for years in the hope of obtaining decent housing; as tens of thousands are forced to live in squalid, run-down houses and cramped, ugly cinder block apartments; as construction workers build luxurious hotels and condominiums (inevitably named after old Hawaiian royalty) in which they will never be able to live; as traffic jams clutter up Hawaii and low-wages and tourist-induced prices compel workers to take two jobs to survive; the nerves of many people are worn to the end of their tether.

It would be strange, indeed, if the rapid disintegration of much of what was so comforting and special about life in Hawaii: the free and open beaches for surfing and swimming, fishing and picnicking; the close-knit communities where everyone was "cousin" or hanai; ¹¹ the easy pace and camaraderie; was not a

source of deep and mounting resentment. Everywhere it reaches in the islands, the new Hawaii of tourism obliterates the old values, the fixed elements of identity, but furnishes nothing of substance in their place. The full implications of what life must be like for a people programmed to live in a bellhop society are finally coming home. In an "Open Letter to My Brothers and Sisters of Hawaii," published in the Hawaii Free People's Press, a Hawaiian man expresses the anxiety and outrage felt by so many:

We hate the Haole, but behind this hate is fear of him, a fact that we find it hard to admit, even to ourselves. Tourism, the military, sugar and pine are all owned and operated by Haoles, so we must always take orders from him. So we take out our anger and frustrations on defenseless servicemen, hippies and tourists. When we get pushed around by those in power, instead of pushing back, we accept it and push around those with less power.

Brothers and Sisters, people of Hawaii, is it not time to admit that our islands, our homes, are being taken from us, that our lives are being directed by powers that we cannot control?

What will happen when there is no longer any land to build upon? We will have to take jobs catering to tourists. We will carry their bags, make their beds, cook for them and serve them. What a sorry existence for a once proud people.

There is the heart piercing sense here of being engulfed, overwhelmed by what old David Malo, the nineteenth century Hawaiian historian called "the big wave," a way of life that has been under attack for two hundred years finally submerged, completely disappearing, forever. As if the thirty story, concrete slab hotels are themselves the tangible proof of the existence of a far away, impersonal, all-consuming force before which everything shrivels into helplessness and submission. The new Pyramids. "There," people point at the towering construction cranes rising over the Honolulu skyline with bitter irony, "that's da new kine Hawaiian bird." Emotionally exhausted by the loss of control they feel and the lack of an outlet for all their frustrations, violence comes to be directed at the most identifiable and vulnerable target: the individual Haole.

For a long time, Haole servicemen have been targets of knife-wielding locals hostile to outsiders intruding on their "turf," but this kind of thing is now coming to be directed against civilians as well. For some, tourist, land developer, military and Haole have become synonymous. "The tourist impact on race relations will be massive. Can the locals really differentiate between the clumsy, unindoctrinated Haole tourists and the resident Haoles who sincerely partake of the orthodox race doctrine of the Islands?" wonders Frederick Samuels, in his book, The Japanese and the Haoles of Honolulu. He continues: "That is to say, a Caucasian who commits a few interracial faux pas is seen as a Caucasian. He may also be seen as a tourist who is Caucasian, but it is certain that his Haoleness will be perceived"

An isolated Haole or group of Haoles walking across a park in Lihue, Hilo or Honolulu, may hear "Hey Haole" and a stream of invectives more or less to the tune of "You dirty bastard, why don't you go back where you came from and stop lousing this place up?" If the Haole stops to respond, there will be a fight. In 1974 at the Hilo campus of the University of Hawaii, incidents grimly reminiscent of black-white confrontations in urban high schools on the mainland occurred, as fist fights broke out between locals and Haoles, forcing cancellation

of evening social events. Mary Ushijima, Dean of Students, ventured to say: "We feel that the problem here may be symptomatic of what is going on in the general community." Across the island, in Kona, a Haole woman was withdrawing her son from school after he was beaten. "This is a problem that all the Haole kids at Konawaena have to put up with. They are constantly being picked on, especially the boys," she said.

Red-headed Jon Evans is a university student who lived all but two weeks of his first nineteen years in the Hawaiian Islands. Unlike some other Haoles who have suffered from vendettas at the hands of locals, Jon (despite the unpleasantness of his memories) has an appreciation of the roots underlying the intense feelings and the violence:

Unless you have lived in Hawaii all your life, you can't even begin to imagine how deeply the hatred goes. Ever since I can remember, I've been getting beaten up in the school bathroom by local kids. This is a very common experience for Haole kids. The locals know what's happening to them and to the islands, but they feel unable to do anything about it. They know that they're getting screwed to the wall, and so they take it out on some convenient target, like hippies or soldiers. The locals can't fight their real enemies, the power structure, so they attack ordinary Haoles. And the racial situation is becoming steadily worse, as the local people become more and more oppressed.

Someday, we're going to have to work together to take power in this place, and yet, it's going to be hard. The locals really distrust the Haoles, and with good reason: a hundred years of exploitation and lies.

An incident that highlighted how volatile things are occurred in February 1971, when four carloads of local men (mostly Hawaiians) burst into the UH football dormitory and injured a number of residents quite severely. Throughout the following week, the dailies condemned the assault as reprehensible (using grotesque and racist cartoons to depict the attackers as uncivilized brutes), but curiously neglected to explore what had happened in depth. The origin of the conflict lay in a heated argument between a football player from Texas and a Hawaiian man and had definite racial overtones. After a scuffle in the parking lot of a Beretania Street bar, and some racial slurs, the irate Hawaiian decided to round up his Hawaiian buddies and take care of his antagonist. Consider also that the nine men subsequently booked by the police for assault and battery constitute almost a clear cross-section of the ethnic Hawaiian working class: three laborers, one clerk, one mechanic, one warehouseman and three unemployed. So with the establishment press ignoring the strong class and racial aspects of the incident, it was left for Jim Smith, a radical student leader at the University to provide an analysis:

. . . Hawaiians constitute less than three percent of the University student body, while they constitute the majority of prisoners in the state prison. Add to this picture the recent history of the destruction of the Hawaiian culture and we can begin to understand what must be a consciousness of frustration and despair among Hawaiian youth. It should not be surprising to see Hawaiians strike out against any perceived insults from individuals who represent part of the system that oppresses them.

In the 1970's, violent outbursts by local people were setting a pattern for the future. Sometimes, these incidents seemed irrational and senseless, as when

a Hawaiian man killed one hippy youth and critically wounded another on the Big Island, after picking them up on the road hitchhiking, or the time that some Samoans murdered a young soldier outside a Nimitz Highway bar. Other actions had the appearance of the sort of calculated planning which marks the beginning of true guerrilla warfare. A group of locals met together one night on a hotel construction site and hurled all of the builders' machinery down a steep mountain slope and into the ocean. During construction, the Kuilima Hotel was sabotaged almost systematically for months. Luxury townhouses, schools, plantation buildings have all been destroyed by flames. What all of these acts, calculated or spontaneous, solitary or communal, share is a measure of despair and impotence in the face of overwhelming oppression.

A signpost of the times: Along the Windward Coast on the Kahekili Highway through Kahaluu, and then onward to the North Shore traveling the picturesque, winding Kamehameha Highway, tourist buses ride with escorts of police cars (reminiscent of World War II destroyers conveying cargo ships across the Atlantic against the lurking presence of German U-Boats) as protection from the multitude of teenagers who heave rocks at the buses from the side of the road. "I know the kids stoning buses in Laie," is the comment of David Fry, a television production specialist living in the area. "They are disenchanting. They aren't sharing in the benefits of tourism. They feel insulted by their jobs. The land is being stolen"

Along the wildly beautiful North Shore of Oahu where the Kuilima Hotel bisects what were some of the finest diving and fishing areas on the island and has driven land values to a level that long-resident families can no longer find housing, a former Kuilima employee, clearly the leader of a "gang" of about fifty North Shore youths, sits on the floor of an old house with some friends: "One of these days, I am going to shoot these tourists," he says.

Tourism is a delicately balanced mechanism, a service industry dependent on the good will and sympathy of the host population. Should this sympathy evaporate, the ruin of tourism is not far away. Less than a decade ago, the Caribbean Sea was already well established as a flourishing tropical playground for vacationers from the lands of the North. Resorts were booked up well in advance, profit margins high and the industry was riding a wave of euphoria toward greatly expanding its scope of operations across the islands. The future seemed solidly assured.

Today, the Caribbean tourist industry is struggling for its very survival. The Virgin Islands Hilton has closed its doors, as have numerous other hotels in Puerto Rico and beyond. In some of the smaller, more obscure islands, a once thriving tourism has been shattered, perhaps irreparably.

When mass tourism first appeared on the Caribbean scene in the fifties, the new industry was greeted with enthusiasm; here was the long awaited opportunity to alleviate the economic plight of the impoverished islanders; the possibilities of interesting and rewarding work.

This initial optimism soon waned; resorts were built without respect for the local environment, culture or the internal needs of the host population. The local people found themselves reduced to performing monotonous proletarian tasks in the service of culturally different and incomparably more affluent outsiders. Workers commuting daily between their vermin-infested, falling-down shacks and the ultra-modern, majestic-looking hotels equipped with all the conveniences and luxuries of the late twentieth century were reminded a hundred times a day of the hopelessness of their grinding poverty. And they grew restless. Especially since the heralded economic benefits of tourism flowed to the foreign investors and rich black residents who owned the resorts; the people at the bottom receiving only a trickle of the enormous profits. And many remained unemployed; rates of 25%-50% unemployment were common throughout the archipelago.

At first, there were only minor, little-noticed incidents; "insolent" employees, some deliberate insults to tourists and lacksadaisical service. Tourist industry magnates, their eyes focused firmly on the overflowing hotel rooms, refused to deal with these early storm warnings, insisting that any bad publicity about Caribbean tourism would spell ruin for the industry. They relentlessly pressed for more hotels, more tourists. "We're not going to turn the clock back and cut down on tourism," proclaimed a millionaire Virgin Islands resort owner.

When the long-simmering explosion came it was ferocious. Workers and students rampaged through Willemstad, burning and looting this old capital city of Curacao. Early in 1970, Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, was the scene of burning buildings and large-scale fighting as workers, joined by army units in revolt, battled government troops in an insurrection that nearly toppled the existing regime. The timely arrival of a fresh arsenal of United States Army weapons helped to stem the tide. Hundreds were subsequently jailed. In the aftermath of riots in Barbados, public meetings were banned and in Jamaica, where armed groups have commandeered hotels and urinated on dining room table cloths to show their contempt, the reading of works by Che Guevera and Malcolm X have been forbidden. White tourists were the victims of random assassinations in St. Croix, once a particularly favored tourist spot.

At the front of insurgent workers and students were fiery leaders espousing the ideology of Black Power, perhaps another legacy of mass tourism in the Caribbean. "You don't dig living in houses fit for pigs, you don't dig having to work for \$20 a week so the white people and the corrupt black rulers can get rich," one Black Power leader told a Time magazine reporter. "Tourism is whorism. I say live black. Black and proud."

As he watched the rise and fall of Caribbean tourism from his home in Miami, that knowledgeable observer of the Caribbean scene, Herb Hiller, later, Director of the Caribbean Travel Association, drew some conclusions: "As soon as tourism is around long enough to reveal itself, people begin to assault it. Tourism begins to collapse when people express rage."

Still the rulers of Hawaii remain indifferent to the drama unfolding before them, confident that the people will ultimately accommodate themselves to the "New Hawaii." The fact that the creation of a tourist-servant society fills so many with revulsion is not something to inspire the concern of Hawaii tourism industry leaders like Lowell Dillingham, Chairman of the Board of Dillingham Corporation, Malcolm MacNaughton, Chairman of the Board of Castle & Cooke, Laurence Rockefeller, builder of the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel, or Kenji Osano, an international businessman from Japan who now controls one-fifth of Oahu's hotel rooms. So when gangs of locals express their pent-up anger in violence, the tourist industry reacts with a display of studied innocence and righteous indignation. In March, 1971, the offices of the University's School of Travel Industry Management were severely damaged by a gasoline-ignited blaze. Immediately rushing to the scene, Edward Barnet, then Dean of the school, issued a statement notable for its isolation from human reality. It is indeed a classic of myopia. "I don't know why we were burned!" exclaimed Barnet. "There are elements here that equate Travel Industry Management with the hotels and 'pollution' in Waikiki. It could have something to do with someone's idea of ecology¹²

REFERENCES

1. Caucasians, particularly those of Northern European ancestry, are popularly known as Haoles in Hawaii.
2. A 1964 study by the Hawaii Visitors Bureau showed 82% of the tourists surveyed commenting favorably on their visit to the islands. Four years later, this figure had dropped to 64%, and by 1969, it had declined to 54% favorable. "Overcommercialization" was the term most frequently used to describe what was wrong.
3. The six corporations that have traditionally dominated Hawaii business: The "Big Five"--Castle and Cooke, Ltd., C. Brewer and Co., Theo. H. Davies and Co., American Factors Co., Ltd., and Alexander and Baldwin--plus The Dillingham Corporation.
4. From Herbert L. Hiller, "The Organization and Marketing of Tourism in Support of Development," in this volume.
5. Local county governments on the various islands, also subsidize tourism with large sums in capital improvements. In the mid-seventies, for example, the county of Maui built a sewage treatment plant, at a cost of \$10 million, solely designed to serve Alexander and Baldwin's new Wailea resort complex.
6. It is particularly significant that Chang introduced the resolution, since he was regent only by "qualification" of being Governor Burns' personal physician, and referred to himself as "the Governor's messenger to the Regents."
7. According to the Autumn 1973 Bureau of Labor Statistics: Food was 19% more in Hawaii than on the mainland; the cost of renting a home 48% higher and of owning a home 43% more than on the mainland.
8. One of the major factors in tourism's high profitability in Hawaii is the industry's ability to reduce labor costs by employing workers at its own discretion, which means only when they are absolutely necessary: "They fix my hours every week differently," the complaint of one hotel cashier, is very common. The economics of labor cost play a crucial part in the move from agriculture to tourism. In 1972, for instance, a room maid at the Kauai Surf received \$75.05 for a 28-hour week; Kauai sugar workers received \$145 for a guaranteed 40 hours.
9. Eight years later, when the same room was going for \$90 a day, the per capita income in India was \$80-\$85 a year.
10. Kala is Hawaiian for "dollar."
11. Hanai is Hawaiian for adoption or fosterage. In Hawaiian society adoption was, and still is, common and can be seen as one of the social integrating forces in community life.
12. Documentation for this and other quotes in this paper will be provided in a larger work on Hawaii now in preparation.

A NEW SUN IN NORTH KOHALA: The Socio-economic Impact of
Tourism and Resort Development on a Rural Community in Hawaii

Lawrence Fukunaga

In the past decade the tourist industry of our state took root and began to flourish on our Neighbor Islands because knowledgeable investors and resort operators could see the opportunity for spreading economic prosperity to these islands while relieving growth pressures on Metropolitan Oahu. Public purpose and private opportunity found common ground....

This approach is based on the belief that it is difficult, if not unwise, for government to 'plan for tourism' in a way that is somehow distinguished from planning for the community or the state as a whole. The reasoning behind this belief is that tourism should not lend itself to special treatment, since the 'product' that the visitor industry is selling is the sum total of a community environment in all its economic, social and natural aspects.

Signed, Shelley M. Mark, in
a letter to Governor J.A. Burns
transmitting Volume I of
Tourism in Hawaii, Department
of Planning and Economic
Development, State of Hawaii,
Honolulu, 1972

FOREWORD

For many years now, Hawaii has been dependent on and subservient to tourism. For many of us, tourism and its related economic activities provide the necessary livelihoods of our existence in the Islands. The decade of the 1960's saw the growth of tourism eclipse the second-ranked agricultural industry, then ailing economically. Today, tourism is the second most important activity, right behind Federal spending.

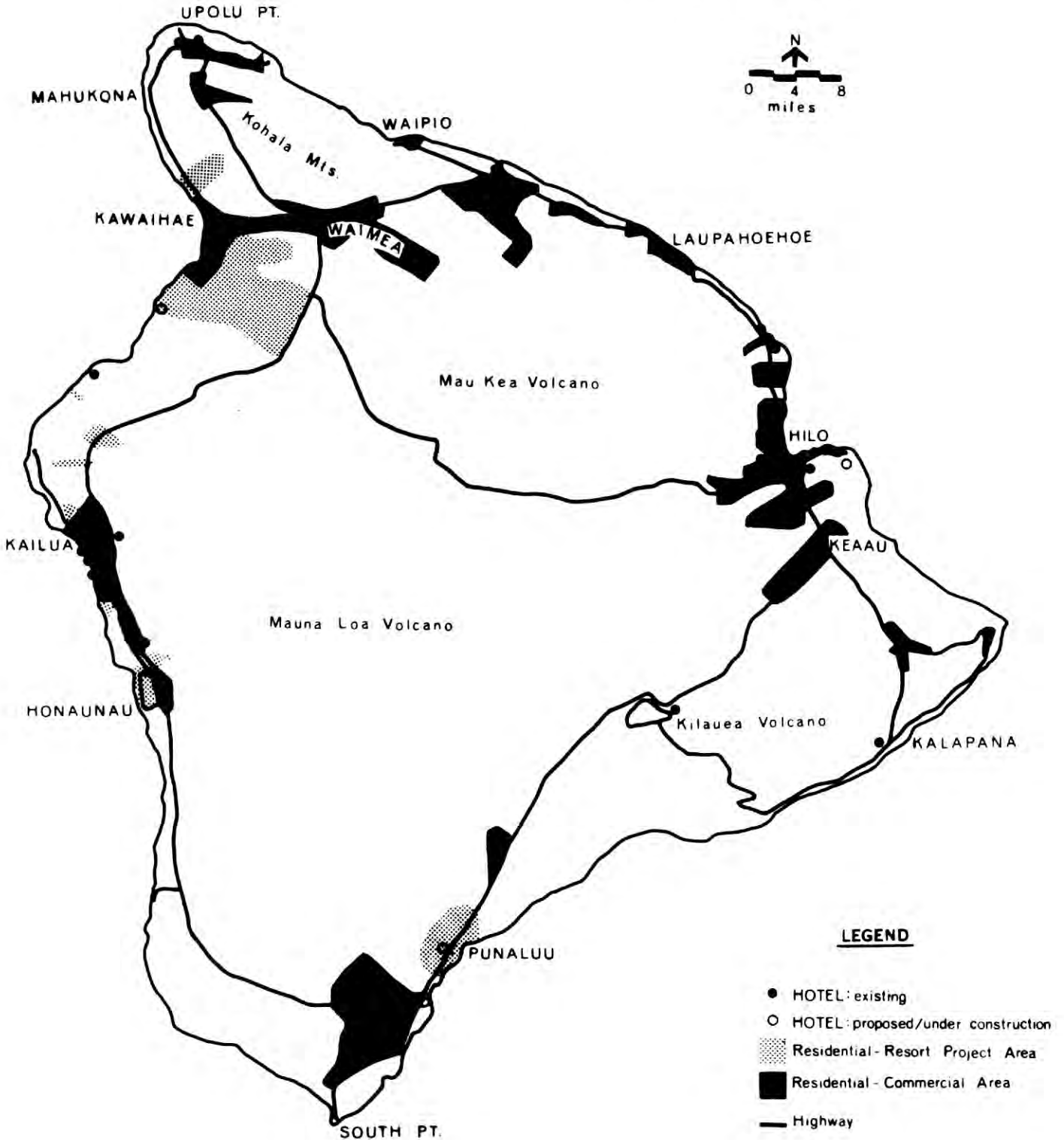
Before Statehood in 1959, tourism maintained a steady but moderate growth. This growth was moderated by the high costs and slowness of existing transportation modes, the lack of complete acceptance and limited knowledge by most Mainlanders, the great physical and psychological distances of the Islands, and sound economic prosperity on the Mainland that created an environment of domestic stability and unity that was more concerned with the rebuilding of post war America and a 'second golden age.'

When Statehood became a reality in 1959, many of these restrictions were relaxed. Hawaii was fully accepted according to political mandate, and the tourist related segments of private investment began making plans to market the Hawaiian Islands on a mass basis. The development and acceptance of the Boeing 707 and the Douglas DC-8 brought the age of the jet planes, making possible lower air fares and shorter travelling times. The tourists began arriving in droves; during the past decade the number of visitors grew from 296,517 in 1960 to 686,928 in 1965, and to 1,798,791 in 1970 (DPED 1972, Volume I:9). Today, in 1973, this figure is very rapidly approaching the 3,000,000 mark!

TOURISM ON HAWAII ISLAND

RESORT DEVELOPMENTS AND RELATED PHENOMENA

1960 - 1970



Source: DPER, State of Hawaii

Economic growth took on an exponential nature. Private investment in hotel construction increased from 4,421,000 dollars in 1961 to 77,712,000 dollars in 1970, on a statewide basis (Bank of Hawaii, 1971). Economic growth in supporting and tourist related activities paralleled the rise of tourism as more and more private investors began sowing the seeds of capital investment in Hawaii's rich and promising economic soil - today they reap abundant returns on their investments.

The State Government, out of prevailing public policies, began matching private investments in the decade of the 1960's. Actual and proposed expenditures reveal a total public commitment of 560.8 million dollars in projects which were initiated to support the tourist industry (DPED 1972, Volume I:64). Much of the appropriation is spent for providing the necessary urban infrastructure, associated public and private amenities, and the extension of government services to all sectors of the present and future development. As a result of this immense commitment of Capital Improvement Project funds, and the later obvious inconsistencies in theoretical versus practiced public policies underlying public and private development, the State government began to earn a tainted reputation by its special treatment and courtship of tourism.

Today, tourism has become the second-ranking economic base of Hawaii. It is almost impossible to divorce oneself from this industry as it is a major part of the economic cogwheel that grinds out a living for the majority here. I was involved in the airline and construction industries for over 5 years. Since then, an emergence of conscience and a new personal commitment has forced me to sever all ties with this past.

In this new awareness, I became sensitive to the negative aspects of our present trends. A simple application of common sense indicates that our present mode is dangerous and borders on insanity. But a simple application of common sense is not completely adequate in an analysis of a very complex issue such as tourism. There are a multitude of other factors to consider such as the roles of the State and County governments, the role of big business, the impact on urban and rural Hawaii, other alternatives for the vital economic base, and lastly, a personal look at our roles in the entire puzzle.

However, although a simple application of common sense in itself is inadequate, it is all too often violated. The case of local government is one of continual abuse. For the citizen of Hawaii, a violation or lack of common sense in governmental workings can mean a less than desirable environment. This is especially true when the civil power structures, with their traditional ties and personal interests in big business, administer the policies that guide our growth and destinies. There is a definite spectre of 'diminishing returns' operating within our present commitment to 'increasing returns.' It is hard to recognize by the man in the street busy earning a livelihood. Nonetheless, the harmful effects of tourism, 'Hawaiian-style,' are beginning to signal the early rumblings of doubt in our present ironic prosperity. Both the man in the street, and the inseparable natural world, will be the losers if the trend remains unaltered.

There is a fire raging on the Big Island (Hawaii) at this moment. It is burning up the finest coastal areas and replacing them with tourist resorts and related 'leisure-industry' developments. Many of these areas will precipitate widespread, rapid and intense socio-economic change in nearby areas. This fire is the same one that precipitated the homogeneous land use and rapid over-development in Waikiki, leading to a substantially less desirable environment. It is also raging on Maui and Kauai, and soon their fates may eclipse the Oahu experience if the trend remains unaltered.

This report will focus on the North Kohala experience. There are two basic elements: the community of this unique area, and the Maunakea Beach Hotel. I

chose this area because of its isolation from the rest of the Big Island. Geographically and culturally, it is a goldmine of information. Economically, the announced closure of its major economic base, the Kohala Sugar Company, will have a profound effect on the community, and it signals a common trend in Hawaii the shift from agriculture to tourism. It also has a personal aspect for me as my father was born near gentle Waipio Valley, not far away. I dislike this 'fire' intensely as it promises to degrade the heart of the land at Kohala, and the entire Island Chain. The fire in North Kohala has given way to a new sun; a new sun has risen here and we need to take a closer look at all that it shines upon.

THE STUDY

This paper will consider some of the major social and economic impacts of a luxury hotel upon a rural people, both located within a geographically-defined area. It will rely heavily on the social, and later, economic development of the Kohala community by tracing its historical development from the plantation era to present times - the significance here is that the degree and quality of this community's development could be a major disadvantage towards its adaptability against the influx of great economic change. A consideration of its vulnerabilities and strengths will be included.

The study will be in two parts: part one will be a specific look at the North Kohala experience by a chronological and interpretive accounting, and part two will be an overview of the findings, and will attempt to consolidate and apply them in a broader perspective or on a Statewide level. Recommendations and economic alternatives will be explored.

North Kohala in itself is a unique product of rural evolution, and from an urban standpoint, a step back in time when most of Hawaii shared a common rural origin. It is only one of the many rural communities that are being, or will be, affected by the encroachment of tourism. Being rural, it is quite different from Hilo and the busy metropolitan urban centers of Oahu. In an era of almost wholesale urbanization, there are good reasons to preserve rural Hawaii and to help it maintain a necessary diversity in the human landscape, this will be discussed in part two's overview.

Presently, there is a trend to develop many of the coastal areas of the State into residential-resort communities, in which the community is self-sufficient in terms of goods and services, adequate housing and ample economic opportunity for its residents, and of a size large enough to support a balanced range of public facilities and social and cultural opportunities (DPED 1972, Volume II:51). This study will attempt to show that these goals cannot be feasibly attained with tourism providing the major foundation of the statewide economic base. There are numerous proposals for the Big Island shown on the accompanying map illustrating existing and proposed developments. Especially noteworthy is the proposed 'Residential-Resort Project Area at Kawaihae, South Kohala, where Boise Cascade and Signal Properties (Signal Oil Co.) plan to develop a total of 33,635 acres into leisure communities.' Basically, these developments are the results of planning by both public and private initiative, where seemingly questionable policy making is the rule rather than the exception, and economic gain is foremost by virtue of the middle to upper class market they will have to attract.

A major cause of this type of planning is due to the State's role. In the early 1960's, the State adopted development policies aimed at halting the population decline and loss of economic opportunity on the Neighbor Islands, while at the same time accomplishing a population dispersal from crowded Oahu. The visitor industry was chosen as the vehicle of development and population dispersal. The State administrators and planners reasoned that the stimulus of

hotel and tourism development would trigger population growth, economic, and employment opportunities (DPED 1972, Volume II:21). However, State administrators and planners are taking a longer look at the problem, and are beginning to use a different approach today, as the early warning signs are plain enough. Especially noteworthy are the efforts of the Department of Planning and Economic Development (DPED). Although they are not as potent an input into the planning and decision formulating process as they could be by virtue of their past association in an advisory role, they have remained true to the cause of good, ethical planning. The recently appointed Kohala Task Force is evolving into a potent force, leaving behind a reputation of impotency and a creation 'after the fact'. This study would like to address itself to the recognition of these works that so often fell on 'apathetic ears,' or were only heard in the 'ivory towers' of top level public and private institutions. Moreover, it would like to address itself to the pursuit and the maintenance of environmental quality, and the other essentials that will nourish and enhance human dignity and existence.

PART ONE: NORTH KOHALA AND A HOTEL

The Maunakea Beach Hotel at Kawaihae is a magnificent structure. It is acclaimed to be - by its designers and owner - a milestone in architectural innovation and skill due to its remarkable compatibility with the natural landscape. The natural landscape stretches for miles in all directions and effectively isolates this resort community from the major urban centers at Hilo and Kailua-Kona, both miles away.

The hotel is built on the best beach at Kawaihae. It is located just inside of a crescent shaped bay by the same name, where the sand is a dazzling white and the solitude is profound. The entire complex is located within the South Kohala District, situated on the northwestern side of Hawaii Island.

Surrounding this complex are the kiawe (Algoroba) groves and other rugged flora that make up a rain-shadow regime here. Towards the inland areas, the natural landscape changes markedly. There are the Kohala Mountains towering upwards to 5,260 feet which precipitate orographically the incoming moisture from the sea on the opposite, lush windward side of the area. The bountiful meadows of steppe grasses provide belly timber for the cattle of Parker Ranch, and the neighboring Kahua Ranch. Moving northwest around Opolu Point towards the windward coast of North Kohala the numerous acres of sugar cane easily strikes one as a green ocean, flowing and ebbing in concert with the tradewinds. Sugar production is the primary activity here and has been since 1863, the year that the Kohala Sugar Company was founded.

Along the coastal areas where most of the people live, a number of lush and rather deep valleys offer a small variety of game animals, wild fruit, and in many instances, areas of rich soil for the cultivation of family gardens or the raising of personal livestock; non-cash family incomes here are among the highest in the State. Finally along the coast, a rugged coastline and a few sparse beaches reign in solitary splendor. Here the fishing is still good and one can still experience the solitude of a deserted beach.

THE FIRE

The Maunakea Beach Hotel was built by the Dillingham Corporation (Hawaiian Dredging and Construction) in 1965 for 12.5 million dollars. 'Conservationist-Developer,' Lawrence Rockefeller decided on Kawaihae as an alternative to building at Kipahulu, Maui, where the Seven Sacred Pools are located.¹ This was done before 1961 at the specific invitation of former Governor William Quinn to Rockefeller to develop a resort hotel complex somewhere in Hawaii. In 1961, Rockefeller signed a 99-year lease for exclusive development rights of some 1,800

acres of Ouli lands fronting Kawaihae Bay. The Maunakea Beach Hotel and a golf course materialized out of these initial plans.

Later, in 1966, the Mahukona-Kawaihae Highway was completed. It was designed to serve the Sugar Industry by lowering hauling costs but now (ironically) serves and benefits this hotel's accessibility. Besides the new highway, the Kawaihae Harbor Deep Water Project was completed, making it possible for large vessels of deep draft to enter and load or unload cargo. Both Capital Improvement Projects were the result of State long-range planning in the mid 1950's when agriculture was the primary vehicle of economic development. Presently, the volume of traffic at the Harbor has fallen and cannot justify the public capital invested in the dredging and dock improvements.

The hotel is designed to attract the 'cream' of Hawaii's tourist traffic. The guests are usually wealthy or important individuals or both, and they welcome the remarkable isolation and relative luxury offered by this unique resort, even at very expensive rates. It costs a lot to stay here; in 1966 the average room rate was \$55 a day. The nature of the guests should be considered briefly. Metaphorically speaking, they easily represent the zenith of Western (American) society and as such could have a tremendous potential towards influencing the local people who live and work in North Kohala.

At about the same time in 1965 when the hotel opened, the major airlines initiated direct service between Hilo and the Mainland. A little later, our local carriers, Hawaiian and Aloha, along with several smaller air taxi firms, began supplemental direct service between Waimea-Kamuela (an area not far from Kawaihae) and the rest of the interisland airports in the island chain. Recently, additional capital improvements at Waimea-Kamuela Airport were completed to accommodate jet traffic safely and the changing profile of passenger traffic. To supplement recent improvements, a remarkable system of surface transportation was developed by private firms. An efficient and comfortable fleet of air-conditioned buses and sedan stretch-outs began regular runs between Waimea-Kamuela Airport and the Maunakea Beach Hotel, completing and supporting the general network. The limiting factors of distance and time were no longer a major hinderance as accessibility became fast, simple, and efficient. The stage was set by these initial sparks and the fire began to burn at isolated North Kohala.

The proponents of 'the fire' are deeply committed to resort development at every feasible site. Presently, other fires are raging at Hilo, Kalapana, Kailua-Kona, and Naalehu, on the Big Island. There are similar developments on most of the Islands except for the restricted islands of Kahoolawe and Niihau. The methodology is simple enough: first, secure the necessary zoning (urban and/or commercial); and second, maximize development to insure maximum returns. Very often private developers can avoid tax assessments by declaring the land an 'agricultural dedication,' thereby paying a nominal agricultural rate that accesses the value of present land use, rather than highest market value. Until recent legislation, the terms of the dedication provision's penalties have provided an economic advantage to the owner of such a parcel who would like to hold his land for speculation or the right market conditions for development or resale. This classification was designed to favor and support agriculture but has been abused by economic interests so often that the State Legislature passed Act 200, of June 21, 1971, penalizing any violation of the dedication agreement to 50 percent of the difference between the selling price of the land and the government established basis of land capital gain or loss, or the real property tax assessed value, whichever is higher (DPED 1972, Volume II:25).

According to the West Hawaii study, the planners of the Hawaii County Planning Department feel that improvements are needed in the design and administration of the real property tax, particularly in the area of tax assessment.

County planners feel that present policies aid rather than combat speculation. Present assessment practices have nourished a situation where the County faces increasingly pressures for development and services, while the income from the County revenue base - from assessed valuations - have not kept pace with ever increasing inflation and demand. Reasons for this are rapidly changing market conditions, large land holdings, and sparse sales data all of which have made accurate assessment difficult. For example, the tax ratio of assessed value to fair market price is set at 70 percent by the State Department of Taxation, but studies of actual practices reveal a different trend. Big Island sales in 1967 of hotel properties showed an average mean assessment of 42 percent of the market value! In 1969, the ratio grew to 58 percent (DPED 1972, Volume II:27). This low ratio is providing a major benefit for private development, and a diseconomy for the government and general public.

County planners would like a more active role in the assessment process to assure that property tax trends do not work against their goals. Another harmful trend is the assessment of smaller agricultural holdings. These holdings are assessed on a 'comparative sales approach,' according to State Department of Taxation policy, that bases assessments on the valuation of nearby or surrounding areas. If, for example, speculative sales have occurred nearby, then the tax value of the smaller holding will increase accordingly. These owners, then, would be forced to dedicate their land to agriculture to escape the higher and unfair assessment. A good example of this tax pressure is Waikiki, where the tax policy has worked to homogenize land use to it's highest and best economic use. County planners would like to develop a system of zoning in which 1) the County will have a more direct role in the assesment process, 2) a firm policy is holistically enforced that will force redevelopers to make serious plans, rather than an interim 'sitting-on it' designed to increase the resale value of the land, 3) and there will be rewarding a incentive system designed to benefit the cooperating private investor and to protect lands kept in agricultural dedication from tax pressures for conversion to more intensive use.

In the case of commercial agriculture, 'the fire' has come at an opportune time in Hawaiian history. The rising costs of commercial agriculture are forcing the big producers, expecially sugar and pineapple, to look elsewhere for the necessary land, labor, and materials. This trend is reflected in the recent economic migrations of Dole Pineapple and AMFAC (bananas) overseas to South America, the Philippines, and Southeast Asia.

These rising costs, spurred on by inflation, has made it very difficult to compete in the world marketplaces. The competing edge of the Hawaiian Sugar Industry has been experiencing a steady erosion, and this situation is forcing their 'holding companies' to look at other land uses. Tourism and resort development has provided the answer.

Tourism yields higher corporate profit in our inflated times for the same reasons that nourish its success---a high demand stemming from more leisure time and higher personal incomes as a result of an inflated national economy. Because of this general affluence, the demand for 'leisure industry' goods and services has dramatically increased from 26 billion in 1965 to 36 billion dollars in 1969, while American spending abroad rose by nearly two-thirds, or 3.8 billion in 1969 to 6.2 billion dollars in 1970 (U.S. Dept. of Commerce 1971:200,204). It is this growing demand that has enhanced the march of inflation in Hawaii's economy.

Areas that are designated for tourist developments will, more than likely, yield higher returns due to the inflationary trends underlying economic change in the Islands since Statehood in 1959, especially in terms of land values. Rezoning and tax pressures have made necessary a more intensive land use to make the land pay for itself, and to return a certain percentage of net profit to its owners and investors. The inputs of labor and material in tourism are

lower in comparison to agriculture as tourism attracts unskilled workers and requires less operating expenses in the form of raw materials, after the initial capital investment of construction and associated costs. These points will be discussed in Part Two.

Agriculturally, the output of sugar per acre is fixed by prevailing management practices, the physical conditions of water, soil, temperature, and solar radiation, agri-system, and the frontiers of present technology. In Hawaii, the normal output per acre is about 12 tons. The plantations that have been closed or are scheduled to close, average around 7 to 8 tons per acre, even with a maximum of effort and close to ideal conditions. All of the affected plantations are located on windward coasts where strong tradewinds prevail almost year-round, where water for irrigation is usually limited, where high slopes dominate and salt spray reaches some crop areas, and where generally below prime quality soils (less than Class A) predominate. All of these conditions act to limit production, although agricultural revitalization through the conversion of furrow irrigated to 'trickle irrigated' acreage is highly possible, and will be discussed briefly in Part Two.

The announced closure of the Kohala Sugar Company in 1971 precipitated emergency measures to find alternatives for an eroding economic base. The creation of the Kohala Task Force, and the feverish activities of various agencies, public and private, are the result of this initial announcement and the realization that mass unemployment could result. The efforts of the Task Force are commendable. However, there are still a number of inconsistencies in public policies. It appears that the State is still busily seeking more revenue through a wider and increased tax base promoted by high and growth oriented planning and development. The latter approach almost suggests that the guiding philosophy of our public policy makers has been seriously affected by the private sector, whose interests may align with commercial tourism. It will narrow economic diversity considerably and weaken the durability of the Island economy.

On Oahu we have our own North Kohala. The Kahuku Plantation shut down in November of 1971. A few miles away, the Del Webb development, consisting of the Kuilima Hotel and golf course, is a successful reality. A low density complex of expensive townhouses surround the golf course area. It is a 20 year, comprehensive development, that will eventually include an immense array of low and high rise cabanas and townhouses, several golf courses, housing communities of the employees and perhaps, even a small airport for local commuter service. Not long ago, mainland interests were expressing a serious desire to build and operate an amusement park at Kahuku for tourists, employing the displaced persons from the defunct Kahuku mill. On Kauai, the Kilauea Sugar Company harvested their last batch of sugar cane not very long ago. Since then, the once agricultural land has been turned over for development. The Princeville Resort Development will encompass about 11,000 acres and is being developed by the Eagle County Development Company of Denver.

Previous to this fire in North Kohala, an older and more traditional lifestyle flourished here, as in most of rural Hawaii. This lifestyle had its unique system of checks and balances, which provided stability and balance for this rural community. This is our starting point.

SOME PAST HISTORY

Long before the Maunakea Beach Hotel and the fire, the area was mainly agrarian. The majority of the people worked for the Kohala Sugar Company. The rest were employed on cattle ranches and small farms, while others provided the retail goods and services activities. It was then that the recent ratio of 1 agricultural worker to every 4 non-agricultural workers in supportive activities

was approached. At the same time, the Kohala Sugar Company underwent major consolidations and mergers, thereby enlarging its production base, and strengthening its organization and programs.

The Kohala Sugar Company, like many other agrarian empires of old Hawaii exerted tremendous control over each ethnic community. The people who made up the communities were the labor force, and were brought in by the plantations from China, Japan, the Portuguese Islands in the Atlantic, Puerto Rico, the Philippine Islands, and of course, locally from Hawaii. This control evolved into widespread oppression in many cases. The plantation hierarchy often dispensed their authority and policies through harsh, and sometimes cruel, lunas (foremen). These lunas were the buffer zone between management and labor, and in many instances were of Portuguese extraction, being in such a position because of their Caucasian origin and their ability to communicate with the various ethnic groups through their evolving work language of 'pidgin English'.

After 1900 contract labor was no longer legal. This new situation caused the emergence of an entirely new relationship between the plantation elite and their labor. With remarkable foresight, the elite of these agrarian empires, the Kohala Sugar Company included, recognized the potential political and economic power that these ethnic groups - especially the Japanese and Chinese - could wield against them someday if the universal suffrage of men, and democratic equality, ever came to Hawaii by decree of Statehood. In a change of heart 'paternalism' was born. It turned out to be a condescending relationship between the Company and labor. The main strategy behind paternalism was the salvaging of the loyalty of the semi-alienated labor, which in the end result would be a strong deterrent against any inappropriate deviation like unionization or economic betterment and increased horizons.

Paternalism filled the basic needs of the worker and his family. In many cases, this program provided for food, water, shelter, fuel, medical care and recreational facilities. In the case of the Kohala Sugar Company, the company has established benefits as: 1) the Kohala Hospital Medical Services Plan, 2) the employee homeownership program (to be discussed later). 3) the company water reservoir for recreational uses plan, 4) and the limited transport of workers to working sites. This paternalism system has provided certain benefits like the provision of employee owned housing that the unions cannot offer. Paternalism had, even up to recent times, an element of competition towards the wooing of labor's allegiance from the unions.

Later, paternalism played an effective role in checking union organization of plantation labor. But it was only temporary and unionization finally occurred. (In the case of the ranches in North Kohala, paternalism has had more success by defeating most attempts at unionization.) Although plantation labor was finally organized and workers were able to assert their collective wills, the warm and favorable remembrance of paternalism was firmly imbedded in the hearts of the plantation communities.

In a way, paternalism was good and provided a common ground for most persons involved. For the workers and their families, it provided security and the basic benefits that fulfilled the requirements of their simple and rural lifestyles. For the plantation, it prevented union organization for a period of time (allowing agriculture to operate under lower labor costs) and assured a degree of loyalty on the part of the workers. Moreover, it provided the material for a balanced relationship within the total plantation community. The labor communities were able to maintain their cultural and ethnic identities, and perpetuate the traditions underlying their culture. The plantation was able to operate under the old rules, enabling them to maximize their profits to promote further expansions, conglomerations, and mergers.

Up until recent times the workers still depended on the plantation management for guidance in their personal lives. In her report on the socio-psychiatric effects of the Maunakea Beach Hotel on the North Kohala community, Frances Cottington (1969) has observed that "those members of the communities remaining on the plantation were those who agreed that the existing status quo was sufficient." The influence of paternalism was so great that it usually made impotent any efforts towards forming social clubs, or educational programs aimed at greater individual development and autonomy. The majority of the plantation community desired the benefits provided through paternalism and were reluctant at having any taken away. For the most part, many members feared and mistrusted the outside world and recognized the sanctuary provided by the status quo.

The period following the unionization of plantation labor saw paternalism shift to the union in part. The International Longshore and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) fought for and secured the issues of improved housing, higher wages, pension plans, severance pay, repatriation assistance, and improved working conditions (Cottington, 1969). They went a step further by assisting the workers in securing benefits, understanding and fulfilling previously uncommunicable needs, understanding their legal rights, social security, workman's compensation, financial management and tax returns. They have consistently backed sports programs, social clubs and activities for leisure time interests, and a comprehensive family insurance program.

The plantation management, seeking to foster the remnants of paternalism, did so wisely and advantageously. Much initial leverage against unionization and bargaining power was secured, even though this also would weaken as the plantation faced continually-rising costs of production and a rapid decline in oligarchic power. The paternalistic relationship between the agrarian empires of Hawaii and their labor communities waxed and waned in accordance with the changing times, but not before it played a major part in the environmental determinants that shaped each individual person in the community, and was firmly imbedded in each heart.

THE PEOPLE BEFORE 1965

The men working for the plantation and the ranches were the sole bread winners and decision makers. The husband was usually 'boss' of the household and his word was law. Most of the work and responsibility was separated along sex lines, with the wife handling the domestic duties and children, and the husband earning a living. The wives complied with this arrangement as its roots lay in time immemorial. Any deviation from this arrangement was held in check by the ancient cultural devices inherent to each community--especially in the Japanese and Filipino communities.

Usually the men did as they pleased. When they were off-work they drank and gambled, (often together in groups), went fishing or hunting, went to a cockfight or simply did nothing. The women were expected to stay at home and mind the household. For socializing, they visited relatives and close friends, hardly venturing across the community boundary. This boundary was not a fence or stonewall, but a cultural one that was functional in minimizing social interaction between the community and the outside world. In many instances it could have been considered an ethnic boundary as many camps (communities) were composed of a certain ethnic group, segregation being for cultural rather than racial reasons.

The women had other options in social intercourse. Most of these options centered around participation in church and social clubs (ethnic usually), or in civic organizations. In their spare time they cultivated a family vegetable garden, harvested wild fruit, raised livestock and poultry, or fished along the rugged coast. In addition to occupying the women, these activities provided a welcome flow of non-cash commodities that supplemented family income and provided variation for the family table.

For most of these communities, life revolved in a circular pattern. The various ethnic groups brought with them a basic philosophy founded on a 'circular-time' perspective where there is a beginning and an end for all things. The traditions, ideas, values, and attitudes that served their ancestors found acceptance and potency on Hawaiian soil, when recycled generations later. This is basically an Eastern philosophy whose workings and successes depend on little or no societal change, or what is commonly referred as progress in the West.

The linear-time perspective inherent to the West found a reluctant acceptance by each ethnic group, even the Portuguese and Puerto Ricans. The degree of acceptance was highly variable as each group took in only what was considered safe and controllable, which in turn was determined by the cultural devices of each. The traditions, ideas, values, and attitudes of the Western world depend on a continuous change for their workings and successes. These factors are not recycled very long and are continually evolving. There is an immense vulnerability in such a philosophy as natural and human resources are finite. It would not be too absurd to recognize the insanity in such a lifestyle as evidenced by the obvious problems of modern society, and the bankruptcy of the American dream.

Cultural and geographic isolation greatly buffered the influences of the outside world and allowed most to retain their ethnic identities while simultaneously preventing any wholesale relinquishment of cultural and societal identity to the dominant culture from the West. Hawaii received Statehood in 1959. This single event set the stage for a decade of unprecedented and exponential growth in all spheres, especially the economic. Wholesale change became the rule rather than the exception as this single event ushered in an era of speculation and plundering, record private and public investments, sudden population growth in people and cars, environmental degradation, and rapid "Americanization."

Starting at Oahu, and later moving to Kauai, Maui and Hawaii, private and public initiative began remaking the cultural and natural landscape. The degree and intensity of this endeavor can be seen in such unlikely development plans as those for two coastal areas on tiny Molokai, a sleepy and parched island where time is running decades behind, and where one of the last frontiers of old Hawaiiana flourishes. Inevitably, six years after the blessing of Statehood, 'the fire' reached the isolated realms of North Kohala, and in the aftermath a new sun has risen out of the ashes.

A NEW SUN RISES

The Maunakea Beach Hotel opened in 1965 and almost immediately, conducted an intensive training program in which the women, and a number of men of the North Kohala area, had to learn quickly the new skills required for a hotel career. The demand for jobs was surprisingly great and the hotel was able to be selective in hiring. Great emphasis was placed on grooming and social etiquette for those chosen to work in public. Shortly thereafter, the State Department of Education created a battery of 'crash' technical school courses related to visitor industry.

In the beginning the going was rough. The hotel and the Department of Education overlooked an important aspect in the worker's intensive training. A substantial majority of the workers retained their usual modes of communication, collectively categorized as 'Pidgin-English.' According to Cottingham (1969), many of the individuals felt hesitant in talking to the guests for fear of being ridiculed. So the 'local' strategy in many of the cases was to guess at what was being said, leading to misunderstanding and embarrassment.

The deep sense of shame that these encounters involved, added to the 'second rate' feeling that many workers already felt as part of their plantation heritage, made many workers feel inadequate and insecure. Yet at the same time, hotel

employment was eagerly sought by both men and women. However uncomfortable the encounters between local workers and affluent guests may have been, hotel employment was still attractive. Although the wages were not all that high, the hotel did offer employment to many, including women who, formerly, had few job opportunities in the rural economy. And, perhaps most important of all, working for the hotel, and associating with its affluent patrons as well as enjoying some aspects of the hotel's luxurious appointments, was perhaps thought of as an avenue of mobility. The additional income (particularly if the wife was working) coupled with the taste of luxury hotel employment offered probably led many a Kohala resident to seek to embrace a new life style based on increased wages, the goods these could purchase, and hopefully, some improvement in class status through achieving a degree (for them) of material influence.

Families in which both husband and wife work have long been common on Oahu, but this pattern only began to emerge in Kohala with the opening of the hotel. While their husbands labored on the plantation or on a ranch, wives took up jobs at the hotel. Many began working a full shift of forty hours. Swing shifts were almost as common as day shifts, and the couples began seeing less and less of each other when both spouses worked at different times. Cottingham (1969) feels that this emerging trend created marital trouble, possibly eroding the integrity of the marriage and family solidarity. Often, the working wives had to commute by car up to a hundred miles daily, creating the need to purchase a second car, especially if spouse shifts were different, or the area lacked a car pool.

A more serious problem accompanied this initial transition. The divorce rate in Hawaii County increased by 180% from 1963 to 1967, while statewide the increase was 52% (State of Hawaii, 1971). Although this is a county-wide figure there are grounds for believing that Kohala contributed disproportionately to the increase. Cottingham (1969) suggests that domestic strife already existed within the affected families and the new employment may have triggered the final separation. Also these overall statistics are not fully representative of the true picture because most of the families here are Catholic (especially the Filipino, Portuguese, and Puerto Rican families) and divorce is forbidden by the Church. Some couples may have merely separated or still lived together under this obligation by religious mandate.

Many of the wives purchased new clothes, and in many instances, wigs, all for the sake of appearance on the job. The Smith study (1970) focused on the newly-employed women of the Maunakea Beach Hotel. In this study many of the women reported that in the initial six months some touchy situations emerged. For example, the fact that the women now appeared more glamorous and were gone from their communities for at least forty-five hours each week, created a good deal of suspicion among the men. Many rumors concerning extra-marital affairs were generated and reports of domestic strife and 'black-eyes' were not uncommon.

After this period of transition, many of the tensions subsided. In the Smith report, the majority of the women sampled felt very proud that they had made it through the initial transition, proving that they could now be trusted. Many felt grateful for the new employment opportunities provided by the hotel to acquire additional income. Furthermore, many women experienced an increased sense of self-identity and self-worth. They liked the material things that the new income would make possible, and the new voice they now had in the family decision-making process. In essence, to the women of the Smith survey, the benefits outweighed the costs. There is a weakness in the Smith survey that makes this information questionable; Smith received only 18 responses out of a possible 300. The questionnaires were distributed by the cooperating management of the Maunakea Beach and were included in the pay envelopes of 300 women employees. Simultaneously, a strike by the ILWU was looming and many women could have been suspicious about the questionnaires, not responding. The ones that did respond might be more polarized with the positive benefits from hotel employment, such

as economic betterment and broadened personal horizons.

CRIME AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

As assesment of any change in societal stability is a good measurement of community well-being, and therefore a valuable social indicator. County-wide, Part I crimes increased from 701 to 2046 from mainly pre-resort 1964 to post-resort 1970 - an increase of 300 percent. North Kohala also experienced a marked increase but it may have been moderated by the influences of stronger cultural roots and a more gradual acceptance of change from the outside.

For North Kohala, in the years following the hotel's opening (from 1967 to 68) there was an all-time peak in Part I and Part II juvenile delinquency and crime. See Tables 1 and 2. On Table I for Part I crimes, juvenile delinquency and in North Kohala peaked and gradually tapered off towards 1970. Less serious Part II crimes increased from 1 to 8 from 1964-70.

Table 2 shows the substantial increase in crime committed by adults. Since 1965 the increase is especially noteworthy: Part I crimes went from 18 in pre-hotel 1964 to 51 in 1970, while Part II crimes increased from 21 to 39 for the same period in North Kohala. For the country, with all districts reporting, the trend is marked and speaks for itself.

The future trend indicates a possible worsening of the present trend. With increased employment the care of the young children has fallen to the grandparents or older siblings, and in some cases, to no one. See Table 3. In the latter case, the child is left unattended by a startling 20.4 percent of the local households, based on a survey of 420 households, or a majority sample. The attendant problems generated by this manner of child-rearing are obvious. Both the Cottington and Smith reports suggest a 'holistic' approach towards a solution as it can be a symptom of a larger societal ill. Early delinquency, as a result of poor or no parental guidance, so often provides the foundations for a future of crime and punishment. The affected child is usually at a formative age when the mothers opt for employment. The affected households with working mothers constitute about 40 percent of the total North Kohala population.

There is an increase in communication with the outside world. According to Smith (1970), the teenagers of this area are experiencing direct contact with drugs and a new philosophy. The new road from Mahukona to Kawaihae has provided an easy route to observe and possibly, interact, with Mainland transients at Hapuna Beach. Teenagers now have a basis for comparing old and new lifestyles. The union (the ILWU) plans to build a new day care center to ease the problem of adolescent care. However, the quality and quantity of this endeavor remains to be seen. The union is helping to nourish a questionable trend in the Islands as Hawaii appears to be moving in the direction of having the highest number of families with both spouses working.

POPULATION

There have been changes in the population from 1960 to 1970. Most of these have been in the ethnic makeup of the area and a stabilization of out-migration of the young to Oahu. The turning point came in 1965-66 when the population began to level off to a marginal loss rate. A net loss of 185 persons occurred within the 11 years between 1960 to 1971. See Table 4. A reason for this loss could have been the plantation's laying-off of 122 workers within this decade, prior to the census. The ratio of agriculture workers to workers in supportive activities is 1:4. If the population loss did not level out, the area would have lost more than 488 persons, not counting births and deaths.

TABLE 1
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Part I Crimes	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
North Kohala	6	8	6	7	8	4	6
Hawaii County	159	312	262	198	282	287	271
% North Kohala	3.8	2.6	2.3	3.5	2.8	1.4	2.2
Part II Crimes							
North Kohala	1	2	4	13	10	9	8
Hawaii County	167	210	217	247	337	395	371
% North Kohala	0.6	1.0	1.8	5.3	3.0	2.3	2.2

Source: Police Department, County of Hawaii, Annual Reports, 1964 - 1970.

TABLE 2
CRIME

Part I Crimes	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
North Kohala	18	23	24	33	51	47	51
Hawaii County	701	902	890	994	1,655	1,819	2,046
% North Kohala	2.6	2.5	2.7	3.3	3.1	2.6	2.5
Part II Crimes							
North Kohala	21	20	30	48	49	29	39
Hawaii County	987	1,099	1,098	1,166	1,604	1,481	1,947
% North Kohala	2.1	1.8	2.7	4.7	3.1	2.0	2.0

Source: Police Department, Hawaii County, Annual Reports 1964 - 1970. Part I crimes are the more serious crimes such as murder, manslaughter; robbery and the like. Part II crimes are the less serious crimes.

TABLE 3

CHILDREN AGED 6-13 WITHOUT ADEQUATE AFTER-SCHOOL SUPERVISION

Type of Supervision	Percent
No One	20.4%
Parent or Relative	75.0
Unpaid, Friend/Neighbor	1.4
Paid Babysitter	1.4
Other	0.7
No Response	<u>1.1</u>
Total	100.0

Source: Department of Planning and Economic Development, North Kohala Household Survey, 1971

TABLE 4

POPULATION IN NORTH KOHALA

	1960	1970	1971
Persons	3,386	3,326	3,201

Source: Census of Population, 1960 and 1970; North Kohala Household Survey, 1971.

TABLE 5

POPULATION IN NORTH KOHALA
BY ETHNIC COMPOSITION

	<u>1960</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Rank</u>
Caucasian	562	16.6	4	722	22.4	2
Portuguese	NA	NA		159	5.0	
Puerto Rican	65	1.9		239	7.4	
Chinese	63	1.9	5	78	2.5	5
Filipino	753	22.2	3	713	22.2	3
Hawaiian, incl. Part- Hawaiian	961	28.4	2	959	29.8	1
Japanese	1,034	30.5	1	663	20.6	4
Other	13	0.4	6	78	2.5	5
Total	3,386	100.0		3,213	100.0	

Source: Census of Population, 1960
Department of Planning and Economic Development, North Kohala Household
Survey, 1971.

Hotel and related employment opportunities have played a major role in the stabilization of the population. Formerly, it was common for a rural area as North Kohala to lose its young to Oahu; and the same is true for the rest of the islands except Niihau. Now more and more of the young are remaining and finding employment at home.

No data were available on the imported work force at the Maunakea Beach Hotel. It would be safe to assume, however, that since most mainland migrants would find the hotel's wage structure too nominal, and the living costs too high, only a comparatively few people would be recruited for executive and professional jobs in the hotel.

For the most part, there have been no major shifts in the North Kohala communities and nearby areas. Most of the residents own homes and the rent is still reasonable. A few new families and residents have moved here, but this number is small.

A significant aspect of population change is seen in the Japanese. Between 1960 to 1971, their community dwindled from 1,034 to 663 persons, or from first to fourth place. See Table 5. This phenomena is not uncommon in Hawaii as other rural locations in the island chain have experienced similar occurrences. The Japanese have consistently migrated to Honolulu and its better employment opportunities. Their work ethic and sense of responsibility have generally motivated most to 'better themselves' economically and socially. The social phenomena of class ascent is more evident here as it is characteristic for a mobile ascending class to drop previous ties of past associations, by location in this case (Warner, 1949). The rise of the Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian and Caucasian segments indicates a preference to remain in the area, due to, perhaps, the attractions of a rural lifestyle where the economics of necessity and subsistence are more important than the extravagant economics of middle-class America.

The vital factor in the population of North Kohala is the employment ratio of 1:4. If nothing is done to create or find other livelihoods for the 510 employees of the Kohala Sugar Company, a theoretical number of 2,040 persons stand to be affected if the ratio is accurate. The area would be an economic and social 'ghosttown' in no time. Tourism, seemingly the answer, is not viable in any great degree and will be discussed further in Part Two.

THE ECONOMY

Since the coming of the hotel in 1965, many changes have occurred in the North Kohala area, and a few of the nearby areas. The most significant of these have been the increased employment opportunities outside the area, and the flow of new investment capital into the area. Approximately 18 percent of the area's labor force now work at the Maunakea Beach Hotel (DPED 1972, Volume I:110). The families are now able to get credit in addition to their increased purchasing power.

New shopping centers and loan companies have materialized in response to new present and anticipated demands for goods and services. The Waimea Shopping Village - not far from North Kohala - attracts most of the business. It houses a complete retail operation of goods and services, banking services, and several loan companies. A recent survey (Marshall, Kaplan, Gans, Kahn, and Yamamoto, Honolulu, 1971) of travel patterns to Waimea showed an increase of 47.3 percent within the period from 1966 to 1971. This same survey revealed a change in the travel patterns to Hilo, many miles away. North Kohala residents increased travel to the recently completed Kaiko'o Shopping Mall at Hilo by 38.7 percent within the same period. Business has shifted from the local merchants to these

two shopping centers. Many of the community's merchants have already folded, while the remaining ones are faced with the same gloomy fate. In essence, the community is faced with an erosion of its local economic base, as the residents are finding employment, and more reasonably priced retail goods and services outside of the community more attractive and suitable towards fulfilling their new aspirations and horizons.

Since 1965, there have been some significant changes for the residents. The increase in luxury items by personal consumption is especially noteworthy. A recent survey has revealed by percentage the growing numbers of families acquiring such goods as color television sets, stereo equipment, and clothes driers. See Table 6. A weakness in this information is that this indicator fails to reveal the equality of distribution among all the households, being community-wide percentages. But overall, it is an excellent index of the evolution of personal consumption patterns in the area.

TABLE 6
HOUSEHOLDS WITH DURABLE GOODS BY PERCENTAGES

Households	1961	1966	1971
Black & White T.V.	83.3	86.5	69.3
Color Television	1.0	8.5	33.3
Stereo Equipment	15.1	27.4	50.0
Clothes Drier	4.9	NA	11.4

Source: Department of Planning and Economic Development, State of Hawaii, North Kohala Household Survey, 1971.

The median family income rose from 4,363 dollars in 1959 to 8,380 dollars in 1970. Table 7 reveals the family cash income (combined if applicable) of the North Kohala families. The patterns of income between 1959 and 1970 is especially interesting. In 1959, the bulk of the families earned between 3,000 to 3,999 dollars, and 4,000 to 4,999 dollars, while the 1970 figures revealed a shift upwards to 7,000 to 9,999 dollars and 10,000 to 14,999 dollars for the bulk and apparently, the new middle class of the area. Non-cash income from gathering activities---family gardens, personal live-stock fishing, hunting, and fruit picking---has continued to supplement actual cash incomes. A 46 percent sample of all North Kohala households even indicates some increase in these activities (DPED 1972, Volume I:Table 6:17).

In 1966, the Kohala Sugar Company decided to give each worker his own piece of land, provided he put or build a home on it. Later the company decided to offer the worker's home, then rented by the worker at very nominal rates, for 700 dollars. The response has been great as the North Kohala district reflects an impressive 72 percent in home ownership, the highest in the State. Many families purchased carpeting, drapes, new furniture, and in some cases, even remodeled and landscaped their relatively small and simple plantation homes.

Initially, a number of problems emerged out of this new prosperity and availability of credit. The Smith survey indicated that many families overspent unwisely and extravagantly and ended up having their wages garnished. When easy credit buying became commonplace after the hotel opened in 1965 many families, being unaccustomed to the cumulative and often deceiving nature of time purchases, simply bought too many and too expensive goods.

The Smith survey notes that many working women and their families feel they are better off. The children, especially the teenagers, now have money to

TABLE 7

FAMILY CASH INCOMES

	1969 ¹		1970 ¹	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under \$2,000	72%	9.6%	22	3.3%
\$ 2,000 - 2,999	76	10.3	26	4.0
\$ 3,000 - 3,999	168	22.8	39	6.0
\$ 4,000 - 4,999	146	19.8	50	7.7
\$ 5,000 - 5,999	91	12.3	67	10.3
\$ 6,000 - 6,999	44	6.0	76	11.7
\$ 7,000 - 7,999	94	12.7	165	25.3
\$10,000 - 14,000	25	3.4	137	21.0
\$15,000 & over	22	3.0	70	10.7
(No answer or Don't know)			(119)	
Total	738	100.0	652	100.0
Median Family Income		4,363		8,380
Median Income, Families & Single Individuals		3,730		8,129

¹ 1960 U.S. Census of Population

² Department of Planning and Economic Development, North Kohala Household Survey, 1971. Figures are based on a 46% sample of North Kohala households. Data in parenthesis not included in total.

purchase clothes and other things. A college education is fast becoming a reality; in fact education in general has taken a sharp turn upwards. The 1960 U.S. Census indicated that over 65 percent of the surveyed households in North Kohala reported no secondary education while the 1971 Census indicated a substantially lower 38 percent lacking secondary education (MKKGY, Honolulu, 1971). Education has risen in many areas such as business, commercial, trades and crafts, some engineering and technical skills, and of course, training in hotel employment.

The Smith survey also noted that most family horizons in general have been considerably broadened. Her personal interviews indicated an increase in contact and communication outside the immediate community, and the North Kohala district. Many are taking their vacations in Honolulu, the Mainland, and even, abroad - in the past such a trip was rare, due to the lack of desire and high costs. The traditional community boundary has been permeated and many women now extend their range of friendships and involvements outside of it. These women go to parties, nightclubs, work-sponsored social activities, and civic and social activities, with or without their husbands. The new increased sense of self-identity and self-worth has emancipated many of the women from the usual traditions surrounding pre-hotel life. For the first time, women can do as they wish instead of existing at the whims of their husbands and tradition. Cottingham (1969) believes that the 'exotic' hotel environment is another highly contributing cause for change and unrest, as the women, once exposed, are subject to new anxieties and desires, and are likely to find expression and fulfillment in unorthodox means.

PART TWO: OVERVIEW

The immediate future of North Kohala is a little more certain now with the formation of the Kohala Task Force in June of 1971, and the extension of the last announced closure date by the Kohala Sugar Company from December 1973 to December 1975. Both Task Force and Company initiative, stemming from the first closure announcement in March 1971, has been trying to provide a smoother transition for the affected workers and the ailing economic base of the area. The latest company layoff schedule is as follows (Kohala Task Force 1973):

Total layoffs in 1973	- 66
1974	- 178
1975	- 152
1976	- 1
Total	- 397

Some of the decreases here have been (or will be) by attrition, while some employees have been absorbed by new and existing operations in North Kohala and elsewhere.

The Sixth State Legislature, 1972 Regular Session, has appropriated the following funds for support: feasibility studies for grainfeedlot and possible slaughterhouse operations (\$100,000); planning and development for possible grain storage/feed mill, nursery, aquaculture, and window factory enterprises (\$3,700,000 State & \$18,000,000 County, total of \$5,500,000); water development (\$850,000); historic sites (900,000); and 3 local C.I.P. Projects consisting of the North Kohala Civic Center, Hawi-Mahukona Road, and Domestic Water Development (\$1,097,000). The high speed highway from International Airport to Kawaihae is presently under construction and incremental completions are scheduled for April 1973 and January 1975. These appropriations have been assigned to the discretion of the Kohala Task Force and supplement normal public spending (C.I.P. Projects) in Hawaii County. According to Keith Odachi, research staffer with the Task Force, the nursery

operation has been started and may eventually employ 55 persons after the third year. (Personal Communication Nov. 3, 1973).

The long-term future of North Kohala is far from certain. Regardless, the community will probably be shaken to its roots with the final closure of sugar operations in 1975. The unemployed will have to find their livelihoods in other activities. Some of these individuals will be over-qualified for other jobs due to their training and experience in agriculture. The area is becoming a 'bedroom community' because employment opportunities and economic activities have been moving away to outlying areas. The necessity of immediate solutions may compromise the commendable and long-range efforts of the Task Force. If private enterprise is not attracted according to the Task Force plans and schedules, then the declining situation may force a heavier reliance on tourism as part of the solution. Tourism itself, properly regulated as a balanced component in the economic system, is not necessarily a bad thing. However, it can be a real diseconomy if it dominates our economic base. Tourism, 'Hawaiian-style,' is plagued with serious short-comings. The following information is taken from public and private sources, and reveals the rather numerous short-comings of the leisure and pleasure industry, using the Maunakea Beach Hotel and North Kohala as a prime example.

A recent household survey revealed that the earning power of a worker in agriculture is greater than one in tourism. It requires 1.13 persons to earn a median income of 6,560 dollars in agriculture while it requires 1.41 persons to earn 5,820 dollars in tourism. See Table 8. The actual per unit of time earning power is lower in tourism; the average rate in May 1971 (statewide) was \$2.59 per hour for tourism versus \$3.01 per hour for trades, \$4.31 per hour for communication, and \$5.94 per hour for construction (DPED 1972, Volume I:82, Table 5:7), while the rate for sugar was not available. This may mean the difference between having both or just one of the spouses work to make ends meet, leaving one free for domestic necessities. Obviously, this higher earning power per person also means that the Sugar Industry requires more highly skilled workers.

Full-time employment can be a problem also. Table 9 breaks down average weekly employment by hours from 1965 to 1971 for tourism versus other important employment. Note that for every year except 1966, tourism provided the smallest work week for a worker. The further decline towards 1973 could have been due to an excess of manpower from over-recruiting and nation-wide economic lulls. Economically, the demand in tourism is very elastic and unstable. Its prosperity depends upon the economic health of the entire nation, as well as foreign countries, as people tend to restrict their movements and pleasure-seeking in bad times. The average yearly demand is also very cyclic, enjoying full activity during the peak season in summer and winter, regardless of national economic health. The economic base will be very ill-adapted for economic recession if it is heavily tourist-oriented due to the obvious lack of diversity.

The Maunakea Beach Hotel does not seem to be interested in uplifting the local people of Kohala, and the nearby communities. See Table 10. Hotel positions are heavily service related ones, while the more skilled positions in clerical, crafts, and supervision classifications are very nominal in number, and note the near zero percentages in professional and management classifications. Apparently management positions are filled from the outside, while the demand for professional help may automatically be small due to the non-technical nature of the Tourist Industry. The demands for services (80%) is very typical of tourism in general. It is creating a demand for an army of bell-hops, waiters, maids, busboys, and clerks. In contrast, the record of the Kohala Sugar Company speaks for itself with its need for skilled workers, operators, foremen, managers, and professional/technical consultants.

TABLE 8
INCOME DATA BY EMPLOYMENT

ITEM	AGRICULTURE ONLY	TOURISM ONLY
Employed Persons/Household	1.13	1.41
Median Income All Households*	\$7,400	\$8,200
Median Income Non- Management Households	6,970	7,300
Median Income All Employee	6,560	5,820
Median Income Per Non-Mgmt Employee	6,170	5,180
Non-Cash Supplemental Income % Households	76%	78%

*Incomes are based on estimated 1970 income, does not include fringe benefits.

Source: Marshall, Kaplan, Gans, Kahn and Yamamoto, 1971.

TABLE 9
 AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS BY VARIOUS INDUSTRIES

TYPE	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971*
Contract Construction	35.8	38.3	36.9	38.0	40.5	38.9	37.5
Manufacturing	39.1	29.9	39.0	39.9	39.5	39.8	38.7
Transportation, Communication, and Utilities	42.5	43.0	42.2	43.5	43.1	42.8	42.4
Trade	34.9	34.4	34.0	34.1	33.8	33.8	33.2
HOTELS	34.2	34.7	33.6	34.0	31.9	30.8	30.1

Source: Research Division, First Hawaiian Bank

TABLE 10
EMPLOYMENT BY OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYERS

OCCUPATION	KOHALA SUGAR	MAUNA KEA BEACH
Professional, Technical & Kindred	2.0%	1.0%
Managers	3.0	0.0
Clerical	5.0	6.2
Craftsmen & Foremen	30.9	6.2
Operatives	24.2	1.0
Laborers	0.8	1.0
Services	0.4	80.4
Farm Foremen & Laborers	31.4	0.0
Unclassified	2.3	4.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0

Note: Percentages are based on 513 persons for the Kohala Sugar Co.,
and 210 persons for the Mauna Kea Beach Hotel

Source: Department of Planning and Economic Development,
North Kohala Household Survey, 1971.

The return of general income to the State and the general public by tourism is substantially lower than that of agriculture. Thomas Hitch has estimated that indirect employment generated by primary tourist investments is 23 percent lower than that generated by agricultural investments. Income generated by tourism to the State in the form of taxes is approximately 19 percent less than that generated by agriculture. This income usually consists of tax flow, generated by retail and wholesale activities, industry operating expenditures for goods and services, and direct taxation on salaries or wages and industry earnings. The average mean expenditure paid to the State by tourism is 0.46 cents per dollar versus 0.59 cents per dollar by the Sugar Industry (Marshall, Kaplan, Gans, Kahn and Yamamoto 1971).

One profound and agonizing impact of tourism is the rather voracious inflationary trend it precipitates in many segments of the local economy, especially in the costs of housing and land. The advent of a hotel or resort development will usually drive prices up, most often in housing and shoreline recreation. Hawaii is a very small and finite geographical area that is in great demand by its residents as well as by tourists. The tourist can afford to, and will often pay, the higher price as his demand is short-term. However, the local resident who must live here, is forced to pay the higher prices in one form or another, thus suffering economically.

A recent tax survey showed the extent of increasing land prices in Kailua (Kona), West Hawaii. The majority of the small parcels under an acre in size were 70 cents a square foot in 1960, but these prices rose to \$2.00 to as high as \$6.00 per square foot by the late 1969's (DPED 1972, Volume II:22). Hitch remarks "that every owner of land which is a potential hotel site felt that his property should carry a price based on its eventual development for intensive hotel use." These same expectations, along with the pre-reform State tax policy, has resulted in the intensive over-development of Waikiki. The law of supply and demand in economics has extended its sphere of influence beyond resort boundaries, and other commodities have entered in and have experienced similar inflationary pressure and unavoidable uplifting.

There is another emerging trend in community development on the Neighbor Islands which is nourishing inflation. In this, developers are creating complete communities around hotel or resort areas. A large reliance is placed on the 'second home' market by such developers to market lots, rather than homes, to promising clients (often from out of State), promoting speculative buying that can easily lead to holding and higher resale later, instead of serious and sincere quick development; this appears to be a Statewide trend lately as other developers have followed suit. The developers of these new communities often direct sales efforts to upper class markets (on the Mainland) with the idea of year round recreation as the major attraction. Hotels usually form the economic base of this new community concept.

If this trend continues in its present fashion, the residents of the Big Island will not be able to pay for housing and will begin to share the same fate as with many on Oahu. A 1972 DPED study shows that a home costing more than \$33,700 would be priced beyond the means of 82 percent of West Hawaii households, based on average income and on conventional mortgage terms. A \$28,300 home under more favorable FHA terms would also be priced beyond the means of 82 percent of the population (DPED 1972, Volume II:41). The same trend appears in rental units. Using North Kona and South Kohala as the resort area, and North Kohala and South Kona as the non-resort area, 1970 cash rents were calculated in proportion to the percentage of rental units in existence. Almost 40 percent of the rental units in the resort area ranged between 150 to 300 dollars per month, with the majority of the units priced in the 200 to 300 dollar range. The non-resort area reflects a different trend in which 85 percent of the units ranged between less than 40 to 79 dollars per month, with the majority priced at less than 40 dollars (DPED 1972, Volume II:47).

In an ironic way the inflationary trend generated by tourism is good. The high cost of entry to the Islands may control immigration, and over-population to a certain extent. But for the local resident, or the man in the street, it would create more hardships in addition to the present ones. The people of the Islands are finding a solution to this problem by sending the wife to work, but after both spouses are employed what can be done next?

The economic base of Hawaii should be diversified at all levels to provide us with a protecting buffer zone in times of economic recession, or of shipping strikes. It is now State policy (in principle) to become as self-sufficient as possible, while actual practices reveal different trends. An uplifting of diversified agriculture will enable the Islands to approach self-sufficiency in its basic function of food production. Tertiary services in tourism viable only when production is well established, may yield more short-term economic returns for certain sectors, but at the expense of increased dependency on the Mainland, and a vulnerable economic base for the Hawaiian Islands.

Studies by the DPED have indicated that the costs of the necessary urban infrastructures are substantially lower for agriculture versus tourism. No data were available but it could be assumed that agriculture, because of its relatively simple rural character, would require far less in public and private investments than the elaborate and costly infrastructures necessary in tourist development such as airports, highways and bridges, parks and historical sites, small boat harbors, golf courses, water systems, sewer systems, and other items.

The case for agriculture could be a bright one. The recent introduction of 'trickle irrigation' holds much promise towards a revitalization of local agriculture. It is basically a system of subsurface irrigation by the delivery of water directly to the root zone of a plant, where conditions are maintained at or slightly above field capacity, making it possible for the plant to draw moisture and nutrients without stress. Gibson of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association, states that optimum plant growth can be obtained if these conditions are reached, and maintained, throughout the productive cycle of a plant. Water savings in times of rising water prices will enable commercial agriculture to cut costs, especially the smaller operators who must either pay for development or supply. C. Peairs Wilson, Dean of the College of Tropical Agriculture at the University of Hawaii, has estimated a 40 percent savings over conventional furrow irrigation. Other benefits are: lower weeding and fertilizer costs, cultivation of marginal areas where the soil is below Class A and salinity levels are high, and a shorter growing season making another crop possible. North Kohala is a water short, high saline, area and the savings in water will cut agricultural operating costs, and lessen present and future competition between the urban/commercial and agricultural sectors of our society. For the small farmer, trickle irrigation promises higher crop yields with less production costs, making a larger profit a solid reality, and thus enhancing the attractiveness of the industry as a career.

In the past, it was ironic and discouraging to see the special treatment accorded the tourist industry in the State. Today, in light of recent developments, there are reasons to have some hope that this era of special treatment may be over. If the support of agriculture and a diversified economy continues, Hawaii can expect to solve many of its problems. However, the approach should include firm regulation of the tourist industry, a tourist-paid hotel room tax to help compensate for inflation in the public sector in living and maintenance costs, an immigration quota from the Mainland, and perhaps, a more receptive atmosphere in the societal environment to accommodate diversified human expression and personal renaissance, not necessarily economic in nature.

The hope for a quality environment depends on the immediate and future policies of the State Government. Although the State administration has only recently adopted a new stance towards environmental issues, it does represent

a sincere effort on the part of Burns administration to solve some of the problems brought about by the rapid economic growth promoted by that same administration, or its predecessors, during the last two decades of Democratic party rule. There is a need for an administration more concerned with providing a prudent and conscientious 'stewardship' of the Hawaiian Islands, rather than one bent on repeating the mistakes of previous years. It is a question of resources and allocation. In light of our demonstrably finite resources it is vital that we devise a more equitable manner of allocation, particularly between public and private sectors. The misallocation of resources to the private sector during the last decade must be stemmed. Perhaps there is some compromise point between the extremes of laissez-faire capitalism and rigidly-planned socialism that could provide for a more equitable range of resource allocation, although if trends continue it is difficult to see how any government other than one based on socialistic principles of mass welfare could do the necessary job of reestablishing the principle of allocating resources for the common good.

For North Kohala and on a broader scale, the Hawaiian Islands, the solution appears to be the immediate creation of a diversified economy, with agriculture forming the base. The DPED has recommended the introduction of more appropriate crops as: macadamia nuts, albizzia-moluccana trees for plywood core production, a seed industry, grain production for human and livestock consumption, fresh vegetables, in addition to the other viable alternatives posed by the Kohala Task Force. A weakness in the Task Force's overall approach seems to be the heavily economic reliance on corporate ventures as the primary vehicle of development. A better approach might be a stronger program designed to 'woo' future small farmers through better loan and agricultural extension programs, more effective assistance to the often ailing cooperative distribution systems of most small farms, and improved tax policies aimed at favoring individual enterprise. The death of the family farm on the Mainland has resulted in the succession of big business into agriculture. This has created a number of serious problems in the quality of the agricultural product and the environment. A fostering of small family farms might reverse this harmful trend, providing higher quality farm products through more organically-oriented crop and livestock cultivation, whose workings depend mainly on natural cycles, leading to less environmental disturbance. A 'romantic return to the soil' might help man to readjust his external and internal goals, and put him in more harmony with the inseparable natural world.

North Kohala is a rural frontier of an older time, filled with simplicity and balance, where a man can still exist in harmony with himself and the natural world. We sorely need such a place for the sake of diversity in our cultural, as well as economic environment, and for ecological stability in the vital natural world. We cannot afford to remake the entire natural landscape into a human one; otherwise, we'd be accumulating the liabilities of certain disasters.

I believe that there is a human frontier within all of us that has been brutally abused or neglected, or both. Many of us on Oahu have already crossed that protective barrier of good health and sound mental stability. The almost geometric growth of the tourist industry and the ensuing economic activity has imposed many a new pressure and enlarged many an old one. Some of these daily aggravations are a reduced sense of mental space through over-population, nearly half a million vehicles on inadequate freeway systems, herds of tour buses with diesel-oil fumes, exorbitantly-priced housing, general inflation in all goods and services, construction noise and dust, and the growing horizon of high-rise buildings. It has spawned a 'shopping center' life-style for a good number of Oahuans. It has catapulted many of us into the mainstream of economic and social ascent, with its attendant ills. It has burned up many of the finest coastal recreation areas, now largely inaccessible to many local people. In total, it has created an environment largely alien to the human animal. The people of these islands, especially the young, are beginning to share a common neurosis

with their counterparts on the Mainland within such a complex and baffling environment. Soon, the Kohala resident may cross this protective threshold and enter the ascent in the same fashion as many Oahuans if the trend remains unaltered. There are recognizable dangers in such a trend such as the likelihood of 'cultural genocide' in many of the affected rural communities. The Oahu experience has begun to suggest this possibility.

There are degrading aspects to the cultivation of the 'leisure industry.' Tourism, in terms of Hawaii's experience, tends to extract an abundance of an island's resources, and provides unequal returns to an island economy and society. There is subtle 'diminishing of returns' operating in our present ironic prosperity. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the growing trend of subservience and condescendence in the local mentality, especially for those involved in tourism, that is dealing a sure death to higher levels in human dignity and autonomy. Shelly Mark has stated that: "the 'product' that the visitor industry is selling is the sum total of a community environment in all its economic, social, and natural aspects," (DPED 1972, Vol I). It is the selling of this 'product' that is degradating the heart of the land and the people, making the 'vicious circles' of local anger and frustration, an eternal reality; especially if more 'fires' give rise to more 'new suns.'

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THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER

Presenting Polynesia to the World or the World to Polynesia

Max Stanton

The Polynesian Cultural Center (PCC) is located in the village of Laie on the northern Windward coast of the island of Oahu, Hawaii. It is a private non-profit organization owned and operated by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.¹ The PCC was established in 1963 with three basic purposes in mind: a) to preserve the culture of the Polynesians, b) to provide employment and work-scholarships for the students attending the Church College of Hawaii, and c) to provide direct financial aid to the Church College of Hawaii. In recent years, a fourth goal has been added to the original three, namely, d) to provide a positive experience in introducing the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to the patrons of the Center. Also, in light of a deeper re-evaluation of the total impact of the Polynesian Cultural Center on its employees it was recognized that it was highly pretentious to make the claim that any single organization alone could hope to "preserve the culture of the Polynesians," so the first above-stated goal has been changed to follow a more realistic course: to promote selected aspects of the Polynesian culture and heritage which are in harmony with the doctrines and practices of the LDS Church. This latter change really does not alter the original plan of the Center, but it clears up the notion held by many people that the Mormon Church is trying to force its Polynesian membership out of the twentieth century.

The Cultural Center was established at a time when Laie and neighboring communities were in a financial bind. The major economic unit in the area, the Kahuku Plantation, was not a highly prosperous industry. The only other job opportunities in the area were state and public agencies (telephone company, road construction, public schools, etc.) and the Church College of Hawaii (owned and operated by the LDS Church). Many Laie residents had left the community to live closer to their jobs in Honolulu or had moved to the Mainland. Those who did stay often had to commute everyday thirty to forty miles each way over narrow winding country roads to their place of employment. Some of these problems had been relieved with the establishment of the Church College of Hawaii (CCH) in 1955, but not to any great extent. Most of the faculty and administration of the CCH were newcomers to the village and except for a few dozen jobs in the cafeteria and maintenance areas, Laie residents did not benefit, financially, from the college. (The college, however, did provide a very inexpensive four-year, post-high school education for the youth of Laie, and, as students, many young people were able to get part-time jobs at the school, enabling them to remain in the community.)

Not all residents of Laie were enthusiastic about the establishment of so large a tourist attraction in Laie. The community had retained a high degree of friendly aura of cooperation and harmony (the Spirit of Aloha) and had avoided any strong intrusions from the outside. True, frequent visits were made to the Hawaii Mormon Temple and a monthly net-fishing event, hukilau and luau (feast) were held which featured local entertainment and attracted many tourists. Still, Laie residents had witnessed the ruin of Waikiki and were afraid that a large facility such as the Polynesian Cultural Center would introduce highly undesirable elements into the area. Others saw the PCC as a means to inject new economic growth into a gradually declining economy. Through the special relationship it promised to the Church College, others saw this as the boost the college needed to clear up some of its financial difficulties. After some debate and discussion, the pro-PCC forces won out and the Center soon became a reality.

The establishment and subsequent operation of the PCC have not been free of headaches and minor scandals. As with any large organization, mismanagement

(either through accident or purposeful design) and mistakes are bound to crop up. Feelings of discontent and dissatisfaction spread beyond the PCC into the community at-large. All the while positive steps were being made still are undertaken in order to obviate these problems - and to a great extent they have been successful, but echoes of past problems and rumblings of some situations still to be resolved can be heard in the community and abroad. A major problem in this vein is that Laie is a relatively closed, tightly knit community. Its residents see their neighbors in all manifestations of typical daily behavior. They bank together, shop together, worship together (over 90% of Laie's inhabitants are Mormons), play and rest together, work together, gossip together and as a result of the rather close proximity of their dwelling units even private affairs of the most domestic nature are often shared together. All this tends to magnify and exaggerate any difficulties which exist. However, one positive unifying factor in the community is the Mormon Church. Any disagreements and disputes which might arise are tempered by the common religious affiliation of nearly all the individuals connected with the PCC.

Laie is divided into four religious congregations (wards) each having between 500 and 700 members. There are also five CCH campus religious units (branches) with about 200 members each. In addition, two wards are organized in Hauula, a village two miles south of Laie. All of the above mentioned religious units are affiliated together into a larger ecclesiastical unit known as a stake, headed by a stake president, his two counselors and a high council made-up of twelve men chosen from the various wards in the stake. Any problems or disputes are first to be taken to the head of one's ward (bishop) and if needed official action can be referred to a higher level in the stake through officials or non-religious bodies, but most LDS members would prefer to work through the Church organization. Problems resolved through the ecclesiastical procedure at times may seem to move frustratingly slowly. But the very fact that the wheels of change move rather slowly helps to prevent problems which might result from too rapid movement in a seemingly correct direction which in reality might have its own share of dead-ends and pit-falls. It would be foolish to deny that serious problems have not existed in the past, or to pretend that full accord and harmony are the rule today at the Polynesian Cultural Center or elsewhere in the community. However, it would be an even greater mistake to assume that the leaders of the Church and the community at-large are not aware of these situations. No single person in the Laie area holds absolute power in the community,² so that any serious problems cannot long be kept unchecked. The community leaders are concerned about the welfare of the residents and the general trend is the direction of concerned and responsible management of community affairs.

In line with the above comments, I shall now speak specifically about the PCC.

After considering complaints concerning the authenticity of the Center and its exhibits, and in anticipation of the new expansion program of the PCC, a special conference workshop session was held in October 1973 to help implement future plans. A number of experts in Polynesian culture were invited to attend this program. Among those who accepted the invitation and attended were Roger Green, representing New Zealand and Hawaii, Brian Palmer, representing Fiji, Bengt Danielsson, representing French Polynesia; Yoshi Sinoto, representing Hawaiian and Tahitian pre-history; Russell Apple, representing Hawaii and over-all Polynesian pre-history; 'Alo Ki Haku 'Eva, representing Tonga; and Tufuga S. Atoa representing Samoa. All of the above persons were of great service to the Center and greatly aided in formulating new plans. One of the humorous highlights of the conference came when Dr. Danielsson described the whole Tahitian exhibit at the PCC as a sort of "anthropological science-fiction." Comments by other observers were also often in the line of constructive criticism. As a result of their observations and through the recommendation of the Cultural Committee of the PCC, special programs have been initiated in conjunction with the Church College of

Hawaii to improve the over-all knowledge of the guides and village workers. This has become an on-going concern of both the PCC and CCH and promises to continue and grow. Also, a greater attempt is being made to produce genuine artifacts and handicrafts which reflect the cultural heritage of the peoples represented at the PCC and not just a haphazard collection of "Airport Art."

Still some problems persist which should be considered. For example, the Board of Trustees are mostly haoles - some with no deep understanding or appreciation of Polynesian culture. Other complaints often heard are that the management of the PCC needs more locals and other Polynesians, and that there seems to be too much paternalism and condescension on the part of those who closely associate with those working at the Center. For example, one well-known personality makes it a continual point to constantly say how much she "loves" the Polynesian people and manages to say it in such a way that it comes across as a "slap in the face." Other complaints are that there is still too much "Hollywood" and Middle Class America in the exhibits and performances and finally, too often sincere constructive criticism from outsiders is met with a paranoid-like reaction.

On the other side of the balance, some very positive features are connected with the PCC.

The most important facet of the positive side of the Center lies in education. Between 400-500 CCH students are employed by the PCC at any one time during the academic season. This accounts for nearly half of the total student body. These students receive support through the work-study program which means that for twenty hours per week worth of labor, the PCC pays for their room, board, tuition, clothing, plus gives a small surplus for personal incidentals. This subsidy also applies to CCH students working on campus who are not affiliated with the PCC. In addition to the above, full-time workers at the PCC are able to take classes at the CCH and can send their children to the local public schools or have them attend the Church College if they are of college age and qualify for the entrance requirements. Also, younger people have the chance to associate closely with elders of their own cultures and learn the arts and customs of their people. In addition, those students who are from the CCH are often able to learn while they work in areas of their major areas of study such as personnel management, business and accounting, commercial art, restaurant management, stagecraft and management tourist industry management, police science and security and business machine and computer technology. Others interested in skilled trades and vocations can receive experience in such areas as secretarial techniques, construction and electricity, printing, landscaping and ground maintenance, purchasing, and many other skills related to the Center which are less obvious than entertainment and manufacture of handicrafts.

A second positive feature of the PCC is in the realm of economics. There are over 200 full-time workers at the Center who are not directly connected with the CCH. Most of these jobs are of the type which are necessary to keep the Center running smoothly. Considerable activity goes on before 10:00 a.m. (opening time) and behind the scenes that is important but which most tourists are not aware of. Also, the PCC has contributed heavily to the support of the Church College. In 1973 the Center contributed over \$1,000,000 to the college. In addition, during the same time period \$51,000 was contributed to the college to help finance access to technical and professional resources of the school. The present annual expenditure in salaries and wages is over \$2,300,000, most of which goes to residents in the Laie area. The Center has also given support to the Windward Symphony, the Laie Community Association, and other community projects.

One significant area of economic support lies in the funds which full-time workers and students send back to their native country. It is not possible to

know just how much money flows into the home areas from which they came, but in discussion with leaders from Samoa, Tonga, and Fiji, all three leaders agreed that large sums are sent home each month. The Tongan spokesman told me that it is not at all uncommon for full-time workers to send home in excess of \$100 per month, either to their own bank account or to their families.

In his October visit to the area, Dr. 'Alo Ki Haku 'Eva held a special meeting with the Tongan students during which he told them that they were not to feel guilty about not returning to Tonga, on the contrary, their presence in America was directly beneficial to Tonga because of their faithful support of family and relatives at home. This feeling was further amplified by the statement of Antonio Tuiaso, the head of the Tongan village, in which he quoted a Tongan proverb: "Au to e manu ki Toku." (At sunset the birds go to roost on the island of Toku.) This means that wherever a Tongan may be his heart is still in Tonga.³

FOOTNOTES

¹The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is the official name of the group more commonly known as Mormons. The official name, of its abbreviation LDS Church, will be used interchangeably with the term Mormon throughout this paper. Members of this body are commonly known as Mormons, but they are often called Latter-day Saints, LDS, or simply Saints. All four appellations will be employed in this presentation.

²The power structure of Laie consists not only of local and state elected representatives, but also of the Board of Trustees of Zions Securities (financial arm of the Church), the Church College of Hawaii, the Board of Trustees of the Polynesian Cultural Center, the Laie, Oahu Stake, the Hawaii Mormon Temple Presidency, and the Laie Community Association. There is some degree of overlap of individuals in the above organizations, but, for the most part, they serve an adequate system of checks and balances.

³I want to thank all those who helped me with this paper. I was given full and open trust in this research from all parties concerned. Some of the fears and misapprehensions I had about certain matters in Laie have been made more understandable to me. It is my sincere wish that such open and candid dialogue may continue in the future to further alleviate or obviate problems which may exist or may arise.

VIII. Towards Alternatives and Solutions

Both the promoter and the critic at last must face the questions of whether there are solutions to the problems raised by a mass tourism industry and its impact on host countries, and whether alternative ways of structuring tourism can be proposed and implemented.

Herbert L. Hiller, in his paper "The Organization and Marketing of Tourism," addresses these considerations on several levels, beginning with an analysis of the relationship between tourist and host in mass tourism. The tourist comes to the host country as a member of industrial society at leisure, and in an economic position superior to the host. The people who have arranged the tourist experience for him/her are also from industrial society, but they are at work rather than at leisure in dealing with the tourist. The persons in the host country are generally not affluent, from a non-industrial society, and also at work. The attention of mass tourism is on providing services for the tourist and providing profits for the tourism industry (primarily trans-national corporate in nature). There is no concern for the social or economic development of the host country.

What would a tourism organized for development of the host country--and organized by the population of that country--look like? Hiller argues that the issue to be posed is, "in what way can the presence of the visitor at leisure in my place nourish my way of life?" Implied, then, is that the kind of tourist to be enticed is not necessarily the wealthy but one who contributes in some way to the development of the place and the people he visits. Hiller sees a need for a "celebration of place," by which he means that the integrity of the place, its special characteristics, its people, its moods and shape and qualities, are to be protected and respected. In fact, they should be basic to the tourist experience. A tourism developed around the integrity of place presents the tourist with a rich and varied experience in a real rather than a fantasy world. It would also mean small hotels of local design rather than the high-rise luxury hotels that provide the same tourism experience from Rome to Rarotonga.

Hiller's own efforts in organizing the Alternate Tourism Perspectives Workshops at Florida International University and in helping to establish the Caribbean Tourism Centre are guides for how the developmental mode of tourism and how to achieve it could be explored in the Pacific.

Edward L. Inskip, a professional planner, focuses on the narrower problem of physical planning and design in tourism development. His paper, "Physical Planning for Tourism Development," sketches the planning process from formulation of tourism developmental goals through the study of environmental, social and economic impact of tourism facilities in a local area. He agrees with Hiller on the need for local involvement in tourism and resort planning.

In "Education for Tourism," Manuel S. Alba focuses on the problem of the kinds of education, training and skills needed for the tourism industry. His schematic presentation of educational concerns emphasizes both research and long-term planning.

One can only agree with his statement that tourism as it now is developing in the Pacific will become the major agent of social and cultural change, and perhaps the main issue in political debate in the Pacific. Whether it becomes a way of life as Alba goes on to suggest, however, would seem to depend on solving the critical problems raised by the Pacific islanders who reported on the impact of tourism in their own countries, and the issues raised by Hiller.

THE ORGANIZATION AND MARKETING OF TOURISM FOR DEVELOPMENT:
An Argument For the Necessity Of Intervention In The Marketplace

HERBERT L. HILLER

If global tourism is a new thing, then dealing seriously with it is still newer. When I say "seriously," I mean looking at all that goes on with it and asking what is the sum of it, what is affected, what can be. To look at it in terms of development, "modernization," or whatever we call it, is to inquire on at least two levels.

One level looks seriously at the coming and going of tourists in largely tropical destination places and asks: what effect is tourism having on these peoples' needs to share more fully among the world's resources. Here I think we get into economic questions concerning income, multipliers and employment, as well as into social questions of crime increase, polarities of poor and rich, cultural degradation, access to beaches, and so on.

Another level looks at geography, biology and psychology--a kind of geo/bio/psycho-politics. Tourism reveals patterns of migration and of human adaptation to the deterioration of well-being. In this latter regard we can look at tourism as flight from reality by Industrial Man into places of imagined fantasy which are largely populated by people whose reality is at the verge of becoming unravelled.

There are certain contradictions here which we want to deal with. Every time we can resolve a contradiction we can go forward.

For example, we have said that we want to ask how can tourism help development. When we say tourism, we take it as found: organized by tour operators and travel agents, airlines and hotel investors--an entire apparatus organized to deal with people on holiday in the most expeditious manner by the business world. Yet this apparatus which is to help development is least of all concerned with it. If tourism is supposed to help development, no one has told that to tourism. Indeed, the objectives of development are viewed as obstacles which stand in its way.

We want to recognize this contradiction from the outset. Let me read to you from one of the North American travel trade journals. This is an editorial in the publication Travel Trade which appeared in 1972 following the annual general meeting of the Caribbean Hotel Association. We must only keep in mind that by 1972 the Caribbean was already the foremost region of the world depending for its development on the benefits of tourism. The paper stated that the Caribbean hotel industry had come to experience "far and away" the lowest gross operating profit to gross income ratio in the world. The editorial claimed that this was "basically because island governments expect and to varying degrees make the industry subsidize social needs often unrelated to the industry, in order to raise the local population's standard of living."

It went on:

The future of the Caribbean Hotel Association seems to rest on how it will respond to this issue and to what extent it can persuade governments that it is in the overall interests of the islands' economies to grant tax exemptions and other assistance to the industry. If the CHA can put together an effective lobby to fight governmental impositions on the industry, it seems clear that the organization will emerge as a vital force for the industry's well-being and the area's

tourism. But if it should fail to meet this challenge and do nothing more than continue to talk about it, the CHA will become an impotent and disregarded body.

Concluding with a recommended course of action, the editorial said:

the new leadership (of CHA) can rely on strong support for its position from the American hotel chains and other U.S. hotel interests in the Caribbean, as most of them--such as Hilton International and Rockresorts--have clearly indicated to the CHA that the time has come, as the president of Rockresorts, Inc., Richard E. Holtzman, put it in an address to this month's annual meeting, to 'take off the white gloves' in fighting government interference with the industry...For unless the hotels stand together, the governments will divide and rule.

Here is the dilemma. Governments hand out concessions, in the hope of development, to corporations which are threatened by the motivation for it. The dilemma is excruciating and cruel, and we should not put up with it if we do not have to. To resolve it, we want to know where to look. We need to validate the idea that it is not only proper to look at tourism as an instrumentality of development, but also necessary to go beyond to the point where we can deal seriously with the notion that it can be organized in support of development.

This possibility has to do with what people are willing to accept as a part of the discourse. It has been fashionable for a long time to talk of travel as broadening and to tell of how it brings people together in common understanding, thereby being the strongest force for peace in the world. But if we are going to talk of tourism in support of development, we are going to have to formulate our inquiry in terms of what it means to people at the receiving end. We have to start by asking: In what way can the presence of the visitor at leisure in my place nourish my way of life. Conceived in these terms, we can begin to frame tourism in a "developmental mode." To do so requires recognition of what happens at the receiving end of tourism for this is at least as important as what happens when we look at tourism in the traditional way--that is, in terms of somebody about to go on a two-week vacation.

There is a second contradiction. The possibility of a developmental mode of tourism arises out of its own necessity. Tourism, after all, is the creature of affluent societies. There is no reason for so-called under-developed states to deal with it at all. It only comes at them after the fact of its existence--its discovery by the affluent. It is peculiarly one of those things about which industrial society can say, "It's ours. We don't like an idea that looks like somebody tampering with our free right to use our leisure as we wish." Thus the question becomes, how to introduce the validity of a development perspective.

In the Caribbean the question was introduced publicly in November of 1971 by the organization known as Christian Action for Development in the Caribbean, or CADEC. This was a gathering of some 30 people, mostly churchpersons, in Barbados. A more comprehensive approach had been in planning earlier and came to fruition in January, 1972, organized by the Caribbean Travel Association. The CTA itself was an outgrowth of the Caribbean Commission formed by the principal colonial powers of the region after the Second World War, and emerged from one of the sub-commissions to help the islands of the region get their tourism underway as a means of economic development. It began in 1951 and was the first of the world's regional tourism organizations, ante-dating the Pacific Islands Travel Association (PATA) by several months.

What happened is that by the 1960's CTA, which was a government organization, began to lose its integrity as the islands more and more became concerned with the promotion of tourism rather than with how tourism was working to help development. It was a new faith in the invisible hand of the marketplace. The change came for a number of reasons: Cuba had become closed off, and its high volume of visitors began to look for other nearby tropical places. Scheduled jet service had begun. The West Indies Federation, the ill-fated attempt at regional political integration, had failed, setting in motion throughout the region a fragmentation of what had been a hopeful cooperative beginning.

Small and vulnerable, yet heady with the success of their efforts, one by one the states began withdrawing from CTA and establishing their own overseas promotion offices. There had once been 32 member states. When I began a 27-month assignment as Executive Director of the organization in 1971, the membership was down to 18. The bloom was off the rose, and while there were annual increases in numbers--reaching up toward six million last year--the whole thing was being questioned in private, on the campuses, and in the streets both rhetorically and with instruments of outrage expressed in a series of incidents against both tourists and their hotels.

We had to tie the CTA again to Development. To legitimize the inquiry, we organized a four-day seminar which we called "Toward A Lasting Tourism." The title made it clear we wanted to make tourism stronger. The thing came together in such a way that by the time we met in San Juan Puerto Rico, we had some 200 people. They came from 28 different states, half representing the ministerial level of government. The travel trade was also there, of course, as were academics and several agencies concerned with development.

What we concluded at the seminar was that the only way we could have a lasting tourism in the Caribbean was to have it responsive to development. Some people picked up on what was happening and felt threatened. Others saw it as a breakthrough. One month later 18 of us met in the island of St. Kitts to work out where to go from there so as to institutionalize the perspective. New help came from sources many of which theretofore had been disdainful of tourism to the point of being unwilling to have anything to do with it. Among these institutions were the Association of Caribbean Universities and Research Institutes, the Caribbean Free Trade Area Secretariat, and CADEC. Unofficially, the U.N. Tourism Adviser to the Caribbean Development Bank also became involved.

Several ideas emerged from that meeting in St. Kitts in February 1972. One was the need to invigorate the small local hotel sector of the islands, for it not only dealt directly with local sources of supply and with ownership concentrated in the islands, but it was also a sector for which there was a growing market. The governments themselves were paying almost no attention to these local entrepreneurs because to them, as represented by the overseas tourism apparatus, success in tourism lay with industrial technology, not with local experiences.

In September of 1972, at the annual general meeting of CTA in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, we focussed on the indigenous hotel sector. In a series of papers, the views were developed that there was indeed a growing market, justifying the needed attention. Furthermore, it was recognized that there were positive values in terms of retention of foreign earnings, reduction of tensions, broadened domestic markets for local technology, development of entrepreneurial skills, and so on.

Simultaneously, we had worked to develop interest from within the Hotel Association to strengthen the local entrepreneur. That same September, the Small Hotels Advisory Council of the Caribbean Hotel Association was established. It has since met with small hoteliers in some 12 different

Caribbean islands, a week at a time, offering operations analyses and recommendations for operational improvements. Earlier in Jamaica a new program had begun called The Inns of Jamaica, largely a new marketing support for these smaller properties of the island.

What was happening is that we were moving to a new state in the discourse. We had to face the inutility of expecting development to be served by tourism as it was. If tourism was to serve development, then it would have to be development which organized tourism. We had begun to do this.

By 1973, when the Caribbean Travel Association met again in annual meeting--this time in Aruba in the Netherlands Antilles--the final speaker was the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs of the U.S. House of Representatives, Congressman Dante B. Fascell. He introduced a necessary corollary to the discussion of tourism organized in support of development. He recognized that if states could be largely dependent for their development on tourism, then just as foreign policy could be based on considerations of oil with oil-producing states, so too would we have to conceptualize aspects of policy based on tourism regarding states such as those of the Caribbean. It had become possible to talk publicly of organizing policy to strengthen Caribbean states by asking how could a marketplace country act to support a healthy year-round tourism someplace else. "Healthy" would mean not only a state which hosted sufficient numbers to meet its economic objectives, but also tourists who would come without being violative of that essential cultural integrity without which the host society would be unable to respond sanely to the change it sought.

Of tourism, Fascell said:

[It] is a subject much more complex than even well informed people realize. It is not a phenomenon unrelated to the rest of the society, either in the host country or in the country of the visitor. The depth of these interrelationships is only now being explored and nowhere more actively than here in the Caribbean.

It had become, of course, more than an academic matter. Close by the State of Florida is the newly independent State of the Bahamas, predominantly dependent for its foreign exchange earnings and for its employment on tourism. To the South in the Caribbean, to the East in Africa, to the West in the Pacific, lie the former colonies, largely disinherited and becoming increasingly dependent on tourism.

By last September, then, the questions had become largely validated. It was possible for the region to recognize and deal with the economic shortfall of tourism in terms of what effect it was having on the people of host societies in order to organize their own institutions in response to life. Since then the states of the region have acted on another of the recommendations to come forth from the St. Kitts meeting two years before. The states of the region have pooled an initial US\$140,000 which has been matched by an overseas foundation for reorganizing Caribbean tourism in support of development. This is the Caribbean Tourism Centre. It is funded now with \$420,000 for its first three years of operations. On June 1, 1974, the day after the conclusion of this workshop in the Pacific, the Caribbean Tourism Centre will have begun to function with a Guyanese-born economist, now a Trinidadian national, in the position of Executive Director.

Significantly, this same summer has seen installed a new President of the Caribbean Development Bank, who is the former Secretary-General of the Caribbean Free Trade Area Secretariat (now Caricom), and who has been a supporter of the tourism initiative I have been discussing since the San Juan Seminar in January

72. Ironically, the new Executive Director of the Caribbean Tourism Centre, in order to take over his new post had just resigned his former position as chief economist for the government of Trinidad and Tobago, the same post once held by this incoming President of the Development Bank. Both the institutions they now lead are headquartered in Barbados.

Just by way of what the Tourism Centre will do, in addition to research it will conduct feasibility studies for would-be local entrepreneurs in tourism in the region. The Small Hotels Advisory Council of the Caribbean Hotel Association now becomes a service offered through the Tourism Centre. The Centre will organize workshops and other appropriate forums, both to inform public opinion and to bring together government policy-makers to deal with the output of its research into the economics and social effects of tourism. It will offer policy guidance and organize training at many levels, perhaps most importantly among the civil service. Finally, it will publish a periodical on tourism studies, probably the first in the world, and particularly to disseminate information among the former colonial states faced with the similar dilemma of tourism.

One also wants to note here that the overseas funding for the Tourism Centre has come from the Inter-American Foundation. Its purpose is primarily to support indigenous initiatives in the Caribbean and Latin America in support of social institutional reform. Foundation approval came in February of 1974, just a matter of weeks after the Overseas Development Council in Washington had organized an informal evening dinner occasion where these tourism perspectives were developed among a group which included representatives from various organizations concerned with development issues. I had been asked to lead the evening discussion. The chairman was Congressman Fascell, who had spoken last September in Aruba to raise the question of tourism and foreign policy. Among those with us for the evening had been the President of the Inter-American Foundation.

We begin to see, then, the inter-linkages of new awareness, the institutionalizing of the perspective, and the organization of a developmental mode. It has remained implicit from the outset that there is a market. In a real sense, what has happened so far is that work which had been going on--perhaps most responsibly in the University of the West Indies but largely focused on disproving the alleged benefits of tourism and laying bare its contradictions--has now become centered around the more appropriate development focus: how do we do it so that it benefits us.

We note that to approach the marketing question is only logical. But, looking more deeply at tourism, we find in the marketing question a further definition of what constitutes a developmental mode.

We can say first, as we have known all along, that there are markets which want the well-run, local hotel integrated into its community. This has been historically a major part of tourism--indeed, almost the whole of tourism until the advent of the international chains. The local hotel is known in Switzerland, France, Germany and throughout Europe. It has long existed as well in the Caribbean, though many of the earlier ones were local in the imagery of the expatriates who had settled in the islands. Among the clientele, especially today, are people of all ages and backgrounds, perhaps particularly those more in touch with nature, those of elitist breeding, artists and writers, academics, introverts--those influenced by post-industrial values. The new environmental consciousness is a stimulus to these markets as are also the overcoming of racism and the distrust of power concentration.

It is indeed impossible to approach the question of marketing a developmental mode of tourism without being cognizant of the state of change within the marketplace. The question of tourism-marketing has to do with how tourism is positioned as a phenomenon of industrial society. Virtually every aspect of

industrial society is under question today. Mainly the focus has been on the purpose of production and the unaccounted-for costs, both those which are considered to be public, such as cleaning up the environmental waste, and those which have been unquantifiable, the social malaise. If we have not yet questioned the leisure product it is because in a society still governed by puritanical institutions, leisure is the last to be seriously considered. We are getting to it as a serious topic primarily because it is now regarded as business, and a major one at that. Our meeting here at the East-West Center is an early aspect still.

In industrial society tourism is an aspect of leisure reward for our labors. It is an affirmation of the value of the work we do. It affirms that reward can be separate from purpose. It validates a dichotomy wherein work creates both profits and leisure--profits for management which directs work, and leisure for those who do work. But it is clear that the reward for labor is not to share in determining the purposes of work. To send someone off to a foreign country as the reward for labor is to put thoughts of work completely out of his mind. And this is precisely an objective.

The story of industrial society is now well known. The integrated life, that in which work, the social order, and leisure are all interrelated in the living of the community--the integrated life is given up. Urban drift begins. At this stage we become divorced from responsibility. Governance of the community is separated from its work. Control of work is vested elsewhere. In the lost synthesis between ourselves as economic persons and community persons, we are given over to regulation which can no longer account for our needs as balanced and rational animals. That regulation itself lacks balanced and rational animals. That regulation itself lacks balanced guidance. We move into the cities but they are not our places and we are not responsible for them. We return to the countryside now as suburbanites. Life as we knew it no longer exists there, both because of the loss of responsibility and exacerbated by the real focus of our energies, the work which occurs elsewhere. We move daily between our neutered communities and the cities over which we have no control. Increasingly our public budgets must deal with the consequences of our inattention to our own needs. As they become swollen, they and their administrators demand more and more product from work. It is a well-known analysis.

These movements to and from the city are mirrored in the moves of tourism. We can understand--and it is a third basic contradiction--that while those who are tourists are away from work while they travel, those who organize their travel are at work. People are sent by their travel agents to have a good time. It is not what constitutes a good time that guides the travel agent at work. It is the profitability of the sale. It is the dependability of the commission. It is all governed by the duplication of a workable formula. It is the most of what can be organized for sale to the most. The person who buys the product from a supermarket shelf to feed the family during the work-year also buys the product packaged by a wholesale tour operator for distribution to the retail travel outlets of the marketplace.

As we search among the supermarket shelves for the good life, the same ones who organize production of consumer goods also send us abroad in search of it. As we train our medical profession and our good industry to be unconcerned with nutrition, so we send people to consume travel without regard to the experience.

We have instituted widespread migration patterns, but they are not well based in nature. Much as our willy-nilly introduction of animals and plants into inappropriate environments has upset natural orders, we are now engaged in restless human introduction oblivious to the natural integrity of human as well as natural cultures.

Moreover, there is a geo-biological, a geo-political aspect to these migrations. It is from the industrial North wherein our cities are increasingly unlivable to the sensuous tropics where the blood runs hot and emotions take charge of people's reason. We need some of each to regain our balance, medico-tourism tells us. Having lost the sense of synthesis, we believe it can be re-created in separate packages of intense dosages, the one as it were counter-acting the other.

We are engaged in the migrations of the sick in the search for what will make us well by looking in places prescribed by the sick. That is the utter pathology of it. We can only be well in harmony with the nature of our human condition, and we, as all animals, are in need of habitat where we can nourish ourselves from among what nature offers us. To look for a place in which to be restored without understanding that we must restore our own places is to look for what can never be found.

This is not to say there are no restorative powers to be realized in travel. But it is to say that such restoration is dependent on our arriving in a place where those who live have the power to rehabilitate us. That power no more lies in the staged voodoo ceremony than in the corruption of the hula. The debasement of the human being in his or her place wherever it occurs is a pathological encounter. We become more distracted from the nature of our condition as we come to accept what is false as what is real. Heavier doses of drugs blot out heavier symptoms. More concentrated poisons wipe out more disease-resistant pests. More fantasy wipes out more drudgery.

Tourism disappoints us with the shallowness of experience, but we continue to adjust and accept, demanding less because we are guided by those at work when we go to play. Their work is part of our work, yet when we go to play, we are part of their work. Our work is the antithesis of our own development. How can we possibly help anyone else's development?

The way out will not be found by those who are still sick, without assistance. A turning away is needed, and it can be found only where people remain integrated with the resources of their own sustenance. In industrial society today a turning away has begun. It is expressed in many ways. Essentially all are linked, we might say, in the rejection of materialism as the measure of growth. Indeed, one can probably assemble the appropriate surveys of the human being in industrial society to chart the progression of this development and therein find a basic measure by which to quantify the growth of an alternate market in support of a developmental mode of tourism. The rejection of materialism is the rejection of the individual's divorce from himself. It seems quickly to involve a new respect for one's surroundings, a deeper appreciation of what is at hand rather than the introduction constantly of new products. It is easy to see the return of balance in the development of environmental awareness, in the growing acceptance of the ecologic principle as a fundamental principle. One comes to love the place one is, as one comes to accept who one is, because the redemption of human beings both in biological and psychological terms requires that it be so. One acts on one's place and on one's self in the same way. We can tell how we regard ourselves by how we regard our places. I would suggest there is a direct correlation between this and the use of industrial pesticides, agricultural feedlots, artificial foods, and the consumption of drugs.

The way out for industrial society is in the reaffirmation of place of Human Beings in their place, in the overriding value of this relationship if we are to achieve anything of our human potential. We require to have reintroduced into our lives the celebration of place. We begin to find new music and poetry in praise of where one is. There arise the expressions of private thoughts communicated to others who understand, not necessarily the words of the expression but the joy in the offering. We see the beginning of communi-

cation of compassion and fraternity, and the demise of communication in the service of technique. A greater value comes to be attached to the communion than to any bargain affected by it.

If we are going to market a tourism in support of our own development--if we are going to encourage people to come to our places--then we must understand the condition of those we are talking to. It is not so much the rich tourist we want, or the world-traveller, or the middle class. It is the one who nourishes our sense of who we are in our places and who values the universality of the experience.

It becomes apparent, then, that the marketing of a developmental mode of tourism requires that these island states of which we talk intervene in the essential debate within the marketplace. It is nothing more than to say that it is necessarily in the interests of people who are defenseless to defend themselves. It is no different from the oil-producing or the bauxite-producing states to insist on a necessary position in the decision-making processes. It is no different with tourism which is, after all, one of the great industries of the world. These destination places of which we speak, these islands must go into the marketplace where their own futures are being decided and find the means by which to operationalize their own safeguards. The issue cannot be fought directly among the councils of tourism. We require at least the more hospitable forum of development and an awareness there of what is at stake. The marketing of a developmental mode of tourism calls for an alliance among the island states and those within industrial society who are finding the ways to challenge successfully the irrationality of their regimes. Because both the development of the islander and the redemption of metropolitan society require respect for the integrity of their places, it is suitably in the nature of a developmental mode of tourism that the integrity of the place be the essential organizer of the travel experience.

Thus far in the history of tourism it has been characterized as exclusively a buyers' market. Conceptualized in a developmental mode, the organizing energies revolve around the integrity of the place. It is not so much a sellers' market, on the other hand--it is not a zero-sum game in which if one of us wins the other must lose. It is rather an experience of mutual complementarity which recognizes the highest priority in global integrity and the custodianship of all of who after all are vested only with life interests in anything.

We must accept that the irrationality of industrial society will continue. But this does not mean that there cannot simultaneously be the organization of an alternate mode of life. Within industrial North America citizens acting at the community level increasingly are opting for social control in terms of the integrity of their places, even as the conglomerates irresponsibly continue to disregard the integrity of the places in which they appear.

What it is we need is an alternate system. It wants to be based on an organizing principle that is global and on rewards for local integrity. It is the sum of local integrity on which global well-being depends. Work needs to be organized in terms of the ongoing productivity of local resources--and, as a general rule of thumb, a system which favors the strengthening of local responsibility.

It may be that given the depletion of essential resources that tourism must end. If so, then even as we recognize that tourism will not likely be cut off in the immediate future, we want to organize in order to make the transition possible. In everything we do we must be guided increasingly by having what we do enhance the prospect that we will better be able to come to grips with the re-establishment of local integrity.

Historically, learning through travel has received general lip-service. But there is no reason why it cannot actually happen. We only require an alternate apparatus to begin to effect it. Tourism as we are dealing with it here wants to have the support of those seriously concerned with global development. Tourism in this light becomes a medium to effect Development because it recognizes that both the islander and the citizen of industrial society remain colonized. Tourism benefits each even as it relaxes the death grip of industrial society on us all.

Now it is obvious that not everyone is going to come clamoring in support of this type of analysis. But there is, on the other hand, the Inter-American Foundation willing to invest in it at the receiving end of tourism. And so, too, is it likely that there are other institutions which will take on the broader dimension at what we are calling the marketing end.

My own concerns have been at this end in the months now since I gave up the post with the Caribbean Travel Association. If we know about the infrastructure that high-technology tourism requires in the so-called Developing World, then we want to recognize that what we need is an infrastructure within industrial society. The traditional infrastructure is physical and technical. The redemptive infrastructure is psychological and communicative.

In the first place, we need to establish situations whereby those interested to work at the problem and solutions can come together. Such an ongoing forum was established last September with the beginning of the seminar "Alternate Tourism Perspectives" which is offered through Florida International University (FIU). The seminar is part of the Department of International Relations where this and related initiatives are fully supported by the College of Arts and Sciences. The seminar brings together all who are interested, including the members of the industry. The corporations, whatever is to become of them, are nevertheless organized by people; even as the drive for profits leads to irrational behavior, they remain sensitive to market changes and will respond. We are in any case talking the mechanics of transition, and it is not inconceivable that the corporate manager who finds the market growing for a redemptive travel experience may himself be drawn to identify with it. Participants have come from industry, from management consulting firms, the airline and steamship industries, and international banking; from the U.S. Department of State, Overseas Development Council, Christian Action for Development in the Caribbean, Caribbean Community Secretariat, East Caribbean Common Market; from Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Netherlands Antilles, Trinidad and Tobago, Dominica, the Bahamas. They have come from the fields of ecology, economics, planning, anthropology, marketing, education. The seminar is ongoing; the interactions among participants generate new activities.

As part of this infrastructural system one needs exposure in the marketplace, as through publicity, to validate the perspectives for those we want to reach so that they can be informed. We have found publications everywhere receptive, among them so far The New York Times, The Washington Post, and now one of the major news weeklies of America.

For the Fall we are organizing a workshop under the auspice of the Center for Inter-American Relations to introduce the Caribbean Tourism Centre into the public policy and corporate policy sectors of North America. The Tourism Centre, through its new Executive Director and several of its guiding figures, will be presented to further validate the perspectives in which we are engaged. And the Tourism Centre itself will be helped to find its appropriate channels of influence within industrial society.

Through FIU we are at work now to organize an Institute of Tourism Studies to maintain an ongoing and growing focus on the legitimacy of what we are up to. It will become a resource for all engaged in support of these initiatives. It

is likely that a newsletter will be an early output, this directed to both the institutions of development as well as those of tourism, and others able to respond to the opportunities inherent in these perspectives.

There are also several publishing initiatives underway. In addition to a growing literature of analysis, still largely discovering the inadequacies of tourism for its ostensible development purposes, we are planning a scholarly volume to develop these perspectives in terms of traditional disciplines as well as the more multi-disciplinary global framework and the existential prospect. We hope to have this published and available both as a general sensitizing achievement as well as for academic work by the Fall of 1975.

Another book will begin what we hope will be a series of guides to the indigenous resorts of the tropics, beginning in the Caribbean. This new guidebook series can also become the basis for setting up a central reservations system for these hotels and inns which historically have gone with inadequate information available to prospective visitors in the marketplace. Such a system can be easily organized without the need for computerization using the Telex or similar system. It becomes the necessary stimulus to identify agents in the marketplace who will develop the trade particularly interested in such locally-oriented vacation experiences.

We look as well to the prospect of a consumer periodical which will offer an ongoing communication between those in the islands, for example, and those in the marketplace. Such a publication has already been researched for feasibility in the United Kingdom and the data are now being considered in the United States to support similar research here.

I suppose ultimately we can frame the issue this way. The organized travel-marketing apparatus today says that if tourism is to work you have to have the tourist, and in order to get the tourist "you have to give them what they want." Giving "them what they want," as this is meant, means offering a variety of fantasy experiences because we know that for the most of us at work, work is a pain and that escape is the appropriate response, given any opportunity to get away. That the person in industrial society may in fact not want more fantasy but instead to get real answers to real problems that he perceives as the result of the contradictions in his life--that this is in fact what he might want is not addressed by tourism. Tourism does not deal with the larger reality. It exists in the service of industrial irrationality.

For development, the guiding principle of tourism must be not "you have to give them what they want" but instead, "You have to give them what you have--and make what you have what they want." It becomes possible if we understand that what it is "they want" lies outside of tourism, but that we can supply it if we will offer it as a travel experience based on the integrity of being in our places. It is most of all what industrial society wants. Finally it is what we all want.

PHYSICAL PLANNING FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Edward L. Inskeep

From my perspective as a physical planner, I want to focus my remarks on three aspects of developing tourism so that it provides maximum benefits to an area's resident population. These are:

1. to explore some of the various planning approaches and techniques which can help maximize the benefits of tourism and mitigate its adverse impact;
2. to emphasize that economic, social, cultural and environmental impact of tourism must be considered throughout the planning process, and not only after development has taken place; and
3. to indicate some ways in which local planning capability for tourism planning can be developed.

What is planning? As I am using it here, planning is the process by which development is guided and controlled in order to achieve specified social, economic and environmental goals. This applies to tourism planning just as much as it does to other types of planning. An inherent part of the planning process is assessing the impact of various possible alternative developments so that the one with the most positive and least negative impact is selected.

There are different levels of tourism planning--national, regional, urban and resort. Wherever possible, tourism planning should be done first at the national or regional levels. This level of planning establishes the policies and locational framework within which more detailed planning can be done, e.g., of resorts. National and regional planning identifies the logical resort facility and other tourism facility areas, their relative sizes and their relationship to visitor attractions and transportation facilities. It also sets forth general design standards for tourism development. This level of planning is essential because it is the means to systematically achieve a balance among the various components of tourism development, and between tourism and other types of social, economic and physical development. It provides government with a rational basis for establishing overall control on the type and location of tourism facilities and for determining the public capital investment required. And it gives guidance to private developers on where to make investments with greater assurance that they will be profitable ones.

A comprehensive tourism plan must not only consider physical development. Equally important are analysis and recommendations on travel patterns, marketing, economic cost-benefits, government incentives for private investment, the proper government organizational structure for guiding tourism, and educational and training programs for employees in tourism.

The basic approach to tourism planning, whether for a large-scale national plan or for a small resort, should be that of a thorough social, economic and environmental analysis. It is essential to understand all facets of the society, culture, economy and natural environment in order to plan in an intelligent and sensitive manner.

The formulation of tourism development goals is the first step in planning. Goals provide the basis for determining the type of tourism development to be encouraged. These goals should include consideration of the economic, social and environmental impact. Some examples of tourism development goals are as follows:

- a) Encouragement of participation by local people in all phases of the decision-making process relative to the planning and development of tourism.
- b) Distribution of the economic benefits of tourism to the maximum number of people in all segments of the local society.
- c) Intensive development of other sectors of the economy, e.g. agriculture and industry, to serve tourism so that economic benefits are increased.
- d) Development of transportation and other infrastructure so that it is multi-purpose, serving other sectors of the economy as well as tourism.
- e) Use of tourism as a means of environmental and cultural conservation in order to preserve an area's uniqueness.
- f) Provision of visitor attractions, including parks, which serve residents as well as tourists.

These are only a few of the types of goals which should be considered for tourism to make a truly beneficial contribution to society. Goals should be carefully formulated to suit the area and society being planned.

Now, the inevitable question is: These goals are fine but how can they be accomplished realistically? There are many techniques which must be considered in any particular area. Time is too limited to describe all of them here but a few warrant emphasis. One of the basic techniques is establishment of a proper inter-relationship of resorts and other tourism facilities. This involves identification of a staging area, usually located near the major access point to the country, such as an airport. This staging area is where tourists stay first and it must be developed to a fairly high degree before other resorts elsewhere in the country or region can be successful.

Another basic technique is concentration of hotels and related facilities in selected areas of the country or region, with no tourism development allowed in other places. Some of the advantages of concentrating hotels are that it allows for efficient use of transportation and other infra-structure, it discourages unsightly ribbon development along highways and beaches, and it confines any potential environmental and social disruption to limited areas, leaving other places in the country unspoiled. Concentration of hotels in specific places is not in conflict with the concept of decentralization of tourism development to outlying areas at the appropriate time. There can be several concentrations of tourism facilities throughout the country or region.

Even though hotels are concentrated in selected areas, the economic benefits of tourism can still be widespread through encouragement of land and water tours and of ancillary economic activities such as handicraft production and agriculture.

A third important principle is that tourism development should be compatible with the natural and cultural environment. This involves careful environmental analysis so that attractive and climatically desirable areas are selected for tourism facilities. But it is also important that areas which are more suitable for other purposes, such as parks, not be pre-empted by hotels. A major consideration in fitting resort facilities into the environment is application of design standards relative to density of hotel rooms per acre, building heights, public access to hotel beaches, architectural styles and other factors.

An all-pervasive principle of successful tourism which also greatly benefits

residents is maintenance of environmental quality. This includes air, water and noise pollution controls, cleanliness of streets and public places, attractive building design, control of advertising signs and provision of open space and landscaping.

There are several other principles and techniques in planning for tourism that maximize benefits and lessen adverse impact. But one which I especially want to mention is provision of adequate housing and community facilities for employees in tourism. In large cities, housing may not be a problem. However, in many isolated and less developed areas, housing is either inadequate or available only in the hotel compounds. An approach which I consider important is that both the employee housing and all the necessary community facilities be provided in integrated communities, either as new towns or as additions to nearby existing towns or villages. This provision should be a joint responsibility of government and hotel developers.

The concept of development of socially viable communities for employees applies particularly to resort planning. In fact, a large resort should be viewed as an integrated new town which, in addition to all the usual tourist facilities of hotels, resort residential homes, golf courses and other recreation facilities, can include the community in which employees live.

Not every resort should be designed for all the same types of uses. A resort should be planned based on the area's specific environmental and cultural opportunities and constraints, with great consideration given to potential impact.

For example, the tourism plan for Bali recommends that there be integrated resort development but that the resort not be oriented to recreation. Instead, it should serve primarily as a place to accommodate visitors who take day tours of the Balinese villages and landscapes. The resort does not include a golf course or other major recreation facilities which would encourage visitors to stay more than three or four days. If the length of stay were longer than that, the large number of tourists in Bali at any given time might lead to social problems, or at least to the need for a much greater number of hotels and hence more environmental impact. There are other places in Indonesia where recreation resorts can be developed without creating adverse impact.

A planning concept which is receiving increasing attention is that of environmental overload. This concept has application to tourism as well as other types of development. And it can be applied either to an already developed area or to planning for an undeveloped area. Environmental overload refers to that point when there is overuse of facilities and degradation of the environment. With respect to tourism, environmental capacity and the point of overload can be measured in terms of use and congestion of various facilities and attractions such as beaches, swimming, surfing and diving areas, streets, sidewalks, parks, museums, hiking trails and ski slopes. Also to be considered is the capacity of utility services--sewer and water systems and electric power. In some urban places such as Waikiki, over-development of buildings to the extent that they block the sun and create unusual wind circulation patterns also should be examined.

Analysis of the capacity of these environmental factors and application of standards can indicate when the point of overload is likely to be reached. Then, the type and amount of development, e.g. the number of hotel rooms, should be planned to be less than that overload level.

Although more difficult to measure, a factor to be considered in overload analysis is when the resident population begins to feel that their public

services and environmental amenities are being pre-empted by tourists so that they cannot easily use and enjoy them.

So far I have concentrated on the need for preparation of tourism plans. But the best of plans have no value unless they can be accomplished. Many implementation techniques must be applied and the most appropriate ones will vary from one area to another. With respect to physical development, zoning controls are usually necessary. And staging of development, both in time and place, must be considered. Also important are architectural and landscape architectural style guidelines. For some resort developments, formation of public or private corporations may be the best way to construct and maintain the resort.

In addition, it is necessary to realize that no plan is totally infallible. Nor are circumstances going to remain the same in our fast changing world. So tourism plans must be flexible and subject to modification. But changes to the plan should be made only within the framework of still achieving the basic long-range goals of tourism.

An important basis for modifying tourism plans is continual monitoring of the success and impact of that development which has already taken place. The social, economic and environmental impact of tourism should be evaluated on an annual basis so that undesirable trends can be altered and desirable ones reinforced.

The last point that I want to make is on development of local technical capability to plan, implement and monitor tourism programs. The best persons and organizations to do this are the local ones because of their thorough knowledge of the society, culture, economy and environment; and also because local people have a much greater vested interest in tourism's proper development. Initially, local capability often does not exist or is limited and outside consultants and expatriate staff must be utilized. When this outside experience is first introduced and during its presence, local capability can be developed by assigning counterpart staff to work with the consultants.

This approach is strongly supported by the United Nations and World Bank which stipulate that counterpart staffing be provided and trained on their project. Additionally, these internationally financed projects often include funding for formal education of counterparts in their respective fields. For example, on the UNDP/IBRD Tourism Development Plan project for Fiji, a counterpart town planner was assigned to the consulting team for almost one year in both Fiji and Hawaii. On the UNDP Jamaica National Physical Planning project, several counterpart planners were assigned to work with the United Nations team, and some of these were sponsored for university education overseas. Even if the project is not funded by the United Nations, the local government should require that consultants train counterpart staff.

Other techniques include government provision of scholarships for education on tourism planning. And the government or the local visitors' bureau can support tours of areas where tourism is already developed and transportation to conferences on tourism development. Another approach which might be effective is for the local government to sponsor people to engage in on-the-job training in agencies related to tourism planning and development in foreign countries. In some countries, it may be feasible to establish tourism planning courses in the local or regional university.

Development of local technical capability should also apply to private enterprise. A common technique, which can be encouraged or required by government, is joint venture of foreign firms with local ones. This can apply

to many types of enterprises--architectural, engineering and planning firms, and development and construction companies.

I do not believe that all countries or regions should categorically aim to be totally self-sufficient in their technical capabilities. No matter what the level of development and capability of a country, there is often something to be gained from outside experience and perspective, if nothing more than to stimulate local thinking and approaches to solving problems.

Lastly, I would like to comment on what may be the obvious. Because it involves movement of people into an area and serving the needs of these people, tourism can have considerable impact on the local society, economy and environment--much more than other types of economic development. There are ways to reinforce positive impact and to mitigate negative impact but change is going to result. And not all aspects of this change will be welcome. First, a country or region must decide whether it wants tourism. If the decision is to develop tourism, it is essential to recognize that some trade-offs have to be made. These trade-offs can be the ones which are most beneficial to the country if tourism is guided and controlled according to carefully considered goals and planning.

EDUCATION FOR TOURISM

AN OUTLINE OF ISSUES, CONCEPTS AND PROBLEMS RELEVANT TO THE PACIFIC ISLAND COUNTRIES

Manuel S. Alba

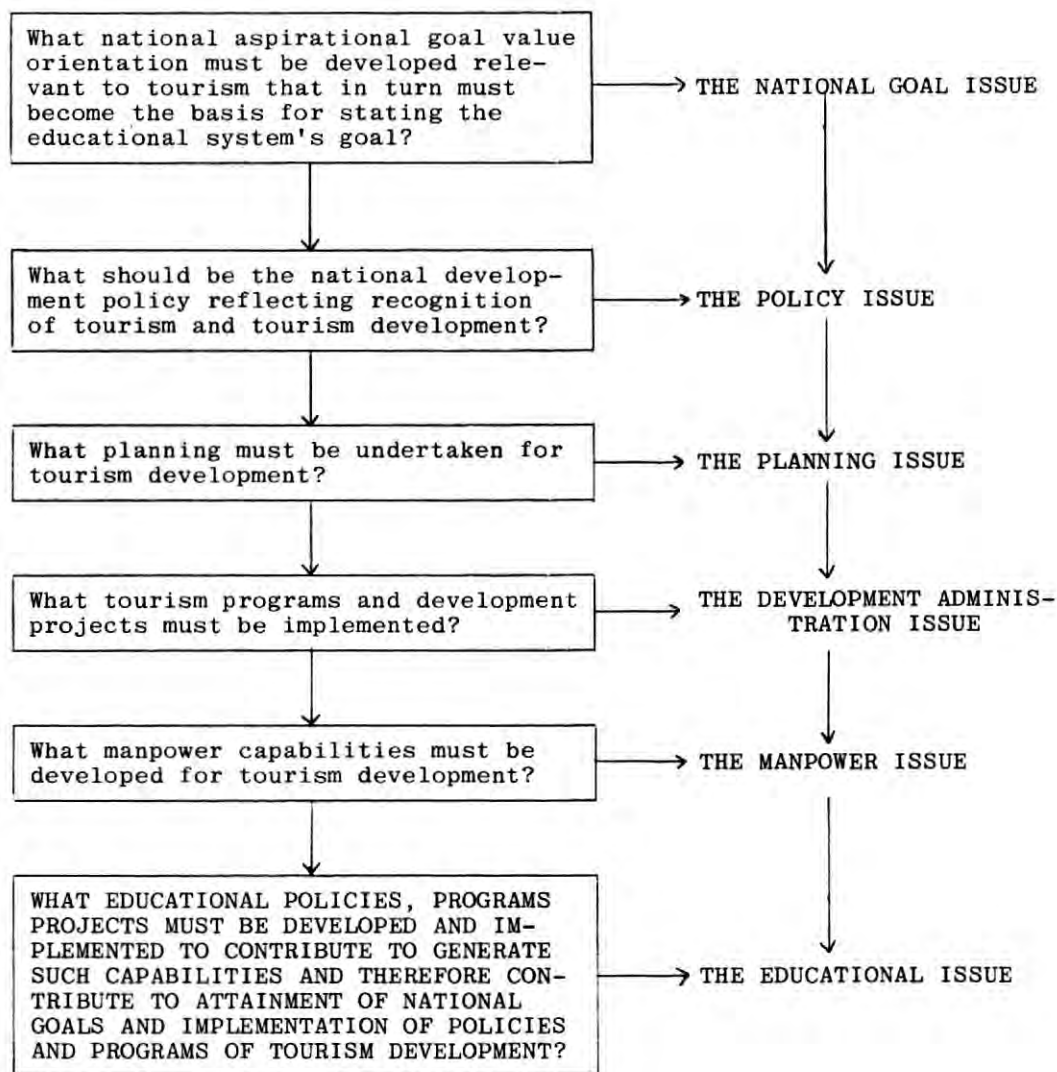
1. EMERGENCE OF TOURISM AS THE KEY DEVELOPMENT SECTOR

By all indications, most if not all the island countries in the Pacific must in the long-run depend on tourism as the primary generator and foundation for development. The decline of agriculture and mining as major industries has that inexorable inevitability, a prospect that should generate a pressure or demand for a shift from commodity production or extraction and marketing to service marketing. This means a shift from capital utilizing to manpower-utilizing economic activities. Outside of the military in some island states or territories, tourism will become the dominant service sector.

Beyond becoming the dominant development factor, tourism because of the expected pervasiveness of its impact, will also become the major agent of social and cultural change. As a consequence, it will also become the main issue of any political debate within the governmental framework of the Pacific countries. One may exaggerate a little and state further that it might indeed become a way of life for the future among these island societies just as it has for some countries of Europe, such as Greece, Portugal, Monaco and others, as well as for those in the Caribbean.

2. THE RELEVANT EDUCATIONAL ISSUES

In the light of the scenario described, the relevant issues and questions that need be raised must be reflected as follows:



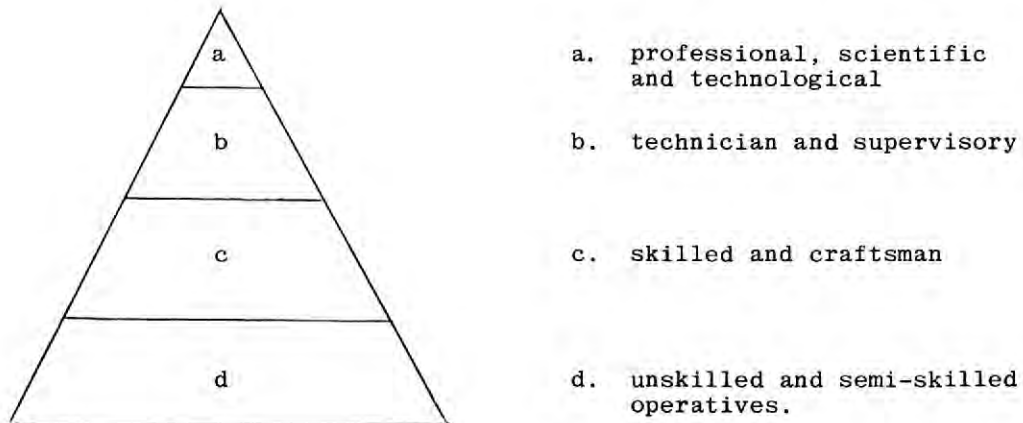
The basic interest in this discussion is to direct attention to the role of education or the functions of the educational system in preparing the population for the social, cultural, and economic impact of tourism; and, if it is the premise that tourism and tourism development will become the main instrument of national development in this part of the world, to the role of the educational system in developing capabilities in planning, research, and administration of tourism development. In this context education for tourism must mean education to qualify the population through the provision of basic or general

education founded on knowledge, values and attitudes that must aim, at a minimum, for functional literacy, and education to transform such population from qualified human resource to qualified manpower resource through the provision of the relevant skills -- in planning, research, administration. The first meaning alludes to the need for the population to be able to participate in the basic functions of society -- the social, economic, political and cultural, and in more specific sense to have an appreciation of how tourism will affect their lives as cultures come in contact. This allusion is fundamental to the concept of national sovereignty, or national identity, or national culture -- the maintenance, preservation or promotion of which has been universally recognized as an aspirational objective for the educational system.

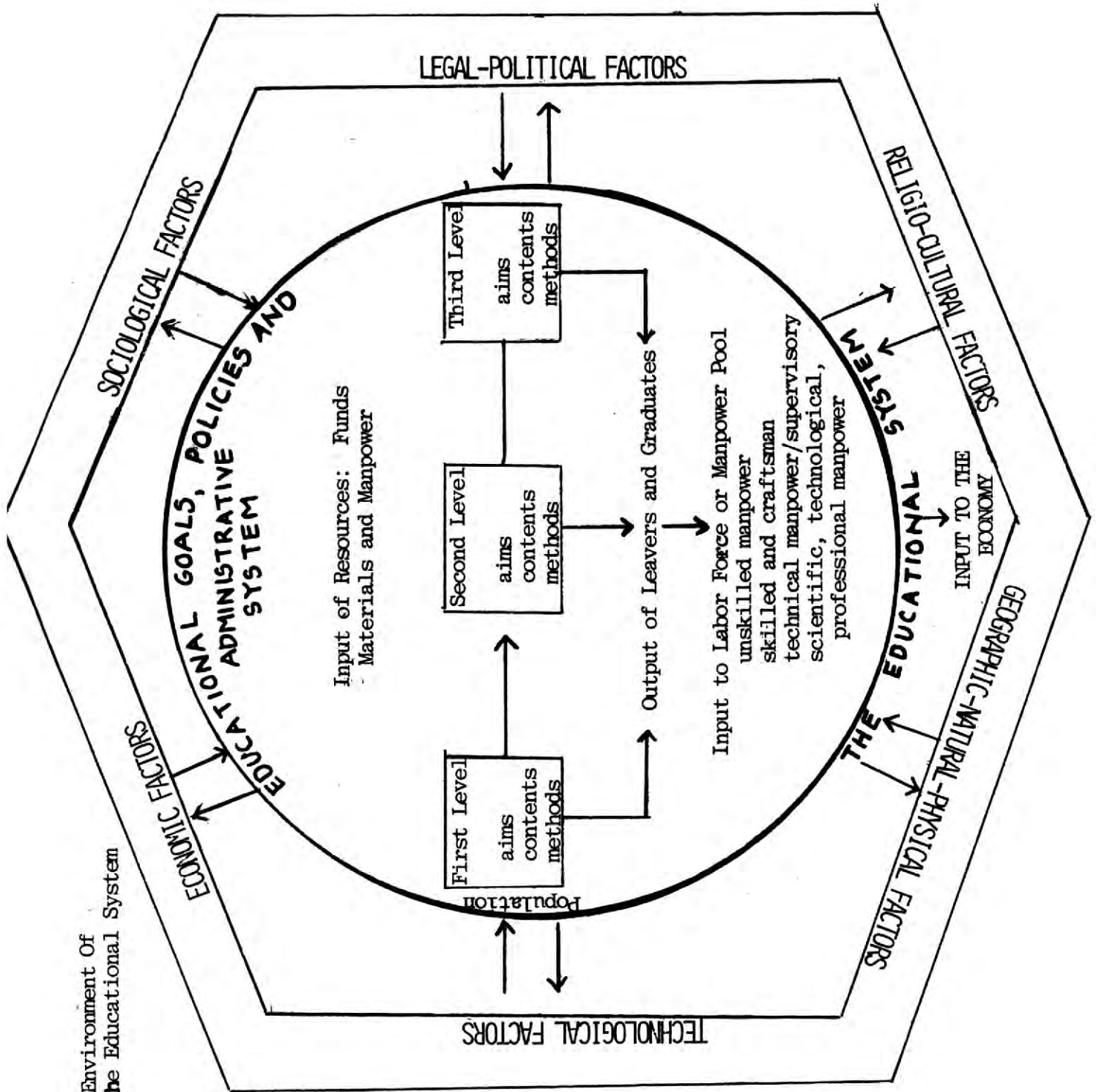
The second meaning alludes to the fact that beyond attaining basic educational foundation, the educational system must become an instrument of national development by developing the relevant manpower resources as input to development efforts. For any type of development activities, at least four (4) levels of manpower are needed: a) the highest level which consists of the professional, the scientific, and the technological and managerial manpower to assume the functions of public leadership, research and planning, training and education itself, management and professional practice as this would apply to tourism industry; b) the middle level manpower generally consisting of technicians and supervisory manpower such as the scheduling staff for an airline, the hotel building superintendent, the restaurant floor manager, etc., c) the skilled and the craftsman manpower such as the chefs, the tour guides, the publicity graphic artists, etc.; and d) the lowest categories consisting of the unskilled, the semi-skilled -- or in general the rank-and-file operatives such as the janitors, the chambermaids, the bellboys, the waiters, etc.

3. MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT THROUGH EDUCATION (Refer to Education Systems Chart)

If the demand or need for each category of manpower is identified, and this must be a research and planning function, a manpower pyramid can be identified with the following general shape:



The Environment Of
The Educational System

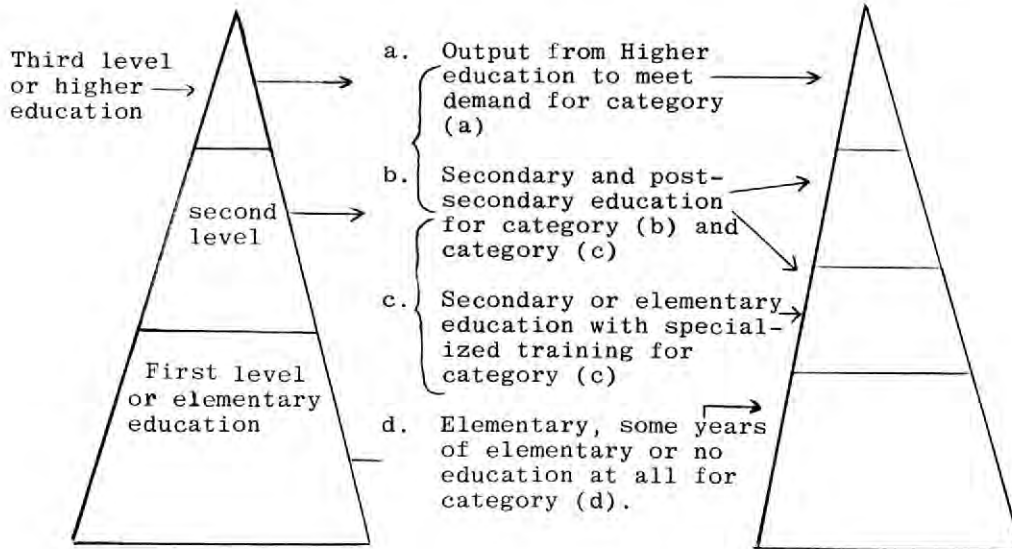


It is an obvious deduction that one can make that each category of manpower requires a certain level of educational attainment. Category (a) suggests the provision of education in the professions and the disciplines which is attainable through four years of higher education in the university, or through high level non-formal training programs such as those provided by the specialized institutions. Category (b) suggests an educational level that generally could be provided by a general secondary education or post-secondary institutions for technician training with two-three year programs. The trade schools that implement programs in food processing, commercial arts, bookkeeping, etc., are examples of technician type institutions that responded to the demand for category (b) manpower. Category (c) manpower requires specialized training and apprenticeship in specialized schools for people with a minimum of secondary (second level) or elementary (first level) education. Category (d) manpower would require a minimum of basic education such as a few years of elementary education, or in many cases, even no education.

The shape of the manpower pyramid is determined by the general level of development - in this case of the state of development of the tourism sector. It can be flat suggesting a large proportion of lower level manpower or relatively steep suggesting a larger proportion of high level manpower. The hotel and restaurant service will approximate a relatively flat manpower pyramid, while the air transport industry may suggest a relatively steep pyramid. A tourism manpower survey assessing the manpower requirements for each development sector or aggregately will provide the information that must become the input into the tourism manpower plan. For the educational system to be considered responsive to development through tourism, the output from the educational system must take on a relatively congruent shape, i.e., the manpower pyramid must be identical to the educational output pyramid. This is shown as follows:

1. The educational output pyramid

2. The manpower pyramid



In interpreting the attempt at translating manpower requirements to educational requirements as described above, it is more meaningful to assume that it

is formal education, i.e., education through the formal school system, that is being referred to. The formal educational system is the primary generator of manpower.

Further, to make the meaning of the preceding discussion more dramatic, it may be helpful if we were to assume that the only development sector in tourism; i.e., the national economy is identical with tourism economy. A reference to the earlier chart would help, if the label "input to the economy" is changed to "input to tourism development."

4. TOURISM DEVELOPMENT PLANNING AND EDUCATIONAL PLANNING

Given then the prospect that tourism will be the main development sector, research and planning for tourism must then become a first priority consideration. It is only through this exercise that the national governments of the respective countries may be able to determine the kind of manpower that may be needed to evolve local capabilities to manage a tourism-oriented economy. The questions that should be asked for planning purposes are: what skills are needed, and how much in aggregate quantity of people must be generated for each skill category. This is the two-pronged statement of the manpower problem. The counterpart statement of the educational problem is: what kind of educational facilities are there to generate such manpower and what contents and methods of the educational programs must be implemented.

It is critical to stress that tourism development planning must take some long-time horizon since generally the educational planning time horizon takes no less than the ten-year period. Most countries have six years of first level education, six years of second level (3 years of lower secondary, and 3 years of upper secondary), and four years of third level or higher education. For countries with developed educational system, there are also some years of graduate studies. Thus the educational process cycle takes at least 16 years - indicating that 16 years must minimally be the time-horizon for planning the educational system.

If national governments succeed in evolving an adequate tourism development plan, that among other things identifies the quality and levels of skills as well as the magnitude of manpower requirements, then the national educational system accordingly can have a basis for evolving an educational program consistent with the demand for tourism development. An educational plan integrating the manpower development requirements for tourism can then be evolved. Such a plan must then include a definition of the educational structure that is consistent with tourism development -- such a structure is exemplified by the 6-3-3-4 system above. An initial step of the planning exercise is to assess the state of development of the educational system at present -- what are its capabilities, where are the facilities located, what is the quality standard of the educational offering and what is the content of the program at each level of education? Other planning questions that are to be raised are: Beyond the formal school system what is being provided by the non-formal school system? How much education is provided by the mass media? Are there TIM (Tourism Industry Management) type schools or training programs. How much higher education is provided locally? What extent of the educational attainment is being obtained from abroad? How is the administration of the educational institutions themselves, and that of the system, organized?

For the purpose of this discussion, it would certainly have been more cogent if some statistical data could have been presented that gives some picture of the state of educational development in the countries of the Pacific. It has been difficult to obtain such data. It does suggest that a first effort on the part of the national government with respect to educational planning and development relevant to tourism development must be that of educational research

that consists of a quantitative assessment of national, local, and institutional educational resources, and of qualitative evaluation of the standards of education, at all levels, and if possible, of non-formal training programs.

5. SOME NOTES ON THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS CHART

The chart portrays in some way what a typical educational system -- primarily the formal school system -- structurally looks like in terms of the national development perspective. The educational system is shown in the inner circle with its educational ladder components (first, second and third levels), that suggest a process as the enrolled population "goes through the mill." While the system as it is presented has an autonomous working of its own, the external environment impinges on the system that sooner or later must result in the modification of the system. Thus the development of the audio-visual media has revolutionized the instructional process. On the other hand, the pace of technology is so rapid that the system, because of size and administrative rigidities, can not respond very quickly to integrate new knowledge, often resulting in an observation that the educational system is obsolete. The explosion of knowledge and the pervasiveness of the mass media have made non-formal education, i.e., education that takes place outside the school system, much more important, so that to some extent it is not startling to say that "going to school is an interruption of the learning process." For reasons of low income and inaccessibility of the school facilities, parents are often not able to send their children to school in spite of the constitutional mandate for compulsory education. For reasons of the high cost of educational operations, programs that are often demanded by the market situation for employment can not be instituted.

Just as the external environment generates impact on the educational system, the educational system itself can generate changes in the external environment, as when it aims to change the value system, generate knowledge through research, change the social patterns and life-styles, and through manpower generation influence the economy through the employment market.

Tourism development is a factor of the external environment that can be viewed in terms of its cultural, economic, social, political and even technological context. By demanding manpower resources from the educational system to sustain its growth and development, it soon generates a response from the system manifested in the adjustment of its educational programs and methods.

It is, however, to be expected that if tourism becomes the primary generator of development, and that if the economy must invest in the development of an educational system that is relevantly responsive, then it would become almost axiomatic that for the island countries of the Pacific, education must be education for tourism development.

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