

Bryan Farrell, *Hawaii, the Legend that Sells*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982. Pp. 420, notes, index, selected bibliography. \$20.00.

As the first comprehensive treatment of tourism development in Hawaii, *Hawaii, the Legend that Sells* is destined to become an important sourcebook. Farrell has done us all the very great service of producing a book accessible to a variety of tourism audiences--scholars, industry people, residents of Hawaii, and tourists.

In some ways it is surprising that such a book has not appeared before, given that tourism is Hawaii's biggest industry. In 1980, almost 4 million tourists came to Hawaii, and they spent \$3 billion. Yet Farrell's book was 10 years in the making, and comes at a time when Hawaii's big tourism boom has come to an end. Tourism grew 400% from 1968-1978, but by the end of the decade was sagging due to the cost of energy and the Mainland recession, which though slow to arrive in Hawaii, is being strongly felt now. This is the moment for serious reappraisal of tourism's relationship to Hawaii, and Farrell's book provides a solid basis for reflection.

Farrell presents us with a "holistic view" of tourism. Tourism, in its impact on the economy, the environment, the society, and the human beings of Hawaii is like a steel ring puzzle. One must look at each ring separately, and then examine its relatedness to the puzzle as a whole. Maui is used as a case study that illustrates the interrelationship of the rings, and is in fact an excellent choice because Farrell was able to follow its tourism development personally by visits to the island yearly from 1969 to 1981.

Chapter 1 is concerned with geography, ecology, and a brief history of land control and economic development. The focus is on the economy today, however. We learn that Hawaii's income is still very dependent on federal expenditures, which amounted to \$3.3 billion in 1980, exceeding state income from tourism. Agriculture has continued to lag behind, bringing in only \$1 billion in 1981. Farrell introduces a major theme of the book in this chapter: diversified agriculture is essential for Hawaii's future. Today Hawaii imports most of the food necessary to support the tourism industry and to feed its own population, whose tastes are those of Asia and the U.S. Mainland. This theme recurs in Chapter 7, where it is explored in impressive detail as it relates to tourism's own need to maintain a rural atmosphere.

In Chapter 2 we are given a history of the tourism boom and a description of the primary tourist areas in the islands, along with the reasons for people coming in such large numbers, and a portrayal of the sort of

people who come to Hawaii as tourists. We move to Maui in Chapter 3, where Farrell sketches an account of how Maui became a prime tourist destination, the development of tourism there, and the many problems Maui faces today because of rapid development: sewage system problems, affordable housing, adequate water supplies, rising crime, congested roads, and the high cost of energy. The case study of Maui embodied in Chapters 3 and 4, and always returned to in the remaining chapters, clearly demonstrates Farrell's thesis that balance should be an integral part of planning.

Chapters 5 and 6 deal with state and county roles in planning and regulating development in Hawaii. We discover that as things stand today, each county determines the form and outcome of tourism development within it. A good account is given of the views and influence of one of Hawaii's most charismatic leaders, former Mayor Elmer Cravalho of Maui, during his tenure overseeing tourism development on that island. Some insight into local politics comes out in these chapters, but by his own admission Farrell was unable to delve far into the Hawaiian bureaucracy and local politics. This is an unfortunate gap in the book, since a real understanding of what goes on in Hawaii cannot be had without it. A year or two of continuous residence in the islands while doing the research could have made an important difference in this regard.

Tourism's impacts on the physical landscape (Chapter 8) and the people of Hawaii (Chapters 9-11) follow. Farrell usefully traces the cycle of ecological impacts on land and shore in the construction and occupation of a resort, and then applies this basic cycle to Waikiki, the Ala Moana shopping center, and other specific sites. He argues that there are trade-offs in any development--in fact a theme of the book is that tourism has had both negative and positive impacts on Hawaii. The negative impacts on land and shore have been coral reef destruction, problems of beach access for local people, overstressing of energy and water resources, and destruction of local vegetation and soil. Characteristics of the people of Hawaii are discussed in Chapter 9. A brief history of Hawaii's settlement and brief descriptive accounts of the Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Filipinos, Caucasians, and Hawaiians today preface a consideration of social conflict in Hawaii. Little cultural understanding of these groups will be gained by reading Farrell's very general statements, which are focused more on these groups' perceptions of development impacts and their economic situation. An understanding of how tourism and development affect people requires a deeper cultural understanding of them. In fact, it is needed even to understand how they perceive what is happening to them.

Given Farrell's interest in human impacts, this chapter is very disappointing.

People are also the focus in Chapters 10 and 11, which deal with what happens when tourists and residents meet and direct human impacts from tourism. We learn that tourists have a very positive experience in Hawaii, but that few local people ever encounter tourists due to the way mass travel is packaged. Hawaiian residents have a generally negative view of tourists whether or not they work in the industry. Farrell argues that the greater the return from tourism, whether monetary or not, the more positive the receiver's response will be to it. He suggests that scale of development is also crucial--too many tourists in one place overwhelms it and leads to negative evaluations. He argues for education of tourists prior to their arrival through travel advertisements, books, newspaper and magazine articles, and public-affairs radio to increase their interest in and respect for the diversity of local cultures in Hawaii. Local alienation is well analyzed in this chapter. It is seen as proceeding from the islands' being small and distinct, thus visitors seem like intruders; from a special local cultural coherence, thus change is seen as a threat; from tourist leisure behavior, which contrasts with the local work ethic; from residents seeing themselves viewed as objects by outsiders; from the perception of tourists as wealthy; from fears that the local way of life is being destroyed by outside influences; and from the neo-colonial overtones embodied in the relationship of local people to Mainland *haoles* who control the major corporations.

Drawing on the Tourism Research Project currently underway in Hawaii., Farrell shows that tourism has had positive effects in the areas of culture and the arts, entertainment, social and cultural exchange, and outdoor recreational facilities. Its negative effects have included a dramatic increase in crime, vice, and morals issues; in human relations; in population and crowding, and in land and environment changes. Stress introduced by rapid development and dietary changes has negatively affected local health in such resort areas as Waikiki and Lahaina. Wages for tourism employees have been low, partly because many jobs are part-time. Meanwhile real estate values, taxes, and living costs have soared due to increased land valuation once development gets under way. As a result, low and moderate income families and young people have been priced out of the market. Strains on the quality of life, relocation of settlements due to development, battles local people have waged to prevent their eviction, rising crime, and the changing life style due to the wholesale importation of Mainland suburban shopping center style architecture, are explored in depth.

Farrell next discusses interest groups and the bureaucracy in relation to regulating tourism development. He argues that the current state of regulations in Hawaii creates a situation in which development is unnecessarily slowed down by red tape, driving prices up. Consolidation and streamlining of procedures is needed at all levels, and real substance must be put into regulations if they are to guarantee quality development. Makena, a Maui development horror story, is used to illustrate how a bad development plan went ahead, a product of bureaucratic entanglement.

The future of tourism in Hawaii is taken up in the final two chapters. Farrell argues that tourism is here to stay in Hawaii, despite the doom-sayers' predictions that energy costs and the destruction of the environment will price Hawaii out of the market. The fact is that Hawaii has the potential for increasing its market rather than shrinking it. For Hawaii, tourism can be the major indigenous source of income, given that agriculture is undependable. Tourism already employs one quarter of the state work force and has created a tax base sufficient to provide local people with good medical and educational facilities not possible otherwise. From a business point of view, tourism makes good use of available resources and contributes to a stable economy for investors. Farrell argues that public knowledge of tourism is needed in Hawaii, including education through research, public school programs, and "public enlightenment" in all forms. He believes that the future will bring better awareness and sensitivity on both sides of the tourist-resident equation and a greater concern for environment and resources, including design. But the future will also bring increased crowding and other pressures in Hawaii, growth of the industry on the neighbor islands, and soaring energy costs. For tourism to survive, industry leaders and planners will have to look beyond the standard resort format to design culture and creative tourist environments that correspond to changing lifestyles abroad. There is also the need to promote foreign markets, especially Europe, rather than continuing to rely on the U.S. Mainland.

Several themes recur throughout the book, clearly demonstrating Farrell's contention that tourism is a set of interlocking systems. These themes are: continuing agriculture is essential to a healthy tourist industry; a concept of balance should be an integral part of planning; the public, the government, and the tourism industry operators are together coequal components of the tourist industry; successful tourism can be expected in the future only if the public is deeply involved in every facet of planning and discussion; baseline research, continuous monitoring, and the setting, of limits must be done now; and what has evolved as the Hawaii tourist industry is an expression of the interaction of an in-

roduced economic activity, limited resources, a unique environment, conflicting values, and numerous cultures. An understanding of all these themes would constitute for Farrell a prescription for a healthy tourism industry compatibly coexisting in a healthy Hawaii.

Farrell's book is written in a flowing style; statistics are there to ground the discussion, but they are worked into the text meaningfully and do not intrude in the form of page after page of charts. The book includes excellent notes to each chapter, a very useful index, and a superior selected bibliography (sources in the notes are often not included in the bibliography, so each serves separate functions). Farrell's own position supports tourism with reservations about aspects of its development. He succeeds in producing a balanced presentation of the steel ring puzzle which is tourism. A balanced presentation will not wholly satisfy everyone, but it will provide a comprehensive base for a new, more profound discussion of the issues.

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