

Eleanor Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawaii*, 2d ed. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989. Pp. 352, illus. US\$16.95 paper.

Reviewed by Noel J. Kent, University of Hawaii at Manoa

When Eleanor Nordyke's significant book *The Peopling of Hawaii* first appeared in 1977, it generated something few demographic studies usually do: controversy. Nordyke, it seems, had made explicit linkages between the dynamics of the economic model based on the sustained growth of Hawaii's tourism industry and the escalating growth of the state's population from in-migration. She further argued that the consequences were dire: a rapid deterioration of the environmental and social fabric and the arrival of a host of mainland-type ills. When social scientists do not serve the powers-that-be (in this case, the powerful tourism establishment and its allies in government), they will be rebuked and so Nordyke was.

Now, in a very welcome second edition, Nordyke picks up the threads of her argument where she left off some twelve years before. The new volume presents more recent evidence to substantiate her case and includes data and literature relevant to the argument. "The consequences of continued growth are a serious concern" (p. 134), she says, and proceeds to identify crime, pollution, a housing crisis, traffic congestion, and general decay as the price of a population growth rate that has been triple that of the US mainland during the eighties. Once again, the prime culprit is tourism: "The growth of the visitor industry constituted the major driving force to the migratory expansion of the population" (p. 134).

It is against the state bureaucracy that Nordyke most heavily inveighs. "Will planners continue to give priority to economic growth rate goals without concern for population growth implications?" she asks (p. 170). She draws attention to the fact that official state population projections subvert the intent of the Hawaii State Plan to stimulate job growth without stimulating unnecessary in-migration.

It is a well-reasoned, well-written, and very worthwhile study. Yet, there are major flaws. Nordyke continues to deal with Hawaii as a hermetically sealed archipelago, instead of as an American state absolutely absorbed into the global capitalist system. Here, she ignores the power of this larger world apparatus of international banks, airlines, financial companies, hotel chains, and so forth to dictate the investment priorities that shape our economy. In this environment, the local "planning"

process and political regime (both closely tied to overseas interests) have little autonomy, indeed.

Likewise, Nordyke's exhortation to "diversify" is wisdom itself, but runs counter to the overseas monoliths and their local allies who control policy. Power, not lack of planning, is the crux of the problem. One might also note that Bermuda might not be the most persuasive alternative model to Hawaii to offer; it continues to harbor deep racial and class divisions that make the future perilous.

With these caveats, we are fortunate to have a more up-to-date Peopling of Hawaii. It puts our situation here as a tourism-based society (and the costs involved) in much needed perspective.