

THE IMPACT OF DISPERSED
TOURISM IN FRENCH POLYNESIA

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Tourism has become an important economic phenomenon only in recent years, essentially since the end of World War I when large-scale investments were made to provide transport service, lodging, food and entertainment for the pleasure traveler. This is, perhaps, one reason why geographical studies of tourism are rather scarce, in spite of the influence of geographical factors upon this unique industry. Some exceptions include the pioneer theoretical works and prescriptive analyses of tourist industry location of Defert (1955), Bach (1961), and Von Boverter (1967).¹

A more significant cause for the apparent lack of interest in tourism among geographers, or at least location theorists, is the unusual nature of this "industry". First of all, unlike many industries, the consumer, i.e., the tourist, is brought to the product, i.e., the geographical and cultural attractions of a particular tourist center, rather than vice versa. The tourist center, which is equivalent to the factory producing the goods that the tourist consumer needs, is not necessarily located at points where costs are minimized. More often than not tourist centers are located in response to tourists demands for unusual physical geographical or cultural features of an area; furthermore, increasing distance from the consumer which entails increased costs to the consumer is sometimes

a desirable factor of location.

The unusual geographic situation and physical geography of many Pacific nations makes them well suited to tourist development, and indeed, tourism supplies important revenues to these developing nations because tourists are often drawn by a desire to escape temporarily from the mechanized society of the twentieth century to view the "unspoiled" nature of less advanced cultures than their own. The impact of tourism on these nations is often great and many macro-economic studies have been made which show the importance and influence of tourist generated revenues. There is, however, an apparent lack of information on localized socio-economic changes wrought by tourism in developing nations, changes which may be considered good or bad because of their effects on cultural tradition in an area rather than on the national economy. Finney (1963) has produced several papers on socio-economic changes in French Polynesia in particular localities but at a time when tourism was a less significant force in the territory than at present.

This paper seeks to analyze some of these neglected aspects of tourism in a developing Polynesian state. The thesis is that tourism is a constructive force in French Polynesia and that the dispersed nature of tourist facilities has been a significant factor in reducing the disruptive impact of, and in insuring the successful growth of the tourist industry in Tahiti. The term "impact of

tourism" refers to the physical, economic and cultural effects upon the Territory of forces generated by tourism; the "impact" also includes perception of changes related to the forces generated by tourism.

The problem of this study was to discover the interests of the major parties interested in and affected by tourism's growth in the Territory and to determine whether or not the relative dispersion of the industry was a contributing factor in attaining the desired levels of satisfaction -- of government official, tourist, businessman, or local inhabitant. Analysis of the perceptions of the impact of tourism and the benefits or ill effects related to its dispersed nature, in addition to factual information regarding the impact of dispersed tourism, form the main body of this research.

The writer hopes that the information gathered in this paper will contribute in some small way to the understanding of the importance of geographical considerations in the development of tourism, particularly on Pacific Island nations which look to tourism as the potential base of their economics.

CHAPTER I

ENDNOTES

¹See Bibliography.

CHAPTER II

THE DEVELOPMENT AND NATURE OF THE EXISTING TOURISM COMPLEX

THE MACRO-ECONOMIC SITUATION

Although many oceanic Pacific islands are renowned for their natural beauty and cultural attractions, few among them possess the necessary natural resources to support the complex civilization of the twentieth century. French Polynesia, however, did contain valuable phosphate deposits on the island of Makatea, an upraised coral island in the Tuamotu Archipelago. The exploitation of these deposits commenced in the early 1900's and until recently phosphate constituted the chief export of the Territory, followed by copra and vanilla. The mining of phosphate was discontinued in September of 1966 when the grade of the ore was no longer high enough to warrant the large capital outlays required to recover it.¹ Consequently, the French administration was stirred to act; not only were they losing the major source of the Islands' revenues, but they were faced simultaneously with the problem of a rapidly increasing population. In approximately twenty years, from 1946 to 1967, the population expanded 76.51 per cent, from 55,734 persons to 98,378 persons, an average growth rate of 3.64 per cent per year.² The growing gap in the trade balance forced the administration to consider the development of other resources.³ The traditional mainstays of French Polynesia's economy are fishing and agriculture; the bulk of the produce of each of

these primary activities is locally consumed. The need was for an export to reverse the trend in the balance of payments. Most secondary industries in the Territory also produced primarily for local consumption, i.e., breweries, soft drink factories, fabric printers, etc.

One controversial industry which received prompt consideration was tourism. Before 1959, tourists had been tolerated in the Territory, but not officially encouraged; in this year (1959) a decision was made to promote tourism to close the economic gap. The first official step was the creation of the Office du Tourisme de Tahiti in 1959; the responsibility of this organization centered primarily upon tourism development policy and promotion.⁴ This agency also cooperated with the Syndicat d'Initiative, an organization of local business interests founded in 1933 and designed for the purposes of welcoming visitors, distributing tourism activity information, maintaining natural and historical places of interest, and preserving Tahitian cultural traditions. The Syndicat d'Initiative continues to function although the official government agency, the Office du Tourisme, has been replaced by the Tahiti Tourist Development Board which was set up in May of 1966 with the power to take all actions concerning the promotion of tourism in French Polynesia. The Board is an agency of creation, coordination and application, but is also in charge of carrying out research of all types concerning the development of tourism, i.e., marketing, transportation,

provision of facilities, statistics, et cetera. The Board encourages private investment and creates public investment, sets aside land reserves, prepares and initiates publicity campaigns, and rules on professional activities which affect tourism.

During the first ten years of official development, the Tahitian tourism complex has expanded rapidly and extensively. In 1959, only 1,472 tourists visited Tahiti (excluding cruise ship passengers). One year later, following official promotion of the industry, there were 4,087 tourists. Except for one year (1964), there has been a steady increase in the number of visitors. By 1967, 23,574 tourists were coming to Tahiti; in addition, the number of cruise ship passengers has nearly doubled since 1959. In 1959, fifty-one cruise ships carrying 23,767 passengers stopped over in Tahiti; by 1967 the number of cruise ships had increased to sixty-eight and the number of passengers to 43,021.⁵

In 1961, the United States Chamber of Commerce conducted a survey concerning the future of tourism in the Pacific and the Far East which made some predictions of growth for tourism in Tahiti. The study noted that in 1958, prior to official promotion, the little over one thousand tourists who spent an average of eighteen days in Tahiti made estimated gross expenditures of slightly over one million dollars; the estimated multiplier effect was calculated to have generated 3.5 million in U.S. dollars. The survey

predicted that by 1958 Tahiti could, with proper planning and promotion, draw some 86,000 international tourists who would remain in Tahiti for an average of four days and spend an estimated total of 16.4 million dollars and by way of the estimated multiplier effect generate nearly 52.5 million dollars.⁶ In reality, by 1967, Tahiti had come nowhere near these "estimated attainable" figures. As of December 31, 1967, French Polynesia offered 722 rooms of international class; each of the 23,574 tourists occupying these hotel rooms spent approximately 3,480 Pacific francs per day (approximately 40 U.S. dollars) during their average stay of 6.7 days for a total of 549,651,000 Pacific francs (over 6.1 million dollars). The 43,021 cruise ship passengers spent 1,480 Pacific francs per capita per day in 1967 (approximately 17 U.S. dollars) during their mean stopover period of one day; receipts of these passengers totalled some 63,671,000 Pacific francs or approximately 775,000 U.S. dollars. (The term "tourist" is used by the TTDB to include all aliens entering Tahiti, those French Nationals on Club Mediterranee excursions, and only those cruise ship passengers who go through immigration procedures).

The major "tourist" expenditures are for food and accommodations. For the cruise ship passenger, expenditures are much lighter per capita in Tahiti and generally for curios, light refreshment, local transportation, and entertainment. Adding to these direct expenditures by tourists and cruise ship passengers, some 86,678,000 Pacific

francs in indirect receipts, the estimated global expenditures for 1967 totaled near 700,000,000 Pacific francs, over 7.5 million U.S. dollars.⁷ Although all the figures are not available for 1968, it appears that revenues will continue to show increases. The first quarter of 1968 showed non-residents exchanging the equivalent of 138,934,551 Pacific francs more than for the equivalent period of 1967, an increase of almost 65.2 per cent. The second quarter, 1968, also showed an increase (.7 per cent) over 1967's second quarter while the third quarter of 1968 declined 4.06 per cent from 1967 figures for the equivalent quarter.⁸

French Polynesian Labor Department statistics show that tourism directly employed 702 of 10,601 salaried persons in private industry in 1967 or 6.62 per cent. This figure does not present a clear picture of the importance of tourism in economic and social life, since the figure represents only employees of hotels and travel agencies. Studies are now being undertaken to determine the approximate amount of business generated by tourists in restaurants, taxis, transportation services and shops.⁹

GEOGRAPHICAL DISPERSIONS OF FACILITIES AND RELATED PHENOMENA

Economic impact is only one of many influences that the industry is having on French Polynesia and other parts of the Pacific. As noted above, the products of this industry cannot be transported to the market, instead, the products (the scenic, cultural and recreational attractions

of the islands) are sold on the spot to the consumer who is the tourist. This relationship draws attention to the primary importance of location in a business with such high investments fixed at the site of the hotel and its auxillary facilities. A significant feature of the French Polynesian tourist industry is the geographical dispersion of hotels on the island of Tahiti as well as among the upon some of the other, outer islands of the Territory. This situation does not reflect official regulation of hotel location, but rather the acquisition of sites by individuals or groups of individuals in generally scenic or convenient locations.¹⁰

In 1967, the Polynesians owned over 85 per cent of the land in French Polynesia. It is very difficult for foreigners to acquire land ownership for hotel construction or any other use, but land can be leased from the Polynesian owners and much of it is leased, especially to Chinese farmers who supply most of the Papeete markets' agricultural produce.¹¹ Commercial establishments are, therefore, limited to sites which can be leased or bought and to areas within which they can legally operate.

Land ownership concepts have presented problems in French Polynesia for over a century. To the traditional Tahitians, land was "inalienable, being handed down within the lineage, although rights of usage could be granted, while furthermore, a collective system of ownership prevailed."¹²

After the French Protectorate had been established, provisions were made to permit gifts, sales and lease of land, all unknown phenomena in a society where the rules of consanguineal kinship and joint ownership of land prevailed. The result of the Administration's attempts to modify the traditional system to comply with French concepts of property rights have resulted in decades of land disputes in the Territory which continue even today.¹³

In spite of the many land problems, hotel developers have managed to acquire sites for construction and in some of the most spectacular locations in the islands. These sites are disseminated on Tahiti and the other islands of the Society Archipelago such that the concentration of hotel units is not great in any one place. Accentuating this low density has been the desire of many tourist industry operators in Tahiti to maintain the "style Tahitien" in hotel construction, which usually implies bungalow-type units set in spacious grounds. There does definitely exist a relative agglomeration of hotel facilities in the area of Papeete, yet each hotel forms a small center of tourist activity which seldom overlaps, visually or functionally, with nearby hotels. Until very recently, the typical "tourist hotel" unit was designed as a rustic Tahitian fare or house on the exterior but provided with modern, western-style amenities in the interior.

The island of Tahiti currently provides more than 62 per cent of the "tourist hotel" facilities in French

Polynesia. A "tourist hotel" is a commercial establishment catering primarily to a tourist clientele, which measures up to a set of minimum standards as established by the Tahiti Tourist Development Board. Excluding the incomplete Tahara'a and Maeva hotels, there are presently sixteen "tourist hotels" in French Polynesia -- ten on Tahiti, three on Moorea, two on Bora Bora and one on Ra'iatea. These sixteen hotels include a total of 742 units; the planned Tahara'a and Maeva hotels will soon add 430 new rooms, increasing Tahiti's share of the Territory's accommodations to 74 per cent.¹⁴

Tahiti island accommodations, though somewhat agglomerated about the urban center of French Polynesia, Papeete, have not been developed in a concentrated pattern. Only 5 percent of the island's rooms, those of a single hotel, are located in downtown Papeete. Within a two-mile radius of the city, there are slightly more than 44 percent of the island's "tourist hotel" rooms; some 80 percent are within the four-mile radius. Three hotels, ranging in capacity from 16 to 44 units and in distance from Papeete from five to 33 miles, fill out the remaining 20 percent of Tahiti's hotel room inventory. Rather than becoming more concentrated in the near future, Tahiti's developing hotel accommodations will tend toward decentralization, still in the general vicinity of Papeete but expanding away from the city. The area of Tahiti outside of the four-mile perimeter of Papeete, which toward the end of 1968 included

only slightly more than 20 per cent of Tahiti's operating "tourist hotel" facilities, is expected to include some 58 per cent of these facilities in the very near future as a result of the planned completion of the Tahara'a and Maeva in 1969.¹⁵

When the dispersion of the hotel facilities for the entirety of French Polynesia is considered, the percentage within the two-mile radius of Papeete becomes less than 27 per cent and slightly greater than 50 per cent within the four-mile radius. Moorea island, nine miles northwest of Tahiti (from Papeete) contains slightly less than 27 per cent of the Territory's hotel rooms. Bora Bora, 143 miles northwest of Papeete has slightly greater than eight per cent and Rai'atea, 100 miles northwest of Papeete, has two percent of the tourist hotel accommodations.

Although the local government officials are not fully able to control the location and operation of hotels, they do exert an influence on hotel management and ownership in the issuance of building permits and through the Hotel Industry Code, a means of tourist establishment classification of quality based upon numerous factors ranging from the quality of the site to the quality of the personnel working in the hotel. The Code was established in July of 1967 by deliberation of the Territorial Assembly and is essentially designed to influence the future quality of hotel accommodation in the Territory. It designates three types of tourist lodging establishments: hotels, inns, and

residences. Each of these different types of establishment may be classified into one of the following three categories: deluxe, first class, and tourist class. The definitions of the classes are based on six major criteria. The first factor mentioned is location, illustrating the official recognition of the importance of site in successful hotel industry development. "Deluxe" accommodations shall require a prestigious and well-known site of tourist interest, with appealing surroundings that accentuate the site's impact, and with appealing access to the hotel. First class accommodations should also be located at a site of tourist interest combined with pleasant surroundings and access to the hotel. Tourist class requirements, less exacting, involve pleasant sites with nice surroundings and access to the building.¹⁶

Great emphasis has been placed upon location by the two new major deluxe hotels under construction in Tahiti. The designers and builders of the Tahara'a in particular, are making spectacular use of the site (Pointe Venus-Tahara'a) by constructing the hotel along the edge of a cliff in such a manner that all rooms have a magnificent view of miles of the Tahiti coastline. The Maeva at Outumaoro is less spectacular as an engineering feat, yet nevertheless, the beauty of the Tahitian sunset over Puna'auia lagoon with the spires of nearby Moorea as a background should thrill any visitor.

Location considerations are not a new feature to the hotel industry in Tahiti; indeed, the existing operating hotels have always stressed and utilized their locations to attract visitors. The site or situation values of particular hotels will be major considerations of the potential tourist. Some of the hotels (Royal Papeete, Tahiti, Matavai) have located close to Papeete and stress the convenience of this location in attracting tourists. Another group of three hotels (Ta'aone, Royal Tahitien, Princess Heiata) have clustered about ¹Parae Beach and stress this recreational asset as well as the convenience of proximity to Papeete in their brochures. The Belair, Moana Nu, and Tahiti Village are located on Puna'auia Lagoon with views of Moorea; these hotels stress their scenic geographical location more than their proximity to Papeete. The remaining tourist hotels on Tahiti, the Faratea, stresses, its distance of 33 miles from Papeete as an asset in escaping the noise and confusion of the urban center of the Territory.

Other factors of hotel classification set down in the Hotel Industry Code include architecture, vegetation, comfort, restaurant facilities, public facilities and personnel requirements. Design and construction should be in harmony with the site for "deluxe" establishments. Vegetation, whether natural or landscaped, should be pleasant to the eye and enhance the site and the buildings. Deluxe comfort involves furnishings and decor design and carried out with harmony and refinement, complementing the theme of each unit.

Restaurants of high quality as set forth in the Code should be found in all "deluxe establishments." Public facilities should be varied, spacious, and of such a quality to enhance the luxurious setting of the establishment. The final criterion involves personnel who in the "deluxe" hotel should have excellent professional qualifications with a staff size befitting the quality of the establishment. For first class and tourist class establishments, the above restrictions and recommendations are somewhat relaxed but still of high enough quality to ensure the reputation and success of Tahiti's tourist industry. Furthermore, the Code allows for deviations from the standards when local conditions are such that it would be difficult to follow all of the regulations.

The classification of hotels, based on the preceding criteria, is determined by a committee of seven called the Tourist Establishment Classification and Inspection Committee. Signs mentioning establishment class are to be put up by establishment operators in accordance with norms set by the TTDB and placed in full view at the entry of the establishment. Penal sanctions will not be involved, but failure to comply with the regulations of a particular class could involve: written recommendation addressed to the operator, written notice, or change of class.¹⁷ The geographical significance of this code is its emphasis on proper utilization of site and space, both inside and outside the hotel. Density of accommodations is an important

consideration for a region with several hotels, but also, for a single hotel within its proper grounds.

Statistics reveal that the occupancy rate of tourist hotels in French Polynesia ranged from a high of 78 per cent in August to a low of 54 per cent in April. These figures represent the average occupancy rates of tourist hotels in the Territory with the exception of the Club Mediterranee which was open for only part of the year in 1967. The annual average occupancy rate for all tourist hotels in the Territory is 64 percent but this figure can be broken down into two significant parts: hotels situated in the agglomeration of Papeete enjoy an average annual occupancy rate of 97.4 per cent whereas the rate for hotels outside this agglomeration is only 48.6 per cent. This latter figure represents the friction of time, trouble, and increased costs of air and sea travel to the outer islands as well as a lack of knowledge among new tourists about the outer islands of French Polynesia. For Tahiti island's outer hotels, the lower occupancy rates reflect the friction of increasing distance from the attractions of Papeete; however, several hotels provide a free bus service to Papeete during the day. For evening transport into town, most tourists must rely on taxi service, the rates for which are especially high at night.

Employees of the hotels are also subject to the friction of distance whether it be commuter distance between home and hotel or the distance between the hotel site and the

attractions of Papeete and this subject will be more thoroughly discussed in the next section.

NATURE OF TOURISM LABOR FORCE

An analysis of the origins of the labor force in tourist hotels in French Polynesia reveals additional interesting geographical features of the overall tourism complex there. The following information concerning hotels on the island of Tahiti represents 96 per cent of the tourist hotel facilities in operation in Tahiti late in 1968; 445 employees are represented by this particular analysis, the information for which was supplied to the writer by hotel managements and by the employees themselves. Among these 445 employees, some 230 (a little over 51 per cent) originated in Tahiti. Some 154 (about 35 per cent) have migrated to Tahiti from other islands in French Polynesia -- the Gambier Islands, the Marquesas, the Tuamotus, the Australs, or other islands of the Society group.¹⁸ The remaining 51 employees are non-Tahitian, over half of them originating in France; the total non-Tahitian component of the labor force amounts to 11 per cent.

These statistics of origin of hotel employees were then correlated with available information concerning type of employment. The results of this correlation are as follows:

Of 16 administrative positions, seven are filled by foreigners (French included in this figure), and nine by Tahitians. Five of the nine Tahitians are

originally from Papeete or have lived there for many years.

Of 58 desk jobs, nine are held by foreigners, eight by persons from the outer islands and 41 by Tahitians from the island of Tahiti. Of these latter 41 Tahitians, 31 are known to come from Papeete.

Of 62 employees involved in food preparation within the hotels, whether cooks or kitchen aides, eight are foreigners, 24 are from the outer islands, and 30 are from Tahiti. Fifteen of those from Tahiti are known to be from Papeete.

Of 65 persons concerned with cleaning, whether of rooms or of laundry, only four are foreign-born, while 31 are from the outer islands and 33 are from Tahiti. Of the 33 from Tahiti, just six are known to have originated from Papeete.

Of 54 persons in various fields of maintenance (security, mechanics, watchmen, gardeners, etc.) four are foreigners, 24 are from the outer islands and 26 are from Tahiti. Eight of those from Tahiti are originally from Papeete.

Of 104 persons whose job is to serve food or beverages in restaurants or bars in the hotels, ten are foreign born, 33 are from the outer islands, and 61 are from Tahiti. Of the 61 from Tahiti, 30 are known to be from Papeete.

The preceding statistics show that nearly half of the tourist hotel labor force in Tahiti have left their home island or home country to come to Tahiti. Caution must be used in drawing further conclusions, as other factors besides tourism are operating in this rapidly changing Polynesian territory. The figures do not necessarily imply that the hotel industry has induced large numbers of persons to migrate to Tahiti; instead, it is more probable that the attractions of urban life and greater job opportunities (of which tourism is only a part) to be found in Papeete or on Tahiti are the major factors involved. Industries which employ large numbers of unskilled laborers usually include in their employment relatively large percentages of migrant laborers from the outer islands and districts due to these laborers' lack of education and training compared to persons from the urban center of Papeete. Outer islanders often come to Tahiti with little or no money or possessions, but with dreams of flashy cars, television sets, and good times; instead, they often end up in miserable conditions in a growing "shanty town" on the outskirts of Papeete. These people are often obliged to take low paying jobs, as they are often unskilled and uneducated.

The statistics suggest that the farther the island group is from Tahiti, the fewer the number of hotel employees from that group; this feature probably reflects migration patterns in general, rather than any magnetic power of the tourist industry to attract workers from nearer

island groups. There are some exceptions, at least according to the statistics, to the apparent connection between an island's nearness to Tahiti and the number of employees that that island supplies to Tahiti hotels. If this apparent correlation held, it would be expected that nearby Moorea would supply a larger number of workers to Tahiti's hotel industry than more remote islands with smaller populations such as Huahine or Taha'a. Actually, Moorea, with a population of 4,370 (1967), has supplied only eleven workers to the Tahitian hotel complex. Taha'a, with a population of 3,567 (1967) and a great deal more remote than Moorea, both in terms of distance from and communication with Tahiti, has also supplied eleven workers to Tahiti hotels. Huahine, with a population of only 2,814 (1967), has 33 of her natives in Tahiti working in hotels. The tiny island of Maupiti, with 635 persons, has five persons working in Tahiti hotels. Other island groups which contribute to Tahiti's hotel labor force include the Tuamotu and Gambier Group (population 6,664) with 35 workers, the Austral Islands (population 5,053) with 21 workers, and the Marquesas (population 5,174) with six workers.

These figures suggest, but do not by any means prove, that perhaps islands such as Moorea, with a relatively large tourist hotel complex, can use those local people who want work in the hotels and who therefore, may choose not to migrate to Tahiti to seek hotel employment in spite

of the proximity. On the more remote islands, such as Huahine or Taha'a, job opportunities or money making opportunities, are relatively limited so people from these islands seek employment elsewhere, particularly on Tahiti.

The correlation of place of origin and type or position of employment sheds further light on the position of the outer islander in the Tahiti tourism complex.¹⁹ From the figures, there seems to be a relationship between origin and job, i.e., the higher the position the greater the percentage of foreign labor and persons from Papeete. This does not imply that a Polynesian from Papeete has a better chance of becoming an accountant than one from Bora Bora; this apparent relationship must be more closely examined. Actually, the relatively large numbers of people from Papeete occupying most of the desk jobs in the industry are not primarily Tahitian -- most are Chinese. The cultural factor in desk-job employment is as strong if not stronger than the simple geographic factor. Furthermore, those non-Chinese employees in the upper echelons of the hotel industry are likely to be of mixed blood, the so-called "demis" of Tahitian-European ancestry. This, of course, does not imply that Tahitians by birth are of inferior intellect and are unable to hold these positions because of a natural handicap. It does imply that the cultural background of the true Tahitian is such that he has little desire or acquired ability to perform successfully at a desk job.

In the lower positions of cleaning, maintenance, and food services, there are increasing percentages of rural Tahitians and outer-Islanders and decreasing percentages of Papeete people and foreigners. One apparent exception is the relatively large numbers of foreigners and persons from Papeete involved in food preparation; this, however, is explained by the fact that most hotel restaurants have one or more French chefs, as good French cooking is an art and requires years of training. Most hotels also offer a selection of Chinese dishes so there are also several Chinese cooks and skilled assistants in the hotel restaurants and kitchens. The outer-Islanders generally fill the unskilled positions in the kitchen such as dishwashers or cleaners.

The same phenomenon does not appear to occur on the other islands with tourist hotels, at least, not to the same extent. The management of these hotels is definitely in foreign hands, including French, but immigrants from outer islands hold jobs in the same manner as local employees. Of the two tourist hotels on Bora Bora which together employ 39 persons, 27 are local people, six are from other islands, and six are Europeans or Americans in management positions. On Raiatea there is a single tourist hotel which employs 21 persons. Of these, 15 are from Raiatea, five are from other islands and one is a foreigner. For the hotel on Moorea which supplied information for this

study, more than two-thirds of the employees were local people; in addition, there were four foreigners and one person from Tahiti.²⁰

For eight of the ten hotels on Tahiti, the district of birth was also determined for each of the employees. The writer desired to determine whether any correlation existed between the hotel's distance from Papeete and the number of persons working in the hotel who originated in the district where the hotel is located. Of two hotels on the edge of Fa'a'a district just west of Papeete, only seven of the 168 employees are originally from Fa'a'a. Of 94 employees in two hotels in Pirae district about two miles east of Papeete, only two are originally from Pirae. Of 54 employees in two hotels, some four or five miles west of Papeete in Puna'auia, eight employees are from Puna'auia. Of the 33 employees in one hotel nine miles west of Papeete in Puna'auia District, fifteen are originally from Puna'auia. For the hotels in the immediate vicinity of Papeete, there seems to be little connection between employment in that hotel and origin in the area in which the hotel is located. For hotels in the outer districts of Tahiti and on neighbor islands, this correlation appears to be significant.

Seven of the ten hotels on Tahiti, representing about 76 per cent of the tourist accommodations in Tahiti, also supplied labor shed statistics to the detail of "district

of residence."²¹ It was found that the mobility of Tahitian hotel employees appears to be greatest in the vicinity of Papeete. For one hotel just west of Papeete, with 124 employees, less than 5 per cent of the employees claim residence in the hotel district, over 91 percent claim residence in Papeete, and the remainder live in other districts. A group of hotels in the same general vicinity, about two miles east of Papeete, together employ 129 persons, more than 62 per cent of whom reside in Papeete, while about 29 per cent live in the hotel district and the remainder live in other districts. Farther away from Papeete about five miles to the west, is another tourist hotel with 23 employees, 33 per cent of whom live in the hotel district and 12 per cent of whom live in Papeete. More than 54 per cent of the employees in this hotel claim residence in other districts than that in which the hotel is located. In the same district, but nine miles to the west of Papeete, is a tourist hotel employing 33 persons. Over 63 per cent of these persons live in the district where the hotel is located, about 27 per cent live in other districts, and nine per cent live in Papeete. These figures for Tahiti suggest that the further the center is from Papeete, the greater the local labor market participation in that center. It appears that the time, cost, and trouble factors involved in commuting to the hotel from a home base in Papeete reach a point a few miles outside of the town at which the

advantages of living in the hotel districts are greater than the advantages of proximity to Papeete. The few cases in which employees live at considerable distances from the hotel in other districts usually mean that these employees are living with parents or members of their extended families in these districts.

It is extremely difficult to evaluate the economic impact of these hotels in the various districts. Merchants in Papeete will readily admit that business is increasing due to an increase in the number of tourists, in particular American tourists. In the districts, however, tourists purchase few items in shops outside of the hotel. The merchant in the district is usually always the Chinese small-businessman with his shop that sells everything from baby food to outboard motors. If he is located in the vicinity of a hotel, he generally will have noticed increases in spending since the hotel opened. The increased spending is not by tourists, but by employees of that hotel, particularly employees living in the hotel district. It cannot be said that a lot of secondary businesses have grown up about the hotels or tourist centers. The Chinese merchant has been in business in the districts for a long time and it is likely the case than not that he was there before the hotel.²² The situation, however, may change and most likely will change when large tourist centers, such as the Tahara'a and Maeva, go into full-scale operations; at present, most

of the Tahiti tourist hotels are not large enough to greatly alter the business situation in the "district", although the economy of the Papeete area has been greatly influenced by increases in tourist expenditures and in expenditures by persons who derive their income from tourism.

CHAPTER II

ENDNOTES

¹Judy Tudor, ed., Pacific Islands Year Book and Who's Who, tenth edition, (Sydney, 1968), 166. Hereafter cited as Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1968.

²Service des Affaires Administratives (Papeete, 1967).

³See Appendix, Figures 1 and 2.

⁴Judy Tudor, ed., Pacific Islands Year Book and Who's Who, ninth edition, (Sydney, 1963) 158. Hereafter cited as Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1963.

⁵Bulletin de Statistique 1967, 82. See Appendix, Figure 3. Hereafter cited as Bulletin 1967.

⁶Harry G. Clemet, ed., The Future of Tourism in the Pacific and Far East (Washington, 1969).

⁷1967 Statistical Report, 2.

⁸Statistiques Touristiques 1968, 1st Quarter, p. 3, 2nd Quarter, p. 4, 3rd Quarter, p. 4.

⁹1967 Statistical Report, 3.

¹⁰See Appendix, Figures 4 and 5.

¹¹Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1968, 171.

¹²Michel Panoff, "Un Demi Siecle de Contorsions Juridiques," The Journal of Pacific History 1966, 127-128.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴See Appendix, figure 6.

¹⁵List of Hotels (March, 1968).

¹⁶Hotel Industry Code No. 67-84 of July 6, 1967, 1-4.

¹⁷Ibid., 4.

¹⁸See Appendix, Table I.

¹⁹See Appendix, Table II.

²⁰Information was not supplied by the other two tourist hotels on Moorea.

²¹See Appendix, Figure 7.

²²See Appendix, Figure 8.

CHAPTER III

THE PERCEIVED IMPACT OF TOURISM (IN PARTICULAR DISPERSED TOURISM) IN FRENCH POLYNESIA

The success of the tourist industry does not depend on increased revenues alone or on the actual overall economic impact; one very important consideration is the way people see and judge the development of this industry in Tahiti, regardless of whether or not their views and judgments are factually sound. The "people" includes government officials, both French and local, those connected with the tourist industry directly as investors or employees, the local inhabitants, and of course, the tourist himself.

The TTDB was able to supply some information on tourist reactions, and some interviews with various government officials provided some insight into official perception of the development of tourism, but there was a definite lack, if not complete absence, of information relating to the perceptions of the local inhabitants, perhaps because of the difficulty in obtaining such information.

ADMINISTRATION PERCEPTION AND POLICIES

The central authority in the Territory, represented by the Governor, is particularly interested in the development of tourism both for French Polynesia's economic expansion and her social progress. In a speech made to the Territorial Assembly late in 1968, the Governor remarked that

the methodological efforts that have been made since the creation of the TTDB are beginning to produce the desired results. He cited a 27 per cent rise in the number of tourists in 1968 over the same period for 1967; in addition, the number of cruise ship passengers rose from 29,000 to 32,800, an increase of nearly 11 percent. He further noted that the completion of 430 new rooms at the new Tahara'a and Maeva in 1969 would provoke new and important progress in Tahitian tourism. The Governor warned, however, that increases in the number of hotel rooms alone will not ensure satisfactory growth; there is a need for parallel growth in tourist attractions and facilities. He commended the Assembly on its decisions to create in Tahiti an international golf course, to develop Point Venus, to restore ancient marae (heiau) and other archaeological sites, to create in Puna'auia a large public beach and on its other projects such as those to create several underwater wildlife preserves. In spite of these accomplishments, the Governor stressed that the Assembly must go further, in particular, in the creation of a Center of Human Sciences and Handicrafts and a Museum at Punaru'u, a project proposed to the Assembly by the Government Council; he noted the interest in such a project, not only from the tourist point of view, but also in relation to the scientific, cultural and educational development of the Territory.

To insure the rapid development of tourism in French Polynesia, emphasis has been placed on the provision of

tourist facilities in the Territory. The Territorial Assembly and the Administration have collaborated to stimulate investment in industries considered complementary to tourism, such as hotel construction or motion picture making. These industries receive preferential fiscal treatment in the form of a Code for investments made in the Territory before January 1, 1971.¹ A second measure to encourage the development of tourism is a long-term policy designed to complete the advantages of the investment Code by stabilizing taxes, duties, fees, etc. It is expected that these measures will attract foreign investment which will be needed to develop visitor facilities for a rapidly expanding tourist clientele, while simultaneously encouraging the development of native industries and perhaps even some export trade.

Foreign, French or locally owned enterprises are also eligible to receive loans, if needed, from the French government agency, the Caisse Centrale de Cooperation Economique; these loans may be of an amount as great as 50 per cent of the total investment (land, construction, and outfitting).² The Tahara'a and the Maeva hotels are currently benefitting under the Investment Code and both are being partially financed by the Caisse Centrale de Cooperation Economique.

These fiscal measures will, in the near future, exert a strong influence on the development of tourism in the

Territory; these measures are testimony to the attitudes of both locally elected officials and the administration of the Territory that tourism is a necessary force in the future of French Polynesia. These attitudes must be the result of individual and group evaluation and perception of the impact, economic and cultural, on the Territory. Perceptions of economic impact are determined by tourist expenditure statistics furnished by the Bank of Indochina and analyzed by the TTDB.

TAHITI TOURIST DEVELOPMENT BUREAU

Several employees of the government tourist bureau, the TTDB, were privately interviewed in an attempt to get a general concept of the perception of cultural impact among persons intimately connected with and concerned with the growth and development of tourism. The following paragraphs present information for which there was a consensus of opinion among those interviewed.

Tourism is definitely a constructive force in the Territory; these are new parks, new airport and harbor facilities, restorations of historical and traditional sites, exposure to new ideas and creation of new cultural ties with other nations -- all of which can be related to tourism.

It is true that there has been much migration in recent years to district centers, and in particular to Papeete, from the rural areas; this, however, has not been caused by

tourism, but by a general evolution in the Territory. Young people are coming to urban centers to seek jobs and excitement that do not exist in the "districts." One goal of tourist development policy in Tahiti is to prevent this by assisting and encouraging economic development in areas outside of Papeete; there is a possibility in the future that towns themselves may develop about tourist centers, although this has not yet occurred. The development of such resort towns would contribute to the alteration of the traditional Polynesian settlement pattern on high islands which consists essentially of a rather even dissemination of the populations along the coastlines. The pattern has already been significantly altered on Tahiti and Raiatea where commercialization and urbanization have been such important forces of change. On the outer islands, tourism could in the future be the major source of change on settlement patterns but not too drastic changes as long as the hotel complexes do not become too large or overconcentrated in single localities.

It is also true that much tradition is being abandoned in the Territory, from fishing activities and agriculture to folklore; however, it must be stressed again that this is not due to tourism but to this general evolution -- to the migrations, education, new forces in the Territory like the Centre d'Experimentations du Pacific (bomb testing), and the commercialization of Papeete.³ There is still, however, much tradition in Tahiti and the other islands; tourism can

be a force in preserving and encouraging this tradition, because this, in large part, is what the tourist wants to see. Native costumes, traditional architecture and ancient crafts are finding modern expressions with outlets in curio shops, craft exhibitions, and interior and exterior decorating. Some of these new products are admittedly "junk", but new imaginative expressions of Tahitian tradition give the people more pride in their culture and therefore, an incentive to preserve something of the past.

General evolution has also caused some breaking down of traditional extended family patterns. Large families still gather on "fete" days, but the traditional family structure has changed much in the last ten years, particularly in the vicinity of Papeete where money wages have created an increased economic independence among the young. Tourism, as a job source, may be among the other forces in creating such economic independence and evolution, but not as drastically as other forces like the C.E.P. (atomic testing) which have involved much greater numbers of wage laborers.

Those interviewed were asked if there were frequent incidents where tourists offended the local residents. All agreed that such incidents occurred occasionally, but that it was more frequent for the local residents to offend the tourist, sometimes purposely, sometimes not. The local resident generally is not educated with respect to the workings or benefits of tourism, and therefore, does not behave as "host" to "guest" when encountering the tourist.

Often the surly or indifferent attitudes of waitresses or curio shop operators reflect bad experiences with military personnel or with curious but non-purchasing cruise ship passengers. These problems are partially responsible for the development of the program of "promotion interne" which is designed to instruct the Tahitian to help and to share in the growth of the tourist industry in the Territory. There are English lessons transmitted by television and radio, special publications, and an *ecole hoteliere* (hotel school).

The Tahitian usually benefits only indirectly from tourism and, therefore, the connection between the benefits of entertainment education and recreation and the tourist industry often escape him. He is often bitter when he sees the Chinese or European merchant benefitting directly as a result of tourist expenditures, C.E.P. expenditures, or the increased purchasing power of the local people. Tourism, however, has definitely been responsible for much of the beautification and enrichment of the Territory -- it has been a force in the construction of the Gauguin Museum, the creation of botanical gardens, the restoration of archaeological ruins (particularly the ancient marae), and the success of the Bastille Day Fete. Furthermore, tourism supports and encourages the development of sports -- water skiing, deep sea fishing, mountain climbing, sailing, horse-back riding, outrigger canoeing -- traditional Tahitian art forms -- dancing, singing, handicrafts -- and other

educational and recreational facilities -- excursions to outer islands, camera shows, canoe and horse races, artifact centers.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In the upper echelons of Tahitian politics there exist some basic disagreements concerning the progress being made in developing the tourist industry. The major complaints come from the Territorial Assembly and are aimed primarily at the Tahiti Tourist Development Board and the French Administration. Leaders of the Assembly, late in 1968, praised the efforts of the TTDB but suggested that the Board was getting so wrapped up in high publicity and pure statistics that it was beginning to look like the Hawaii Visitors' Bureau. It was suggested that a better sort of publicity would be to offer something beautiful and original to the tourist who is rather disappointed at the poor state of Tahiti's beaches, rivers and lagoons -- all of which have suffered both as sources of construction materials and as dumping grounds for wastes.

Further distress was cited over the so-called "evolution" of the Polynesian which is taking place in response to the needs of large scale associations like the C.E.P. "It is not the Office of Tourism that the tourist is coming from so far to see, but Tahiti in its natural state and the Tahitian and his customs."⁴ French Administration policies are further attacked for their lack of concern for traditional agriculture and other activities.

The construction industry is booming and more manpower is needed; the result is increased recruiting of labor in the districts and outer islands, accentuating the rural exodus and the abandonment of lands which are threatening to destroy the agricultural production of the islands. According to leaders in the Assembly, the tourist industry cannot be expected to operate profitably without a well-directed economy.⁵ One local official, a member of the Advisory Board (Conseil d'Administration) to the TTDB, feels a danger in going from a stable rural agricultural economy to an unstable consumer economy. He further warned of a cultural loss in giving up traditional trades and arts without replacing them with something new if not something better. He mentioned that Hawaii still has a very strong agricultural basis, but was distressed over the rapid disappearance of this basis in Tahiti and the other islands. Tourism in Tahiti is being sought as a source of income to replace that being lost by poor agriculture; even Huahine, one of the more remote islands, is beginning to show some desire to develop tourism because of a very poor vanilla crop in recent years.⁶ This same official believes tourism can be an effective constructive force in the Territory, but not at the expense of traditional activities. Local officials place much of the blame on the Service d'Agriculture which they say has abandoned the traditional crops, without good reason, those crops which could be consumed locally. They complain that more and more the Territory is forced to

import produce to meet the demands of current consumption. There is some feeling among several members of the Territorial Assembly that French economic policies in the Territory are designed to keep the economy in such a state so as not to give a strong basis for autonomy.

Many local officials do not feel that it is the Tahitians who are profiting from tourist dollars. As soon as the money is spent in the territory, it immediately goes in directions outside the country. The reasons are essentially twofold: first, that which Tahiti offers the tourist is imported and second, most of the transport and big hotels are financed by external capital so that profits on these enterprises are also lost. One leader of the Assembly suggested there would be even more than the present number of tourists if prices in Tahiti were more competitive and if visitors were welcomed with other than gunshot blasts. (It is not known to the writer whether this latter comment refers to the rudeness of the welcome or the atomic testing recently conducted in the Territory.)

These disagreements between local government and Administration are not related to the nature of tourism as a beneficial force in French Polynesia -- this is generally accepted; disagreement lies primarily in the issue of goals and procedures in the development of this industry. There are some romantics in Tahiti who want nothing to do with the burdens and pressures of complex civilization, and who

think tourism, accompanied by the many other destructive forces of the twentieth century, will create another ghastly Waikiki in Tahiti. A few others have condemned tourism, and not without reason, for the high prices in Tahiti though they are in favor of progressive social change. There is one powerful group in the Territory, i.e., the Protestant Church, trying to discourage the growth of tourism altogether, particularly its spreading to the outer islands, according to a local government official.⁷ The Protestant ministers fear the bad influences which might accompany tourism to these islands -- more bars, more nightclubs, and more prostitutes. The Catholic fathers on the other hand have not resisted the growth of tourism and its complementary amenities because, according to this official, they have always appreciated la belle vie.

EMPLOYEE AND LOCAL INHABITANT PERCEPTIONS

The writer was interested in determining whether or not these "official" explanations and judgments held up in the field. In an attempt to determine to some degree the actual and perceived influence of tourism in suburban and rural Tahiti, a survey was conducted among employees in tourist hotels in Tahiti outside of the two-mile perimeter of Papeete. A rather lengthy questionnaire was administered to a relatively small sample of twenty employees.⁸ This sample was selected randomly with respect to type of employment, except that those positions of management, being

filled primarily by foreigners (including French) were not considered. Chinese employees were also avoided, since this was an attempt to analyze the effects of tourism on Tahitians, not the Chinese who remain a distinct ethnic group in Tahiti.

Of those interviewed, twelve were women and eight were men ranging in age from 18 to 38 years. Nine had lived in Tahiti all their lives, while eleven had migrated to Tahiti from the outer islands. For two employees, their present position was the first official job they had ever held. The others had held previous jobs in construction and manual labor, restaurants, stores, private homes (as domestic help) or other hotels.

According to several hotel managers, there is a shortage of reliable, trained hotel personnel on the island of Tahiti; hotels are often forced to employ persons with little or no experience, and the results are often far from satisfactory. The Tahitians, as contrasted to the "demis" or the Chinese, are the most unreliable workers, the men more so than the women, and it is for this reason and their lack of training, that they tend to fill the lower positions in the hotel industry complex. The Tahitian's attention is directed to the present, not the future. He often talks and dreams about the future, but seldom plans for it. If they drank too much the night before, or if they feel fiu, an expression which connotes boredom but also frustration, they may not show up for work in the morning. At other

times, they may leave town and retire to the districts for a week or so, without notifying the employer. They are also likely to become bored with work in one hotel, quit, and try to get a job at the next hotel down the road. Perhaps the most reliable and unusual element among Tahitian hotel employees is the rere, the Tahitian version of the mahou, of which there were no less than three in the sample. The French writer, Loursin, describes the rere as "not a pervert, merely an invert, a woman set by the caprice of Nature in the body of men, just as she created left-handed people, four-leaved clovers or shells spiralling the wrong way."⁹ The rere is able and reliable, and for years, Europeans living in Tahiti have employed them because of their domestic abilities. Now the hotels are finding their services valuable, particularly in the bars and restaurants.

Although a sample of twenty dare not lead to any major generalizations about hotel employees, it does reveal some interesting, if not significant information about the tourism industry's impact on the Tahitian individual and family. It is probably not due to an unusual chance selection of employees that eleven out of twenty should be from the outer islands. The figure for the population of tourist hotel employees from the outer islands is over 35 percent, so an ideal sample might have been expected to contain seven or eight outer islanders; however, since management positions and Chinese employees were excluded, the relatively large percentage of outer islanders in the sample

does not seem unreasonable.

Of the twenty persons interviewed about their means of transport to work, only two lived within walking distance of the hotel. Most of the hotel employees arrive by motor scooter or "truck", while a few arrive by car or bicycle. Only two had purchased motor vehicles, both scooters, since they began working in the hotel.

All employees have made purchases of household goods since they began working in the hotel, yet this does not imply that they are earning so much money that they are now able to buy all those things that they want or need. More than likely they have a new television or radio which they purchased on installment plan.

Most of those interviewed were pleased that a hotel had been built in the area. Others were indifferent because they did not live in the area. All appreciated the fact that the hotel supplied them with a source of ready cash and consequently, increased purchasing power. The direct influence of tourism for most of these employees is perceived as money, and goods that the money can buy -- televisions, radios, and scooters. There was not a single reference to increased recreational facilities inside or outside of the hotel, or the beautification of the site as a result of tourist activity there. In several cases, the site was obviously improved by the presence of the hotel; none of the employees recognized or commented upon this fact. This leads into another aspect of Tahitian mentality;

contrary to legends of the idyllic native, the interviewer discovered that those Tahitians questioned did not exhibit a sense of appreciation for natural beauty. Flashy goods such as American cars are more likely to captivate their attention and stimulate their imaginations than the sunset over Moorea or the view of Cook's Bay.

A majority of the Tahitians interviewed did not feel that they were getting their fair share of the tourist dollar. They do not equate this with the fact that foreign capital and goods in the tourist industry cause many tourist dollars to move outside of French Polynesia, but feel that some "big wheels" somewhere, probably French, are making all the profit.

This attitude may partially explain many Tahitians' apparent indifference to the development of tourism. This points up the pressing need for continued and expanded internal promotion if the industry is to be successful. The Tahitian must be made to understand the value of tourism and the importance of the stable growth of this industry to him and to his family. The tourist industry employees, particularly in the vicinity of Papeete, are among those who need this education most urgently. The military has caused bad feelings in the past and although most of the military are now gone, the feelings persist.

Another factor which in part may account for the indifference of some employees is the "no tipping" policy of the Territory. Whereas the Hawaiian waitress may strain

herself to produce an artificial "aloha" in hopes of a better tip, the Tahitian waitress does not even have this incentive. Low wages and no tipping surely do not stimulate toward good service. "Absolutely no tipping" is the official policy of the Territory and remains one of the more pleasant features of dining or drinking in Tahiti -- in spite of the efforts by tip-conscious French and American tourists to change the system.

Population growth was noted by employees in all areas visited, particularly in the vicinity of Papeete. Growth in the districts about Papeete reflects the city's urban and suburban expansion, the increased mobility of those persons working in town, and the increased housing and facility needs of C.E.P. personnel. To date, hotels are of such a size that they generally do not involve large numbers of employees as does the C.E.P. or the commercial network of Papeete. When the larger, deluxe hotels such as Tahara'a and Maeva are completed, hundreds of employees will be involved and in areas at a considerable distance from Papeete. At that time, communities of hotel service personnel may develop in the vicinity of the new tourist centers. Furthermore, existing hotels do not seem to be large enough to employ so many persons as to slow the rural exodus. There were no definite positive responses to the question concerning the tourist industry's role in reversing the trend of migrations toward Papeete.

The response to the question concerning the hotel as a possible source of employment for employee's children was noticeably weak. Little thought has been given to these children's future; this does not imply a lack of love among Tahitians for their children, but rather the emphasis upon the present and the lack of planning for the future in the Tahitian family.

Increased mobility, in terms of increasing numbers of motor vehicles, has not been a factor among those interviewed, at least not as a result of working in the hotel. Only two of the twenty persons had purchased motor vehicles since working in the hotel and both of these had similar means of transport before working in the hotel. Given the low wages of unskilled labor, the category into which the majority of those interviewed would fall, and the propensity of the Tahitian to spend money when he has it, it is unlikely that enough money could be saved to purchase items as expensive as automobiles or motorcycles all of which are imported. By American standards, wages in Tahiti seem very low, although Tahitians do not pay individual income tax, it is quite difficult to save money after food and rent have been paid. A recent government publication gives some idea of salaries paid in French Polynesia -- "a restaurant waitress earns between 8,000 and 10,000 Pacific francs (approximately \$91.95 to \$114.94) per month; a bartender, about 15,000 Pacific francs (approximately \$172.41) per month; and a maitre d'hotel, usually starts at a monthly

salary that varies between 15,000 and 20,000 Pacific francs (approximately \$172.41 to \$229.88)."¹⁰ There are increases in the hourly wage for overtime. The minimum wage in French Polynesia, the salaire minimum interprofessionnel garanti or SMIG is established in Government Council and varies according to the index of the cost of living. In 1967 the SMIG was 7,500 Pacific francs per month (about \$86.00) which represents about fifty cents per hour.¹¹

The working week is legally established at 40 hours but certain enterprises, because of the intermittent nature of their business, qualify for longer work periods: 48 hours for restaurants, cafes, hotels and dancing establishments; 43 hours for retail shops. Every employee is entitled to 18 days of paid vacation after one year's employment. For foreign labor, the vacation period totals five days per month after a four year regulation stay in the Territory.

The food purchasing patterns of all employees interviewed were similar. All of them shopped in the Papeete market at least once during the week, usually for fish, but sometimes for meat, fruit and vegetables. The market is particularly active and well-stocked early Sunday morning. Merchants from all over the island of Tahiti and some from the outer islands come to peddle their fish and produce. These employees, however, living in rural Tahiti, are unable to travel to the Papeete market for all of their needs; with increasing distance from Papeete, there is an increasing dependence on the magazin chinois, the local Chinese store.

The Tahitian often feels cheated by the Chinese merchants either because of the high prices or because he does not understand the credit system, but these merchants supply essential services to the districts that the Tahitian cannot or will not do for himself. Since many rural Tahitians do not have refrigerators, the Chinese store become the daily source of goods that will not keep in the tropical heat such as bread, meat, certain vegetables or cold beer.

Backyard fruit trees and lagoons contribute heavily to these Tahitians' diets. Most of their mangos, papayas, bananas, breadfruit and coconuts are from the immediate vicinity of their homes. The interviewer also noticed in rural Tahiti a system of exchanges of food still carried on among neighbors and relatives. If a neighbor brings a portion of the catch of that afternoon as a gift, he is likely to receive a gift in exchange such as some breadfruit (uru) or some bananas (fe'i). The Tahitian is a fish eater generally; not only is fish cheaper, but he prefers it to meat. The lagoon supplies a variety of marine animal life to the collector.

It is rare for the Tahitian to buy major household goods; he is content to live with a minimum of conveniences, particularly in the rural areas. When he does purchase major goods, such as appliances, Papeete is the market area. Minor purchases such as kerosene or matches are made at the Chinese store. Clothes are also purchased in Papeete where both the selection and the price is better. Tahitian dress

is extremely simple, particularly in the home; for women, a cloth is wrapped around the body from chest to knee, while a simple pair of shorts suffices for the men.

The universally-mentioned high prices in Tahiti are the result of the large percentage of imported goods sold in Tahitian stores, particularly food stuff.¹² Unfortunately, unlike Hawaii where most "imported" goods are coming from the same country, Tahiti is importing many goods (food in particular) from the United States, New Zealand and Australia. The 1967 statistics show that goods from countries other than France amount to 39.2 per cent of the total of Tahiti's imports and that imports from the United States account for almost half of these non-French imports.¹³ Protective tariffs, transportation costs and sometimes high Chinese middlemen's profits make for very high consumer costs.

Tourism is an important factor in the high cost of living in Papeete. The demand for produce, particularly food stuffs, has increased with growing numbers of tourists; as a result, there is not enough local produce to supply the need, so, increased amounts of more expensive foreign produce combined with increased competition for local goods drive up the costs.

The writer noted that the prices of fresh fish and locally grown fruits and vegetables were very reasonable in the Papeete market, e.g., several pounds of fresh tuna can be purchased for one dollar. Prices in the market fluctuate

a great deal during the different months and seasons and sometimes even during the week. There is often a shortage of fresh vegetables. Fresh vegetables imported from the United States are very expensive; the Tahitian, who does not understand or care about a balanced diet, is content to buy the cheaper canned vegetables if he cares enough even to eat vegetables. The diets of most Tahitians observed by the writer are very poor; this is particularly true of those nearest to Papeete. They eat too much canned food, drink too much beer and soda pop, and ruin their teeth with sweets and poor dental hygiene. Tourism has been blamed by some in the local government as the cause of some of these problems, because they feel that the administration is pressing for the development of tourism at the expense of local production in agriculture and fishing, that the Administration is trying to make up for failures in domestic production, by a full-scale launching of the tourist industry.

The final survey question was designed to determine the Tahitian employee's knowledge of and focus upon the outside world; it asked where each employee would like to visit outside of Tahiti if he had the opportunity. Fourteen of the twenty mentioned Hawaii as their first preference. Of these fourteen responses, "Honolulu" was mentioned ten times, "Hawaii", four times. Both first and second choices, if given, were noted. Four persons chose Los Angeles, two said France, two said New York, one said San Francisco, and

one said Florida. The responses were interesting and revealing.

The overwhelming preference for Hawaii is the result of a combination of factors. First, Hawaii is part of Polynesia; Tahitians consider Hawaiians to be like themselves and therefore, understandable and hospitable. Second, the Tahitian generally prefers warm weather and is aware of Hawaii's tropical climate. One important factor is that many Tahitians have been to Hawaii, while others have friends and family there. These persons interviewed were not particularly interested in Hawaii's scenic beauty although they had heard about it; the big waves and surfing were exciting to some of the young men in the sample. All are interested in Honolulu, the big buildings, roads and cars, and the night life, and the general excitement of the city. Three mentioned a desire to visit Honolulu for medical reasons; considering the quality of present medical facilities in the Territory, it is reasonable that the Honolulu medical complex would be a heaven for the sick. A further influence upon Tahitians is the dissatisfied tourist who is continuously grumbling about Tahiti's tourist facilities and stressing how much better things are in Hawaii; some Tahitians who enjoy complaining about what they feel is a mess that the French have made out of Tahiti, would be sympathetic to such criticism. A most important consideration in this preference for Hawaii is the fact that the interviewer was from Hawaii; this fact would have been

kept secret had it not been for the increased cooperation following acknowledgement of the fact that the interviewer came from Hawaii. Finally, Honolulu serves as an important urban focus for all Polynesia, (this is particularly true among American Samoans who are free to migrate to the United States).

The preferences for Los Angeles reflect two major factors: first, those who chose Los Angeles did so because they had friends or relatives there; second, a large percentage of the tourists visiting Tahiti are from California, in particular from Los Angeles, so Tahitians hear a great deal about the state and the city. In 1967 over 67 per cent of Tahiti's tourists were from the United States, and 46.9 per cent of those were from California.¹⁴ France was mentioned only twice in a total of 24 preferences; this reflects the great distance between the Territory and the mother country, but more than that, it reflects the worsening of relations between the two sides in recent years.

Tourism by its very nature has broadened the Tahitian's knowledge of the world which to him was very small and rather isolated before 1960. More Tahitians are traveling in the 1960's (with dance troupes, for educational or recreational purposes, for business reasons) and relating their experiences to other Tahitians. The idea and aspirations of the Tahitian, in relation to the world outside the Territory, focus increasingly on the United States, in large part as a result of the makeup of the tourist clientele, but

also, in response to the relative proximity of American destinations and influences as compared, e.g., to destination and influences of France.

TOURIST PERCEPTION

A third group, in addition to government officials and local inhabitants, is concerned with and affected by developments in the tourist industry, i.e., the tourists themselves. In 1960, there were 3,266 tourists who visited Tahiti, not including cruise ship passengers. Of these 3,266 over 66 per cent were from North America, about 27 per cent from Europe, five per cent from Pacific countries and about one per cent from other parts of the world. The latest complete annual statistics available (1967) suggest changes in the percentages of tourists originating in various world regions. The 1967 tourists (numbering 23,065) included 72.14 per cent from North America, 17.91 per cent from Europe, 8.73 per cent from Pacific countries and 1.22 per cent from other areas. The areas show the increasing importance of the North American and Pacific area travel markets. European tourists have increased in number from 1960 to 1967, but have declined in percentage of the total tourist representation. Over 97 per cent of Tahiti's tourists arrive by air. The Tahiti-Fa'a'a airport is serviced by four major international airline companies: Union de Transports Aeriens (French), Pan American Airways (American), Qantas Airways Limited (Australian) and Air

New Zealand.

According to the "Pacific Visitor's Survey" conducted by the Pacific Area Travel Association and by Travel Research International, the Pacific Tourist generally is an experienced traveler. Forty per cent have been to the Pacific once or more, seventy per cent have been to Europe (as tourists), 41 per cent to the Caribbean and 35 per cent to the Middle East. Major sources of assistance in selecting places to visit on Pacific trips included the advice of travel agents (used by 40 per cent) and the recommendations of friends and relatives (mentioned by 42 per cent). Travel literature and promotion are more influential with the Pacific tourists than with European tourists, probably due to more previous experience among European tourists. Tourists on Pacific routes are more likely to be traveling alone than those to Europe or just to Hawaii. Current pleasure travelers to the Pacific area are primarily elderly, well educated and well-to-do residents of Far Western states; future tourists, however, may be somewhat younger with slightly lower incomes and less well educated.¹⁵ A larger percentage in the future may come from the eastern and central sections of the United States.

Some early 1968 statistics show that the majority of American tourists is composed of essentially three groups: technical and professional people, retired people, and housewives. Almost 72 per cent of the first quarter western visitors in 1968 fell into one of these three categories.

The mean age for tourists visiting Tahiti during this same period was calculated at approximately 54 years.¹⁶

P.A.T.A. tried to make further distinctions between the Tahiti tourist and the general Pacific tourist. Their 1967 study results indicated that 31 per cent of the Tahiti-bound tourists are earning over \$25,000 annually, as compared to 24 per cent of the general Pacific tourist clientele. Twenty-six per cent of the Tahiti tourists, according to a satellite survey about Tahiti, have a university education; this figure is close to the 25 per cent for Pacific tourists in general. Sixty-five per cent visiting Tahiti, according to the same survey, are from the "Far West", while only 46 per cent of the Pacific visitors are from that same area. P.A.T.A. statistics show that 74 per cent of Tahiti tourists fall within the three employment categories mentioned above.

Questionnaires were administered to the "tourist" in an attempt to determine his impressions of the development of Tahitian tourism and in particular, his perception of and appreciation of its current dispersed and low density nature. Fifty tourists were randomly selected during the period of September to December, 1968. A majority of the questionnaires were administered at the International Airport while the tourists were waiting to board departing planes. Having nothing else to do at the time, they were generally cooperative with the interviewer. This procedure also ensured that answers given were final impressions

rather than initial or early impressions which are likely to change during the course of the visit.¹⁷

The first information to be collected involved age, sex, and state or country of origin determination for each person interviewed. Ten per cent of the sample were under 30 years of age, eight per cent were between 30 and 40 years, sixteen per cent between 40 and 50 years, 36 per cent between 50 and 60 years, 24 per cent between 60 and 70 years, and six per cent were over 70 years. Sixty-six per cent of those interviewed were over 50 years of age. Of these fifty persons, 27 were women and 23 were men. Their major points of origin in order of decreasing representation were: California (36 per cent), Australia (12 per cent), Washington (8 per cent), New Zealand (6 per cent), Hawaii 6 per cent), and New York, Oregon and Texas each with four per cent. There was also a single tourist in the sample from each of the following places: Nevada, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Colorado, Ohio, Connecticut, Indiana, Florida, England and Germany. In total, there were 78 per cent from the United States; this compares with the latest 67.05 per cent figure of American tourists released by the TTDB for the third quarter of 1968.¹⁸

Each tourist was asked, "Have you ever been to Tahiti before this trip?" Ten persons in the sample responded positively. Two of these had been in the Islands during the war, the others in 1950, 1955, 1956, 1958, 1961, 1962, 1963, and 1965. All agreed that Tahiti had "changed

much" since their last visit.

The time period that each tourist was spending in Tahiti ranged from two to thirty days, a mean visit period calculated at 7.5 days; this compares closely with the "length of stay" figure of 8.2 days released by the TTDB for the third quarter of 1968.

All fifty tourists spent some time on the island of Tahiti. Thirty-six of those tourists stayed in hotels within the three-mile perimeter of Papeete; this involved six tourist hotels and one low quality Papeete hotel. Three of the hotels are those clustered about Pirae Beach, two others are on the western outskirts of Papeete, and the other is in downtown Papeete. Of the 36 persons staying in these six hotels near Papeete, slightly over 44 per cent were satisfied with the accommodations, 47 per cent were not satisfied and the remainder were indifferent. The remaining fourteen tourists stayed in hotels outside the three-mile perimeter, hotels which are more dispersed than those near Papeete. Of these fourteen, eleven were satisfied while only three were not satisfied with the accommodations. The natural beauty of the site was mentioned by several as the source of satisfaction at these latter four hotels; the actual accommodations, i.e., room quality and food service is comparable in these hotels to those nearer Papeete, yet there is less traffic, less noise and fewer people in the areas of the hotels outside the three-mile perimeter. Those persons in hotels nearer to Papeete are

more familiar with the problems of proximity to Papeete -- its traffic, its noise and untidiness. At night Papeete offers a variety of fascinating night spots but most of these cater to the young fun seekers rather than the elderly American tourist; night life in Papeete was, therefore, a disappointment to most of the tourists interviewed as 33 were over 50 years of age. The tourists in hotels located outside the three-mile perimeter spend less time generally in Papeete; with increased distance they are increasingly exposed to high transfer costs since the free bus services that do exist operate only at particular times during the day. These people sample a greater variety of entertainment presented in their hotel, shows which often include Tahitian songs and dances or dance music; this sort of entertainment is more in line with the tastes of the elderly than are the wild boites of Papeete.

Twenty-seven of the fifty tourists took the extra time to visit some of the outer islands of French Polynesia; generally this does not involve significant additional transport costs if the various outer islands are visited along the route in a particular order. The island of Moorea, unlike Bora Bora and Ra'iatea, is not on this air route, but roundtrip boat fare from nearby Tahiti is only about \$5.00 and airfare only about \$12.00. Those visiting just one outer island included 17 to Moorea alone and four to Bora Bora alone. Three visited both Moorea and Bora Bora and three visited Ra'iatea and Bora Bora. Altogether

twenty of the fifty persons visited Moorea, ten visited Bora Bora and three visited Ra'iatea.

The tourists were asked whether or not they were satisfied with their accommodations on the outer islands. Twenty-four of the 27, or 89 per cent, that had visited islands other than Tahiti, were quite satisfied with their accommodations; this compares with 56 per cent satisfaction with the accommodations of the fifty persons in the sample while on Tahiti Island.

Tourist traffic in 1967 involved 23,574 tourists and 43,021 cruise ship passengers; this is a considerable number of persons, given the small size of the islands of the Territory, therefore, each sample tourist was asked if he felt that Tahiti was overcrowded with tourists and tourist facilities. The aim of this question was designed to determine whether or not the dispersion of hotels was effective in reducing the perceived "tourist atmosphere" often caused by large numbers of tourists in one place. Forty-four of the fifty tourists did not find Tahiti overcrowded with tourists or tourist facilities; in fact, several persons mentioned a definite lack of such facilities. Some of the negative responses to this question were qualified. One man who had previously visited Tahiti in 1958 noticed a lot more tourist-oriented businesses but still did not find Tahiti overcrowded with tourists. Another mentioned that Tahiti was crowded with sailors, not tourists. Of the four positive responses, two were qualified

to include only those days when cruise ships were in port; on these days, the cafes tend to be crowded, the streets unusually busy, and most of the nearby rentable cars are taken. Another tourist found Papeete crowded with tourists but admitted that he saw few of them elsewhere on the island.

"What influenced your decision to visit Tahiti?" was the next question. Twenty-one tourists or 42 per cent of the sample were influenced by the advice of travel agents, as compared with a figure of 41 per cent for the same question in the P.A.T.A. satellite survey of Tahiti. Thirty-six per cent of the sample were influenced by friends or relatives to visit Tahiti; the P.A.T.A. survey figure for the same question was thirty per cent. Sixteen per cent of the sample visited Tahiti previously and had experienced strong desires to return to see the island again. Another 28 per cent mentioned movies, lectures and literature as influential factors in their decision making; eight per cent has business motives, and two per cent were forced to visit Tahiti to catch connecting transportation to other destinations.

Each tourist was asked if he had visited Waikiki or the outer islands of Hawaii. Again this was an attempt to draw attention to the concept of concentration versus dispersion in the hotel industry. Each response was to be qualified by a statement of satisfaction, dissatisfaction, or indifference. Favorable and unfavorable comments associated

with these responses were noted to determine any connection between density of tourist facilities and visitor satisfaction in a particular area. Of the fifty tourists interviewed, 39 had visited Waikiki, while 21 had also visited the outer islands of Hawaii. Seventeen of the 39 Waikiki visitors were satisfied with their stay in Waikiki; the same number were not satisfied, and five were indifferent. Greater percentages of satisfaction were registered among tourists visiting the outer Hawaiian islands. Nineteen of the 21 visiting these islands were fully satisfied with their trip, one was indifferent, and one was dissatisfied. The most common unfavorable comments relating to Waikiki included the high density of tourists and tourist facilities in the area, the high degree of commercialization, and the sad condition of the beaches. Most favorable comments referred to the size and variety of the entertainment network or the excitement, particularly at night, of Waikiki. It is interesting to note that eleven of the seventeen satisfied with Waikiki were under 50 years of age while fifteen of the seventeen not satisfied were over fifty years of age. In contrast, of the persons who visited the outer islands of Hawaii, eighteen of the nineteen satisfied visitors were over fifty; only one visitor in the sample of 21 outer island visitors was under fifty years of age.

Seven of the 26 dissatisfied with Tahiti were under fifty years of age. Apparently, the factor of tourist density on Tahiti is not presently strong enough to excite

the young or displease the elderly persons in the sample. Other factors such as high prices, unfriendliness or commercialization far outrank high density of tourists and tourist facilities as factors of criticism among sample tourists to Tahiti. Responses concerning Waikiki involved increased concern over density of tourists and tourist facilities, and also suggested a connection between the age of the tourist and his satisfaction with the Waikiki area.

Each tourist in the sample was asked to state his preference among the vacation spots mentioned: Tahiti, the outer islands of French Polynesia, Waikiki, or the outer islands of Hawaii. All fifty tourists had not visited all four areas so some responses were based upon experiences in only two or three of the places mentioned. Thirteen persons had visited all four areas; five of these thirteen preferred the French Polynesian outer islands, two preferred the outer Hawaiian islands, and six preferred equally the outer islands of Hawaii and French Polynesia. None of the thirteen gave preference to Waikiki or Tahiti. All but one of these thirteen were over fifty years of age.

Nine tourists visited three of the four areas: Tahiti, the outer islands of French Polynesia and Waikiki. Of the nine, eight preferred the outer islands of French Polynesia and one rated equally Tahiti and the outer islands. Five of these nine tourists were under fifty years of age.

Eight tourists visited the three areas of Tahiti, Waikiki and the outer Hawaiian islands. Of these eight,

seven preferred the Hawaiian outer islands, and one preferred Tahiti. All of these tourists were over fifty years of age.

Eight tourists visited only Tahiti and Waikiki. Of the eight, two preferred Tahiti, five preferred Waikiki and one was equally satisfied with each. Five of these eight persons were under fifty years of age.

Five tourists visited only Tahiti and French Polynesia's outer islands. One preferred Tahiti, one preferred the outer islands, one was equally satisfied with each, and two were equally dissatisfied with each. Of these five, two were under fifty and only two of the five were Americans.

The seven remaining tourists in the sample of fifty had been only to Tahiti. All but one of these persons were satisfied with their trips to Tahiti, and that dissatisfied tourist was one of two persons over fifty years of age in this group of seven. Of the seven, three were Australian, two were New Zealanders and two were Americans.

Each tourist was asked if, apart from hotel accommodations, he was pleased or displeased with Tahiti and the outer islands of the Territory. This question was designed to determine whether or not good or bad hotel accommodations were largely responsible for good or bad impressions of vacations in French Polynesia. While only 40 per cent said they were dissatisfied with their hotel accommodations on the island of Tahiti, 52 per cent were dissatisfied with Tahiti in general. Judging from accompanying comments, this

latter percentage reflects the high prices, frequent rudeness of restaurant and shop employees, unsanitary conditions, and lack of good beaches in Tahiti, all of which are most acute in the vicinity of Papeete.

Further dissillusion with Tahiti in particular is illustrated in the results of the TTDB's 1968 "tourist" questionnaire.¹⁹ One question asked "What island did you prefer?" The results were tabulated in two groups: answers of tourists who were altogether satisfied with their stay in the Territory and answers of the tourist not satisfied. Of the 146 satisfied tourists, 55 preferred Tahiti, 51 preferred Moorea, 38 preferred Bora Bora, and two preferred another island. Of 82 dissatisfied tourists, 39 preferred Moorea, 25 preferred Bora Bora, five preferred other islands and only 13 preferred Tahiti. This low figure of preference for Tahiti suggests that tourists not satisfied with their stay were particularly disillusioned by Tahiti. Some tourists remarked to the writer that they had been deceived by travel agencies and promotional materials with regard to Tahiti. An example of such deception is the official poster of the tourist bureau which is labeled "Tahiti" when actually it is Bora Bora; tourists who visit only Tahiti and expect to see such scenes are bitterly disappointed.²⁰ In contrast while approximately 81 per cent of those traveling to outer islands were satisfied with their hotel accommodations, nearly 89 per cent were satisfied with the outer islands in general. According to accompanying comments,

prices (usually referring to curio prices) are lower, the scenery is more beautiful, the hotels are more personal, and the people are more friendly. The most common negative comments involved insect pests, in particular sandflies and mosquitoes, and poor transport to the islands, in particular the boat to Moorea.

For the tourist in Tahiti, much time is spent within the hotel grounds, due to the dispersed and somewhat isolated nature of some of the hotels. Those living in hotels nearer to Papeete probably spend less time in the hotel than those tourists in hotels farther out in the districts. Likewise, tourists nearer to Papeete spend more time in and about the town. Those tourists nearest to Papeete will probably judge their satisfaction of their trip largely in response to their impressions of and activities in Papeete. The tourist on the outer islands or in the district is more likely to base his satisfaction on his hotel accommodations and impressions of the area in which the hotel was located. In 1968, the TTDB conducted a study to determine the causes of visitor satisfaction or visitor dissatisfaction.²¹ One part of the study, involving 352 tourists, correlated degree of visitor satisfaction with the hotel each tourist stayed in. Results were obtained for five hotels; four of these were in the immediate vicinity of Papeete and one was nine miles to the west of Papeete. The percentages of tourists staying in the four hotels near Papeete who were satisfied without reserve were respectively 35 per cent,

21 per cent, 21 per cent, and 27 per cent. For the one district hotel, located nine miles out of Papeete, the percentage of totally satisfied visitors in the sample was 50 per cent.²²

The final question was "Do you think that the dispersion of tourist facilities contributes to a more pleasant vacation here in French Polynesia?" It was assumed by the interviewer that by the end of the questionnaire, in light of the nature of the previous questions, the sample tourists would have had sufficient time to reflect upon what they considered the necessary features of a well-developed and successful tourist industry. To determine whether or not geographical dispersion is one of these necessary features in the opinion of those interviewed was the particular aim of this question. Forty-four of the fifty (88 per cent) responded positively, four persons did not consider themselves qualified to make a judgment, and two persons responded "no" or "not necessarily so." Of these latter two persons, one qualified his remark by stating that some concentration sometimes provides better facilities overall to the region without destroying its original character. The other negative response came from a resident of Hawaii who lived in Waikiki and was thoroughly satisfied.

The benefits of dispersion according to comments by those interviewed included:

Preservation of the "Polynesian" atmosphere;

Ensurance of a more peaceful, relaxed, and friendly atmosphere;

Less crowded recreational areas and more tourist facilities available per person;

Less disruption in the lives of local people;²³

Decentralization of the benefits of economic activity.

Further visitor reactions to Tahitian tourism have been recorded in surveys of the Pacific Area Travel Association. They have done general studies involving large numbers of Pacific destinations and also some more detailed studies of particular countries. One of these studies compared tourist reactions to twelve different countries: American Samoa, Australia, Ceylon, China, Fiji, Guam, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Tahiti. The results of such studies shed light on tourists' motivations to visit Tahiti and other Pacific destinations. According to the survey, Tahiti's biggest attraction is her beautiful natural scenery; 31 per cent of those in the sample who had been to Tahiti commented about Tahiti's scenery. For the total twelve regions, the highest average favorable comment was "warm, friendly people" mentioned by 38 per cent of these Pacific visitors. A majority of 51 per cent of the visitors to Tahiti considered their stay pleasant while 20 per cent found Tahiti disappointing. For the 12-country average, 59 per cent of the Pacific visitors

were satisfied with their stay while only 13 per cent were dissatisfied. The principle causes of discontent among Tahitian tourists were as follows:

High prices, which were mentioned by 19 per cent of the visitors to Tahiti, three times that of the 12-regions average.

Lack of friendliness and poor education among the local people mentioned by 13 per cent of the Tahiti visitors, four times the average figure for the 12-regions combined.

Too much commercialization, mentioned by eight per cent of Tahiti's visitors, again four times the average figure for the twelve regions combined.

The World Travel Survey, conducted by Travel Research International, showed the same factors most often commented upon. According to Travel Research International "of all the South Pacific destinations studied by the survey, only one -- Tahiti -- has a significant number of associations with the three unfavorable factors of 'high prices for food, lodging, etc.', 'too commercial,' and 'rude, unfriendly people'."²⁴ The World Travel Survey conducted in the United Kingdom showed additional highly unfavorable factors: "dirty and poverty," "high costs of getting there," and "problems with language". The results of this particular study also showed Tahiti's image as an exotic, unspoiled island paradise in danger of being destroyed by commercialism and high prices. Although Tahiti remains a popular

destination among non-visitors, of those who have traveled there for vacations, only fifty per cent would recommend or revisit the Territory. The most favorable factors were, in order, "beautiful scenery" (61 per cent), "good climate" (51 per cent) and "attractive customs and exotic environment." Unfortunately, because of the large number of unfavorable comments, Tahiti made a poor showing with respect to the favorable-unfavorable comment ratio -- only 2.57; this may be compared with other Pacific nations, Japan for example, whose favorable-unfavorable comment ratio was 3.53 for the study conducted in the United Kingdom and where 92 per cent (as compared with 50 per cent for Tahiti) would either recommend or revisit her.²⁵

Analysis of all these questionnaires and interviews suggests that hotels and tourist centers in Tahiti have not had an undesirable disruptive effect upon the island of Tahiti or neighboring islands; this in part appears to be related to the dispersion of the industry. As a source of wage labor, tourism naturally contributes to the evolution of a modern money economy out of the traditional system of collectivism and subsistence living, but this process of change has previous roots in cost cropping and other forms of wage labor discussed in the next section.

At present, most hotels are not large enough to employ amounts of labor significant enough to greatly alter the economic situation of the hotel district. The majority of

the direct profits of tourism are collected by foreign investors, travel agencies, and Chinese merchants; the impact of tourism is felt most strongly in and around Papeete where these groups have their headquarters. Given the fact that the Tahitian is not benefitting very much from direct profits, one might argue that perhaps tourism is, therefore, not good for the Territory. Yet the same problem is apparent in many industries in Tahiti which had had to be initiated by external capital.

The Tahitian can find employment in hotels and travel agencies, but the numbers of such employees is not large at present, particularly in the districts. The 1967 Bulletin de Statistique showed that only two tourist establishments employed over 100 persons; there were in 1967 twenty-two tourist establishments -- seven travel agencies and fifteen tourist hotels. When the larger hotels like the Tahara'a and Maeva, open up, district localities will be supplying significant amounts of labor to operate these hotels.

FORCES OF CHANGE OTHER THAN TOURISM

Tourism will become in the near future, a strong force of change; at present, other factors appear to be having more drastic effects. For example, the effects of the C.E.P. are still so strong in Tahiti that it is still very difficult to analyze or even identify the influences of true tourism. The C.E.P. establishment has had a large

impact of the island of Tahiti and some of the other more remote islands, both economically and socially; both constructive and destructive. These effects are complex, but it is certain that Tahiti is no longer the same as before the arrival of the C.E.P. According to the TTDB,

There have been profound transformations in the economy of French Polynesia since 1963, caused by the installation of the 'Centre d'Experimentations du Pacifique', caused by the increased aid from continental France for the development of public facilities and by the birth of new activities. The traditional activities of agriculture, raising of livestock and fishing no longer hold first place in the general economy.²⁶

Tourism, on the other hand, has been a force of encouragement to traditional activities.

Another complicating factor regarding the analysis of the impact of tourism is the military-generated tourism; it is difficult to separate the effects of this temporary sort of tourism from the effects of true tourist expenditures. The impact of military pleasure spending is most concentrated in the Papeete area, where the naval vessels tied up at the dock form an important part of the city landscape. When the ships are in port, it is difficult to find seats in many of the cafes or restaurants, waitresses and shop employees become especially surly, and service in general seems to deteriorate. In the evening, the clubs about town are loud and lively but the amount of fighting and public drunkenness spoils the otherwise pleasant atmosphere, at least for most tourists. Most Frenchmen dream of

visiting Tahiti and these sailors initially consider themselves very fortunate, yet, as the legend of Hawaii is lost in the cement jungle of Waikiki, so falls le mythe Tahitien with the unpleasant welcome accorded to French sailors and the sorry state of "romantic" Papeete. Outside of Papeete, in the surrounding districts where most of the tourist hotels are located, the impact of military spending and the presence of military personnel are reduced but still strong. The military may be present almost everywhere that the tourist is present and many local people bitterly resent their presence. The French sailor is comparatively rich in Tahiti, free from living expenses, yet receiving extra pay for his sojourn in Tahiti. Much of this ready cash is spent on "tourist attractions" which include hotel shows, museums, nightclubs, restaurants, etc. Such expenditures are considerable; at certain times during the atomic testing there were up to 10,000 men of the French Foreign Legion in the Territory. During the 1966 experiments, three quarters of the entire French naval force was in French Polynesia for control purposes. "Although, theoretically, the whole project is experimental and therefore temporary, the sheer scope of the installations and the vast sums of money that have obviously been spent suggest that the C.E.P. is in French Polynesia to stay."²⁷

Installations built in the vicinity of Papeete have in recent years created great demands for local labor;

recently, substantial reductions have been made in the control force stationed in the Territory so the maintenance needs of the C.E.P. have been substantially reduced. This has created some problems by relieving many local persons of jobs held while the tests were being conducted.

October 1967 statistics of salaries for different types of employment show that 48 persons in the tourist industry received salaries of 30,000 or more Pacific francs per month while 654 persons received salaries of less than 30,000 Pacific francs per month. This compares with 2,173 salaries created by the C.E.P. and other Metropolitan French associations, 148 of which were over 30,000 Pacific francs and 2,025 of which were less than 30,000 Pacific francs.²⁸

The writer was unable to acquire accurate statistical information concerning C.E.P. generated revenues, but given the fact that at times up to 10,000 French military personnel were stationed in the Territory, the economic impact must have been and still be substantial. The large number of local persons employed by the C.E.P. is also a strong indication of its influences upon the local economy.

One important difference between C.E.P. generated revenues and those generated by tourism is that the former involve only French money whereas the latter involves primarily foreign money, and it is these latter revenues which are significant in closing the gap in the trade balance.²⁹

The urbanization and commercialization of Papeete is a further complicating factor in analysis of the impact of tourism. This phenomenon, along with the C.E.P., is influencing the development of tourism; at the same time, tourism and the C.E.P. are contributing forces to the urbanization and commercialization process. The suburbs of the town are continually extending into nearby districts as the commuter network grows. There is a construction boom from the center of town to the peripheries of town as the need for housing and shop space increases. Over forty years ago, Ably described Tahiti as a "delightful neglected garden."³⁰ Needless to say, he would scarcely recognize the island today.

The country has so often been accused of backwardness compared with other French territories that the authorities have been hurriedly building schools, hospitals and infirmaries. The trouble is that these necessary improvements elaborated in the offices of Papeete are more in accord with theory than with the real needs and aspirations of the natives.³¹

Papeete continues to grow at the expense of district and outer island populations, particularly the young sectors of those populations.

There are some who would argue that there is not a rural exodus in the direction of Papeete; as proof, they submit population figures which show rather small growth within the city of Papeete compared to growth in the surrounding districts. This actually does not indicate the decreasing importance of Papeete as the urban and

commercial focus of the Territory but rather the opposite because this growth in surrounding districts is very much a part of the suburban growth of Papeete. Migrations toward Papeete are very important indeed, and it is commercial growth more than tourism which is responsible.

Kay (1963) has analyzed the effects of urbanization on the Tahitian household in neighborhoods in both Papeete and in the districts. In the Papeete neighborhood, Manuhoe, he found that households tended to be "crowded and tending toward extended family organization, woman-centered, and disorganized."³² People in this area are generally low income, unskilled folk who have migrated from rural areas into this urban milieu. The precarious economic position of these people has caused extension of the family system as a means to cut per capital rent. This extension is reinforced by more traditional exchange patterns among relatives. Greater male mobility is responsible for the relative woman-centeredness of the Manuhoe household; the woman not only has more difficulty in finding a job, but is often burdened with growing children. These factors combine to create a general pattern of extension through females. The disorganization of the household is a response to numerous factors: the increasing mobility of the population, the weakening of marriage bonds and nuclear family groups by the economic pressures and attractions created by increasing commercialization and urbanization in Papeete.

In the Mahaena district neighborhood analyzed by Kay, the major economic activities involved subsistence agriculture and fishing and cash crop agriculture as contrasted to wage laboring in Manuhoe. Mahaena is still rural but is coming increasingly under the economic and social influence of growing Papeete. In Mahaena, the household is less crowded, the population is more stable, and there are fewer people living in extended family relationships; furthermore, there are fewer households which are considered to be "woman centered."³³

According to Finney (1965), major socio-economic changes in certain districts of the Territory over the last few decades have been caused by forces generated outside of these districts. These major changes have been an increase in cash cropping on the more remote islands and an increase in wage labor in Tahitian districts. Increased commercial production is a response to increased demands for local products (vanilla, copra) in overseas markets. The shift to wage labor is a response to increased metropolitan investment in the Territory which has provided new job openings.

When increased employment opportunities allowed the A'ou'a a district area in which Finney conducted his study to choose between continuing a peasant existence or adopting a mode of livelihood based on wage labor, they found the latter course more profitable. These actions may contradict common European stereotypes about Polynesian, and particularly Tahitian, values and attitudes toward work, but upon examination they are not really surprising. The

A'ou'a have long participated in the market exchange system prevailing in the Society Islands, and they are seeking to maximize their returns in that system.³⁴

TOURISM AS WAGE LABOR

Tourism is a definite factor in stimulating these very changes because it is a source of employment for wage laborers. The major difference between tourism and other sources of wage labor employment is that tourism can locate in district areas where other industries cannot locate. Tourism can beautify the area whereas most other industries create unsightly factories or warehouses. Tourist employee wages in the vicinity of Papeete are just one of the many factors of socio-economic change; in the districts and outer islands, however, tourist employee wages may be the source of socio-economic change. These changes will come regardless of tourism development unless the Administration decides to halt the growth of modern industry or cash cropping in the Territory and return the island to subsistence agriculture and fishing which is very unlikely. The real question to be asked is whether or not the changes might be more smoothly and beneficially accomplished by tourism rather than by manufacturing, processing, etc. The major changes in the future will be the result of administrative decisions rather than the result of decisions made by Tahitians themselves; one such major decision in the past was the official decision to develop tourism to improve the

Territory's economic position. Major future decisions will involve public policy designed to control and coordinate the activities of this growing industry. To fully understand tourism's impact on the social and economic institutions of a developing country, one would expect to examine areas which have not been developed for tourism and to compare them with other areas where tourism is a significant component of the local economy. Such an analysis would be difficult in French Polynesia because other forces are at work in the non-tourist areas which have some of the same effects upon traditional institutions as tourism. The changes wrought by tourism are primarily related to wage labor positions created by it. Other areas are experiencing similar economic and social readjustments caused by increasing employment of wage laborers, but the source of the wages is not tourism but cash cropping, construction or other industries.

CHAPTER III

ENDNOTES

¹Resolution No. 66-73 of June 20, 1966 (no page number).

²Investments in Tahiti and French Polynesia (Paris, 1967), 23. Hereafter cited as Investments.

³This general evolution concerns primarily the effects of increased wage labor and cash cropping in the Territory. This subject is more thoroughly discussed later in this chapter.

⁴From a speech delivered by the President of the Territorial Assembly late in 1968.

⁵Ibid.

⁶See Appendix, Table III.

⁷The name of this official is being withheld by request.

⁸See Appendix, Figure 9.

⁹Jean Marie Loursin, Tahiti (Paris, 1964), 136.

¹⁰Investments, 11.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²See Appendix, Figure 10 and Table IV.

¹³Bulletin 1967, 88.

¹⁴Statistiques Relatives aux Touristes Americains, Annee 1967, 11.

¹⁵Rapport sur les Etudes des Reactions de la Clientele Touristique faites durant l'Annee 1967, 14.

¹⁶Statistiques Touristiques 1968, 1er Trimestre, 15.

¹⁷See Appendix, Table V.

¹⁸Statistiques Touristiques 1968, 3eme Trimestre, 8.

¹⁹See Appendix, Figure 11.

²⁰See Appendix, Figure 12.

- ²¹See Appendix, Figure 11.
- ²²Information supplied by Tahiti Tourist Development Board.
- ²³This comment often included negative references to Waikiki.
- ²⁴Summary of the Pacific Visitors Survey, 20.
- ²⁵From information gathered in the World Travel Survey conducted in the United Kingdom.
- ²⁶Investments, 6.
- ²⁷Pacific Islands Yearbook, 1968, 173.
- ²⁸Bulletin 1967, 16.
- ²⁹Pacific Islands Yearbook 1968, 167.
- ³⁰Jean Marie Loursin, Tahiti, 61.
- ³¹Ibid.
- ³²Paul Kay, "Urbanization in the Tahitian Household," Pacific Port Towns and Cities, A Symposium (Honolulu, 1963) 70.
- ³³Ibid., 70-71.
- ³⁴Ben R. Finney, "Polynesian Peasants and Proletarians," Journal of the Polynesian Society (September, 1965), Vol. 74, 320.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUTURE OF TOURISM IN TAHITI -- PREDICTIONS AND PRESCRIPTIONS

ANTICIPATED GROWTH

Future patterns of air travel are expected to bring increasing numbers of tourists into the Pacific. Influencing the Pacific passenger market will be changes in socio-economic conditions around the world (in particular, rise in standards of living in the United States), the introduction of new aircraft (such as the Boeing 747), the reduction of air fares, and the traffic growth with the expanding needs of the world's population.

The Boeing Company predicts five times as much air traffic in the Pacific in 1975 as in 1968. The Company also predicts that Tahiti will share in this travel growth which will be characterized by the increasing importance of the United States tourist market and the decreasing average length of stay of visitors. Coupled with a rising turnover per dollar (that in 1968 was 3.27 per dollar in the Pacific), the economic picture for the future looks good for Tahiti and neighbor islands.¹

Forecasts for 1970 and 1977 have been made by the TTDB and presented in the 1967 Statistical Report. The frequency of air service in 1967 was thirteen flights per week; by 1970, twenty-two to twenty-four weekly flights are expected and by 1970, fifty to sixty flights. The number

of tourists is forecast to rise from 23,574 in 1967 to 60,000 to 75,000 in 1970, and to 250,000 to 300,00 by 1977. The mean length of stay is predicted to decrease from 6.7 days in 1967 to six days in 1970, and to five days in 1977. Maritime transit passengers (not considered tourists) will increase in number from 43,021 in 1967 to 60,000 in 1970 and to 100,000 to 115,000 in 1977 according to 1967 TTDB predictions. These rather optimistic predictions also include rises in direct receipts from 700,000,000 Pacific francs in 1967, to 1,500,000,000 to 1,880,000,000 Pacific francs in 1970, to 4,500,000,000 to 6,600,000,000 Pacific francs in 1977. Lodging capacity in the Territory is predicted to soar from 722 rooms in 1967 to 1,620 in 1970 and to 3,200 in 1977; occupancy of these units will vary from 64 per cent in 1967, to 70 or 80 per cent in 1970, and to 70 to 75 per cent in 1977.² Proposed reductions in air fares to Tahiti, the new wave of hotel construction, and expected results from present advertising campaigns by the TTDB and the airlines now serving Tahiti, are some of the bases for these rather high growth prediction figures.

The Administration of the Territory has called the islands of French Polynesia "paradise"; it has also stated that the goal of the TTDB is "to preserve this paradise while making it accessible and welcoming to the growing yearly number of visitors."³ To insure a successful growth of tourism while simultaneously preserving the developing

culture and traditions of French Polynesia, certain public policies are necessary to control the nature of this expanding industry. The tourists' interests, the Tahitian's needs and aspirations, and the original cultural or natural characteristics of a particular locale must be the primary consideration when that site is chosen as a potential tourist attraction to be developed. These considerations need not conflict with one another and, in fact, can be complementary. The various survey questionnaires have revealed ample evidence of the tourist's desires for "beautiful natural scenery," "warm, friendly people," and "exotic environments." This implies beautiful views, lush tropical vegetation, good recreational facilities and seeing the Polynesian as a natural element of this environment; this does not imply a zoo-animal approach of parading the Tahitian around in grass skirts and flower crowns in the vicinity of hotels. This is primarily what the tourist currently sees in Tahiti and Hawaii; however, if developed carefully, Polynesian character can adjust and fit pleasantly and naturally into a society of leisure which develops with tourism. There are many aspects of Polynesian culture which are very much a part of Tahitian life in the twentieth century and which are essentially denied to the tourist in the Papeete hotel because the hotel and the community are not contributing to each other's needs. Here, the hotel employee has little interest in the hotel or the

area of the hotel other than the fact that he earns his money there. It is extremely important that the hotel personnel take a genuine interest in the community; the needs of one are very often the needs of the other. The hotel can enhance the well-being of the community and the employee can help to ensure the success of the hotel. This situation is further demonstrated by the relaxed, friendly, and interested nature of employees in hotels far from Papeete where hotel and community are much more intimately related. On Bora Bora for example, certain hotels provide facilities for the staging of local cultural events -- the community supplies the talent and the result is a very pleasurable experience to all involved, both participant and spectator.

The Tahitian needs a force that can create in him a sense of pride in his past and yet give him a sense of direction and anticipation for the future; tourism, if carefully controlled in its development, can generate these forces and contribute to the Tahitian's economic and social well being. The Polynesian has a strong attachment to his vahi fanau'raa (birth place) and his island nation; by channeling economic opportunity and social benefits into the locale with a sense of preservation for the natural and cultural features which distinguish that locale, there is a minimization of the disruption in the community's adaptation to the twentieth century.

The feasibility of building a hotel in a particular location is influenced naturally by the presence or absence of the basic physical needs of the hotel plant. Good roads and public facilities generally must precede hotel construction, not only to reduce the costs of construction and operation but to ensure the clientele easy access to the hotel.

All the tourist hotels on Tahiti and the other islands are located on or just off the main road system. This reflects not only contractor considerations for construction costs and accessibility but also a preference for beach or coast locations. Since the roads of all major islands closely follow the coastlines, all hotel locations on the coast or beach imply also location on the main roadway. All the major islands have well developed enough roads to permit the development of tourism almost any coastal location.

The availability of electric power is another important consideration in hotel location, but the lack of central generating stations, such as those in Papeete and Uturoa which supply Tahiti and Ra'iatea, need not hinder hotel development in those areas. Commercial establishments (particularly hotels) are permitted to use private installations provided that the power produced is used exclusively by that establishment. The hotels on Bora Bora are examples of the private production of electrical power. A new

program to supply electric power in the Territory is now underway and priority zones in the tourist development program will receive centrally supplied power in the near future.

Another consideration in choosing hotel sites involves the water supply, which is a problem in some of the smaller islands. To avoid future crises in populous regions and to ensure the successful development of tourist areas, new sources of subterranean water are being tapped to replace the present surface supply.⁴

Studies have been made and plans drawn up regarding the methods of development of French Polynesia's tourist potential. A most thorough prescriptive study was undertaken in 1961 under the auspices of the Societe d'Equipement de la Polynesie Francaise; this analysis includes detailed information on selection, construction and maintenance of tourist centers. The author of this study is Claude J. Bach and the title of the work is Rapport d'Enquete Concernant la Creation de Centres Touristiques (Report on a Study Concerning the Creation of Tourist Centers). With a few minor exceptions, the prescriptions of this report by Bach coincide with prescriptions believed necessary by this writer, based on information collected in files, interviews and questionnaires. Analysis of this report by the writer is, however, actually beyond the scope of this thesis; however, a summation of the Bach study and complementary

information supplied by the writer is included separately in the Appendix.⁵

NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN TAHITIAN TOURISM

Many new tourist attractions are scheduled for development at government expense. A restoration program of ancient marae (heiau) has already been initiated on Tahiti and some other islands of the Society chain. One exciting plan involves the construction of a cultural center at Outumaoro which will include a museum with an attached Polynesian research institute, an artifacts center, an open air theater, an aquarium, an academy of Polynesian dances and music, and restorations of Leeward Island and Marquesan villages. Other new developments will include the construction of a golf course in the Pueu district, a large white sand beach between Hotel Moana Nui and Ta'apuna Pass, new sound and light shows at Gauguin Museum, at the Botanical Gardens, at Point Venus and at the Marae Arahurahu, the construction of new scenic roadways, and a new convention hall for Papeete.⁶ Many of these developments are taking place in locations outside of Papeete; the plans are indicative of the Administration's desire to develop tourist sites in a dispersed manner rather than simply within the agglomeration of Papeete.

The future of tourism in Tahiti will certainly depend on many complex factors ranging from world politics to seemingly insignificant issues. There are many questions

regarding the future development of the industry. Is continued growth really a blessing? Is Tahiti prepared for the implications of the new "jumbo jets"? Will Tahiti be able to supply the manpower needs for the growing industry or will labor have to be imported? Will increased revenues brought by tourism be offset by the higher cost of living resulting from it? Will there be a lack of low cost housing? What will happen to the environment? Can the very things people come to see be preserved? These are some of the many questions that are currently being asked by those persons in Tahiti who are concerned with tourism's development there. One can do little more than speculate as to the results of future development, but one thing is sure -- the industry must not be allowed to develop totally uncontrolled. The importance of preservation of natural assets and the need for strong public policy can in some respects guide the industry and help it to create the desired environment, where, in the words of Governor Sicurani, modern man can "escape from the restraints of mechanized society to rediscover the joys of living close to nature"⁷ and where the Polynesian can adapt himself and his culture to the complex civilization of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER IV

ENDNOTES

¹Information from lecture "Pacific Area Air Travel -- Challenge of the Future" presented by representatives of the Boeing Company in Papeete in October of 1968.

²1967 Statistical Report, Appendix 5, 8.

³Investments, 1.

⁴Ibid., 8.

⁵See Appendix, Figure 8 and accompanying text.

⁶See Appendix, Figure 4.

⁷Investments, p. 1.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

French Polynesia has indeed experienced drastic changes in her economy during the last ten years and the economic reorientation has been accompanied by cultural and physical changes in the Territory. Tourism has been a force of change, particularly on the island of Tahiti, but of progressive orderly change, not of the disruptive chaotic change such as that caused by the Centre d'Experimentations du Pacifique. The majority opinion among those persons intimately connected with the control and development of tourism is that tourism is a constructive force which can bring economic benefits to French Polynesia while helping to preserve and develop Polynesian cultural tradition while simultaneously adapting it to modern living. The differences of opinion that do exist regarding tourism primarily reflect disagreements over methods of development of this industry rather than development per se, although some voices have been raised against prices elevated by the industry.

Analysis has revealed that the dispersed nature of tourist facilities in the Territory has been a significant factor in easing the cultural impact of this new major industry and in disseminating its economic benefits, particularly in the outer districts and on the outer islands. Tourism generated wages are a factor of socio-

economic change but not changes to which the Polynesian himself is opposed. The economic impact of tourism (and the C.E.P.) has been most strongly felt in Papeete, partially as a result of the relative agglomeration of hotel facilities about the town, but primarily because Papeete is the headquarters of most of the tourism-oriented business enterprises in the Territory.

The more distant, dispersed hotels not only have more of their employees living in the vicinity of the hotel but include in their employment a larger percentage of persons originally from that area. When the labor shed of the hotel coincides more closely with the region in which the hotel is located, then it is likely that more of the economic benefits related to the tourist center are being felt in this region than if most of the employees commuted to the hotel from other districts. The apparent lack of economic progress, resulting from tourism, in some areas tends to reflect the sparseness of and small size of existing hotels in these districts. Furthermore, increasing the percentages of employment of local labor, combined with the restoration and recreation of cultural and historical sites and activities, enhances the attractiveness and distinctiveness of the tourist center region.

The scenic beauty as well as the cultural traditions of a site are better protected by lower density tourism which is related to dispersion. Testimony of tourists

revealed "scenic natural beauty" to be the major attraction of French Polynesia; the ability of hotels to preserve this beauty will depend very much upon the density of tourist facilities in the area. Tourist satisfaction with site was found to be greatest in areas somewhat removed from Papeete where tourist density is lower; this in part is related to the age and income composition of Tahiti's tourist clientele.

Administrative and local government goals and policies, local inhabitants and tourist perceptions reveal the need for and advantages of dispersed tourism. Increased employment opportunities and diversions created by tourism in the districts can perhaps prevent some of the youth migration to Papeete. Dispersed tourism can help to maintain a healthy balance between the number of tourists in one area and the number of local inhabitants; too few tourists will not create the desired effect of a center, while too many tourists can create an adverse effect on it. The Tahitian does not need, and the government officials do not want, another Waikiki. What is immediately needed is a more effective program of internal promotion of tourism and strong public policies, coupled with private industry's cooperation regarding its development. The writer feels that this study offers some evidence of the need for inclusion of a "dispersion policy" of some sort in official tourist development strategy. Analysis has shown how

indifferent or negative local attitudes can spoil the tourist's stay in Tahiti and thereby endanger the industry's future, while the congestion of Waikiki provides sufficient evidence of the banes of uncontrolled tourism development.

A P P E N D I X

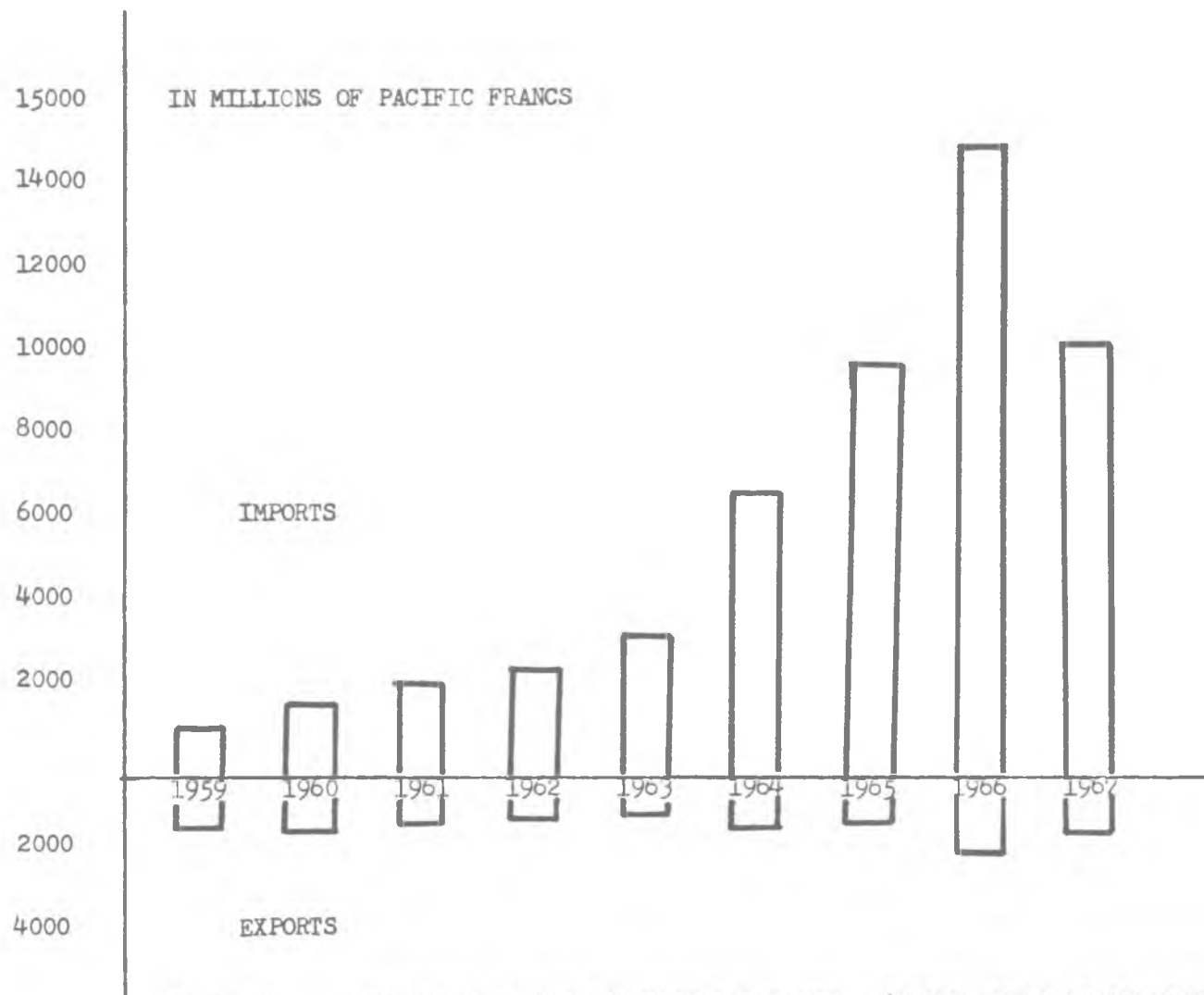
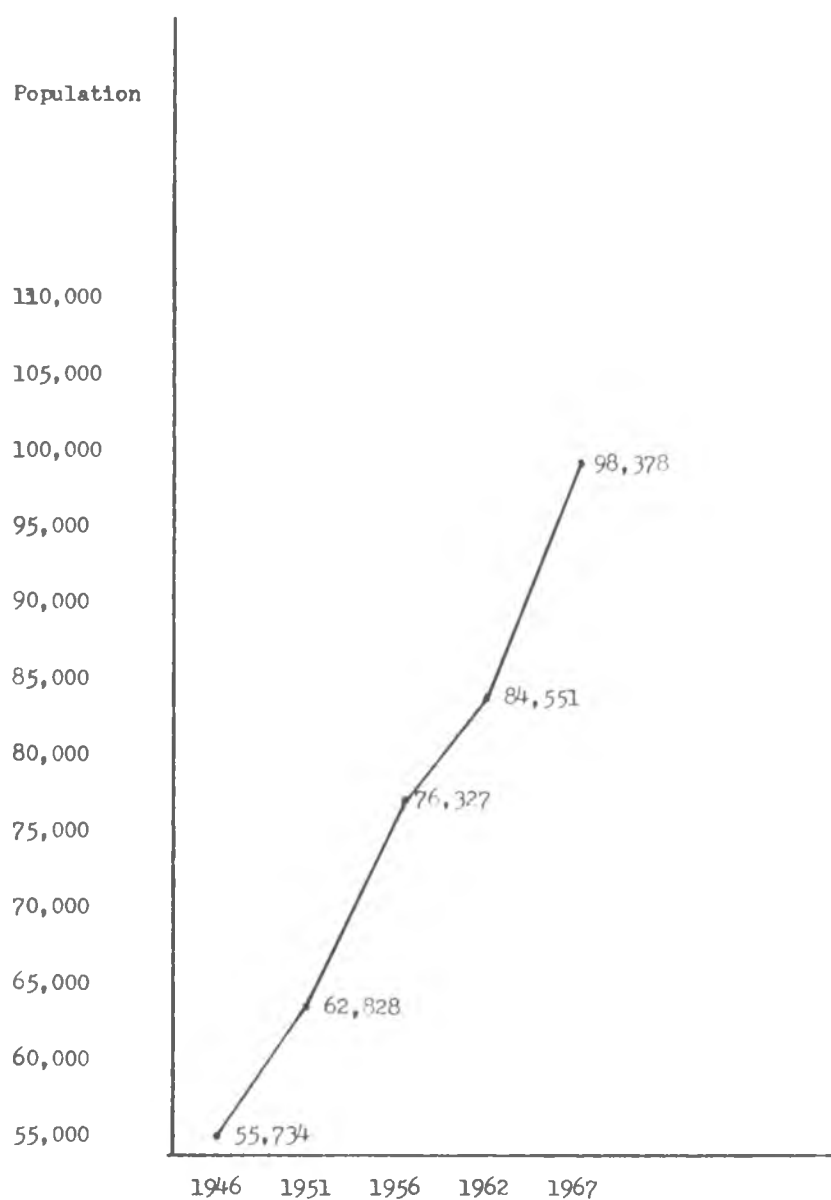


Fig. 1. EVOLUTION OF THE COMMERCIAL BALANCE (BULLETIN DE STATISTIQUE 1967)

EVOLUTION OF THE POPULATION IN FRENCH POLYNESIA

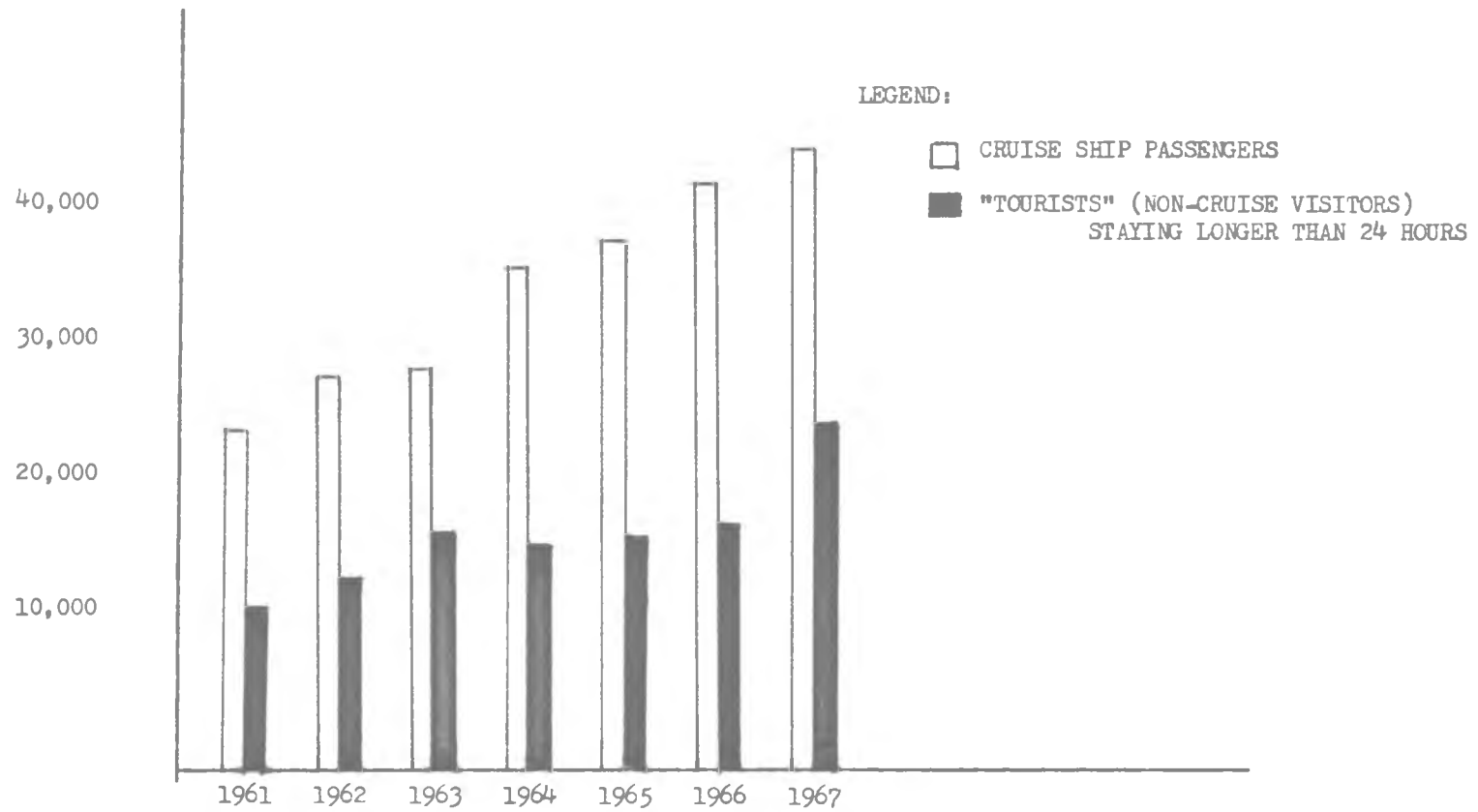
1946 to 1967



"RESULTATS DU DENOMBREMENT DE LA POPULATION
EFFECTUE EN 1967"
SERVICE DES AFFAIRES ADMINISTRATIVES

Fig. 2. EVOLUTION OF THE POPULATION IN FRENCH POLYNESIA, 1946 to 1967

THE TOURIST MOVEMENT



(BULLETIN DE STATISTIQUE 1967)

Fig. 3. THE TOURIST MOVEMENT

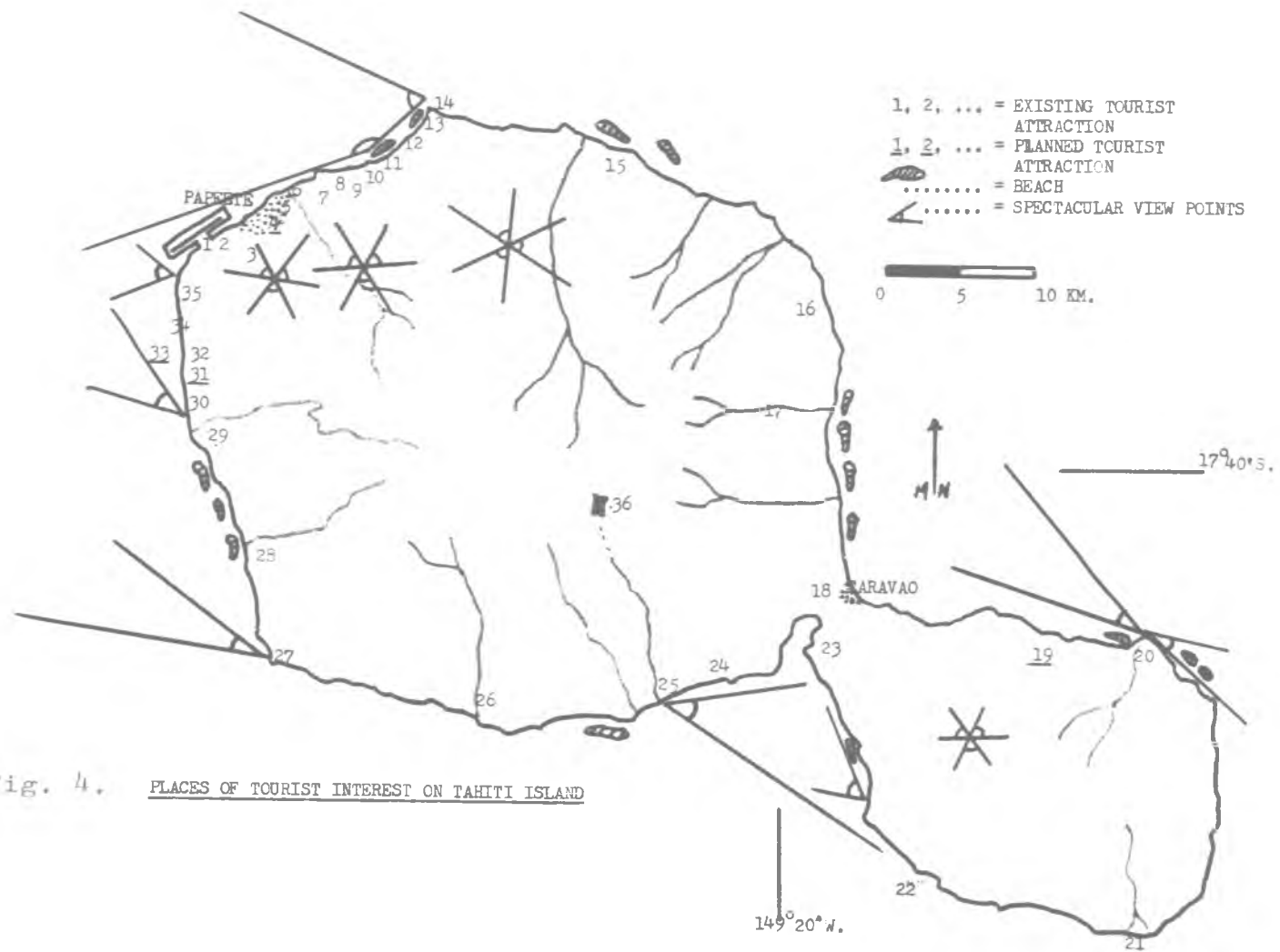


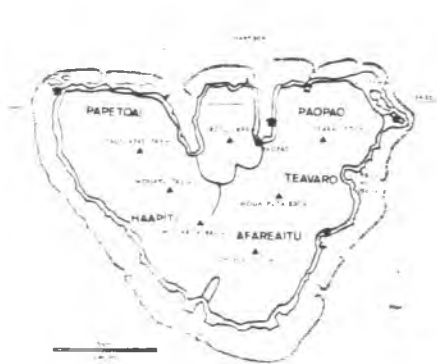
Fig. 4. PLACES OF TOURIST INTEREST ON TAHITI ISLAND

PLACES OF TOURIST INTEREST
ON TAHITI ISLAND

KEY:

1. Faaa International Airport
2. Hotel Tahiti
3. Hotel Matavai
4. Papeete Convention Hall
5. Artifacts Center
6. Royal Papeete Hotel
7. Bain Loti
8. Puoro Plage Bar-Restaurant
9. Taaone Hotel
10. Royal Tahitian Hotel
11. Princesse Heiata Hotel
12. Tahara'a Hotel
13. Captain Cook's Monument
14. Point Venus
15. Blowhole of Arahoho
16. Bougainville's Landing Place
17. Faatautia Falls
18. Faratea Hotel
19. Pueu Tourist Center
20. Chez Pepe Inn
21. Scenic Point
22. Teahupoo Excursion Point
23. Eric et Poulet Restaurant
24. Gaugin Museum
25. Vaipahi Falls
26. Marae Mahaiatea
27. Marae Arahurahu
28. Grotto of Paroa
29. Hotel Tahiti Village
30. Site of Gaugin's House
31. Cultural Center
32. Maeva Hotel
33. White Sand Beach
34. Hotel Moana Nui
35. Hotel Bel Air

Sources: TTDB, "Tahiti" Pamphlet, Pacific Islands Year-
book. Rapport D'Enquete (Bach).



MOOREA



RA' IATEA



BORA BORA

Fig. 5. PLACES OF TOURIST INTEREST ON BORA BORA,
MOOREA AND RA' IATEA

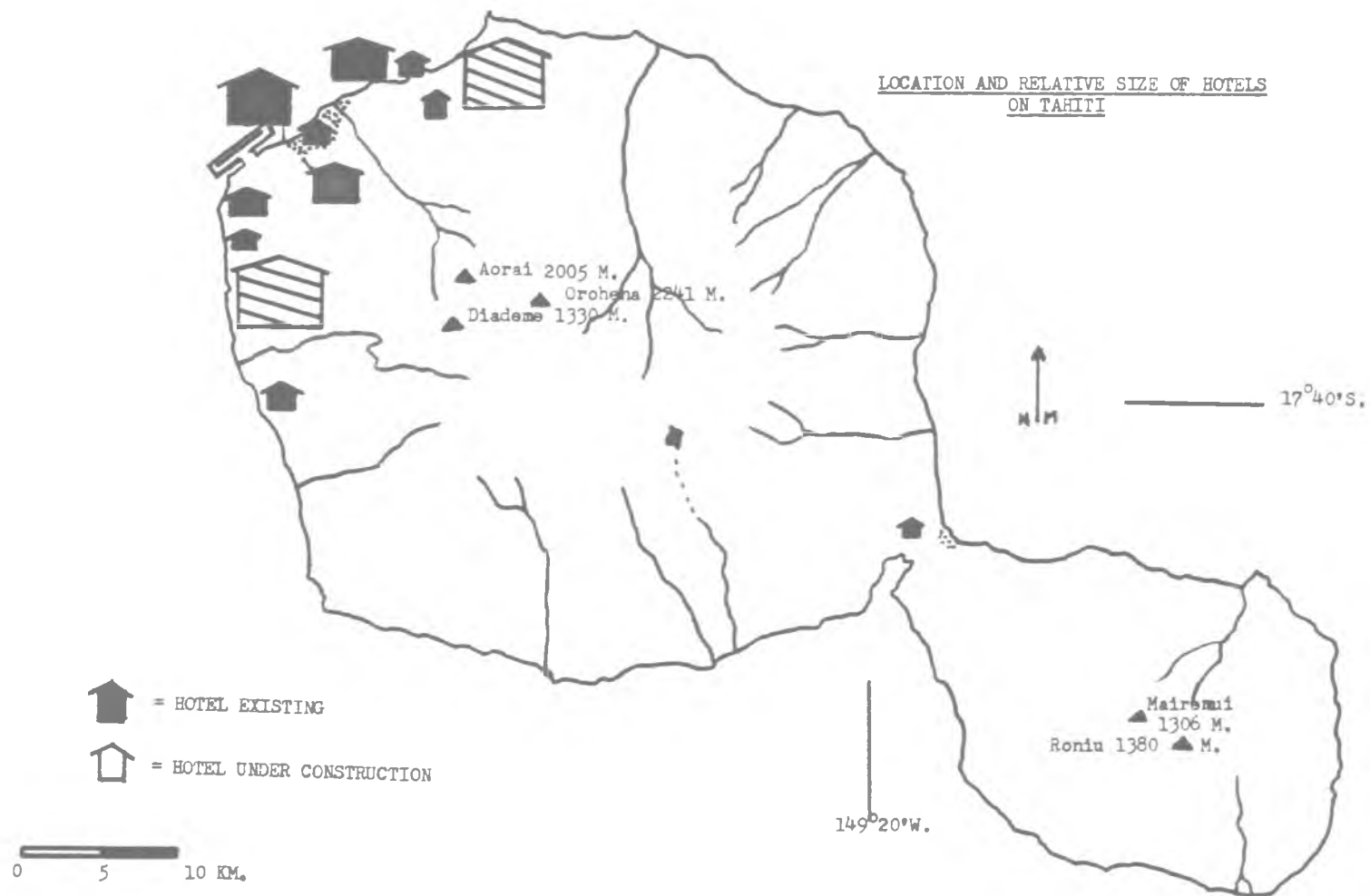


Fig. 6. LOCATION AND RELATIVE SIZE OF HOTELS ON TAHITI

TABLE I. ORIGIN OF HOTEL EMPLOYEES ON
TAHITI, RA'IA TEA, AND BORA BORA*

TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WORKING IN TOURIST HOTELS ON
TAHITI FROM:

<u>Tahiti</u>	<u>Outer Islands</u>		<u>Foreign</u>	
230	Moorea	11	U.S.A.	6
	Huahine	33	France	27
	Tahaa	11	Others	<u>17</u>
	Ra'iatea	25		
	Maupiti	5	Total	51
	Bora Bora	7		
	Tuamotu	32		
	Austral	21		
	Gambier	3		
	Marquesa	<u>6</u>		
	Total	154		

TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WORKING IN TOURIST HOTELS ON
RA'IA TEA FROM:

Ra'iatea	Tahiti	2	France	1
	Maupiti	2		
15	Bora Bora	<u>1</u>		
	Total	5		

TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES WORKING IN TOURIST HOTELS ON BORA
BORA FROM:

Bora Bora	Tahiti	1	U.S.A.	4
	Huahine	1	France	<u>2</u>
27	Ra'iatea	1	Total	6
	Austral	1		
	Maupiti	<u>2</u>		
	Total	6		

* Includes all tourist hotels on these islands except
"Raratea" on Tahiti.

TABLE II. CORRELATION OF JOB TYPE AND
ORIGIN OF HOTEL EMPLOYEES

Position	Number of Employees From:			
	Papeete	All Tahiti	Outer Islands	Foreign
Administrative (Managers, other)	5	9	--	7
Desk Jobs (Accounting, Reception, Reservation)	31	36 +5*	8	9
Food Preparation (Cooks, Kitchen Help)	15	28 +2*	24	8
Cleaning (of Laundry, of Rooms)	6	25 +8*	31	4
Maintenance (Maint. Men, Watchmen, Gardeners, Etc.)	8	22 +4*	24	4
Food Serving (Bar, Restaurant)	30	53 +8*	33	10

Total Sample = 362.

*"Tahiti" only given information on town or district not given.

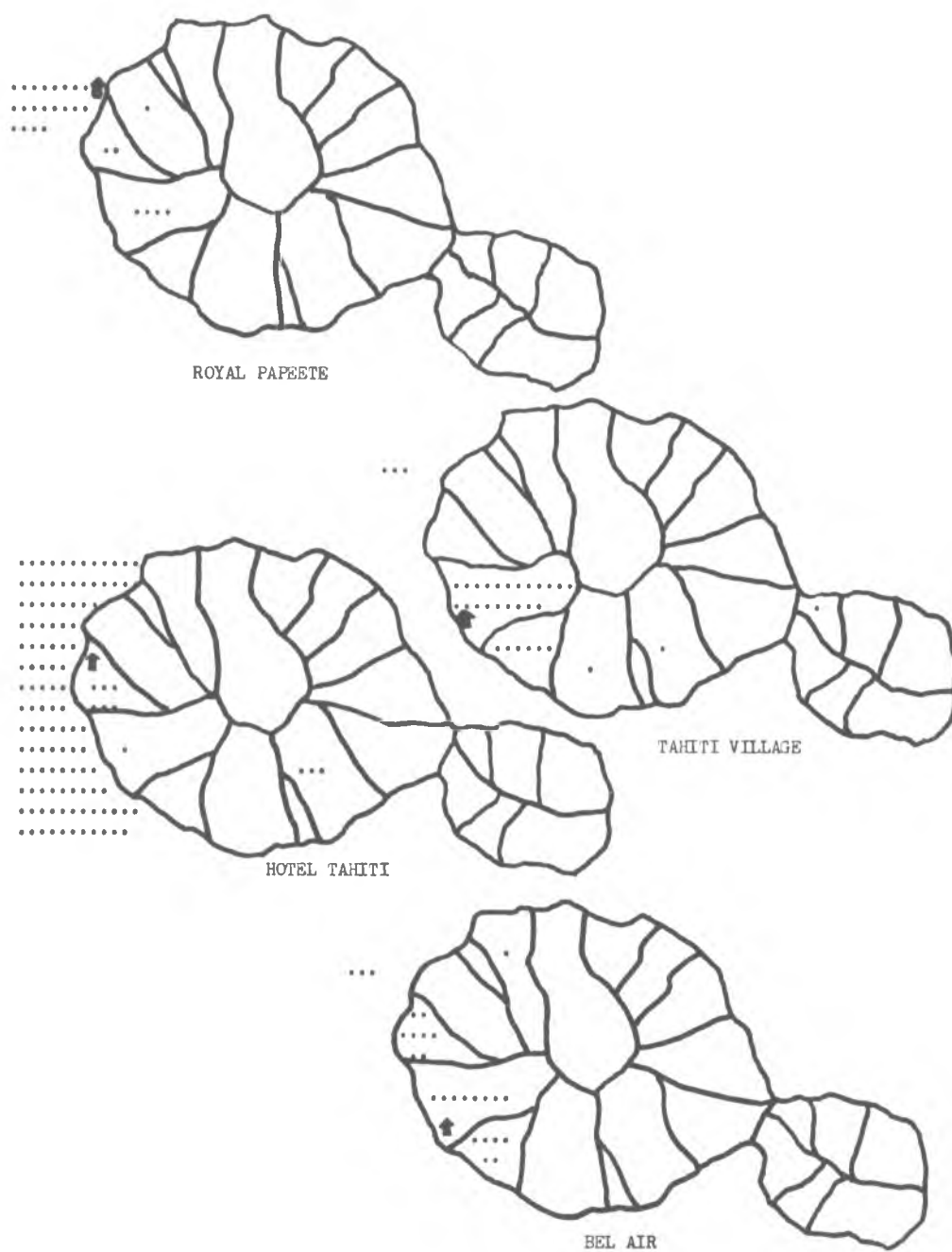


Fig. 7. LABOR SHEDS OF TAHITIAN HOTELS (CONT'D.)

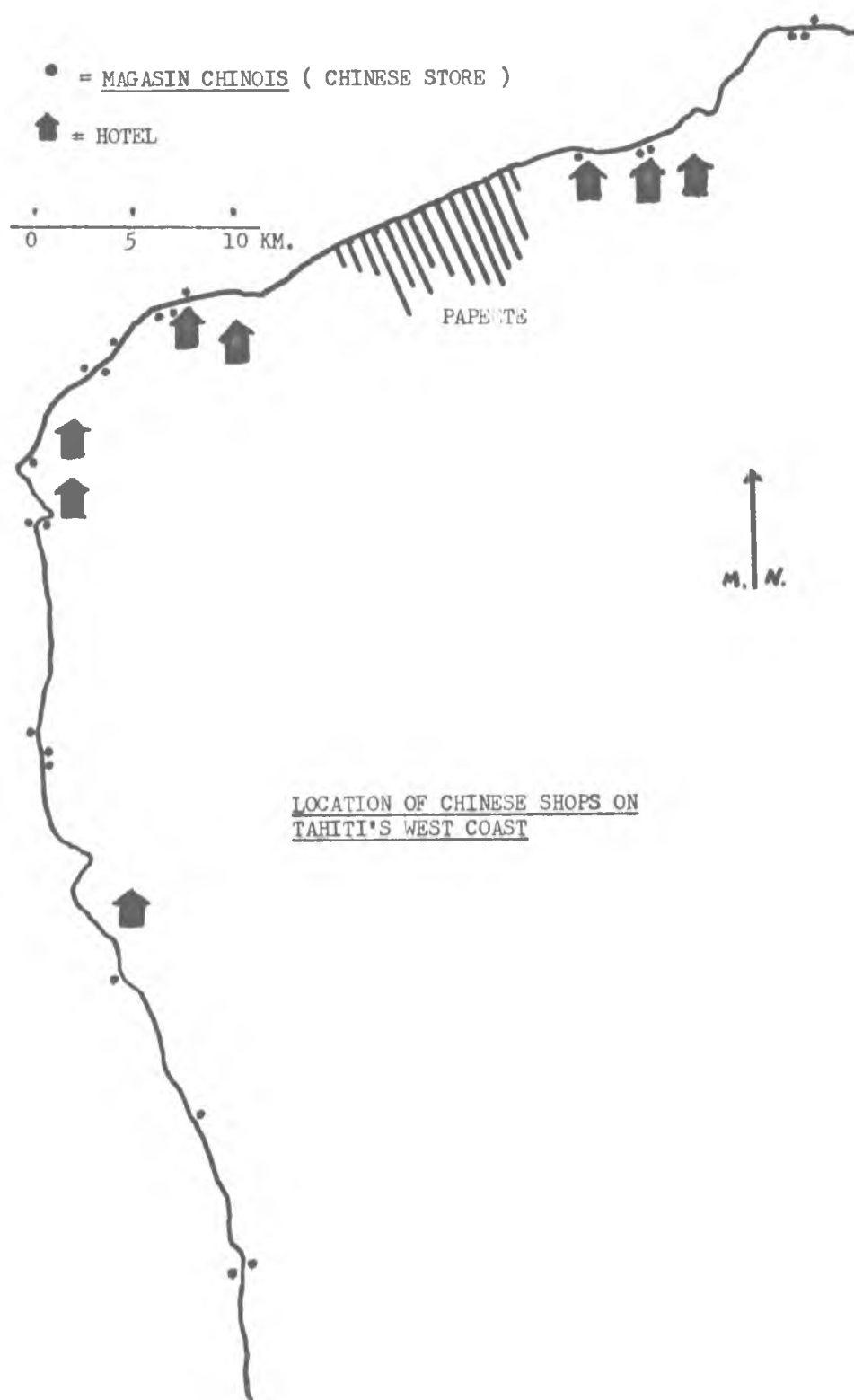


Fig. 8. LOCATION OF CHINESE SHOPS ON TAHITI'S WEST COAST

TABLE III. PRODUCTION OF GREEN VANILLA
1966 AND 1967

Island Group		1966	1967
1.	<u>Iles Du Vent</u>	16.5	7.0
	of which: Tahiti	2.8	1.1
	Moorea	13.8	5.9
2.	<u>Iles Sous Le Vent</u>	297.7	138.0
	of which: Ra'iatea	85.5	34.2
	Tahaa	98.9	46.2
	Huahine	104.2	53.2
	Bora Bora	5.2	2.3
	Maupiti	3.3	2.1
3.	Iles Australes (1)	<u>5.5</u>	<u>9.2</u>
	TOTAL	319.1	154.2

Source: Economie Rurale, Bulletin De Statistique 1967.

Note: (1) Estimation

1. Age: Range from 18 to 38.
Sex: 12 Women, 8 Men.
2. From which island or from which area of this island do you come from? (9 from Tahiti, 11 from outer islands)
3. Where did you work before you came to this hotel? (For 2 employees this was the first official job; others had worked as domestic help, construction men, restaurant personnel, or employees of other hotels)
4. How do you travel to work: by car, by motorbike, by bicycle, or by walking? (2 walk, 2 by bicycle, 4 by scooter, 3 by car, 9 by "truck", the local bus service)
5. Have you been able to buy new things for your home since you began working at the hotel? (All responded "Yes")
6. Have you any relatives who work in the tourist industry? (3 "Yes", 17 "No")
7. Are you glad that a tourist center was established in this area? (14 responded "Yes", 6 were indifferent)
8. Do you find that there are more recreational facilities in the area since the tourist center was established? (7 "Yes", 3 "No", and 10 were uncertain)
9. What other changes have you noticed in the area since the center opened? (See text)
10. Has the size of the population changed in this area since the center opened? (All "Yes")
11. Do you think that the establishment of the tourist center in the area has prevented the migration of young people out of the area to seek jobs elsewhere? (14 "It's possible", 6 "Unsure")
12. Have you tried to find work in Papeete or elsewhere? (15 "Yes")

Fig. 9. EMPLOYEE AND LOCAL RESIDENT
QUESTIONNAIRE

13. What do you think of the hotel industry as a source of employment for your children? (5 had no comment, 2 want their children to go to America, 2 were favorable. See text)
14. Where do you shop:
for food? (20 in market, in local Chinese store, in backyard)
for household goods? (20 in Papeete, 20 in local store)
for clothes? (20 in Papeete, some make their own)
15. Is it expensive to live in Tahiti? (20 "Yes")
16. Where would you like to visit outside of Tahiti?
(14 "Hawaii", -- 10 actually said "Honolulu" --
4 "Los Angeles", 2 "France", 1 "San Francisco",
1 "Florida", 2 "New York")

Fig. 9. EMPLOYEE AND LOCAL RESIDENT
QUESTIONNAIRE (CONT'D.)

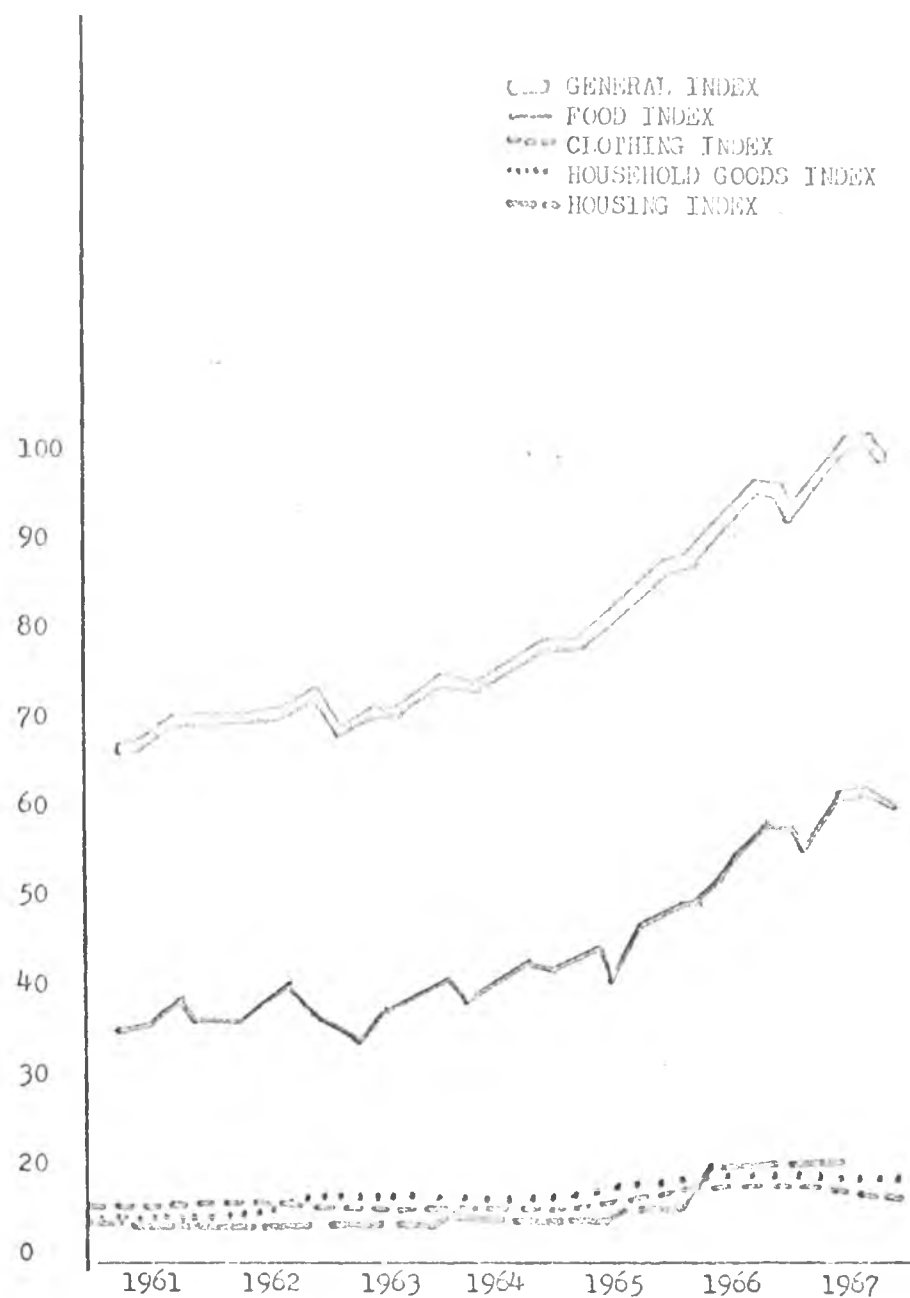


Fig. 10
 EVOLUTION OF THE INDEX OF THE COST OF LIVING SINCE 1961
 (BULLETIN DE STATISTIQUE 1967)

TABLE IV. PRICES OF SELECTED
FOODSTUFFS IN TAHITI

Food Item	Price	
	In Tahitian Currency	In American Currency
Bread	21.4 CFP/kg.	11¢/lb.
Potatoes	16.7 CFP/kg.	8½¢/lb.
Lettuce	52.5 CFP/kg.	27¢/lb.
Rice	29.4 CFP/kg.	15¢/lb.
Fresh Beef	186.7 CFP/kg.	95¢/lb.
Fresh Pork	157.1 CFP/kg.	80¢/lb.
Fresh Fish	77.1 CFP/kg.	39¢/lb.
Fresh Pasteurized Milk	30 CFP/kg.	38¢/qt.
Butter	129.5 CFP/kg.	66¢/lb.
Coffee	240 CFP/kg.	\$1.22/lb.
Sugar	14.4 CFP/kg.	7¢/lb.
Eggs	93.8 CFP/doz.	\$1.05/doz.

Source: 1967 Bulletin de Statistique, 101.

TABLE V. RESPONSES TO TOURIST QUESTIONNAIRE

[illegible]

RESPONSES TO TOURIST QUESTIONNAIRE

KEY:

1. What is your age: 1 = 10 to 20 years, 2 = 20 to 30 years, etc.
2. Sex: Male or Female? M = Male, F = Female
3. What is your state or country of origin?

CA = California	EN = England
WA = Washington State	NY = New York
AU = Australia	OR = Oregon
NZ = New Zealand	GE = Germany
HA = Hawaii	NE = Nevada
TE = Texas	NJ = New Jersey
MA = Massachusetts	CO = Colorado
OH = Ohio	CN = Connecticut
IN = Indiana	Fl = Florida
4. Have you been to Tahiti before? Y = Yes
5. Has Tahiti changed much since your last visit?
Y = Yes; N = No
6. What is the duration of your present stay in French Polynesia? The number represents the number of days.
7. Which hotel did you stay in while visiting this island?

MA = Matavai	TV = Tahiti Village
BA = Bel Air	TA = Hotel Tahiti
TO = Taaone	MN = Moana Nui
ST = Hotel Stuart	RO = Royal Tahitien
PT = Royal Papeete	FA = Faratea
8. Were you satisfied with this hotel?
Y = Yes; N = No; - = Indifferent
9. Which other islands in French Polynesia did you visit?

- = None
M = Moorea
B = Bora Bora
R = Ra'iatea
10. Were you fully satisfied with your stay on these other islands? Y = Yes; N = No.
11. What influenced your decision to visit Tahiti?

F = Advice of friends or relatives
T = Travel agent
D = Desire to return
M = Magazines
L = Other literature
C = Cinema
B = Business Reasons
E = En route, Tahiti was a transfer point

12. Do you find Tahiti overcrowded with tourists or tourist facilities? Y = Yes; N = No
13. Have you ever visited Waikiki? Y = Yes; N = No
14. Were you satisfied with your stay in Waikiki? Y = Yes; N = No; - = Indifferent
15. Have you ever visited the outer Hawaiian islands? Y = Yes; N = No
16. Were you satisfied with your stay on these outer Hawaiian islands? Y = Yes; N = No; - = Indifferent
17. Do you think that dispersion of tourist facilities is good? Y = Yes; N = No; - = Indifferent
18. Which did you prefer: Tahiti, Waikiki, the outer islands of French Polynesia or the outer islands of Hawaii?
T = Tahiti
W = Waikiki
F = outer French Polynesian islands
H = outer Hawaiian islands
19. Apart from the hotel accommodations, were you pleased with Tahiti? Yes = Yes; N = No
20. Apart from hotel accommodations, were you pleased with the outer islands of French Polynesia? Y = Yes; N = No; - = Did not visit these islands

TAHITI TOURIST DEVELOPMENT BOARD

P.O. BOX 65- PAPEETE-TAHITI

would you be kind enough to help the Tahiti Tourist Development Board in its effort to make the visitor's stay in French Polynesia as pleasant as possible by answering the following questions :

1. ON THE WHOLE, ARE YOU SATISFIED WITH YOUR STAY IN FRENCH POLYNESIA ?

YES	PARTLY	NO
☐	☐	☐

2. WHAT IS IT THAT ENTICED YOU TO VISIT TAHITI ?

- Books or magazine articles	☐
- Movies or TV	☐
- Friends who had visited Tahiti	☐
- Other means (radio, lectures, window display)	☐

3. A) BY WHOM WAS YOUR TRAVEL ARRANGED ?

- Yourself	☐
- airline	☐
- travel agent	☐

B) DID YOU TRAVEL :

- independently	☐
- group	☐
- charter	☐

4. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION CONCERNING :

A) THE WELCOME EXTENDED AND THE SERVICE OFFERED BY:

	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
- hotels	☐	☐	☐
- restaurants	☐	☐	☐
- shops	☐	☐	☐

B) INFORMATION OFFICES SUCH AS :

- travel agencies	☐	☐	☐
- visitors bureau	☐	☐	☐
- airport information desk	☐	☐	☐

C) MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION.

- taxis	☐	☐	☐
- rent-a-car	☐	☐	☐
- local bus service known as "truck"	☐	☐	☐

D) INTER ISLAND TRANSPORTATION

- by sea	☐	☐	☐
- by air	☐	☐	☐

E) ENTERTAINMENT

- Circle island trip	☐	☐	☐
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Fig. 11. TAHITI TOURIST DEVELOPMENT BOARD
TOURIST QUESTIONNAIRE



	GOOD	FAIR	POOR
- Tahitian dance teams	☐	☐	☐
- Tahitian fruit, "tomaaraa"	☐	☐	☐
- museums	☐	☐	☐
- night clubs	☐	☐	☐
- shopping	☐	☐	☐
- botanical garden of Papeari	☐	☐	☐
- glass bottom boat	☐	☐	☐
- camera show	☐	☐	☐

5 PLEASE INDICATE, BY ORDER OF PREFERENCE, THE ISLANDS YOU LIKED BEST

Tahiti : 1 2 3 4
 Moorea : 1 2 3 4
 Bora Bora : 1 2 3 4
 Other islands : 1 2 3 4

6 DID TAHITI LIVE UP TO YOUR EXPECTATION ?

YES PARTLY NO
☐ ☐ ☐

7 IF YOU ARE DISAPPOINTED, WHAT IS IT YOU WERE EXPECTING BUT DID NOT FIND?

8 DO YOU PLAN TO RETURN ?

YES MAYBE NO
☐ ☐ ☐

9 IF YOU PLAN TO RETURN, WHERE WOULD YOU LIKE US TO SEND YOU OUR LATEST INFORMATIONAL MATERIAL ?

NAME: _____

STREET: _____

CITY AND STATE: _____

MAURUURU AND IA ORANA

The Tahiti Tourist Development Board thanks you for your cooperation in filling this questionnaire which may be dropped in your hotel's mail box or addressed directly to this office, P.O. Box 65, Papeete.

Fig. 11. TAHITI TOURIST DEVELOPMENT BOARD
 TOURIST QUESTIONNAIRE (CONT'D.)



Fig. 12. OFFICIAL TAHITI TOURIST
DEVELOPMENT BOARD POSTER

BACH'S CONCEPTION OF THE NATURE OF FUTURE TOURIST CENTERS IN TAHITI

(Papeete vers son Nouveau Destin)



1. What must never be seen.



2. What should be done.



3. What must no longer be seen.

Fig. 13. BACH'S CONCEPTION OF THE NATURE OF
FUTURE TOURIST CENTERS IN TAHITI

BACH'S CONCEPTION OF THE NATURE OF
FUTURE TOURIST CENTERS IN TAHITI

Geographical qualities are essential considerations in the selection of sites for tourist attractions. Climate is the first such consideration and involves not only temperature, but insolation, winds and rainfall. The best climate is one with only minor temperature variations during the year; such areas are more favorable to the development of year-round tourism activity. Locations should also be picturesque in terms of views -- nearby mountainous terrain, waterfalls, rapids, rainforests, coral reefs, and tropical flora and fauna are all assets.¹ The charm of such hotels as Aimeo on Moorea or Hotel Bora Bora can, in large part, be attributed to spectacular views. If properly utilized, diverse physical attraction can prevent any possible sensation of boredom. Not only variations in topography but those of climate with changing elevation offer possibilities for diversity in tropical climates, although most locations chosen should have at least easy access to white or black sand beaches with areas of calm sea, to permit the development of water sports. Vegetation is in nature and density another factor of tourism. Large scale planting of native flora should be undertaken; the beauty of the natural

¹Claude J. Bach, Rapport d'Enquete Concernant la Creation de Centres Touristiques (Nevilly, 1961), p. 13.

vegetation of Tahiti is among tourists, one of the most universally appreciated features of the island. All these geographic factors are part of the "beautiful natural scenery" which was considered so important by tourists in all surveys analyzed in this research paper.

Bach suggests that the best size for a single tourist site is 800 to 1500 rooms, a size which will enable the center to be self-sustaining and yet not congested. Centers larger than this would run the risk of destroying the local atmosphere that once existed at the site. This size would also enable the development of sizeable communities of service personnel whose focus would be upon the hotel and hotel district rather than upon Papeete. The actual plan of building should involve a concentration of bungalows, inns, and apartments (making up a total of about 300 to 600 rooms) about the major hotels. The urbanist or resort planner must first define the qualities desired in a particular tourist center, and then develop that center with these goals always foremost in his mind. No center of this size or nature have yet been developed, although the unfinished Tahara'a and Maeva hotels more closely approach the tourist center qualifications set down by Bach than any other tourist facilities operating in the Territory.

²Ibid., p. 27.

Accommodations should complement the surroundings and tradition of Tahiti on the interior as well as the exterior. These features are guaranteed in hotels which wish to qualify as deluxe or first class establishments under the TTDB's "Hotel Code"; there will be a strong emphasis on traditional decore in both the new large deluxe hotels now under construction.

Good recreational facilities and regular sporting events can benefit tourist, management, and local inhabitant by providing a variety of fun and healthful activity and thereby ensuring the reputation of the center. Such facilities need not be on hotel grounds but in the general vicinity, available to all persons living in that particular locality. Good recreational facilities require large amounts of open spaces; over concentration of hotel facilities would hinder the development of or access to these open spaces.

Everything which in any way characterizes the life or history of the Pacific, and in particular that of the locality, should have its place as a potential interest to tourists. Foreign institutions should be reoriented toward an element of local color. The restaurants should feature more Tahitian ma'a (food) along with the Chinese and French cuisine; and Tahitian music should replace some of the foreign music in many tourist establishments. There is also a need of cultural and artistic centers in dispersed

areas where local artists can display their works and where tourists can find a wide selection of local handicrafts. At present, a large cultural center is planned at Outuruaoro (also the site of the new Maeva Hotel) but additional centers are needed on Tahiti and on the outer islands. There is, for example, a large selection of well-made local handicrafts on display at the public dock every time a group of tourists prepares to leave Bora Bora; a small museum could be easily set up at this very location with information and displays illustrating the procedures by which the goods are manufactured and their use in traditional Tahitian society.

The activities which take place in each center will depend largely on the climate and geography of that area; such activities must be carefully planned in consideration of these factors. Those most important to develop first are the traditional activities reflecting the cultural heritage of the land; they should take place very year and be given ample publicity. At present, the only large scale festival is the Bastille Day Celebration which continues very strongly for about two weeks in July. There are few comparable celebrations in Tahiti during the remainder of the year. Other special events that do exist include a "Miss Tahiti" contest, Tahitian Mardi Gras, Chinese New Year, Hibiscus Day, commemoration of the landing of M. de Bougainville (1768), and Exhibitions of Tahitian Arts

and Crafts.³ The problem with most of these events is that they draw people toward Papeete when the need is for activities which focus attention on the districts and outer islands.

Areas that can be used for future special events should be put aside immediately wherever possible -- areas like natural amphitheatres, or tropical fields and forests which can be used as open air museums. Each specific area must have its traditional yearly activity with its own unique characteristics; these special events can lengthen considerably the amount of time the tourist spends in that area.⁴

³"Tahiti and French Polynesia," p. 2.

⁴Bach, op. cit., pp. 31-32.

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