

DISCORD IN PARADISE: TOURISM DEVELOPMENT
AND PUBLIC CONTROVERSY IN MAUI, HAWAII

by

Stella Dankyi

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APPROVAL

Name: Stella Sarah Dankyi
Degree: Master of Arts (Sociology)
Title of Thesis: Discord in Paradise: Tourism Development and
Public Controversy in Maui, Hawaii

Examining Committee:

Chair: Dr. Hari Sharma

Professor Robert Wyllie
Senior Supervisor
Professor of Sociology

Dr. Noel Dyck
Professor of Anthropology

Dr. Patricia O'Hagan
External Examiner
Policy Harassment Coordinator and
Sessional Instructor of Sociology
Simon Fraser University

Date Approved: Sept. 27/96

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ABSTRACT

Studies on tourism development often neglect the issue of tourist-related public controversies. This oversight obscures the impact such controversies have on the relations between hosts of destination areas. This thesis examines and explains how recent tourist-related development projects have become issues of public concern, characterized by controversies, conflicts and tensions involving residents on the island of Maui. As an exploratory study, it presents the origins, nature and consequences of two controversies related to tourism development on the island.

Using documentary materials such as public documents and newspaper reports supplemented by feedback from keyplayers, the thesis derives and analyzes data on the major themes and arguments presented and developed during the controversies, as well as the legitimation techniques adopted by the groups and individuals involved in the controversies. The framework for analysis is based on the "community issues" scheme used by Pacific Planning and Engineering Consultants in classifying local concerns about Kahului Airport expansion and Wyllie's scheme on tourist-related controversies in Maui.

The thesis derives theoretical support from Gusfield's (1981) social constructionist approach which offers a useful model for describing how certain controversial situations become issues of public concern, thus constituting an arena for public action. In keeping with this approach, the thesis argues that tourist-related public controversies are socially constructed; events and processes are set into motion

by residents who either support or oppose further development on the island of Maui; the different positions taken by the contending parties lead to the controversies which affect relations among hosts in destination areas. Relations among hosts are characterized by suspicion, hostility and betrayal.

The thesis concludes by arguing that, although researchers often treat hosts as a homogenous group reacting in concert to tourists at different stages of development, this is not always the case. There are usually distinct differences in perceptions and meanings among various groups of residents in destination areas.

DEDICATION

To Magnus, for his love and support

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CHAPTER I

SCOPE OF THE THESIS

INTRODUCTION

Recent tourist-related development projects on the island of Maui, Hawaii, have been met with opposition leading to controversies, conflicts and tensions involving residents of the island. The object of this thesis is to examine and explain how these development projects have become major issues of public concern. The thesis will examine the origins, nature and consequences of two controversies relating to tourism development on the island of Maui. The first controversy concerns a proposal by Keola Hana Maui Inc. (KHM) to build a golf course in Hana. The second controversy relates to a proposal made by the State Department of Transport (DOT) to extend the runway at Kahului Airport. The thesis will also examine the nature and dynamics of interest group politics in the creation and control of issues relating to tourism development on the island of Maui.

Sugar and pineapple production was the mainstay of Maui's economy during the early part of this century. That situation changed during the 1960s when, in the face of competition from cheaper overseas producers the industry which had been in decline for sometime virtually collapsed, resulting in significant negative impacts on Maui's economy. Young adults left the region for other parts of the United States in search of employment.

In their bid to rectify the situation, Hawaiian State officials resorted to tourism to boost the economy. To ease the strain on Waikiki (on the island of Oahu), where most tourist-related projects took place, the State diverted funds for development to the other counties, including Maui.

Residents of Maui welcomed tourism as an alternative to the collapsed sugar and pineapple production as they perceived tourism's potential in reversing the negative economic situations on the island. However, it was not until 1963 that tourism got a major boost in Maui. The international hotel and resort conglomerate, Sheraton, built three major resorts at Kaanapali, Kapalua and Wailea, helping in the development and promotion of Maui as a major tourist centre.

The development of tourism helped lift the island out of economic doldrums by providing residents with numerous jobs and by significantly slowing down the exodus of young adults. Maui attracted numerous visitors from all over the world, especially from mainland United States, Japan, Canada and Europe. In 1971 the number of visitors coming from mainland U. S. into Maui County - Maui, Molokai and Lanai - was 554,799. This number increased to over 2 million in 1986. In 1989, the total number of visitors was 2.5 million.¹

The tourist boom created economic opportunities that did not only encourage residents to remain in Maui, but also brought more permanent residents to the island, causing a population increase. The resident population in 1970 was 46,156 and had nearly doubled by 1980 when the figure reached 70,991. By 1990, the population was 100,504. Hotel construction boomed and many resorts further developed luxurious options including golf courses.

As stated earlier, most residents of Maui welcomed tourism with little or no apparent criticism. It was seen as a means of generating income and as an answer to most of their economic woes. In recent times, however, the situation has changed. Proposals to construct a number of tourist-related projects have raised concerns regarding the potential impact such projects might have on the

¹ *Maui County Data Book*, 1994. pp.148

community. The manner in which these concerns are being articulated has resulted in controversies, conflicts and tensions among residents on the island of Maui. One such concern is that Maui's economy is over-dependent on tourism as a tool for economic growth, and that this situation has led to a tourism-driven population growth, infrastructure strains, and other social and cultural impacts. While some Maui residents blame tourism development for a lost paradise and thus are against further tourist-related projects, others continue to welcome it.

The present situation in Maui provides a good opportunity to examine a tourist destination area that may be approaching a locally acceptable "carrying-capacity" - an area where some residents may be worried about the impact of tourism on available infrastructure. It also offers an opportunity to explore the impact of tourism on the relations among residents, an approach that differs from the more familiar host-guest relationship usually discussed in the tourist literature.

In examining how development projects have become issues of public concern on the island of Maui, the following questions will be addressed:

- i) Why did these particular issues become the focus of public controversies on the island of Maui?
- ii) What were the main factors that precipitated these controversies?
- iii) Who were the main actors and why did they play central roles in the controversies?
- iv) What main themes and arguments emerged as these issues were constructed?
- v) What strategies and techniques were used by the main actors in trying to have their views prevail?

The focus of the thesis is on tourism development, a process whereby resources relating to leisure, recreational and business activities for travelers are made available and usable. It is also about public controversies, defined in the thesis as concerns and expression of concerns marked by

opposing views by members of a community. It is hoped that this thesis will contribute to a greater appreciation of the social and political forces influencing tourism development in Maui. The thesis also sheds light on how public issues are socially constructed. Furthermore, the thesis has broader implications for understanding tourism development in societies that depend on tourism for their economic growth.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

The growth and importance of tourism as a major industry world-wide cannot be over emphasized. This is evidenced to a large extent by the rapid increase in scholarly attention to tourism. Three main categories of literature relating to the study will be looked at. These are: a) studies of tourism in Hawaii, b) tourism in other Pacific communities and c) theoretical literature on tourism development and public problems.

Some studies on tourism in Hawaii have a bearing on the thesis as they deal with residents' attitudes towards the impact of tourism in Hawaii. Lui and Var (1982) discuss the attitudes of residents in Oahu, Hawaii, Maui and Kauai to the economic, socio-cultural and ecological impact of tourism development. Their findings indicate that although residents appreciated the positive economic and cultural benefits of tourism, they also put a higher value on the protection of the environment. Residents regarded environmental protection as being more important than the economic benefits of tourism. Lui and Var (1982) concluded that a community-oriented approach to tourism development is very important in providing guidelines for policy makers. By considering the different opinions of residents on the various effects of tourism development, the industry will benefit by incorporating community reaction into tourism planning. They contend that

residents' perceptions and attitudes should be taken seriously in dealing with strategic managerial and developmental decisions.

Bradley, Var and Sheldon (1990) argue that although residents' perceptions and attitudes are important to the success of tourism promotion and development, an awareness and understanding of the dynamic nature of tourism as an industry is probably most important. They assert that residents with adequate knowledge of tourism, perceive the economic and social impact of the industry differently from those who are less knowledgeable about the industry. Awareness and understanding, thus influence peoples' attitudes to the impact of tourism.

Jon Matsuoka (1990) discusses how the negative impact of tourism can be alleviated. He suggests that residents ought to be empowered to give independent suggestions regarding tourism development instead of accepting suggestings given by developers and planners. And that the community, together with the State and developers ought to work as a team in developing tourism. Jointly and with diligent effort they can implement strategies to mitigate the negative social impact of tourism development.

Other studies focus mainly on the problem of controlling tourism growth in Hawaii. In many ways, Hawaii might be a paradise to many tourists around the world, with its natural beauty and well developed resources but there seems to be a dark side to tourism on the islands. This is discussed by Farrell (1974) in his study of Hawaii's "tourist ghettos". He points out that anything worthwhile often has other harsh realities to it. Although he recognises tourism as an essential tool for economic development, he argues that the rate at which tourism is developed ought to be controlled. He advocates integrated, large-scale projects rather than small, haphazard ventures, examples of both types being found in Hawaii. Among the negative effects of uncontrolled tourism

development, Farrell (1974) points to the deterioration of Hawaii's "ambient resources" (beautiful landscape, ideal weather and serene atmosphere), and the hostility and animosity brought about by cultural threats and socio-economic separation. He argues that these could be minimized by tighter State and County control over land use. Farrell (1974) also contends that education and broad community participation are necessary for understanding and nurturing a society primarily dependent on one key industry to sustain and improve the quality of life of its residents.

The themes of planning, public participation, baseline research and monitoring in the tourism industry are later developed by Farrell (1982). In his book, Hawaii, The Legend That Sells, Farrell contrasts favorably the planned resorts of Maui with tourism development in Waikiki. He believes that, without greater restrictions on rampant development projects, resorts such as those found in Kaanapali may well come to resemble Waikiki in the future. He mentions the various impact tourism and the interactions of tourists have had on land and the residents. He argues that the industry ought not be separated from any of the main elements (land and people) upon which it is based and in which it operates.

Cooper and Daws (1985), examine tourism as part of a general study of Hawaiian politics and land ownership patterns. Their discussion of tourism development in Kihei on Maui's south coast illustrates an aspect of tourism in Maui. Large corporations, small enterprises and numerous small property owners were involved in the development process. Many local property owners and speculators with close ties to Maui's politicians found opportunities which were absent in the development of Maui's major resorts. Kihei became a by-word for unplanned development in Maui with its numerous condominiums often built close to the shoreline.

Farrell (1992), examines the problem of tourism and sustainable development in Hana, the site of one of the three issues to be examined in this thesis. He traces the history of Hana's resort from 1948 to 1989, showing the various attempts by mainly small landowners, environmentalists and militant Hawaiians to preserve Hana's traditional Hawaiian character despite the operation of an exclusive hotel. His work provides valuable background information for an examination of the recent controversy surrounding the hotel golf course proposal. It shows that many of the concerns being raised today by Hana residents were raised at the time Keola Hana Maui purchased the Hana Ranch and Hotel Hana Maui.

The literature on tourism in Hawaii reviewed so far brings into focus certain important issues relating to the thesis: tourist-related projects can have positive or negative impact on the economic, ecological and socio-cultural life of destination communities; such projects can result in controversies, tensions and conflicts; and tourist-related projects can be influenced by the County, the State and developers.

Studies on tourism development in other Pacific communities are useful in locating Maui's problems in a broader, regional context. In the book, *A New Kind of Sugar* edited by Finney and Watson (1977), a collection of essays based on studies relating to tourism development in other Pacific communities is presented. The basic premise of the book is that, local capacity for planning tourism development is essential for the effective channeling of tourism in the region. Its main purpose is to provide information on how tourism can be developed to ensure maximum net economic, social and cultural benefits for the island population. Among the main issues discussed are: increase in population, declining agriculture production and balance of payments. They also

discussed local control over tourism development, short-term versus long-term consequences of tourism, and the commoditization of culture for tourism consumption.

Farrell (1979) touches on conflicts arising as a result of tourism development in the Pacific and his views are similar to those of Brayley, Var, and Sheldon (1990). He asserts that conflicts within tourism arise through the interaction of numerous forces, many of which are normally misunderstood or ignored. What goes on in the minds of visitors and hosts, to Farrell, is as important as the environmental consequences of tourism. He argues that an analysis of the suggestions or views of individual tourists and local residents is very important. It is much more realistic to analyze those views on an individual basis rather than the usual analysis of group thoughts.

MacNaught (1982) provides an extensive review of existing literature on social and cultural impact of tourism in the Pacific. He notes that tourism can be a mixed blessing having both costs and benefits. The costs and benefits of tourism, according to MacNaught ought to be assessed in academic studies relative to other options or different forms of development. He also mentions the need for residents in the Pacific to mitigate the undesirable impact of tourism by achieving more control of its course.

A collection of articles in the book Ambiguous Alternatives: Tourism in Small Developing Countries, edited by Britton and Clarke (1987), examines the impact of tourism on several small developing countries. In the concluding chapter of the book, Britton points to the various trade-offs that face island planners. The trade-offs, in the form of constraints and opportunities, affect planners who have to deal with the contradictory nature of tourism. He identifies some of the factors that facilitate and inhibit the development of tourism in Pacific microStates (small Pacific

islands). Although the environmental characteristics of Pacific microstates, (warm temperature, beautiful beaches and physical charm) are things that attracts tourists, Britton indicates that the small size and isolation of the islands pose problems. He points out the difficulty of determining carrying capacity levels for tourism and the linkages between tourism, conservation and national parks. He concludes his analysis by admonishing Pacific microstates to pursue a policy of tourism development more suitable to national economic priorities. A policy that will encourage local participation and preserve valued social customs.

Milne (1992), also compares the economic impact of tourism development in five South Pacific island microstates. He asserts that while tourism can make a substantial contribution to the economic development of these countries, it also inevitably brings with it the potential for environmental and socio-cultural disruption. He discusses ways in which careful planning may reduce some of tourism's negative impact and increase the benefits. In conclusion, he suggests that tourism development should be based on features of the specific microstate in order to facilitate maximum use of local resources. He contends that host populations ought to be actively involved in tourism planning and have a say in determining the extent and nature of developments.

The literature reviewed so far sheds light on tourism development in other Pacific regions. Most of these regions are affected positively and negatively by tourism development. Local participation is seen as a way to preserve valued social and cultural customs. The various studies provide informative issues which relate to the thesis as they touch on tourism-related projects and the impact these have on destination communities. Different residents may react differently to such projects in either a positive or negative way. The literature touches on the relationship between tourist-related projects and public controversies.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

The literature on tourism contains relatively little that can be applied directly to the analysis of tourism and public controversy in Maui. However, some studies dealing with residents' responses and attitudes to tourism in various parts of the world provide useful theoretical insights and guidance. Doxey (1976) attempts to construct an "irritation index" meant to explain residents' irritation levels to tourism. He asserts that the number of tourists in a destination area and the threat they pose to the way of life of permanent residents determines how residents react. According to Doxey (1976), the reactions and attitudes of residents toward tourists and the tourist industry depend on the stage of development of the industry. He argues that, with the inception of tourism, residents will be at the level of euphoria characterized by excitement about new development projects. With time, they change from that level through the level of apathy to the level of irritation. At the irritation level, the industry may be nearing saturation point as increases in development projects and the number of tourists may threaten existing infrastructure and residents' way of life. Residents may thus resist further tourist-related projects. This might lead to conflicts, tensions and controversies among developers and residents. The level of irritation later develops into another level of response - the level of antagonism.

Butler (1980) articulates a similar view on the impact of tourism on residents when he asserts that tourist areas go through stages, with each stage determining how residents react to the industry. He presents a hypothetical evolution of a tourist area based on the product cycle concept. According to this concept, sales of a product begins with a slow pace, experience a rapid rate of growth, stabilize, and ultimately decline. He notes that most tourist areas are initially visited by a small number of tourists, who are restricted by lack of access, facilities and local knowledge. The

number of visitors increases as facilities are provided and awareness grows. The area's popularity grows rapidly with marketing and information, but as it reaches its carrying capacity, the number of visitors decline.

He postulates that most tourist areas evolve through five stages and these are - exploration, development, consolidation, stagnation and the decline stage. The exploration stage is characterized by a small number of visitors at the tourist area with no specific facilities provided for them. Visitors make use of local facilities and get into close contact with local residents. Their presence may not affect the physical and social set-up of the area and their arrival and departure may have relatively little significance on the lifestyle of local residents. With an increase in the number of visitors, some local residents enter the involvement stage. They become more involved with visitors, planning and providing certain facilities, and that affects their economic and social life.

The development stage reflects a well-defined tourist market area. Advertisement is encouraged to market the area, attracting numerous visitors. The tourist area undergoes a lot of changes with development projects, all of which are not welcomed or approved by all of the local population. Local involvement and control of development at this stage is minimum and imported labor is encouraged .

The consolidation stage is when the rate of increase in the number of visitors declines, although total number increases. The area's economy becomes dependent mainly on tourism, with marketing and advertising at its peak. The large number of visitors and facilities provided can be expected to generate some opposition and disapproval among residents. Butler (1980) suggests that tourism-related controversies, conflicts, and tensions among local residents as well as visitors occur particularly when the tourist area is at the peak of the development stage.

At the stagnation stage, the number of visitors to the tourist area reaches its peak. The carrying capacity level of the area would then be reached. The environmental, social, and economic impacts of tourism become noticeable.

As the area enters the decline stage, it can no longer compete with newer attractions. It faces a declining market, both spatially and numerically. Most visitors look for other vacation spots as the area becomes less attractive to them. Most tourist-related facilities may be replaced with non-tourist related facilities. The area, with time, moves out of tourism unless it is rejuvenated.

In conclusion, Butler suggests that those responsible for planning, developing and managing tourist areas ought view tourist attractions as finite and non-renewable resources, and thus, carefully protect and preserve them. The development of tourist areas could, therefore, be kept within carrying capacity limits. He asserts that, unless more knowledge is gained and a greater awareness developed about the dynamic nature of tourism as an industry that shapes tourist areas, many attractive and interesting areas in the world will become tourist relics.

Ap and Crompton (1993) report a continuum comprising of four strategies adopted by residents to cope with the impact of tourism. Based on their studies of four Texas communities, they identify the four strategies as embracement, tolerance, adjustment and withdrawal.

Embracement describes a situation where residents eagerly welcome tourist. They do not just accommodate or accept visitors but react more positively. Some residents establish relationships with visitors and in some cases on a long-term bases. Others, fascinated by the presence of a "constant stream of new people" endeavor to help visitors. This gives them satisfaction and a sense of worth.

Tolerance is when residents exhibit a degree of ambivalence towards tourism. They appreciate some aspects whilst disliking others. Recognizing the contribution tourism makes to their community, however, enables them overlook some of the unpleasant aspects of tourism without resentment by tolerating the inconveniences created by the activities of tourists.

At the third stage, residents adjust to tourism. They resort to ways that help them avoid the continual presence of tourists. Some residents change their life style as a strategy to adjust. This usually means rescheduling activities and taking different routes to escape crowds. Others use their knowledge of the community to avoid the inconveniences that the presence of visitors create. The extreme and negative strategy of psychological and physical withdrawal is sometimes adopted.

The findings of the studies suggest that there may be different reactions to tourism in any tourist destination, and these reactions may be manifested in different behavioral strategies. These strategies are usually adopted as a result of the number of tourists and their behavior at a destination area and not because of cultural differences. Whereas Doxey (1976) and Butler (1980) discuss the behavioral patterns of residents to the changing phases of tourism, Ap and Crompton report the strategies adopted by residents to cope with the impact of tourism.

Although the studies reviewed provide useful insight into the evolution of tourist destinations and residents' reactions, they do not address directly the problem of tourist-related controversies and conflicts, thus limiting their theoretical value to this thesis. It is, therefore, necessary to turn elsewhere for a useful theoretical framework. To gain an understanding of how controversial situations become public issues, thus constituting an arena for public action, the social construction approach used by Gusfield (1981) in his analysis of the public problem of "drinking and driving"

will be employed. Although he examined a different issue, his approach is useful in analysing tourist-related public issues.

Gusfield (1981) provides extensive insight into how certain situations become issues of public concern. He makes a clear distinction between public problems and private ones by maintaining that not all situations become matters of public concern characterized by conflict and controversies, and, therefore, targets for public action. Again not all situations eventuate in agencies to secure or in movements to work for their resolution. Even painful situations experienced by people do not necessary become issues of public concern and to recognize a situation as painful requires a system of categorizing and defining events. Situations take on a public character when they:

- a) are perceived as painful, or problematic, or immoral by members of groups or societies;
- b) become matters of conflict or controversy in the arenas of public action;
- c) result in agencies or movements working for their resolution.

Gusfield asserts that the problems connected with most public issues do not emerge in an easy fashion, full blown and presented to others, but rather, they are socially constructed by members of groups or societies. They emerge after events and processes have been set in motion and when the opinions and reactions of individuals to specific issues have been presented. Particular situations are usually infused with different meanings and explanations by different people. They are never given the same meaning at all times by all people. Phenomena are open to different modes of problem conceptualizations; therefore, what might be seen as objects of reverence by a group of people in one time period, might be condemned by others in another. This explains the historical dimension and plurality of meanings of public issues.

He maintains that in analyzing the public nature of a problem, it is important to recognize the multiple possibilities of resolution - how is the problem going to be solved and who is responsible for solving it? Who and what institution gains or is given the responsibility for "doing something" about the issue? The problem of responsibility has both cultural and structural dimensions to public issues. At the cultural level, the fixation of responsibility for preventing the problem depends on the way the phenomena are perceived. At the structural level, however, different institutions and personnel are charged with the obligations and opportunities to address the problem. The relation between causal responsibility and political responsibility then becomes the central question in understanding how public issues take shape and change. The conflict between institutions or groups claiming or rejecting claims to authority in dealing with an issue helps give an understanding of the categories in which the issue is conceptualized, thought about.

He also maintains that there is a pattern as to how issues and problems emerge and evidence a structure. In analyzing public issues as structured, the conceptual and institutional orderliness in which ideas and activities regarding the issues emerge in the public arena ought to be found. This involves both a cognitive and a moral dimension of the issue. The cognitive aspect consists in the beliefs about the "facticity" of the situation and events comprising the problem. The moral aspect is that which enables that situation to be seen as painful, ignoble, immoral and what makes alteration or eradication desirable or continuation valuable.

Gusfield (1981) points out that the public arena is not a place where everyone can play on equal terms. In the public arena, some have greater access and greater power and ability to shape the definition of public issues than others. The structure of public problems is therefore an arena of conflict in which groups and institutions compete and struggle over the definition or prevention of

public problems. Authority and legitimation, thus, play an important role in the social construction of public issues. At any specific moment in time, all parties to the issue do not have equal abilities to influence the public. They do not have the same degree or kind of authority to be a legitimate source in defining the reality of the problem. Neither do they assume legitimate power to regulate, control and innovate solutions. The ability of a party to create and influence the public definition of a problem is what Gusfield calls "ownership", a metaphor of property ownership, chosen to address the attributes of control, exclusiveness, transferability, and potential loss also found in the ownership of property. Specific public issues at any time in a historical period become the legitimate province of specific persons, roles, and offices that command public attention, trust, and influence. Owners make claims and assertions and at times have authority in the field. Although opposed by other groups, they are among those who can gain the public ear. The question of ownership and disownership indicates the power and authority groups and institutions can have in defining the reality of an issue and this is an aspect of the politics of reality.

The cultural forms of public actions could be analyzed through rhetoric and ritual. Gusfield asserts that to see public action as theatrical is to emphasize the ritual, ceremonial and dramatic qualities of actions. Symbolism, rituals, as well as language, thus play a very important role in analyzing public issues. The actions and languages used by groups and individuals in the presentation of an issue may be more than mere formalities; they may be an expression of concern and their commitment to the issue. This helps both policy makers and groups involved in any public issue to construct social order by solving public problems.

The significance of Gusfield's social constructionist approach for this thesis lies in how it helps answer the basic question of how some situations become public problems and, thus, issues of

public concern. He provides a basis in analyzing the public character of a problem by touching on the historicity, cultural and structural dimensions of public issues. He brings to light the social and political nature of public problems by focusing on the relations between public meaning, ownership, causal responsibility and political responsibility.

METHODOLOGY

The uncharted nature of tourism-related public controversies is evident in the scanty amount of literature on it. It is an area largely neglected in tourism research and this is reflected in the difficulty encountered during the search for an appropriate theoretical framework. This, coupled with the researcher's inability to conduct field research in Maui due to financial constraints, makes the research exploratory in nature. The first stage of this research involved the collection of data. This study is based on documentary materials of various kinds, and these are: a) public documents; b) newspaper reports; and c) keyplayers feedback.

a) Public Documents: These were minutes taken during council meetings and public hearings on the issues, public testimonies and position statements offered during such meetings or submitted in writing to Maui County Council, its commissions or the State Department of Transportation. The documents aid in our understanding of the processes involved in the public review of and official decision-making on the issues. The arguments presented and the positions taken by the parties involved in the controversies also come into focus. Other documents such as the Maui County General Plan, the Hana Community Plan, the Makawao-Pukalani-Kula Community Plan and the State Environmental Impact Statement on Kahului Airport Expansion were also utilized. They

provided information on the general policy and planning framework within which the issues were located.

b) Newspaper Reports: Reports on the issues in mainly *the Maui News* (Maui's daily newspaper), *the South Maui Times*, and *the Honolulu Star-Bulletin* were used. A review of the newspaper reports gave the researcher a preliminary understanding of the issues. The issues, as presented in the dailies were then put on a diskette by the researcher in a chronological order for analysis. The reports also helped in identifying some of the public documents mentioned earlier.

c) Key Players' Feedback: Brief summaries of the issues, as interpreted by the researcher were attached to letters of inquiry and mailed to about thirty individuals who in one way or the other were and still are connected to the issues. Information gathered from the individuals who commented on the issues were utilized to clarify and fill in information gaps identified during the analysis.

The second phase of the research involved the analysis of the data. The analytical framework used has two main components: i) A scheme for identifying and classifying the major themes and sub-themes emerging in the course of the public controversies and ii) A scheme for identifying and analyzing the particular arguments presented and developed during the controversies. The first scheme is a modified version of the "community issues" scheme used by Pacific Planning and Engineering Consultants in classifying local concerns about Kahului Airport expansion. The modification was made after an initial review of the documents, to accommodate the Hana issue. The major themes and sub-themes were then classified as follows: a) economic impact (employment/unemployment, tourism, construction, agriculture, fishing); b) environmental impact (air/water/noise pollution, alien plants/animal species, aesthetics); c) social impact (ethnic relations, locals v strangers, crime and drugs); d) cultural impact (lifestyle, urban ambience, erosion of

Hawaiian identity); e) political implications (State-County-Community relations, foreign control v local control); and f) operational impact and safety (take-off/landing safety, accidents/emergency medical response).

The second scheme is based on Wyllie's approach in his research on tourism controversies in Maui. It focuses on the following aspects of the arguments: a) basic content; b) orientation; c) proponents' status/affiliations; d) temporal/spatial context; e) cognitive dimensions; f) moral dimensions; and g) legitimation strategies/techniques. A detailed version of the framework is presented in Appendix III.

An orientation analysis of the newspaper reports involving computer text scan and word search operation was used to identify a) the major themes and arguments (summary description, time of emergence, introduced by, developed by); b) public fora (description, auspices, purpose); c) significant events (description, date, significance); and d) official documents (description, potential value for the research).

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, some background on how tourism development evolved in Maui County is presented. Although development projects relating to the visitor-industry in the County date back to the early 1950s, controversies over such projects were not as intense as they are in recent times. The aim of this chapter is to provide a contextual framework that will aid in understanding the present state of tourism development and its related controversies on the island of Maui. A presentation of some basic information on the State of Hawaii in general and Maui in particular will, however, precede this examination.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MODERN HAWAII AND MAUI

The State of Hawaii consists of eight major and a hundred and twenty four minor islands with a total land area of 6,423 square miles in the north central Pacific and a general coastline of 750 miles. The major islands, stretching from north-west to south-east are: Niihau, Kauai, Oahu, Molokai, Lanai, Maui, Kahoolawe (uninhabited) and Hawaii. Honolulu is about 2,397 miles from San Francisco and 4,829 miles from Washington, DC (State of Hawaii Data Book, 1992). The islands lie below the Tropic of Cancer and have a subtropical normal annual temperature of 77 degrees Fahrenheit. The average temperatures in the coolest and warmest months in 1990 were 71.5 and 82.3 degrees Fahrenheit respectively. The warm temperature, coupled with beautiful coastal and mountain scenery in Hawaii are some of the features that attract visitors to the islands. There

are about a hundred and sixty seven major beaches and streams in the State. Most visitors classify Hawaii as a paradise.

In 1991, the State-wide resident population was approximately 1.1 million with almost 73 percent living on the island of Oahu, with a population density of 1,513 persons per square mile compared to the State population density of 194 persons per square mile. The population figure for 1991 was well above the 1980 census count of 964,691 and the earlier counts of 422,770 in 1940, 154,001 in 1900, and 84,165 in 1850. About 51 percent of the population in 1990 were males and the median age was 32.6 years. An interesting feature of the Hawaiian population is its ethnic diversity. A 1988 sample survey reported 32% mixed race, primarily part-Hawaiian and 67% other races of which 24% were Caucasians; 22% Japanese; 5% Chinese, 12% Filipinos, and 0.9% were Hawaiians. Other ethnic groups include Koreans, Blacks, Puerto Ricans and Samoans. This ethnic diversity can be attributed to the tens of thousands of foreigners, especially Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos brought to Hawaii during the plantation years in the mid-1850s to operate sugar plantations. In 1990, only about fourteen percent of the population were born outside Hawaii. Figures on the resident population of Maui County and the ethnic composition are given below. The County comprises of four islands; Maui, Molokai, Lanai and Kahoolawe (uninhabited). The population in 1992 was 109,000, a 42% increase over 1980. Table one indicates that the population of the County more than doubled in two decades (1970-1990). This was the period when tourism was booming in the County, especially on the island of Maui. The industry facilitated the rapid population growth, which is causing a strain on some of the County's resources. Employee housing has become a major problem and some residents blame it on resort developments which attract more visitors, aggravating the situation.

TABLE 1: RESIDENT POPULATION OF MAUI COUNTY, 1970-1992

Date	State Total	Maui County
1970	769,913	46,156
1980	964,691	70,991
1990	1,108,229	100,504
1992	1,159,600	109,000

TABLE 2: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MAUI COUNTY

Race	Population
White	39,766
Black	494
American Indian	521
Asian(Pacific Islander)	57,885
Other Race	1,708
Race of Hispanic Origin	7,781

Source: State of Hawaii Data Book, 1992

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HAWAII

The history of Hawaii is a chronicle of invasions by Polynesians, European explorers, traders, missionaries, political opportunists and tourists. Each invasion created a chapter in that history and left an indelible mark on the islands. An encounter with each of these groups opened up the Hawaiian economy to outsiders, facilitating a boom in tourism beginning in the 1960s. A discussion of Hawaiian history prior to the advent of tourism might help reveal the influence these groups had on the Hawaiian society and the implications of such influences on tourism in Hawaii.

It is believed that the Hawaiian islands were first settled by Polynesian Voyagers - probably from the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti - between the 3rd and 7th centuries A.D. In their isolation, with little knowledge of the rest of the world, the islanders increased in numbers as communities grew into kingdoms. In those early centuries, the Hawaiian way of life was a close interweaving of government, religion, social organization and economic systems. Land played a very important role in that economy as most residents were farmers. Single individuals or families, however, never owned land. Kings and chiefs had control over the land and they distributed it according to their own will. Families who worked on the land could never own it, and this was accepted by everyone. The land was common property and individual ownership was inconceivable, nevertheless, Hawaiian society was not a politically egalitarian society. Today, Hawaiian lands are in the hands of relatively few individuals and powerful corporations who seem to control the Hawaiian economy.

As part of their social life, the Hawaiians enjoyed swimming and surf-riding as well as boxing, wrestling and foot-racing. They loved to travel about their islands and strangers were traditionally greeted with courtesy and offered full hospitality. The economic and political opportunities coupled with beautiful scenery and aloha (warm hospitality) encouraged Haoles (foreigners) from mainly the mainland United States to settle in Hawaii during the nineteenth century.

Religion played an important role in the life of the people. They believed in a mysterious and powerful supernatural being, whose manifestations could be seen in the world around them. There were many gods who were revered and had shrines built for their worship. Today, some of the ancient shrines and temples are still seen by some residents as very important and thus protected from demolition. The social order and lifestyle of the Hawaiians were, however, interrupted in the eighteenth century when European sailors visited the islands.

The Polynesians lived on the islands for fourteen centuries, cherishing their own traditional values, beliefs and customs, before the appearance of the first white visitors. The arrival of Captain James Cook and his expedition on the 18th of January, 1778 marked a very important day in Hawaiian history as white visitors came to the islands for the very first time. (Kuykendall and Day, 1961).

The last quarter of the eighteenth century in the history of Hawaii was marked by the emergence and rule of Kamehameha The Great. Under his strong rulership, Hawaii maintained its independence at a time when the islands were opened to traders and explorers (Day, 1968). In 1794, the number of foreigners on the island of Hawaii was only eleven, but this changed at the end of Kamehameha's reign in 1819. European merchants, whalers, missionaries and their families started increasing in number. Some acted as advisors to the Hawaiian Chiefs and used their position to steer the Hawaiian economy along paths that were favorable to them (Farrell, 1977).

During the period 1820-1839, missionaries had an immense impact on the Hawaiian society. They toiled diligently to "civilize" the native Hawaiians whom they saw as "naked savages" with their heads, feet and much of their "sunburnt swarthy skins bare" (Daws, 1968:64). The missionaries preached messages of repentance and called on Hawaiians, seen as "sinners," to repent of their sins. (Daws, 1968:64). Whilst "saving" and "civilizing" the Hawaiians, the missionaries came to own a greater percentage of Hawaiian lands on which they cultivated sugar and pineapple. In recent times, however, such lands are being used to promote tourism through resort development.

During the mid-nineteenth century a major land reform policy was implemented, changing the course of history for Hawaiians. Land reform in the mid-1840s is important in our discussion of resort development and its related controversies in Maui County. In 1848, some politicians and

missionaries pressured the then king to redistribute land for lease and outright purchase. In 1850, a law was passed permitting foreigners to buy land which, in the early years, was communally owned. This had a dramatic effect on the islands as the bulk of the land fell into the hands of the relatively few powerful whites, sons and grandsons of missionaries. They had full approval from some of the Hawaiian royalty and the chiefly elite who had their own interests at heart. The land reform opened up the economy to big private corporations and small landowners whose activities apparently became exploitative of the land and its people.

Like the missionaries, merchants also played an important role in the Hawaiian economy. Trading between Hawaiians and especially European merchants developed on a large scale, opening up the economy to foreigners, some of whom settled on the islands. They exchanged hogs, fruit, vegetables, firewood and salt for mirrors, handkerchiefs, pen knives and small casks of wine. The Pacific traders also opened up a market in fur and sandalwood.

During the 1850s, whaling became a very powerful tool in developing the Hawaiian society. Honolulu became an important whale trading centre. In the first two decades of the whaling trade, Honolulu was the only port that met the needs of both shipmasters and seamen. The whaling situation, however, changed as sailors began to anchor at Lahaina on the island of Maui. By the mid 1850s, twice as many whaling ships anchored at Lahaina as at Honolulu. Lahaina and Honolulu became notorious for diseases such as influenza, measles, typhoid and smallpox which in the nineteenth century killed many Hawaiians, reducing the population.

During the late 1850s, farming became a suitable substitute to whaling which became increasingly unstable and undependable. People sought for ways to get wealth from the land instead of the sea. Although land, machinery, and labor were expensive, sugar planters developed their

plantations on a large scale. During the Civil War in America, the disappearance of Southern States' sugar from the Northern States market helped increase prices, facilitating good profits for planters even after paying their tariffs. The number of plantations kept increasing and plantation laborers were imported from China and Japan, on contracts. This increased the Hawaiian population and facilitated its ethnic diversified nature.

By 1866 the number of plantations and mill companies on the islands had increased to thirty-two, from twelve in 1860. At the end of World War I, a new firm named Hackfield got involved in the sugar industry as one of the "Big Five", along with Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, Theo. Davies and Co., and C. Brewer & Co. The Big Five controlled seventy five percent of the sugar crop by 1910 and 96 percent by 1933. Their control extended to business associated with sugar - banking, insurance, utilities, wholesale and retail merchandising, railroad transportation in the islands and shipping. They became so powerful that they were able to initiate changes to the management of the pineapple industry which was established late in the nineteenth century as a supplement to the sugar industry.

The pineapple industry, although established as a supplement to the sugar industry, developed into a promising venture on the islands, supplying three-quarters of the world market. James D. Dole, head of the Hawaiian Pineapple Company, and his firm led the industry, buying the island of Lanai in 1922. In 1932, the big companies took control of Hawaiian Pineapple when, during the depression, Dole exhibited financial insecurity.

The period between 1935 and 1959 saw a new group of people visiting the islands. Thousands of military personnel were either trained or arrived in Hawaii en route to their final destinations during World War II, the Korean War and the Vietnam War. Hawaii was a staging post for the

American armed forces. Military spending became as important as sugar and pineapple. Most of the military personnel were pleased to be on the beautiful islands they had seen in movies. They helped promote Hawaii as a tourist destination by encouraging other people from the mainland United States to visit the islands. The military actually prompted the first real influx of middle-class tourists who came to the Hawaiian islands in response to the glowing reports by veterans, some of whom went back to Hawaii as tourists.

The fear of the Hawaiian economy suffering after World War II was an uncomfortable reality, as military spending became as important as sugar and pineapple. A solution to the situation was found in tourism. After World War II, the availability of more efficient modes of transport and the desire among many North Americans and Japanese to travel paved the way for tourism in Hawaii. The attractions on the islands including the sun, the sea, and the sand were intensely advertised in travel brochures and Hollywood movies, and these attracted a number of visitors. The tourist industry grew at a faster rate than the military establishment in the 1960s. Today, tourism is the largest source of income in the Hawaiian economy with federal defence expenditure and agriculture, once the primary source of income, ranking second and third respectively.

TABLE 3: VISITOR ARRIVALS IN HAWAII AND AVERAGE VISITOR CENSUS

Year	Visitor Arrivals	Average Visitor Census
1964	563,925	16,037
1970	1,746,970	36,943
1974	2,786,489	63,535
1980	3,934,504	96,497
1984	4,855,580	118,660
1990	6,971,180	162,070

TABLE 4: COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE OF OVERNIGHT AND LONGER VISITORS TO HAWAII:1990

Country Of Residence	Number Of Visitors
Mainland USA	4,431,260
Canada	317,900
Japan	1,439,710
Other Asian Countries	217,540
South Pacific Countries	324,060
Europe	221,840
Other Countries	18,870

(Source: State of Hawaii Data Book, 1991:182)

In three decades, the number of tourists visiting the islands increased from 563,925 to over 6 million. The majority of the visitors are from Mainland United States although Canadian and Japanese visitors are included.

Most tourism-related projects were developed in Waikiki on the island of Oahu. The area had a hotel density of 21,417 in 1974 compared with only 4,553 in Maui. Hotel construction, nevertheless, continued in Waikiki and in 1977 the 500 acres of land that constituted Waikiki supported 22,000 hotel rooms. Most of the development projects were perceived by some planners and realtors as not properly planned. These activities on Oahu taught developers a lesson on the importance of proper planning and they incorporated that in developing the Neighbor Islands (Maui, Hawaii, Kauai, Molokai, and Lanai).

The political atmosphere in Hawaii during the plantation era is also significant in understanding the current political system that influences tourism development in Maui. Economic power meant political power in Hawaii, so people who owned plantation estates also ran the government (Cooper and Daws, 1985). Relatively few people had land and power, and they controlled the system.

The "Big Five" corporations and agencies who owned most of the land in Hawaii, were well represented on government boards that dealt with issues relating to tax appraisals, land leases and other economic issues. They provided funds for election campaigns; therefore, appointed governors of the territory were obliged to support their deeds. Between 1900 and 1940, eight out of every ten elected members of the territorial legislature were Republicans who could not disappoint their benefactors, the Big Five. It is interesting to note that, not only did the big corporations have immense influence on the government, but they also spearheaded the decline and eventual downfall of the Hawaiian Monarchy. Events leading to the abolition of the monarchy made Haoles, mainly Caucasians from the mainland, more powerful on the islands. The abolition of the monarchy was the first step taken by Caucasians to gain control of the islands. After August 12, 1898, Hawaii

became part of America, but it was not until 1959 that it became the 50th State of America. (Daws, 1968).

Although no major changes in land ownership and activities of large private corporations took place in the post-war period, the political atmosphere in Hawaii changed. Sons and daughters of immigrant plantation laborers, especially those of Asian ancestry, learnt about democracy by learning about other cultures through traveling and thus questioned the social conditions in Hawaii. A militant labor union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) between 1944 and 1947 organized the plantation industries in Hawaii for the first time. All these major changes created a new class of people in Hawaii who voted not for Republicans but for the Democratic party.

In 1954, Democrats had control of the legislature for the first time in the history of Hawaii. They inherited a land system that worked in favor of large land owners. Although they implemented land reforms that affected some of the big landowners, they never addressed the fundamental issue of land ownership. Interestingly enough, most of the Democrats (representatives) were involved with real estate ownership and development. Lawyers, contractors, speculators, developers and landlords were also found in the Hawaiian political structure that evolved out of the "Democratic revolution" (Cooper & Daws, 1990). Although Democrats earned a lot of support from the ordinary people in Hawaii for their social policies, the fact still remains that in the history of Hawaii, one could not separate land from power. The ruling groups based their power on land.

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN MAUI

After World War II, most of the tourist-related development projects were developed in Oahu with little done on the neighbor islands especially Maui, Molokai and Lanai. In 1956, only one percent of total visitor days in Hawaii were spent on Maui compared to ninety percent on Oahu. The number of visitors and their impact on Waikiki had little meaning to residents of Maui. Maui's economy was based on agriculture and job opportunities were limited. Improved agricultural technology reduced the need for plantation laborers on the island. The fluctuation in prices of agricultural products and the competition Hawaiian sugar planters had to face on the world market, diminished the importance of sugar and pineapple plantations on the island. These had negative impacts such as unemployment and low income for residents, most of whom depended on farming for a living. Young adults thus left the island in search of greener pastures elsewhere and this reduced the island's population size.

In the beginning of the 1960s, however, events took a different turn in Maui. The increase in tourist-related projects on Oahu made it necessary for the other islands to be developed as well. Funds for development were, therefore, diverted from Oahu to the neighbor islands. Extensive programs were planned for Hawaii, Kauai, Maui and even the small islands of Molokai and Lanai. This paved the way for tourism development on the island of Maui where large Maui landowners were looking for viable alternatives to sugar and pineapple production to increase their wealth.

During the 1960s, Maui's major resources, a dry fifty-mile west coast, twenty-two miles of beautiful coral sand beaches and mountain scenery were developed to attract visitors to the island. Preserved open spaces devoted to sugar, pineapple, grazing and parks were also developed into resorts, with hotels and condominiums to accommodate the increasing number of visitors to the

island. Hotel inventory during this period grew from 290 to 2,720, an increase of over 2,400 rooms. In the 1980s, Maui saw a total of almost 9,500 rooms, an increase of 6,500 rooms over two decades. Tourism development became a very important feature of Maui's economy, offering new opportunities to both developers and residents.

TABLE 5: AVERAGE DAILY VISITOR CENSUS, MAUI COUNTY

Year	Maui County
1977	12,468
1978	14,492
1980	15,363
1984	32,790
1988	33,870
1990	39,500
1992	42,220
1993	42,280

(Source: Maui County Data Book, 1993:147)

The average daily visitor census in 1977 of Maui County was 12,468. This figure increased to 24,670 in 1983 and almost doubled in 1992 - 42,220. Most of the visitors were from mainland United States, Japan, Canada and Europe. Visitors from the United States spent more than their

counterparts from other countries except Japan. In 1993 they spent 116.16 million dollars. Those from Japan spent 306.54 million dollars.¹

When tourism development finally became an essential part of Maui's economy, many lessons relating to tourism had been learnt from Waikiki. Most developers saw the importance of planning in resort development. Unlike past activities on Oahu, most of the development projects, including resorts, in Maui and its neighboring islands, were large scale and well planned. In most cases, however, the developers were single, large landowners. The intensive land development which followed the "Big Five's" switch from plantation agriculture to tourism alarmed some residents. The first major planned resort outside Oahu was the Kaanapali Resort in West Maui, a project started at a time when West Maui, a plantation-based economy, needed an alternative to farming. Although the resort was planned in the early 1950s, the actual construction started in the early 1960s. The Kaanapali resort was developed on lands owned by Pioneer Mill Co. In 1985, the resort was taken over by Hackfield & Co., who became known as American Factors (Amfac) in 1961. Amfac, the largest corporation in Hawaii, offered Maui residents job opportunities and financial stability through the promotion of the Kaanapali resort.

Being the first planned resort in Maui, the Kaanapali resort started at a slow pace during the 1960s but developed rapidly afterwards. During the later part of 1970, the resort had almost 4,500 rooms for visitors. In 1980, maintaining a mixture of both condominiums and hotels, the resort had approximately 6,300 rooms and beautiful golf courses. Most of the hotels and condominiums were built along the beach and highways.

¹ *Maui County Data Book*, 1993. pp.159.

Another major resort in west Maui is the Kapalua Resort, situated north of Kaanapali. Although started at a later date, the Kapalua resort has its own peculiar scenery which attracts rich people from across the world. The resort was developed by the Kapalua Land Company, a subsidiary of another large landowner in Maui, Maui Land and Pineapple Company. The company planned the resort with the idea of developing a world class, elegant project that would attract numerous visitors. The project is regarded as the best of its kind in the world. Although the Kapalua project area is part of the Honolua plantation, tourism development was focused on Kapalua Bay (Fleming Beach) from which the project derived its name.

During the later part of 1960 and early 1970, as development was under way in West Maui (Kapalua-Kaanapali), construction was just beginning in the Maalaea-Makena region in South Maui (Kihei-Wailea). The once rural setting of small farms, widely-spaced homes and over-grown, unused land of the region was changed as buildings including hotels and condominiums were constructed. In the early 1980s, there were about 8,000 condominium units on the Kihei coast. Wailea became the shining tourism star of the region. The first-rate luxury resort-residential project in South Maui was developed on 1,500 acres of land owned by Alexander and Baldwin (A&B). The Wailea resort, a joint venture between Alexander and Baldwin and North-western Mutual Life Insurance Company, faces some of the most beautiful sandy beaches in Hawaii, with hotels, condominiums and two magnificent golf courses. In the mid-1970s, another major resort was started at Makena by Siebu Group Enterprises, a big Japanese firm on half of their 1,000 acres of land.

Although both the western and southern parts of Maui were developed to attract and accommodate visitors, the major difference between the Kapalua-Kanaapali and the Kihei projects

is that the master plan for the latter failed. The master plan was for moderately high-rise condominiums and hotels which formed a barrier between the ocean and the land. Most planners and people in the real estate business were disappointed with the plan. Most of the 100 projects were carried out by small landowners and not as a comprehensive resort development. Two luxury resorts have been built by Castle and Cooke, through its subsidiary, Dole Food Company, on the island Lanai. On the island of Molokai, Kukui Molokai (a subsidiary of Tokyo Kosan, a Japanese company) is expanding the resort of Kalui Koi which it purchased from the Louisiana Land and Exploration Company.

Tourism development on the island of Maui seem to be related to land and power. Rich land owners involved in resort development on the island have more control than residents over the economy. Most of the developers, as Farrell (1982) points out, have no historic or sentimental attachment to the islands and, therefore, do not see the need to preserve what belongs to the Hawaiians. To them, island land is just a commodity that can be exploited for human gain, their gain. Contrary to Farrell's view, it could be argued that some of the developers do have historic attachments to Maui going back to the time of the first missionaries and, therefore, care about the land.

Although tourism development in Maui was welcomed with much enthusiasm, and proceeded throughout the 1970s and 1980s without much local opposition, the situation is different in recent times. Some community members, mainly those who are "transplanted" mainlanders, are opposing some of the development projects relating to the visitor industry. Seeing the scale of development around them and the rapid increase in population, these residents, through the formation of interest groups are saying "enough already". Some long-term residents also oppose such projects. The

beginning of the 1980s saw some residents of Maui raising concerns about the negative impact of tourism which gives rise to limited employee housing, inadequate water supply, congested roads, and general environmental degradation. Whereas some residents oppose further resort development on the island of Maui, others, in collaboration with developers, are in full support of it. The differences in opinions among residents has led to a number of controversies in the County.

One such controversy started in the small up-country town of Pukalani in 1990 when the Board of Directors of the Pukalani Community Association (PCA), an association made up of mainly Caucasians, requested the Maui County Council (MCC) to "down-zone" certain parcels owned by Sports Shinko Company Inc. They initially requested Council to amend the Makawao-Pukalani-Kula Community Plan and Land Use Map, thus, changing the property designation from hotel to single-family residential area. The rationale behind their request was to prevent the development of a hotel in the community. A controversy started as Sports Shinko objected to the Board of Directors' request to the MCC. It intensified as pressure to down-zone the parcel caused Sports Shinko to formulate development plans which included an 88-room hotel, for the property. The controversy divided the community with residents being either for or against the proposed project. Those who supported the proposal argued that it would provide lodging and banquet rooms for Pukalani residents, as well as, visitors and create employment opportunities. Contrary, opponents argued that the project could have negative social, cultural and environmental impact on Pukalani and it's residents.

Another controversy started over the future of Lanai, as the island switched from an agricultural to a tourism-based economy. In 1991, Lanai Company, owner of 98 percent of the island, developed two resorts, the Manele Bay and Koele Lodge resorts on the island. In 1992, David

Murdock, chairman of Dole Foods, proposed to add a second golf course and 775 luxury homes to complement the resorts. The company requested a project district and planned development approvals from the MCC to develop single-family residential units. They also requested to tap water from the island's high-level aquifer to irrigate the new golf course at Manele. The request for water became very controversial as some residents were opposed to the developer using the island's only source of potable water. They argued that drinking water should not be used for irrigation. The community was divided on the issue as some residents were in favor and others opposed the project.

Yet another controversy relating to a pipeline project emerged on the island of Molokai in 1994. A construction company, Kiewit Pacific, was preparing a 9-mile-long trench across the island's central plains to receive a 24-inch-diameter water pipeline.² The pipeline was to provide groundwater source from below the wet Central and East Molokai mountains to the arid West End resort area of the island. It was capable of transporting 20 million gallons of fresh aquifer water a day (about half the island's estimated freshwater supply) to the dry west side.³ The builders of the pipeline were two Japanese developers, Kukui Molokai Inc. (a subsidiary of Tokyo Kosan, owner of the Kalua Koi resort and golf course on the west end) and Kajima Inc. The process of granting the water for the land listed for extensive resort development was a continuous source of controversy among residents on the island. Some residents feared the pipeline could prevent the development of Native Hawaiian homesteads and encourage rampant development by outsiders. Others were also concerned about silt runoff entering the ocean and damaging reefs.

² *The Honolulu Weekly*, March 16, 1994. pp. 4.

³ *The Maui News*, May 13, 1994. pp. B. 14.

The three issues mentioned are among a number of controversies that have emerged in recent times on the Hawaiian islands. Tourist-related controversies that have resulted in conflicts and tensions among residents on the islands. An in-depth analysis of two such controversial issues will be presented in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER III

HANA COMMUNITY'S STRUGGLE TO BALANCE GROWTH AND TRADITION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with one of the two case studies to be examined in this thesis. The origin, nature and consequences of the controversy that surrounded a golf course proposal by Keola Hana Maui Inc., (KHM) is examined in this chapter. The chapter is divided into four main parts. The first part deals with an introduction to the issue (brief description; keyplayers; and background information on the controversy). The sequence of events leading to the controversy forms the second part. The third part highlights the arguments presented by both proponents and opponents of the project in question. The final part of deals with an analysis of the issue. This same format will be used in the other case study.

THE ISSUE

The first case study involves a decision by Keola Hana Maui Inc., (KHM) to expand its resort in the small community of Hana, in Maui. The controversy started when KHM sought permission from the Maui County Council (MCC) to develop an eighteen-hole golf course on 201 acres of land it owned. The company was seeking a Community Plan amendment to change agricultural lands into park, and also a change in land zoning from agriculture to PK-4 park district for the proposed golf course. The rationale behind their proposal was to make the hotel, that was apparently operating at a loss, economically viable.¹ The golf course, according to KHM, was needed to help

¹ *The Maui News*, April 10, 1992. pp. B. 12

boost the sagging occupancy rate and improve the financial situation of the hotel. This would help keep the hotel in business and allow it to compete with other luxurious resorts. It was stipulated in the Hana Community Plan, a strategic planning document which guides government action and decision making, that agricultural lands could not be used as park facilities. An amendment to the Community Plan for agricultural lands to be changed to park facilities meant that KHM could construct a golf course on the land.

The process leading to the approval of the proposal involved numerous groups and individuals who participated in a number of meetings and public hearings. The proposal went to the Maui County Council (MCC), the legislative body of Maui County composed of nine members elected at-large. Of the nine members, one is a resident of the Island of Lanai, one a resident of the Island of Molokai and a resident each from the seven residency areas in Maui County. These residency areas are East Maui, West Maui, Wailuku-Waihee-Waikapu, Kahului, South Maui, Makawao-Haiku-Paia, and Pukalani-Kula-Ulupalakua. The MCC legislates taxes, rates, fees and assessments and conducts investigations of the operations of any department or function of the County and any subject on which the Council legislates. It also has the power to require periodic and special reports from all County departments concerning their functions and operations.

Other official bodies involved in the controversy were the Maui Planning Commission (MPC) and its planning committee. The MPC consist of nine members appointed by the mayor with the approval of the council and these members are residents of the island. Duties of the Commission include the review of the general plan and its revisions prepared by the Planning Director or at the request of Council and after holding public hearings on such plans, submit its findings and recommendations to the Council for consideration and action. It is also responsible for the review

of other proposed zoning and land use ordinances and amendments.² The Maui Planning and Land Use Committee (PLC) consists of the nine County Council members who meet as a planning committee under a Chairperson chosen by the members. The Maui County Cultural Resources Commission (MCCRC), responsible for overseeing the care of ancient sites and Hawaiian culture and the Hana Advisory Committee also became involved in the issue.

Among those who opposed the project were the Hana Community Association (HCA), the Kaeleku Property Owners Association, the Hana Citizens Advisory Committee and coalitions such as the Kauiki Council (a coalition formed in 1984 to promote self-determination among Hana Hawaiians), Maui Tomorrow (a citizens planning and environmentalists group) and Friends of Hana Coast. Those who supported the project were mainly company employees.

BACKGROUND TO THE CONTROVERSY

Some background information on the community involved in the controversy is presented below. Hana Town is one of the five districts of the Hana Region. Together with the other four districts of Ko'olau, Kipahulu, Kaupo and Kahikinui, the region covers approximately 145,000 acres of the eastern part of the island of Maui. In 1970, the population of the region was 969. It, however, increased to 1,423 and 1,895 in 1980 and 1990 respectively. In 1990, the population of Hana town was 683. The projected population of Hana region in the year 2010 is estimated at 2,349 to 2,452 residents. The region is primarily based on diversified agriculture such as ranching, tropical fruits, flower and foliage, and taro cultivation. The visitor industry, government services

² *The Maui County Charter*, 1993 Edition, pp. 17.

and subsistence activities also contribute substantially to the economy. A number of scenic attractions such as Ohe'o Gulch at the Haleakala National Park draw visitors from all over the world. The annual rainfall of the region ranges from twenty to a hundred and fifty inches at different locations. The entire region is characterized by steep slopes, rugged shorelines and the rough water of the Alemuhaha Channel. There are also mountain rainforests, perennial streams and open ranch lands.³

Hana town, unlike urban Hawaii, is quite rural and "unsophisticated", with none of the hustle and bustle of city life. One has to travel about forty miles of winding road from the main town of Kahului to get there.⁴ The town is rich in legend and was a major centre of population and political power in ancient Hawaii. It is a sacred, legendary land. Many Hawaiian chants refer to the place as one of great historical, mythological and cultural significance.⁵

Land plays a very important role in Hana. Land use in Hana takes into consideration the preservation and protection of Hana's unique natural and cultural resources as well as creating the opportunity for residents to enjoy their stable and harmonious Hana lifestyle. Zoning is designed to maintain Hana's identity as a unique "Hawaiian Place", a place where characteristics of old Hawaii, such as beautiful landscapes, cultural resources and practices and the character of its people are reflected. From the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century, sugar plantation became a significant economic venture in Hana. Many traditional structures were obliterated to create space for sugar cultivation. This, however, did not change the "last Hawaiian place," as the ruggedness of

³ *The Hana Community Plan*, 1990. pp.8

⁴ *Ibid*, pp.11

⁵ *Op. cit*, pp.12

the land and the dedication of large numbers of Hawaiians with many small land claims, preserved some sites. Hana has about 32 recorded historic sites. To many residents, the predominantly Hawaiian community of Hana is considered a very special place which ought to be protected from further development. Farrell (1992) asserts that, Hana represents one of Hawaii's most valuable resource for tourism. This claim is quite different from what most developers and mass tourists think of Hana. They see Hana as a wet town, where residents are opposed to extensive tourism development.

Agriculture, forestry and fishing play a very important role in Hana's economy. The visitor industry and tourist-related activities, unknown in the small community of Hana before World War II, now serve as a life line to many residents of the town. The year 1945 was very eventful for the entire Hana region. A decline in the sugar industry caused Brewer and Co., a major employer in the area, to close down its sugar mill. The unemployment rate in Hana increased and many people, particularly the youth, moved to mainland U. S. in search of jobs. Most residents thought Hana would become a ghost town. The situation, however, improved with the development of tourism. (Farrell, 1992:126)

In 1946, most of the sugar lands in Hana were sold to one Paul Fagan, a wealthy San Francisco businessperson who built a hotel and a cattle ranch. Most of the visitors to the area were wealthy and loyal clients who stayed long periods in the hotel. They included filmstars and businesspersons who, trying to escape the noise and busy life of the city, found refuge in Hana. Despite the inconveniences created by the narrow and winding nature of the road, visitors arrived in Hana on regular basis. They regarded Hana as a safe haven, and enjoyed its serene atmosphere and beautiful landscape . In the words of Alberta de Jetley, spouse of the individual who managed the hotel in the

1970s, the hotel “was an exclusive refuge for wealthy visitors from around the world who arrived with references” (Farrell, 1992:127).

In 1968, Hotel Hana Ranch (as Fagan’s hotel came to be known) and the cattle ranch were sold to a lumber company from Delaware. Attempts were made to upgrade facilities in the hotel, so as to attract more visitors, but funding was a major problem. Expansion plans for the hotel, however, were made. In the early 1980’s, most of the plans were rejected by some residents of Hana. They argued that the expansion would encourage massive influx of visitors, who might alter the way of life of the predominantly Hawaiian community. (Farrell, 1992: 128).

The arrival and departure of visitors to Hana at that time, created an awareness of the long term effects of tourism on the community, although both residents and planners recognized that the short term effect of the industry was an economic boom for that small community. The importance of the hotel in Hana and the effect its expansion could have on the community, had residents divided on whether the company ought to pursue its extension plans. The project thus resulted in controversies, conflicts and tensions among residents.

After numerous battles over such plans, the company was sold to the Rosewood Corporation of Texas, owned by the Caroline Hunt Trust Estate. With the \$20 million purchase price and other expenses, Rosewood Corporation bought the 4,500 acres Hana Ranch, Hana Water Resources supplying the town, Hana Water Company, Hana Maui Transport Company, Hana Land Company, Hana Pacific Inc., Zen at Hana Ranch (horticulture), Hana Ranch Ltd., and Hana Stokers Company. After a massive renovation, Hotel Hana Maui (as it became known) attracted numerous visitors (Farrell, 1992:129). Despite the high rates of \$350 to \$650 a night, the elegance and dignity of the

low-rise hotel made the place very attractive to the "rich and famous." The hotel was, however, not making any operating profit and this had nothing to do with who owned it.

The new company received and enjoyed a positive image in Hana because of the impact it had on the community. The hotel served as a major source of employment to a number of Hana residents, employing about four hundred people. The community was totally dependent on the corporation. Hana was thus dominated by a single, non-Hawaiian owner. Although Rosewood Corporation intended to preserve historical values, increase job opportunities, provide affordable houses and co-op land use opportunities for residents, they could not achieve all their goals. Some of their ideas were implemented, but others appeared to be too ambitious. Despite the proposition to sell some land to locals, Rosewood Corporation owned virtually all commercial lands except a space next to a church. Local families planned to build a Hawaiian market place on that piece of land to express their culture. The company's dominance and influence as a non-Hawaiian company in Hana had some residents wondering what the future had in store for the "last Hawaiian place." Some residents accepted the corporation's agenda with enthusiasm, but others were skeptical. Although the company provided job opportunities for numerous people in the community, their operations were questioned by some residents.

In 1989, there was a change in ownership of the hotel. Rosewood Corporation sold its holdings to Keola Hana Maui Inc., (KHM), a company of foreign (mainly Japanese) and local investors. As new owners of the Hana Ranch and luxury hotel, KHM became Hana's largest employer, with about two hundred and seventy people on its payroll. Many of the employees were native Hawaiians. The new company planned to expand the resort by creating a golf course mainly for Japanese clients. The construction of the golf course was to be financed with money from the sale of 1,000

corporate memberships at \$200,000 each in Japan. The proposal resulted in controversy, conflict and tension among residents of Hana who were already confused about the sale of the hotel by Rosewood Corporation.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTROVERSY

In 1991, Keola Hana Maui (KHM) requested a Community Plan amendment and a change in zoning to allow the construction of a golf course. Due to an extant County moratorium on new golf course construction, no action was taken by the Maui County Council until the moratorium ended in December 1992. Hana residents were divided on the issue. On March 4, 1993 the County's Cultural Resources Commission heard testimonies from residents on both sides of the debate and reviewed the application of KHM. Their recommendations were incorporated into the approval conditions recommended by the Maui Planning Commission. The Hana Advisory Committee (HAC), on the other hand voted on March 9, 1993 to recommend that KHM's request be denied. They, however, advised that certain conditions be imposed if the project was to be approved. On March 16, 1993 the Planning Commission voted to recommend the approval of KHM's request subject to twenty one conditions. The conditions included the preservation and maintenance of an open space (300 feet) around the golf course; the avoidance or limitation of the use of chemicals; and the submission of the architectural plans for the golf course to the Planning Department for approval. Most of the conditions reflected concerns raised by residents during the lengthy hearing processes.

The numerous meetings held by the Cultural Resource Commission and the Planning Commission, as well as the public hearings organized, had the golf course proposal "sailing through

the approval process”⁶ despite stiff community opposition. The proposal needed a second and final approval by Council before going to the Mayor when events took a different turn. The County Planning Committee and Mayor Linda Crockett Lingle asked that a 1,000-foot zone be put in place to prevent the construction of houses. A week prior to a hearing on the approval of the project, the Mayor objected the developer’s plan. She refused to support the plan if the existing buffer zone of 300 feet was not increased to at least 1000 feet to prevent the development of luxury fairway homes.

During previously held meetings, the Planning Commission recommended a 300-foot zone and the Council’s Planning Committee initially agreed when KHM told them its lenders, Japanese financial institutions, would balk at any further restrictions on the property. The idea of a wider buffer zone was, therefore, rejected by both the Planning Commission and the Council, and they indicated that it might jeopardize KHM’s ability to finance the project. This decision was welcomed by the Board of Directors of KHM, but days before a hearing on the zoning request, the Chief Operating Officer of the company, Libert Landgraf, said the company was not concerned about the larger buffer advocated by the Mayor. As the hotel manager he wanted the project started and, therefore, indicated that something could be done about the buffer zone. This was also an attempt to satisfy locals who were concerned about possible luxury housing development around the course. The apparent change in the company’s position, as evident in their Chief Operating Officer’s statement, surprised and angered Council members who saw such a position as an act of betrayal. Following a heated and emotional hearing, Council members increased the buffer zone to 1,500 feet and sent the entire issue back to the Planning Committee for review. Their decision to

⁶ *The Maui News*, July 30, 1993.pp.A.9

increase the buffer zone over the limit set by the Mayor was believed to have been made out of anger against KHM's decision.

The chain of events that followed the council's decision included the termination of the Chief Operating Officer's contract, which led to the resignation of Oswald Stender, a director of KHM. He is a very prominent person in Hawaii, a trustee of the Bishop Estate, which is one of Hawaii's largest landowner. His resignation was based on his strong aversion to the way the Chief Operating Officer's removal was handled and the fact that he or other board members were never consulted on the issue. The Board of Directors of KHM then lobbied Council members privately to reject the wider buffer zone. They told Council members that their Chief Operating Officer's statements were inaccurate and that a wider buffer zone would jeopardize the financing of the project. The project application was left with the Council Planning Committee until KHM informed Council of its willingness to accept the 1,500-foot buffer zone. Although the company indicated that it was struggling to obtain funds for the project, it wanted to proceed. The approval process sparked a disagreement between the Planning Commission and the Planning Committee over some of the conditions of approval.

In September of 1993, the proposal received final approval from MCC, with the 1,500 - foot buffer requirement and a set of conditions stricter than for any other golf course in Hawaii. The twenty one set of conditions are presented in Appendix IV.

The approval of the project did little to end the controversy. It generated new issues including a request for a new Environmental Impact Study (EIS) on the project and a lawsuit. Maui Tomorrow, an environmental group, requested the Planning Commission to consider the need for a

supplementary EIS from KHM. They wanted the Mayor to delay the approval of the two bills for the community plan amendment and change in zoning while the supplementary EIS was pursued.

In a letter sent to the Commission, Maui Tomorrow stated that many changes in Hana called for a new EIS. First, they argued that the area designated for the project in the original EIS more than doubled after some months. About 263 acres were added to it through zoning approval and this was not discussed in the original EIS. Secondly, they stated that the financing plan of KHM for the project changed completely. The initial proposal was to finance the project with money obtained from the sale of 1000 memberships at \$200,000.00 each. In June 1993, however, KHM in the person of Theodore Kato, the Acting Chief Executive Officer, mentioned that Japanese government legislation prohibited the sale of golf course membership for courses not yet constructed. The legislation in question was actually passed in April of 1992 so why was KHM silent over the issue until 1993? Was it an oversight or a cover up for the flaws in their financial plan? Despite the concerns raised, the mayor had to sign the two bills into law or it became law without her signature. The project was approved despite the opposition and the request for a second EIS was turned down. This, however, led to a lawsuit.

Opponents of the golf course filed a civil suit against the Maui County Council, Council Chair, the Mayor and KHM. The suit was filed by Isaac Hall, an attorney on behalf of the Kauiki Council, Maui Tomorrow Inc., the Hana Community Association, Friends of the Hana Coast and individuals Kekula Bray and Marc Hodges. The basis for the law suit was that the MCC and the Mayor refused to adopt measures to protect human and non-human resources in Hana. Secondly, they failed to let the public participate in the approval process, and thirdly, a proper environmental analysis was not conducted. The suit alleged certain Council members received large campaign contributions from

individuals connected to the project. In 1995, the lawsuit was withdrawn, perhaps because KHM's financial difficulties were apparent as they were trying to find a buyer for its Hana properties.

Although the project was approved, the financial difficulties encountered by KHM made it impossible to implement the plan. Laws passed in Japan prohibiting the sale of golf club membership before the course is built affected the project. The company was also affected by the Council's insistence on a wider buffer zone around the course. "Fairway" houses around the course would have generated revenue for KHM. The hotel has since been put up for sale. A purchase offer was made in March 1994 by investors Ahupuaa Partners, made up of Steven Manolis, a private real estate developer of New York, Jerry Barton and Libbie Kamusugi. Although the sale has not been finalized, negotiations are continuing.

THE ARGUMENTS: PROPONENTS' AND OPPONENTS' VIEWS

The proposal by KHM brought into focus the different views Hana residents had on the project. Whereas some residents argued that the golf course would help keep KHM in business and prevent any job losses, others condemned the project on the basis that it might attract more tourists who might affect the lifestyle of Hana residents and ruin the "last Hawaiian place." The Hana Community Association (HCA), with assistance from the League of Women Voters (Maui Chapter) conducted a poll on the issue and the results were published in the Maui News on April 29, 1993. A contribution by Kris Kristofferson, a famous Hollywood actor and singer and his wife, who reside in Hana was used to finance the survey. Of the 738 ballots cast, 726 were counted, 10 were voided and two were challenged. A question on whether residents favor or oppose the golf course proposed by KHM was asked. Out of the 726 ballots counted, 388, or 53.4 percent opposed

the golf course and 318, or 43.8 percent favored it. The remaining 20 ballots, or 2.8 percent were participants who did not vote or had no opinion. Five other questions relating to the impact and financing of the project, were also asked. All the five questions were based on the condition that council would approve the proposed project. The questions asked were:

- a) do you feel that any use of chemicals such as fertilizers, fungicide, pesticides and herbicides would damage shoreline fishing and gather resources by polluting the drinking water aquifer, pasture and stream runoff? Response: Yes, 469 (64.6 percent); No, 177 (24.4 percent); No opinion or no vote, 80 (11 percent).
- b) do you feel that there should be no development adjoining the golf course and country club by Keola and their successors? Response: Yes, 543 (74.8 percent); No, 99 (13.6 percent); No opinion or no vote, 84 (11.6 percent).
- c) do you feel the archaeological sites should be protected and preserved? Response: Yes, 641 (88.3 percent); No, 35 (4.8 percent); No opinion or no vote, 50 (6.9 percent).
- d) do you feel that the development will negatively impact the infrastructure of Hana (school, medical centre, traffic, housing, recreational resources, etc.)? Response: Yes, 400 (55 percent); No, 270 (37.3 percent); No opinion or no vote, 56 (7.7 percent).
- e) do you feel that the project financing should be guaranteed or bonded to insure the hotel will stay opened? Response: Yes, 499 (68.8 percent); No, 110 (15.1 percent); No opinion or no vote, 117 (16.1 percent).

Results of the poll indicated that the majority of respondents were opposed to the project. Most of them felt the project, if approved by council, could have negative effects on the environment, infrastructure and archaeological sites. During the numerous public hearings held, the Cultural

Resource Commission and the Planning Commission heard and received statements on issues regarding the economic, cultural, environmental, and social impact of the project.

Supporters of the project, mainly KHM employees, stressed the need to keep the hotel in business, thus providing jobs for Hana residents. Numerous questions regarding how Hana residents would survive without the Hotel were raised by supporters. For example, a pro-golf course activist asked, "What do you do if these people have no place to work?" To this another person added, "If we do not let this golf course develop, we will have a dying community."⁷ A Senior Accounting Clerk of KHM who favored the project, stressed the economic importance of the golf course, one of "security and financial stability."⁸ She wanted the golf course built to prevent temporary or permanent layoffs of employees who earned their living and paid their mortgages by working for KHM. Her main concern appeared to be the prevention of massive unemployment.

Another supporter of the project re-echoed the economic importance of the project. Representing the Operating Engineers Industry Stabilization Fund, J.P. Ortmann, an Education Specialist, had this to say:

Building a golf course will mean maintenance and up-keeping that will create new jobs for the residents of Hana - especially the younger generation. This would allow the young men and women to work within a reasonable distance from home, as well as give them the choice to live in Hana.⁹

He acknowledged Hana's unique lifestyle and beautiful landscape and added, "change, if done properly, can be good and not a demon to fear."¹⁰

⁷ *The Maui News*, March 5, 1993, pp.A.1

⁸ Written testimony from Frances Kalaola to the Maui County Planning Commission, dated March 16, 1993

⁹ Written testimony from J. Ortmann to the Maui County Council, dated March 3 1993, pp. 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, pp.1

The economic impact of the project, specifically the claim that it could ensure job security and financial stability was raised again by the Corporate Controller of KHM. Dick Waring admonished those who opposed the golf course to rethink their decision, and added:

For the past 48 years, Hana has been dependent upon the Hotel and Ranch (ie. the company) for its economic base...With no economic base, there is little need for government services, banking, airport, etc. ...Keola employs 265 people in Hana, and the salaries and benefits they earn support a total of 760 lives...The Golf Course will create new jobs and bring prosperity and security back to our employees. Nobody knows the future, or if the Golf Course will succeed. Without the Golf Course, we will have uncertainty, insecurity and possible mass exodus. The Hana that is left will certainly NOT BE THAT UNIQUE HAWAIIAN PLACE that everyone wants. With a Golf Course, we have a chance TO KEEP A LOT OF HAWAIIANS IN HANA.¹¹ (emphasis in original)

He concluded his testimony by pleading with Hana residents to support the golf course and let Hana live. His testimony stresses the importance of the economic stability and financial health of KHM in preserving Hana as “a unique Hawaiian Place”.

In an emotional plea for people to support the project, Josephine Blair shared her thoughts in a poem entitled “TITA’S LAMENT.” Portions of the poem are as follows:

Hana is my home, my beloved home.
It’s where I was born.
It’s where I live.
It’s where I want my future to be.
It’s where I wish to die.

You and many others live here, too,
But you and many others
Had a different beginning.
You came to Hana
By means of a visit
By way of a marriage
By seeking a lifestyle

¹¹ Written testimony from Dick Waring to the Maui County Planning Commission, dated March 3, 1993.pp.1

To suit yourselves.
And I welcomed you.

There were numerous times
When I worked and played
With you and many others.
When you were down and out
I was there to lift your spirit,
With my true Hana Aloha.
Where is that feeling,
Now that the tables are turned.
The shoe is on the other foot?

Now, my future is threatened
My job is on the line
My family's life is on hold
My Company is going under.
Everything seems so bleak, so dreary.

My Company is in deep trouble.
It wants to pull out of
Its financial "pilikia."
It is seeking a permit
To establish a golf course here
For the benefit of my people
And you and many others
Find it repulsive and are
Condemning the act.

You say the golf course will alter
Our way of living
Our environment.
And I might agree with you
On some of those things.
For, I, too, do not want Hana
To lose its beauty and charm.
I, too, would not dream of
Polluting our air, land and ocean.

But I say, a more devastating change could occur
Should Company shut down.

The exodus could begin when
Families will leave Hana
And children will follow
To seek employment elsewhere...

Outsiders exclaim, "keep Hana for Hana."
What do they mean?
Do they refer to keeping Hana
For the rich and famous
For the part-time residents
For the occasional visitors?
These outsiders do have a safe haven
To retreat to in other parts of Maui
Where they can enjoy comfort and security.¹²

According to the writer, the poem expresses the combined feelings of all the people looking forward to a brighter future. A future that would provide them with financial stability, prevent them from being "uprooted" and establish peace and harmony within their community.

The essence of the poem is the light it sheds on the tension that existed between established residents and relative "newcomers", including "rich retired people". As "outsiders" who were "seeking a lifestyle" suitable to them, the "rich and famous", the "part-time residents", and the "occasional visitors" were welcomed in Hana by established residents with a true "aloha spirit". Their support was needed for the golf course construction but they seemed to condemn the act. Established residents thus accused the "outsiders" of opposing the project because they wanted to preserve Hana and enjoy "the passive and comfortable, secure and unthreatened lifestyle". The chairperson of the Hana Community Association, Dawn Lono, shared her experience relating to the tension between established residents and "outsiders". Having moved to Hana from the mainland

¹² Written testimony from Josephine Blair to the Maui County Council, dated June 30, 1993. pp. 3

some fifteen years ago and married to a native Hawaiian, she felt she “belonged” in Hana but discovered otherwise. Commenting on the split within Hana community, she indicated how an old Hawaiian lady she had known and respected for a long time called her an “interfering Haole outsider” for opposing the golf course proposal.¹³ The fear of unemployment and mass exodus of especially the youth, should the company go out of business, was also expressed in the poem.

Several other residents were against the proposed project. The opposition raised concerns on the cultural, environmental and economic impact of the golf course. They argued that, the project might ruin the rural charm of Hana and open the door to further development and urbanization.

An Executive Director of Hui No’eau Visual Arts Centre, representing the Maui Arts and Cultural Community, argued mainly on the cultural and environmental impact of the project. David Ulrich said:

The cultural value of the site is enormous, with several important heiau’s is evidence whose mana and existence would clearly be threatened, if not destroyed, by the addition of a golf course. The natural beauty and spiritual presence of the land in that location provides inspiration and much source material for the large community of the island artists; not to mention the deep connection many Maui residents feel for Hamoa. We must say an emphatic no to development in this location.¹⁴

The preservation of the beautiful scenery of the “last Hawaiian place” was repeated by another opponent. In admonishing the Council members to protect Hana from over development, Marian Freeman had this to say:

The proposal before you can only suffocate the generous spirit that resides in Hamoa. The future holds many opportunities to ruin and befoul Maui’s nest. Please resist the pressure of the time to crush the treasure that is Hamoa.¹⁵

¹³ This information was passed on to the researcher by Professor Robert Wyllie, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Simon Fraser University.

¹⁴ Written testimony from David Ulrich to the Maui County Planning Commission, dated March 15, 1993.

¹⁵ Written testimony from Marian Freeman to the Maui County Planning Commission, dated March 16, 1993

Another opponent of the project admonished Council members to preserve Hana. In a written testimony, Micheal Minn asked Council members to protect Hana and its residents from destruction and displacement. He wrote:

Unless you and your colleagues are moved to protect all our natural resources, (plant, animal and human) from being damaged, destroyed and displaced, we will be faced with environmental damage that would make it impossible for Hawaiians to live their traditional lifestyle...in my opinion, without some basic protection for Hawaiians and their land and natural resources, "just a golf course" will mean the destruction of a culture and displacement of its people. In a word, genocide.¹⁶

In her testimony, Dawn Lono gave some recommendations to the Hana Advisory Committee to the Planning Commission on how KHM could act in reducing the possible negative impact of the project on: a)the environment; b) housing; c) schools; d) medical facilities; e) archaeological sites; and f) the lifestyle of residents. Her recommendations included a proposal from KHM to keep housing prices from increasing during and after the project; a proposal showing exactly how the company would operate and maintain the golf course without the use of chemicals, pesticides and herbicides; a proposal indicating how Keola will determine what the community feels is adequate, appropriate preservation of archaeological sites; and a proposal to help the community cope with the social changes the golf course would bring.¹⁷

Also opposed to the proposal was a young Hawaiian who expressed his opinions in this testimony:

I am testifying on behalf of the land from the point of view of a young Hawaiian. My testimony does not reflect my family's views; it is my own personal opinion. I am a senior at Hana High School and claim heritage to this "wahi" (place) because of my

¹⁶ Written testimony from Micheal Minn to the Maui County Council, dated March 16 1993, pp.1

¹⁷ Oral testimony by Dawn Lono before the Hana Advisory Committee on March 9, 1993.

mother's roots which are in Kaupo/Kipahulu. My father's family is from the Island of Hawaii, although there have been "Kanaka'oles" in Hana in historical past.

The Hawaiians of old were independent people and co-existed with their land. Hawaiians grew their own crops and got everything they needed from which was [sic] provided by the land. As change came to Hawaii in the form of the sugar plantations, Hawaiians became dependent on that one crop. Their food and things that were needed to survive were to be bought from the store and not grown on the land. The land became a subsistence [sic] bi-product of those things that could not be bought. Then the business of cattle came to Hana, Hawaiians became more dependent on someone else for their own livelihood rather than the land of which they descended. Here we are today, depending on this one business. We are having this sole business decide [sic] whether we will succeed as a community or not. We have become dependent instead of an independent people. We have lost our Hawaiian values, we have lost our independence, we have lost what it is to be a Hawaiian. This is when we need to go back and ask ourselves, "what does it mean to be Hawaiian?" It means to be independent people, co-existent with our land. It means that we deal directly with our land and make decisions directly about our land and not have someone else make these decisions and choices for us. As a result of the changing times, we are now dealing in the third person instead of the first person. We have lost the independence our Kupuna had, and we have lost our values of a land-based people. We are now fighting for a moral principle rather than our economical well-being. This struggle has become a moral obligation to co-exist with the land. It is now in your hands to make that decision. This is my testimony Thank you!¹⁸ (emphasis in the original.)

The testimony was a lamentation over the loss of Hawaiian values and independence as a result of the loss of their land. It was also about over-dependence on outsiders and the social impact it has had on Hawaiian communities. Tracing the lifestyle of Hawaiians from ancient times when land was very important, the young Hawaiian wanted the land protected from further development.

The political implications of the controversy, as manifested in a) the relations between some County Council members and KHM and b) the relations between some Council members and those who were opposed to the proposed project is another theme worth mentioning. During the initial phase of the controversy, the MCC objected to the mayor's proposal for a wider buffer zone as they

¹⁸ Written testimony from Kau'i Kanaka'ole to the Maui County Council, dated March 16 1993

argued it might jeopardize funding for the project. By suggesting that something could be done about a wider buffer zone, Keola's Chief Operating Officer was contradicting what Council members said. The different position taken by KHM angered Council members who saw the company's decision as an act of betrayal. In the "spirit of anger", Council members increased the buffer zone to 1,500.

The approval of the project, despite local opposition, was seen by some residents as "dirty politics". In the law suit filed against the County Council, some Council members were accused of receiving large campaign contributions from individuals connected with the project. In another instance, the Kauiki Council presented a "Declaration and Judicial Statement" charging the State and County with genocide under the Proxmire Act and demanding them to "desist from the illegal administrative proceedings" which to them related to fraud and criminal racketeering. In both instances, the relations between Council members, KHM and those who were opposed to the golf course proposal could be classified as one based on betrayal, anger, and suspicion.

Having presented the theme arguments from both supporters and opponents of the project, the cognitive and moral dimensions of the arguments, the legitimation techniques used by both groups and the multiple possibilities of resolutions will now be addressed .

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Residents on both sides of the debate argued extensively during numerous public forums organized by either the Maui County Council or the Maui Planning Committee. Others raised their fears and concern in written testimonies. Supporters argued that the project would make KHM, the major employer in Hana, viable and stay in business to compete with other luxurious hotels. Job

security and financial stability were the major issues in their argument. The opposition, on the other hand, was mainly concerned about the cultural, social, and environmental impact of the project. They argued that the project might threaten archaeological and historic sites as well as the beautiful landscape Hana has. Moreover, the project was seen as a threat to the unique lifestyle of Hana residents as it might open doors to future development. They wanted to “keep Hana Hawaiian”.

Both supporters and opponents presented arguments on what they believed were the truths about the project, in a way that would be persuasive to any reasonable person. Proponents stressed that KHM was the major employer of nearly 300 Hana residents who supported family members of about seven hundred. The golf course was seen as a means to keep KHM in business and ensure the financial stability its employees. The Acting Chief Executive Officer, Vice President and Treasurer of Keola Hana Maui, Inc., Theodore Kato wrote:

I am asking for your help to enable Keola Hana to continue providing jobs to nearly 300 Hana residents so that they in turn can continue to support their family members which number about 700 persons more...Keola Hana asks the Council to please consider the most important factor in its request for community amendment and change in zoning for the golf course. That factor is the Hana community - the residents who depend on Keola Hana for their jobs and their livelihood.¹⁹

His testimony summed up the arguments put forth by proponents’ who indicated the logic in permitting the construction of the golf course. The moral dimension of proponents’ arguments relates to the need for Hana residents to enjoy a stable and viable economy which Keola wished to provide with the development of the golf course.

¹⁹ Written testimony from Theodore Kato to the Maui Planning Committee, dated March 16 1993

Conversely, the opposition argued that the historic and archaeological sites which makes Hana a unique place ought to be preserved and not altered with further development. To them, it was morally wrong to destroy what Hana residents pride themselves in, their culture and the natural beauty of the land. Portions of the testimony given by the representative of the Maui arts and cultural community elaborate on this issue:

When will we learn that our culture and our beauty must be left intact for the future? When will we learn that the fragile environment confronting us daily can only take so much? Can economic development ever be balanced with honoring the indigenous aspects of place and people and with an attitude of protection of our precious natural resources?²⁰

It is not surprising that supporters of the project were mainly company employees and opponents were mainly citizen groups and environmentalists. The project might mean jobs and financial stability for company employees, but environmental and cultural disaster to Hana residents and this was what they were trying to avoid.

Both supporters and critics of the project adopted specific strategies to explain and justify the positions they took. These were :

- a) claims of representing the interest of future generations (i.e. making statements which suggested that they were preserving Hana for the young and unborn children),
- b) debates on the violation of democratic principles,
- c) using socio-economic status (i.e. making statements which suggested that jobs were needed by residents).

²⁰ Written testimony from the Maui Arts and Cultural Group

d) claiming local privileges (i.e. making statements which implied that the opinions of locals should count more than “newcomers”),

e) denigrating opponents (i.e. attempting to legitimize an argument by casting doubts on the motives, expertise, etc. of opponents.)

Residents on both sides of the debate made statements which suggested that, as Hana residents, they were seeking the well-being of the community. They made claims of representing future generations. In her testimony, an employee of KHM said, “the issue...is no longer just the golf course, but an issue of security and financial stability for us and our children.”²¹ Another supporter of the project added, “my primary concern is the young people and their future.”²² An opponent, who was against further development in Hana said “There are precious few places left that belong to the people of Maui... Let’s take the long view and leave it that way- for our children, and their children and all the generations to come.”²³ Some cultural experts stressed the cultural importance of the site in question and this was used by opponents to justify why the project ought to be stopped.

Supporters of the project accused opponents of violating the democratic rights of KHM. Some supporters were of the view that every developer has a right to do with his or her property what they deem to be appropriate. KHM, therefore, had the right to develop a golf course on the land it owned. To oppose the project was to violate the company’s rights and a supporter had this to say:

The very principles of democracy are involved in an owner’s basic rights to do with his property as he will, at least within the limits that law allows.²⁴

²¹ Written testimony from Frances Kalaola to the Maui Planning Commission, dated March 16, 1993.

²² Written testimony from J. Ortmann to the Maui Planning Commission, dated March 16, 1993, pp.2

²³ Written testimony from David Ulrich to the Maui County Planning Commission, dated March 15, 1993.

²⁴ *The Maui News*, February 13 1991. pp 1.

The socio-economic status of some residents was also used as a strategy for legitimation. Supporters of the project made statements concerning the importance of the golf course to the financial and economic stability of Hana residents, most of whom were employees of Keola and their allegations that, “newcomers” and “rich retired people” opposed the project because “they cared less for the well-being of Hana residents”. Despite the allegations, it was evident that opponents of the project included long-time locals and supporters included “outsiders” or relative “newcomers”. The “insider-outsider” division was thus used as a strategy by both parties involved in the controversy. Most people indicated how important it was to be a local resident. Those who were not born or raised in Hana often tried to show their strong local ties with either their marriage to a local person or the number of years they have lived in Maui or Hana. Most people on both sides of the debate started their testimonies with self introduction and statements like: “I have been a resident of Maui since February, 1983 (ten years) and call Maui “home”; “I came to Hana 30 years ago as an auditor for Hana Ranch, Inc. My wife, Makala, was born and raised in Hana, and we have lived here for the past nine years”. One person even signed his testimony by writing “Indigenous Hawaiian” before his name.

Again members on both sides of the debate made statements which cast doubt on the importance or validity of the motives of opponents. Critics of the project portrayed KHM as a company that could not be trusted. The Kauiki Council raised serious questions about the financial situation of KHM. Information obtained from the Global Network For Anti Golf Course Action from Japan through the Hawaii Golf Action Alliance, indicated that two of the golf courses owned by KHM were operating in the red. Three golf courses owned by KHM were still trying to sell

memberships, an indication that KHM was not financially sound. This raised a lot of questions about the future of the company. In denying the validity of the company's proposed financial plan, one resident accused Keola of "misrepresentation of fact bordering on fraud". He went on to say the project was a "gimmick for the quick money-fix" and that KHM cared less about the environment, pure aquifers and the people of Hana but was only interested in making money. To him, the company's interest was "greed". The company's plan was perceived as a means of "jeopardizing Hana and her people", by dividing the community. Supporters of the project were seen as "self serving greedy denizens of disaster" and also accused of misguiding and blinding Council members through their "fancy mouthwork". These accusations were levelled against supporters when the project was approved. Supporters, on the other hand, accused opponents of being anti-development, a position strongly denied by most opponents. In a letter written by one of the keyplayers in the issue, Alberta de Jetley said:

Many of us are not anti-development, we are for controlled growth. A community without growth stagnates and dies.²⁵

In this case study, the multiple possibilities of resolutions to the controversy can be related to the numerous public hearings organized to listen to the debate on both sides of the issue and how the various official bodies involved held a number of meetings to find a solution to the controversy. The issue was, somehow, resolved when the MCC approved the project based on the twenty one conditions, but the division among residents persisted. Many people in Hana might not forget the issue and Dawn Lono, chair person of Hana Community Association puts it this way:

²⁵ Written letter from Alberta de Jetley, dated July 5 1995.

The split was very deep and feelings run high. Things are not back to the way they were. That will take a long time, if ever. But there are some people in the community who will never forget and forgive. There are others who love each other, no matter what side they were on.²⁶

Controversies surrounding tourist-related projects may not be new in Hana, but the nature and consequences of that surrounding KHM's golf course proposal were quite intensive. The presentation of the sequence of events regarding the proposal and the analysis has brought into focus how situations become issues of public concern in Hana. The controversy started when KHM sought permission from the Maui County Council to build a resort golf course. The nature of the controversy was such that almost all residents of Hana and official bodies like the Maui County Council, the Maui County Cultural Resource Commission, the Maui Planning Commission and the Maui Planning Committee were involved in the issue. The different meanings and explanations given to the project had the community divided on whether KHM ought to be allowed to build the golf course or not. Supporters and opponents of the project, had different perceptions about the project and this was manifested in the different meanings given to the project. Residents who depended on the hotel for a living (company employees and their families) favored the project as they saw it as a means of securing their jobs and ensuring financial security. Opponents, mainly citizens and environmental groups perceived the project as something that might have negative impact on Hana and its people and thus opposed it. Most of them were against further development in Hana.

²⁶ Extract from an interview conducted by Robert Wyllie with Dawn Lono in 1995.

The main consequence of the controversy is the division it brought to the Hana community. There was tension between established residents and relative "newcomers". Some residents were even concerned about Japanese investors taking too much control of Maui.

CHAPTER IV

THE GREAT RUNWAY DEBATE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the second case study involving a controversy on whether the runway at Kahului Airport should be extended or not, is presented. As in the previous chapter, this chapter begins with a presentation of the issue, bringing into focus the people involved in the controversy. Brief background information on the controversy is also presented. The second part deals the sequence of events surrounding the controversy. The arguments raised by both proponents and opponents of the project forms the third part, while the final part focuses on the analysis of the theme arguments.

THE ISSUE

The most controversial and prolonged of the two issues being examined in this thesis is the Kahului Airport Runway Extension issue. Never before in the history of Maui has there been so much opposition to the development of a project. The controversy started in 1989 when the State Department of Transport (DOT) proposed to extend the runway at Maui's Kahului Airport from its existing 7,000 feet to 10,500 feet. The rationale was to provide a longer runway that would permit fully-laden and fully-fuelled wide-body jets to take-off. It was also to help curtail the inconveniences experienced by visitors who change flights or make refuelling stops at Honolulu Airport when traveling to Maui and to ease the congestion at Honolulu Airport.

The extension proposal has become the centerpiece for debate between official bodies, coalitions, and numerous individuals who are engaged in the emotional issue relating to the future of tourism on the island of Maui. The Maui County Council (MCC) got involved in the issue when it was asked to amend the language in the Maui County General Plan that limits runway lengths to no more than 7,000 feet and also approve the zoning request for the parcel needed for the extension. The State Land Use Commission, Maui Planning Department and the Maui Planning Commission also played very important roles in the controversy. In support of the proposed project, the Maui Economic Development Board, Inc. (MEDB), analyzed the role of air transport in Maui's economic future and presented their findings in a monograph. The MEDB stressed the link between the proposed project and Maui's tourism industry. Supporters of the proposal included numerous business and labor groups such as the Maui Visitors Bureau, Maui Hotel Association, the Maui Chamber of Commerce, the Airline Pilots Association, Maui Farm Bureau, Laborers International Union, Hawaii Carpenters Union and Mason's Union and citizens' groups such as Keia La Maui (Maui Today). The business and labor groups later formed the Maui Pueo Coalition headed by Jimmy Rust, a native Hawaiian and former bulldozer operator.

Those who opposed the project included citizens' groups and associations such as Maui Tomorrow, Maui Air Traffic Association, Sierra Club Hawaii Chapter, Hui Ala Nui O Makena. The environmental and citizens' groups also formed the Maui No Ka Oi coalition (Maui is the Best), headed by Dana Hall, a well known native Hawaiian human rights activist. Isaac Hall, an attorney and husband of Dana Hall, was also opposed to the project. Numerous individuals such as lawyers, professors, realtors, politicians, farmers, etc. were also involved in this controversy.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION TO THE CONTROVERSY

Runway extensions became necessary, as part of extensive programs planned by the State to divert funds for development from the island of Oahu. The State Department of Transport (DOT) proposed to lengthen the airport runways in Hawaii, Maui and Kauai to a minimum of 10,000 feet at a cost of \$30 million each to accommodate direct flights by wide-bodied jets to and from mainland U.S. (Fujii, Im and Mak, 1992. p. 38). The idea to extend runway 2-20 at Maui's Kahului Airport was conceived in the 1970s when planners realized that Maui needed a longer runway and direct international air service for the tourist industry, which is the very "life blood" of Maui's economy. Runway length was a function of the take-off requirements for the Boeing 707 and Douglas DC-8 jets that were the primary aircraft types for overseas flights. The cost of the runway extension to meet the needs of those aircraft types was, however, hindered by Hana Highway on one side and the ocean on the other. The State Department of Transport thought a runway length of 10,500 feet would be appropriate for Kahului Airport. DOT officials perceived such a runway as appropriate to "relieve congestion at Honolulu International Airport on the island of Oahu by eliminating the need for travelers bound for or returning from the Neighbor Islands to make additional stop in Honolulu" (Fujii, Im and Mak, 1992. p. 38). Direct flights, it maintained, could also help reduce traveling time, inconveniences and the uncertainties associated with traveling to the island of Maui.

The potential negative and positive impact of the runway extension and international flights on the island of Maui and its people had residents presenting opposing views on the issue. The differences in opinion resulted in the controversy that has polarized Maui residents. After twenty years of massive growth, modern Maui seemed to be at a cross-road and residents are divided on which way to turn. Almost everyone in the community is either for or against the project.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONTROVERSY

The State's proposal to lengthen Kahului Airport Runway from 7,000 feet to 10,500 feet generated numerous public hearings where the issue was debated. At a public forum organized in February of 1990, under the auspices of the Sierra Club, Airport Administrator Owen Miyamoto outlined the State's plan for the extension. Several speakers argued for and against the project, citing both positive and negative impact associated with direct flights. Among them were Council member Velma Santos; Dick Mayer, an economics instructor; Mike White, manager of the Kaanapali Beach Hotel; John Matsuoka, a professor of social work; and Lloyd Loope, a scientist. Whereas supporters of the project argued that the extension was needed to boost the tourism industry and provide residents with jobs, the opposition cited the possible transportation of alien species (e.g. snakes, crab spider, and ants); illegal substances and traffic congestion as some of the negative impact the project might have on the community. Council members debated a resolution in support of the extension but deferred action pending completion of an environmental impact statement.

In 1991, however, Council members who argued the project might lead to the "internationalization" of the airport opposed it. At a meeting where thirty five individuals testified, the Maui County Council voted "unanimously to approve a resolution that opposed the internationalization of the airport",¹ which they argued was not an issue separate from the runway extension. They also decided to push for an amendment to the Maui County General Plan, which would allow the airport's runway to remain at 7,000 feet. The Maui County General Plan is an

¹ *The South Maui Times*, February 2, 1991. pp. 5.

official document which recognizes and states “the major problems and opportunities concerning the needs and the development of the County”.² The social, economic and environmental effects of such development and the desired sequence, patterns and characteristics of future development are also written in the Plan. At the meeting, representatives of the Maui Hotel Association and the Maui Chamber of Commerce said their organizations were neutral on the issue of internationalization but supported the runway extension. They perceived the two issues as separate.

At a Council session in March 1991, the Governor of Hawaii, John Waihee, informed Council members of the State’s intention to proceed with plans to extend the Kahului Airport runway to 10,000 feet “because of safety concerns and potential legal liability.”³ The Governor and other cabinet officials indicated that the project would proceed if an environmental impact statement, being prepared at that time, did not specify any environmental hazards the project might cause. This decision was made despite Council’s resolution opposing the project. In response to the Governor’s statement, Council members indicated that the people of Maui did not want a longer runway, which was seen as a first step toward internationalization of the airport. They urged the State to provide Maui with the needed infrastructure improvements before dealing with the airport runway issue.

The State’s effort to push for the extension despite opposition from some residents made those residents angry. In April 1991, the Maui County Council organized a public hearing, asking Maui residents to comment on the General Plan. This was at a time when the impact of the recession on Maui was very minimal. Over \$800 million worth of public and private construction was still

² *The Maui County Charter*, 1993 Edition. pp.17

³ *The Maui News*, March 3, 1991. pp.A1-A3

available. Tourism was affected slightly by the Gulf War but was expected to improve. Unemployment was at a low 2.1%.⁴ Nevertheless, the community was divided on the issue. The opposition collected about five thousand signatures from groups and individuals to support the runway extension. At one hearing, after over thirteen hours of public testimony, the majority of the people present testified against the extension although a few individuals supported the proposal. After listening to numerous public testimonies for and against the project, and deliberating on the issue, some Council members voted yes to the General Plan Amendment. By a 6-3 vote, a resolution was passed “prohibiting” the runway extension and internationalization of the airport. The 1990 General Plan was to be updated to include the following policy:

Prohibit internationalization of Kahului Airport and maintain current and future runway lengths to no more than 7,000 feet and discourage lengthening of the Kapalua-West Maui Airport runway.⁵

The General Plan was then forwarded to the Mayor for her approval. As a supporter of the runway extension, the mayor saw the Council’s action as “irresponsible” and in protest against their decision, she let the plan become law without her signature.

The issue seemed to have been settled when Council voted to amend the General Plan but this was not the case. In early 1992, public opinion on the issue began to change and concerns were raised over the General Plan and the need for it to be amended. The recession caused many workers to be laid off, many part-time jobs vanished and working hours were cut. The unemployment rate rose from 3.1% in 1991 to over 5% in less than a year. The need to save jobs in hotels and other

⁴ *The Maui Incorporated*, July/August 1992. pp.18

⁵ *The Maui County General Plan*, 1990. pp.9

businesses who depend on the tourist industry put the airport issue in a different light. Supporters of the project pushed for the issue to be reconsidered as they sent letters to the mayor, asking for her support in “reviving” Maui’s economy. The State decided to proceed with the extension, despite the opposition and the ban on runway extension stipulated in the General Plan. Based on the objections raised by some residents to the 10,000 feet runway option, which meant closing off access to the Specklesville Beach, DOT officials, after consulting with engineers and airline experts, put forward a new plan for a 9,600 feet main runway. They asked Council to amend the General Plan by removing the restrictive language. A group of sixteen organizations also signed a letter to Council members requesting an amendment to the General Plan.

Debate over the airport issue intensified as supporters fought to have the General Plan amended and the opposition maintained that the 7,000 feet was appropriate. In August 1992, other issues relating to the runway extension emerged. Council members adopted a resolution to refer the State’s request to the Maui Planning Commission. The Council took no stand on the issue and did not provide the Commission with proposed language to consider, but wanted the Commission’s recommendations on the issue. Such an action by Council meant a prolonged process because based on the recommendations by the Commission, Council had to send back to the Commission specific language for the amendment before any action could be taken. Planning Director, Brian Miskae, was of the opinion that the MCC and not the administration should have initiated the amendment process. Council member Alice Lee indicated that the airport issue needed further study and “fact-finding” by the Department of Planning and the Planning Commission. The debate over the General Plan amendment continued when at a Maui County Council Candidates forum,

three of the six Council members who voted for restrictive language in the General Plan indicated they would review the issue again.

The request by council was seen by critics as “political football” and a “hot potato” which the Planning Commission “wasted no time in tossing back to the Council.”⁶ In September 1992, the Maui Planning Commission delivered its recommendations after listening to testimonies from both supporters and opponents of the project. By an 8-1 vote, the Commission recommended the County Council to delete the restrictive language against a longer runway from the General Plan. They also recommended the deletion of the prohibition against the internationalization of Kahului Airport. The Commission’s decision was based on the testimonies heard, and had little to do with any idea of a longer runway being good or bad.

The debate on the General Plan amendment later developed into another debate on the State Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) on the proposal. The Maui County Council indicated that the EIS was “useless” in their deliberations on the issue as it was very difficult to understand. They classified the document as “poorly organized” with apparent contradictions and flaws. The opposition also saw the document as a means by the State to “cloak and de-emphasize the negative impact of the project”.⁷ Supporters of the project, on the other hand, defended the document by saying that, it was a “technical document” and “technical language” was to be expected.⁸

In challenging the adequacy of the State EIS, a lawsuit was filed by a number of organizations and some Maui residents against Governor John Waihee, DOT Director Rex Johnson and State

⁶ *The Maui News*, September 16, 1992. pp. A1.

⁷ *The Maui News*, September 23, 1992. pp.A1-A8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.A1-A8.

Land Use Commission chairman Renton Nip. Plaintiffs in the lawsuit were the Sierra Club, Maui Air Traffic Association, Hui Alanui O Makena, the National Audobon Society, Dana Naona Hall, Mary Evanson, Stephen Pitt and James Bendr n. They wanted to stop any attempt by State officials to proceed with the project. In more than six pages of a twenty eight-page lawsuit, the plaintiffs gave reasons as to why the EIS was inadequate. They asked that a joint State-Federal EIS to be prepared before any decision on the project could be made. The hearing regarding the lawsuit was postponed to January 7, 1993.

Another event occured when Council Chairman Howard Kihune recommended that a special committee, set up to review the airport issue be dissolved. During its August 24, 1992 meeting on the State's proposed General Plan amendment, Council decided to set up a special committee made up of five Council members, five Maui No Ka Oi Coalition members and five Maui Pueo Coalition members to review the matter further. This seemed to be an attempt by council to regain some measure of control over the airport issue that had been taken over by the Pueo and Maui No Ka Oi coalitions. Council, in a way, wanted to resolve the issue by having both coalitions make some compromises. Council Chairman's recommendation to dissolve the committee elicited opposite reactions from the two main groups involved in the runway issue. Whereas the Maui No Ka Oi coalition leader Dana Hall favored the set up committee, the Pueo Coalition leader, Jimmy Rust was against it. Dana Hall said the committee would have given them the opportunity to meet with both Council members and the Pueo Coalition and work the issue out. Jimmy Rust however, said his group would have nothing to do with a committee if it prevents Maui residents from getting jobs. He saw both the lawsuit and the setting up of a committee as delay tactics being used by the opposition.

Although the importance of the two coalitions cannot be denied, they do not represent everyone in Maui. A test of public opinion on the issue was initiated by the Maui News when it financed a poll. Four hundred Maui adults were randomly polled from September 28 to October 2. Questions relating to the runway extension and the issue of internationalization were asked. Overall, 54.6% favored runway extension. These were people who “strongly favor” (35.3%) and “somewhat favor” (19.3%) extension. Thirty-five percent opposed the extension (10.5% “somewhat opposed” and 26 % “strongly opposed”).⁹ The results of the poll were encouraging to the Maui Pueo coalition and their leader Jimmy Rust, as it indicated that a significant majority of Maui residents favored a longer runway. It was, however, problematic to the Maui No Ka Oi coalition and Dana Hall. The results were contradictory to what Dana Hall thought the majority of Maui residents wanted, that is, maintaining the existing runway.

The lawsuit filed in relation to the EIS got another hearing. In March 1993, a Second Circuit Judge ruled federal standards were not met in the preparation of the State EIS. Although he did not rule on the adequacy of the document nor specify how the State failed to comply with the National Environmental Protection Act, he did say failure to meet federal standards was a violation of court order. Whilst waiting for the joint State-Federal EIS, the Maui County Council in April 1993 voted to remove the ban on airport extension from the County’s General Plan. A bill amending the General Plan by removing the restrictive language and prohibiting the internationalization of Kahului Airport was read to supporters of the project at a Council meeting. The Maui Planning

⁹ *The Maui News*, November 10, 1992. pp. A1.

Commission voted 7-1 to recommend Council to rezone the 130 acres needed to lengthen the airport runway. The recommendation was made after listening to the testimony of twenty one persons

After months of contentious hearings and debate, the Maui County Council, in August 1993, gave their initial approval to a zoning request by the DOT for the 130 acres needed for the extension. The final approval was subject to the State Land Use Commission acting on a pending petition requesting urban zoning of the land. Plans to expand the runway were, therefore, put on hold for a year for the completion of the joint State-Federal EIS. Although approval for funding the project has been granted by the State Legislature, the debate over the project is far from over. Pending the completion of the new EIS, supporters and opponents of the project continue to attack each other on the likely outcome of the new EIS when completed.

THE ARGUMENTS: PROPONENTS' AND OPPONENTS' VIEWS

Numerous arguments were raised by both parties to either support or oppose the project. The two major areas of concern to proponents were safety and economics. The opposition, however expressed concern about the environmental and cultural impact of the project. Other themes regarding the social impact and political implications of the project also emerged.

Firstly, the extension was perceived as needed for the safe take-off and landing of aircrafts. This view was generally expressed by those in the aviation and the tourist industry. The Maui Chamber of Commerce, Maui Hotel Association, Maui Hotel Visitors Bureau and Maui Farmers' Co-operative Exchange were among the organizations who expressed this view. The Maui Pueo Coalition, in their position statement also raised concerns about safety. Captain Dave Haase, Chairman, Airport Standards Committee had this to say:

Restricting runway length affects the safety of several million travelers, flight crew and the aircraft which fly into and out of Kahului Airport...every consideration must be given to providing the maximum margin of safety to the passengers and crew of commercial transport operations and the community surrounding the airport.¹⁰

In a letter submitted to the Maui Planning and Economic Development Committee on July 15, 1991 the president of the Maui Hotel Association, Lynn Britton wrote:

And I ask you to ask yourself what if anything did happen at the Airport because the runway was too short to handle an emergency. Those that say you can't plan for every accident are right, but you certainly can provide the most reasonable safety you can.¹¹

The Maui Farmers' Co-operative Exchange also stressed the safety issue in a letter to the Maui County Council on July 16, 1991:

Our first concern is for safety. Safety for us and our families, for you and your families, and for all our friends that fly in and out of Kahului. When, not if, a pilot misjudges a landing and goes off the end of our short runway, what would you tell your children if their mother was on that plane and badly injured or worse? Will you say, "Lots of people didn't want big plane loads of tourists to come here, so for political reasons I went along with that idea- even though I knew someday there would be an accident. But I didn't think mom would be involved."¹²

Secondly, the economic impact of the project in terms of employment/ unemployment, as well as benefits to the tourist, construction and agricultural industries were raised by the proponents. The president of the Maui Economic Development Board, Inc., Donald Malcolm wrote:

Our experience in trying to attract companies and capital to Maui. ...have given us a clear indication that target companies will only locate in an area where free and ready access to modern airport facilities are available. We have been told that our airport runway needs an appropriate extension in its length in order to meet their travel needs...While there are many other economic advantages to Maui in having an improved

¹⁰ Written testimony from Captain Dave Haase to the Maui County Council, dated August 5, 1991. pp. 1

¹¹ Written testimony from Lynn Britton to the Maui Planning and Economic Development Committee, dated July 15, 1991. pp. 2

¹² Written testimony from Henry Koja, to the Maui County Council, dated July 16, 1991. pp. 1

runway length, MEDB is only pointing out the effect that the lack of such a runway will have on the ability to help create a balanced job base.¹³

In his oral testimony before the MCC on August 24, 1992 the chairman of the Maui Puelo Coalition, Jimmy Rust expressed the concerns of the coalition members:

4,000 Maui residents-- 4-5 times as many people as there are here today--are unemployed right now. There are thousands more who have had their work hours cut -- or second job eliminated. They can't feed their families, pay their mortgage, rent or car loan. We need your help to solve this problem. All we ask is that you get the runway project moving to stabilize our economy and get thousands of Maui residents back to work.¹⁴

On the same day, Steve Suyat spoke on behalf of the thousand, three hundred Maui members of the Hawaii Carpenters Union:

Today, my job is to get carpentry work for others to contribute to Maui's infrastructure. Just how bad it is out there? Most of our 400 unemployed carpenters have been out for 7-8 months. Most have used up nearly all of their Federal benefits extension. These members and their families are barely making ends meet...Carpenters and other building trades workers are tired of being the whipping boy of growth. We want to work with you in managing Maui's growth and future. But the runway is not the tool. we ask your support in protecting employment and not squeeze us out.¹⁵

The Maui Chamber of Commerce argued that the airport improvement was needed for the visitor industry to continue to "grow" and "thrive". The president wrote this in a letter submitted to the MCC:

Take the time to plan for the long term welfare of our community, not just focusing on the short term problems of the County. Keep the visitor industry healthy and vibrant while working to create new and viable opportunities in diversified agriculture and research and technology.¹⁶

¹³ Written testimony from Donald Malcolm to the Maui County Council.

¹⁴ Oral testimony by Jimmy Rust before the Maui County Council, on August 24, 1992.

¹⁵ Oral testimony by Steve Suyat before the Maui County Council, on August 24, 1992.

¹⁶ Written testimony from Wayne Hedani to the Maui County Council, dated August 21, 1992. pp. 1

On behalf of the Maui Business Council, the president Mike Singlehurst expressed the importance of the runway length to the agriculture industry:

We have received letters from people who have experienced problems with shipping freight to and from Maui. These include food wholesalers and growers. Their difficulty affect all of us on Maui...By lengthening the runway now and making it easier to deliver fresh pineapple to markets on the mainland efficiently, you could be saving jobs and an industry involved in agriculture. If you don't you should share in the blame for the loss of this industry.¹⁷

According to the vegetable and flower growers, direct flights on a year round basis were needed to "export perishable produce and flowers to the mainland to avoid the shipments being dumped in Honolulu"¹⁸.

Opponents of the runway extension were concerned about the possible environmental impact. They maintained that Kahului airport runway ought to be at its existing length of 7,000 feet because an extension might lead to internationalization of the airport; a situation they feared might have negative impact on the environment, the people of Maui, and their culture. In both oral and written testimonies, opponents cited the introduction of alien plant and animal species (e.g. snakes and bugs) to Maui, noise and crime as some of the environmental and social impacts of an international airport.

In support of the proposed language in the General Plan Update to prevent internationalization of Kahului Airport, or the lengthening of its main runway, Tim Gardner, a resident of Maui, wrote this in his position statement:

we don't need the airport environment (i.e. hotels/motels/restaurants/crime/disease/etc.) that surrounds an international airport. And yes, disease! There has been talk of

¹⁷ Written testimony from Mike Singlehurst to the Maui Planning and Economic Development Committee, dated July 17, 1991.

¹⁸ Written testimony from Henry Koja to the Maui County Council, dated July 16, 1991. pp. 1.

imported plant diseases, but what about human disease. And noise - most westbound (Japan etc.) departures are in the middle of the night. The folk from Sprecklesville to Paia to Heiku and perhaps Makawao will love those 3.00 a.m. departures.¹⁹

An elaborated version of the environmental impact can be read from Arthur Medeiros's statement to the County Council. As a representative for Haleakala National Park, he opposed internationalization because it would "compromise the mission of the National Park Service." He argued that an introduction of alien species may not only affect Hawaii's unique natural environment but agriculture and even the standards and way of life of Maui residents. He wrote:

Flights coming directly to Maui...would increase the number of foreign species that would become established on Maui. The impact of these arrivals of new insects, plant, snails, reptiles, amphibians and birds would undoubtedly adversely impact the long term conservation of the unique native biota which occurs both within, as well as outside, the park. Besides the irrevocable harm to Hawaii's unique natural heritage, these alien species would also surely impact the potential for self-sufficient agriculture on Maui and the standard and way of life now enjoyed by Maui's residents and visitors.²⁰

In their position statement, Maui Tomorrow listed about fifteen implications and impact of the runway extension and internationalization of the airport. The concerns raised related to infrastructural, social and environmental impact such as: the dramatic increase in the number of visitors which would lead to more crowding and intensify development excesses; major traffic congestion, over burdened water resources and sewage capacity, crowded schools and hospitals, high crime rates, increase in housing costs, loss of shoreline and natural areas and loss of the character and charm of Maui; drug trafficking; increase risks of exotic pests which could threaten agricultural businesses.

¹⁹ Written letter from Tim Gardner to the Maui County Council, dated July 11, 1991. pp. 2.

²⁰ Written statement from Arthur Medeiros to the Maui County Council, dated July 17, 1991. pp. 1.

The Co-Director of Maui Tomorrow, Albert Perez, also commented on the environmental impact of the project by relating it to economics. He viewed the two as inseparable when it comes to Maui's visitor industry. He said:

Lengthening of the runway at Kahului will hurt, rather than help, our main industry. Maui must be careful not to let the success of tourism degrade the natural environment and quality of life upon which that tourism depends. Otherwise we will have "tourism killing tourism."²¹

The Sierra Club, Hawaii chapter, gave reasons as to why they were opposed to the proposal. They argued that an international airport would put severe stress on Maui's infrastructure and natural resources; introduce unwanted species and diseases that could affect plants and animals. It could also facilitate an increase in the number of tourists in Maui and further destroy the rural character of Maui. They also stated that Maui needs "time to carefully plan for future growth and to determine its carrying capacity."²²

The political implications of the controversy as evident in State-County-Community relations is worth discussing. As mentioned earlier, the Maui County Council opposed the extension at the initial stages by introducing restrictive language into the General Plan. State Officials, however, indicated that they were proceeding with project despite Council's opposition. They raised safety concerns and potential legal liability as the main reasons for insisting on the extension. Although the State had the funds for the project, the County of Maui had other means of blocking the expansion. This related to the authority they had to either release the permit needed for the land use and zone change or not. Comments passed by Council members indicated the anger and frustration

²¹ Oral testimony by Albert Perez before the Maui Planning and Economic Development Committee, on July 17, 1991.
²² Written Statement by the Sierra Club, Hawaii Chapter, dated August 24, 1992.

they felt about the State's position. They said things like: "We just want to say no and have you listen". "Today we are not prepared for additional growth on Maui"²³ . Some Council members accused the State of having its priorities misplaced and urged them to realign those priorities and provide needed infrastructure improvement. The sincerity of State officials was also questioned by some Council members who alleged that some State officials said different things at different times during the airport debate. A cutback on funds for airport improvements was seen by some Council members as a punishment to the Maui County for opposing the airport expansion, a charge which was denied.

Some residents, mainly the opposition, expressed their resentment at the State's decision.

Dana Hall, a leading opponent of the proposal and leader of Maui No Ka Oi said:

The State has shown itself disrespectful of the citizens of this County to make a determination that the runway length would not be extended. ...Its a kind of autocratic decision on the part of the State to impose its will on the residents of Maui.²⁴

With reference to the cutbacks on funds for airport improvement, Dana Hall accused the State of using "strong-arm tactics" in preventing needed airport improvements in exchange for approval of the project. She described the move as "outrageous."²⁵

Other opponents indicated that the democratic principles and the will of Maui residents were being violated. A Maui news reader had this to say in a letter:

By forcing the lengthening of the Kahului Airport runway on the people of our island, Gov. Waihee is allowing the internationalization of our airport, which a majority of the voters on Maui oppose strongly. Our men and women in uniform have just risked their

²³ *The Maui News* March 1, 1991. pp. A1-A3.

²⁴ *The Maui News*, April 10, 1992. pp. A1.

²⁵ *Ibid*, pp.A1.

lives in the Gulf War defending freedom and democracy...Has Waihee forgotten their sacrifice already as well as the fundamental principle of our democracy?²⁶

In another letter, another opponent added:

I sometimes wonder what definition of "democracy" our elected officials use in the performance of their duties. Often it doesn't seem to coincide at all with Webster or myself. ...It angers me that the runway extension is being rammed down our throats by the circuitous machinations of the federal Department of Transport, and that local unions, hotel associations and government officials are using scare tactics and economic voodoo to garner public support for a project which will forever change the face of this irreplaceable unique paradise we call Maui - all for the sake of additional dollars in someone's pockets and short-term employment. Are we all really this short-sighted?²⁷

The discussion so far indicates that the controversy resulted in tension between State officials who were pushing for the project to be started and County members who were opposed to the proposal. The relation between these two groups could be classified as one based on suspicion and anger. The relation between State officials and residents who were opposed to the project was also anything but cordial. Anger, suspicion and frustration were some of the major features associated with the relations between State-County-Community.

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

The controversy over whether the runway at Kahului Airport ought to be extended or not, like other public issues, had a structure (Gusfield, 1981). The issue emerged in an ordered fashion, having both cognitive and moral dimensions. Both proponents and opponents seemed to be convinced about the truth of the quality of facts regarding the issue; facts which indicated that the

²⁶ Comments by G. Lee in *the Maui News*, March 15, 1991. pp. A11.

²⁷ Comments by V. Lee Fuqua in *the Maui News*, September 18, 1992. pp. A13.

project was needed to boost Maui's tourist industry or should be ignore¹ to prevent negative environmental, social and cultural impact. Both groups, therefore, presented arguments on the facts of the issue so as to be persuasive to or not challenged by any reasonable person. The arguments also involved judgements of goodness, badness, and morality (Gusfield, 1981).

Supporters of the project presented facts and figures which indicated that Maui's economy was "suffering" economically and, therefore, needed the runway extended to boost the tourist industry which is the life-blood of Maui's economy. An analysis made by the Maui Economic Development Board (MEDB) in 1992 on the role of air transportation in Maui's economic future indicated that the number of visitors and dollars spent were down. The facts presented in a monograph indicated that between 1990 and 1992, the number of tourists dropped 8%, representing a loss of approximately \$192 million in revenue. The impact was felt by Maui residents as unemployment rates doubled from 2.4% in 1990 to 5.0% in February 1992. Maui also lost between 9 and 27 million pounds of aircargo capability due to the runway limitations. In summary, the MEDB, who strongly favored the proposal wrote:

The dollars tourists spend are the very lifeblood of Maui's economy. These dollars create new jobs, allow businesses to grow, increase resident income, and provide more tax revenue to the County and the State of Hawaii...tourism is a "number game"- the greater the number of visitors, the more is spent and the more Maui residents benefit. Whether or not the runway is extended will quite likely have a significant effect on those numbers.²⁸

Like most supporters, the MEDB wanted the Kahului Airport runway extended and more direct international air service developed to provide greater access to existing and new markets for

²⁸ Quotation from a monograph prepared by the Maui Economic Development Board in July 1992. pp. 4.

tourists, agricultural products, technology companies and other industry segments. This, it argued, was essential for Maui to stay competitive and achieve greater economic stability and growth.

In their oral testimonies, the Maui Pueo Coalition, the Hawaii Carpenters Union and basically all other supporters appealed to the MCC to view the project as valuable and support it. The leader of the Maui Pueo Coalition, Jimmy Rust, argued that the project could provide jobs “for the 4,000 Maui residents who were unemployed and the thousands who had their work hours cut or second jobs eliminated.”²⁹

The president of the Maui Chamber of Commerce, Wayne Hedani, also raised some concerns regarding safety and why he thought the project could help prevent accidents. He had this to say:

Between 1955 and the present there have been eight very serious aircraft accidents in Hawaii with multiple loss of life and injuries. Each year numerous less serious crashes occur regularly... Accidents happen... The County should not be put in a situation where its actions unnecessarily jeopardize life safety. Stopping golf courses won't kill people, stopping runways might.³⁰

He appealed to the MCC and Maui residents to view the project as one of importance, and prevent any accidents and deaths from occurring. In a way, any “right-thinking” morally sound person would choose life over death and would want to prevent deaths from happening. The opposition also presented arguments which they saw as the truths regarding the project. Most of them argued on how the internationalization of Kahului Airport could lead to invasion of alien species (e.g. snakes) in Maui. They cited instances where international flights had transported unwanted animal and plant species to destination areas. The biologists at Haleakala National Park’s Research

²⁹ Oral testimony by Jimmy Rust before the Maui County Council, August 24, 1992.

³⁰ Written testimony from Wayne Hedani to the Maui County Council, dated June 7, 1991

Division, Lloyd Loope and Art Medeiros, commented on the likely invasion of alien species in Maui by citing an example of how the brown tree snake was accidentally introduced onto the Western Pacific island of Guam during World War II. They indicated that, with an estimated twelve thousand snakes per square mile in certain rural areas, the reptiles are said to outnumber the island's hundred and fifty thousand residents by a ratio of 10-1.³¹ They also cited an example of the Argentine ant introduced into Hawaii around 1940. Medeiros said, "there are many tropical organisms that would love to live in Hawaii." "Some of those organisms could have a decidedly negative impact on the island way of life if they get here" said Loope. He mentioned how crab spiders had appeared in yards and fields in Maui after arriving on the Big Island. The opposition were concerned about alien species accidentally getting to Maui on international flights. They appealed to Maui residents to decide on what was right or wrong as an international airport could have negative impact on Maui's culture and environment. Concerns about Maui's culture and environment were raised several times by opponents to persuade Council members to prevent the extension.

Counter arguments were also presented by opponents on the safety concern raised by supporters. They argued that a longer runway would not result in an increase in the length of the runway safety areas. Dana Hall said:

At its current length, Runway 2-20 fits neatly into the area bounded by Hana Highway and the Spreckelsville coastline with room available to increase the runway safety areas. Lengthening the runway will diminish the buffer between the runway and Hana Highway. ...The safest runway length given the circumstances at Kahului airport may be what we already have - a 7,000-foot runway with the addition of longer runway safety areas.³²

³¹ Comments presented in a report by Dave DeLeon in *the Maui News*, March 20, 1990. pp. A1-A4

³² *The Maui News*, May 29, 1992. pp A11

They also argued that the runway was already safe and that the instances cited by supporters regarding airline crashes in Hawaii were half truths. They pointed out that the accidents which occurred were either due to human error, or mechanical-equipment failure and not due to deficiencies of airfield and that none of the accidents occurred in Kahului.

The argument that the extended runway was needed to boost the tourism industry was also challenged by some opponents. They indicated that the extension being portrayed as a “cure-all for Maui’s tourism-dependent economic woes”³³ was somewhat misguided. In a letter written to the Maui News, Frederic Uggla had this to say:

I fail to see how larger airplanes with more seats will cure that particular problem. ...If any one area exemplifies the need for change and turns off the tourist flow it is the problems facing our infrastructure and public facilities. ...the issue is not the length of runway, it is about curing the problems which have eroded tourism in the first place and have tourists seeking other destinations where they can spend their money and get some value in return. The billion bucks spent on lengthening the runway would go a long way towards our infrastructure needs not only for the benefit of tourism, but for residents alike.³⁴

The discussion so far presents a scenario where the arguments presented by supporters were challenged by opponents. It is evident that most of the concerns raised by supporters were seen differently by opponents, as they were not persuaded by the safety and tourist boom arguments. They were more interested in the likely environmental impact of the proposed project.

³³ *The Maui News*, August 4, 1992. pp. A11.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 1992. pp. A11

In presenting their arguments, both proponents and opponents made statements which seemed to suggest why they or their argument ought to be taken seriously and why those of the opposition ought to be ignored. Some of the legitimation techniques adopted included:

- a) the utilization of scientific knowledge, expertise (i.e. repeating what biologists' said about impact on the environment);
- b) the utilization of professional competence, expertise (i.e. repeating what professionals like pilots said about safety);
- c) socio-economic status (i.e. claiming to represent the working people of Maui, as "a little guy");
- d) claiming local privilege (i.e. claims about the importance of local opinions over that of "newcomers.");
- e) denigration of opponents (i.e. statements made to legitimate arguments by casting doubt on the motives, morals, expertise, etc. of opponents).

Two federal biologists' emphasized the potential negative impact the project might have on Maui and its residents. Dr Lloyd Loope and Art Mederios, the biologists who man Haleakala National Park's Research Division were concerned about the invasion of foreign bugs and plants that could drastically change Maui's ecosystems. They indicated that many tropical organisms would love to live in Hawaii but some of the organisms could have negative impact on the island's way of life if they get to the islands. They argued that opening Kahului Airport to international flights was the surest way of encouraging unwanted species to invade Maui. Their arguments were later used by other opponents to support the idea that the project would only harm Maui's ecosystem and it's people.

With their professional competence, representatives of the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA) specified that variables such as worn brakes, tail wind, wet or slippery runway, engine thrust and turbulence may be critical items on "short" runways. Restricting runway length affects the safety of both travelers and flight crew, therefore, the ALPA strongly urged Council members to delete the restrictive language in the General Plan. Other supporters of the project quoted the Pilots Association to support their argument. For example, Lynn Britton, president of the Maui Hotel Association indicated in her testimony the Pilots Association's plea for a minimum of 8,500 feet runway at Kahului airport to ensure adequate safety. Wayne Hedani, president of Maui Chamber of Commerce also referred to recommendations made by the Regional Safety Co-ordinator for the ALPA regarding 8500 feet runway for smaller aircrafts and 10,000 to 11,000 feet for larger aircrafts. Challenging the safety issue put forth by supporters, some opponents also referred to other experts who felt the runway length was perfectly safe at 7,000 feet. Presenting her views on the issue, Dana Hall referred to comments made by ALPA: "While we do not consider the Maui Airport unsafe, there are many improvements that could enhance the airport's margin of safety"³⁵ Another opponent made reference to the ALPA's comment that Kahului met the minimum standards and the Federal Aviation Administration's grading of Kahului as a safe airport. He also made reference to the numerous public hearings where the State DOT, the FAA, the Kahului Airport manager and two ALPA pilots indicated that it was safe to fly in and out of Kahului airport.

The testimony given by Maui Planning Department Director, Brian Miskae, about the Kahului airport being a necessary part of Maui's infrastructure and a tool for managing growth was challenged by some economic experts. Testifying on behalf of the opposition, Dick Mayer,

³⁵ *The Maui News*, May 29, 1992. pp. A11

described by Isaac Hall as “an expert witness on economics”³⁶ contradicted Brian Miskae’s testimony by challenging the State’s Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). He stated that the EIS was “flawed by its erroneous assumption” that a longer runway would have little effect on the number of tourists visiting Maui; and that it did not assess the socio-economic consequences of the large number of tourists and new residents. Consequences such as greater competition for goods and services, including housing, that would increase Maui’s already high cost of living. He was of the view that the airport was potentially the only way to manage growth.

The socio-economic status of some residents was used in support of the project. In statements made by construction and hotel workers’ representatives, references were made to the jobs that were expected to be created as a result of the runway extension. Most of the unemployed residents seemed to be supportive of the project. Jimmy Rust, chairman of the Maui Pueo Coalition, pleaded with Council members to get the “runway project moving” to stabilize Maui’s economy and “get thousands of Maui residents back to work.” He alleged that most educated, middle-class opponents of the project cared less about the plight of the unemployed or the “little guys” who “work in the dirt.”³⁷

Another aspect of this controversy was the emphasis placed on being a “local resident.” The two main groups involved in the controversy, the Maui Pueo Coalition and the Maui No Ka Oi Coalition both displayed their “local attributes.” For example, both coalitions are led by native Hawaiians and they both selected “Hawaiian” names. The “pueo” (Hawaiian owl) is Jimmy Rust’s

³⁶ *The Maui News*, July 30, 1993. pp. A.3 and A. 5

³⁷ Written Testimony by Jimmy Rust on behalf of the Maui Pueo Coalition to the Maui County Council, dated August 24, 1992. pp. 2.

family totem which "symbolizes wisdom and an ability to soar high and see the big picture." 38 Maui No Ka Oi, on the other hand, means "Maui is the best." Hawaiian chants and traditional gift-giving ceremonies were sometimes used by Maui No Ka Oi prior to important public hearings. Although all these features seemed to be related to being a "Hawaiian", they also emphasized the importance of being a "local resident."

Related to the above issue was the tension that existed between "newcomers" and "locals". Relatively affluent "newcomers" from Mainland U. S. were accused of opposing the project mainly because they wanted to preserve their idea of "paradise" although economic conditions kept worsening in Maui. The "newcomers" and developers were also accused of destroying Maui "for greed and profit." During some testimonies by opponents, some members of the Pueo Coalition held up cardboard signs saying "Go Home", sending a message to Maui residents who moved in from the mainland U. S. Regarding State-County decisions, the opposition made statements which indicated that the wishes and needs of Maui residents ought to prevail over those of State authorities.

In their attempts to legitimate their arguments, both supporters and opponents of the project made statements which seemed to cast doubts on the motives, expertise, etc. of opponents. For example, runway extension supporters' suggestions that opponents have a "moat mentality," that is, coming to Maui in search of "paradise" and now wanting to keep others out. Jimmy Rust, chairman of the Pueo Coalition had this to say:

But we have come to realize that runway opponents are, for the most part, people who don't mind slamming the door in the faces of those who are less privileged. Many of us

38 Written testimony by Jimmy Rust on behalf of the Maui Pueo Coalition to the Maui County Council, dated August 24, 1993. pp. 1

in the Pueo Coalition were born and raised here on Maui. All of us care about Maui's environment as much, if not more, than anybody else who calls Maui home.³⁹

The runway opponents were also referred to as "a group of Pseudo do-gooder activists." The two leading opponents of the runway extension, Isaac and Dana Hall, were described by supporters of the project as insincere and manipulative people who got involved in the airport issue only to make money. Pueo Coalition chairman Jimmy Rust said:

Isaac Hall and his Sierra Club friends want to control the future for Maui's working people. They are milking unsuspecting Mainlanders to fund their legal manoeuvring. ...The thousands of families represented by the Maui Pueo Coalition are sick at heart that there are people like attorney Isaac Hall and other Sierra Club attorneys who don't give a rip if Maui people have jobs or are at risk of losing their homes.⁴⁰

Opponents of the runway extension also made suggestions that the public had been "misled" or "misinformed " by pro-extension spokespersons. Attorney Isaac Hall said "all I've witnessed in public hearings is the greed of leaders of the tourist industry and construction industry."⁴¹ Another opponent had this to say in a letter written to the Maui News:

It angers me that the runway extension is being rammed down our throats by the circuitous machinations of the federal Department of Transportation, and that local unions, hotel associations and government officials are using scare tactics and economic voodoo to garner public support for a project which will forever change the face of this irreplaceable, unique paradise we call Maui - all for the sake of additional dollars in someone's pocket and short-term employment. Are we all really this short-sighted?⁴²

Another strategy of legitimization was the claim to represent the majority. Both the Pueo Coalition and the Maui No Ka Oi claimed to represent the interests of the majority of Maui residents

³⁹ Ibid, 1993. pp. 3

⁴⁰ Op. cit. pp. 2

⁴¹ *The Maui News*, October 8, 1992. pp. A1 and A14

⁴² *The Maui News*, September 18, 1992. pp. A13

and this claim was evident in the description of the groups. In the position statement of the Maui Pueo coalition it was stated:

The Maui Pueo Coalition represents 20 organizations with a combined membership of 16,000. It is formed to support the extension of Kahului Airport's main runway to 9,600 feet. The position of Maui Pueo coalition and majority of citizens on Maui is that a longer runway is essential to the long-term economic health of Maui, the safety of all passengers using the airport, the maintenance of a high quality of life and a clean environment.⁴³

Jimmy Rust emphasized this point when he said, "We represent more than sixteen thousand "people United for Economic Opportunities."⁴⁴

The Maui No Ka Oi also claimed to represent grass-roots groups who intended to preserve Maui by protecting it from "influxes of new residents, further strains on the island's infrastructure and from unwanted growth that endangers the island's rural lifestyle."⁴⁵ This claim of representing the majority was suspect as the results of the Maui poll showed otherwise. She tried to cope with the situation by downplaying the importance of the poll results; she interpreted the polls differently. Dana Hall said the results indicated that there was an "uninformed majority" of Maui residents who were influenced by an unprecedented public relations campaign by the Pueo Coalition. She also mentioned that the Pueo Coalition was "fairly successful with publicizing its point of view."⁴⁶ All these interpretations were given to maintain her claims to represent the majority of Maui residents and cast doubt on the intentions of the Pueo Coalition.

⁴³ Position Statement from the Maui Pueo Coalition to the Maui County Council, dated August 24, 1992. pp. 1

⁴⁴ Written Testimony by Jimmy Rust on behalf of the Maui Pueo Coalition to the Maui County Council, dated August 24, 1992. pp.1.

⁴⁵ *The Maui News*, September, 23, 1992. pp. A1 and A7.

⁴⁶ *The Maui News*, October 11, 1992. pp. A1-A4.

Symbolism and rituals also played a very important role in the social construction of this public issue. During one of the public hearings, the Maui No Ka Oi Coalition offered a Hawaiian chant and distributed woven coconut-frond baskets filled with fruits to Council members. An indication that they were in support of the Council's decision to maintain the restrictive language in the General Plan. The Pueo Coalition members, most wearing blue "96 in 96" Pueo Coalition baseball caps, also gave out spam and other canned goods for the homeless. The message was that they too could become homeless and hungry if the airport runway was not extended.

Another important aspect of the public character of this controversy is the multiple possibilities of resolution (Gusfield, 1981). Who and what institution has the right to do something about the issue, solving the problem related to the issue. Although the issue involved State officials, interest groups and numerous individuals, the Maui County Council (MCC) and its commissions and committees had the responsibility for solving the problem. As public officials, they command public attention, trust and influence(Gusfield, 1981). During the controversy, they were looked at and reported to by both supporters and opponents of the project. Although the two main coalitions involved in the controversy, the Maui Pueo Coalition and its leader Jimmy Rust and the Maui No Ka Oi Coalition and its leader Dana Hall were important, they did not represent everyone in Maui. The MCC represents the Maui community and, therefore, was responsible for the issue. They "owned" or controlled the issue and battled to retain ownership in the face of challenges from others.

It is interesting to note, however, that as the controversy intensified, the MCC began to lose control of the debate to the Pueo and Maui No Ka Oi coalitions. The leading spokespersons, Jimmy Rust, Isaac Hall and Dana Hall sought to influence the public's definition of the issue. They tried to

control the issue and command attention and trust from the public as a lever against Council. As mentioned earlier, an attempt to regain some measure of control was made by the Council when it decided to set up a committee that would include representatives from both coalitions. If compromises could be made by both parties, the controversy could be resolved and, hopefully, the two coalitions would fade into the background. This did not happen and so both parties, especially the Maui No Ka Oi coalition, continued to present their definitions on the issue and behaved as if the issue could only be resolved if they reached an agreement. Therefore, an issue which was of interest to all Maui residents was defined as one that could be resolved not by the County but by coalitions and groups which did not represent everyone in Maui. Even the joint State-Federal EIS being prepared has to be one that could be accepted by both coalitions before the proposed project could get under way. This indicates the importance of the coalitions in the resolution process.

Various conclusions could be drawn from the examination of this controversy. The controversy has brought into focus the importance of air transportation to Maui's visitor industry. Runway extension is related to air transportation and thus makes it a crucial issue in the general debate on development in Maui. Although runway extension may not increase the number of visitors on the island, it is indirectly related to tourism, as it enables jets, that transport visitors, to take-off and land safely. According to proponents, a longer runway would enable fully-laden and fully-fuelled jets to take-off easily and this would encourage more flights in Maui. This might help Maui's tourist industry to compete with other countries. A boom in the industry would mean more jobs and high income. The opposition, on the other hand, raised concerns relating to the negative impact an

international airport might have on Maui's environment and its people, impact such as the invasion of alien species, crime and noise in Maui.

The differences in opinion indicates how a particular issue could be perceived and defined differently by members of the same community. Whereas some residents think the project is needed for reasons already stated, others think it should not be encouraged. The differences in opinion have led to tension among Maui residents and the community is divided. There are tensions between "newcomers" and "long-time" residents; members of the Maui Pueo Coalition and the Maui No Ka Oi Coalition members; some County Council members and some residents, and even some State officials and Council members.

The controversy has illuminated the different perceptions people have regarding the future of Maui. Whereas some residents believe Maui would continue to benefit from tourism economically, others are of the view that it would continue to ruin its environment. Some even believe Maui may become like Waikiki where Japanese tourists seem to be in control of the island. The fear of Japanese domination in Maui is usually raised by people who want to preserve Maui's culture. Others saw the Japanese factor as a reflection of racism.

The fact that the issue has not yet been resolved, although approval for funds has been granted, seems like a triumph to opponents who are accused of playing delay tactics by opposing the State EIS. Until a joint State-Federal EIS is completed, the project cannot be started and the debate continues. The tension, anger and frustration brought about as a result of the proposal is, however, far from dissipating. Even if the new EIS is accepted by opponents and the project gets under way, this issue might be remembered as the most prolonged and controversial issue in the history of Maui.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a summary of the major issues identified in the four preceding chapters. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part deals with the five research questions identified in chapter one. The second part considers the utility of Gusfield's theoretical framework as applied in this study and indicates the scholarly significance of this thesis.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS REVISITED

1. Why did these particular issues become the focal points of public controversy?

Keola Hana Maui's (KHM) decision to expand its resort seemed like a normal thing for a developer to do with its property. The permission sought to develop an 18-hole golf course on its 201 acres of land could have been granted or denied by the MCC without resulting in any controversy. Similarly, the Kahului Airport runway extension proposal could have been approved or disapproved by the MCC without the issue resulting in controversy. Why then did these issues take on a public status? Why did they become issues of public interest and concern, and thus an arena for public action? This study demonstrates that the issues became matters of public controversy because they touched some strong feelings, raised deep anxieties of various kinds and forced people to articulate their own visions of Maui's future and confront alternative visions.

In its proposal, KHM indicated that the golf course was needed to boost the sagging occupancy rate and improve the financial situation of the hotel that employed about 400 Hana residents. Most

KHM employees became interested in the issue because to them, the golf course meant job security or job loss; it meant financial security for them and their families who depended on KHM for a living. They had to support the proposal to ensure their economic well-being. Other residents were more concerned about the impact the project might have on the "last Hawaiian place." In this study, it became evident that most residents of Hana see the town as one of the few remaining sanctuaries of the "old Hawaii" that has been lost on the other islands. They see it as a "unique" place which should be preserved and protected from further development. Consequently, such residents opposed the project. The fear that if developers prevailed in Hana, they could prevail elsewhere seemed to have been a major driving force behind the opposition. The opponents of the proposal were determined not to let developers have their way in the "last Hawaiian place" without putting up a strong fight.

Furthermore, the opponents feared the project, designed to attract Japanese tourists, could lead to Japanese domination in Hana. They feared Hana could become like Waikiki where there are more Japanese tourists than tourists from other countries. Opponents expressed their concerns on how this could ruin the rural charm of Hana and affect their way of life.

The Kahului Airport runway extension proposal was not just about ensuring the safe take-off and landing of wide-bodied jets, or to reduce traveling time and inconveniences. Nor was it simply about easing congestion at Honolulu airport. Above all, the extension was primarily connected with the goal of giving a boost to tourism, agricultural, and construction industries, which employed many Maui residents. A boost in these industries could mean job creation and job security. Residents who were dependent on these industries for their survival supported the project.

Supporters of the project saw it as a means of enabling Maui to effectively compete with other countries for tourists, especially from Japan.

The project was also about environmental degradation and negative socio-cultural impacts. Residents concerned about the negative impact of the project and its potential to ensure Japanese domination in Maui opposed it.

Although the two issues are different with regards to projects and their locations in Maui, there are some similarities. Residents who supported the golf course proposal in Hana and the runway extension in Kahului were concerned about the tourist industry, their jobs and financial security. Conversely, those opposed to the projects were concerned about preserving Maui's scenic attractions and culture, as well as preventing Maui from becoming like Waikiki where Japanese tourists seem to be controlling the economy.

2. What were the main factors precipitating these public controversies?

The proposals to construct a golf course in Hana and extend the runway at Kahului airport triggered controversies which affected Maui residents in different ways. In the case of Hana, KHM indicated that the golf course was to help keep the hotel in business. The hotel, which had low occupancy rates, needed something more to attract tourists, especially from Japan, to Hana. The proposal was supported mainly by company employees whose jobs were potentially threatened by the continuing economic decline. Other residents were more concerned not about jobs and the tourists industry, which they did not deny were important, but about the damage that could be done to Hana's environment, historic sites and the way of life of Hana residents. The opposition seemed to have put into perspective the importance of Hana as the "last Hawaiian place" and the need to

preserve its historic and archaeological sites, as well as the rural lifestyle which Hana residents had enjoyed over the years.

The Kahului Airport runway extension debate also started with the proposal by the State Department of Transportation. State officials thought an extended runway was needed for the safe landing and take-off of fully-laden jets to Maui. It was also to ease the congestion at Honolulu airport and to reduce traveling time, and the inconveniences related to stopovers. The project was to help boost the tourist industry and create more jobs. As tourism is the very backbone of Maui's economy, the project was perceived by mainly people in the tourist industry as very important. Others supported the project because of its economic importance. Another major factor that influenced some residents to support the project was the recession, which saw a lot of people unemployed and in difficult financial situations. The opposition, on the other hand, related the issue to the possible invasion of alien plant and animal species and the impact they might have on Maui's ecosystem and way of life of Maui residents.

In both cases, although the proposed projects started the controversies, other factors relating to the tourist industry, job security, financial stability, and the recession influenced some residents' decisions to support the proposed projects. The environmental, cultural and social impacts of the proposed projects also influenced some residents to oppose the project. The differences in opinion among residents thus intensified the controversies. Although the proposed projects were entirely different and concerned two different communities, both supporters and opponents in both cases were concerned about similar issues.

3. Who were the main actors and why did they play central roles in the controversies?

The controversies involved numerous groups and individuals who, as mentioned earlier, either supported or opposed the projects. There were also public bodies and officials who played significant roles in the controversies. The Maui County Council became involved in the issue because, as the legislative body of the Maui County, it had the mandate to either grant or refuse KHM's request. Because the issue related to planning and land use in Maui, the County Council referred it to the Maui Planning Commission (MPC) to decide whether KHM could develop a golf course on the land. To deliberate on the issue, the MPC met as the Maui Planning and Land Use Committee (PLC). The PLC's interest in the issue seemed to be grounded in the fact that they had to ensure proper planning and land use in the County. The Hana Advisory Committee to the MPC also played a role in the controversy by advising the MPC on the possible impact of the project on Hana residents.

The proposed project brought into focus the importance of ancient sites and Hawaiian culture in Hana. The Maui County Cultural Resources Commission (MCCRC), interested in preserving ancient sites as well as "a way of life" in Hana, urged the MCC to protect the indigenous aspects of Hana and its residents by preventing the construction of the golf course.

Apart from the public officials identified in this issue, other groups also played central roles in the controversy. The MCCRC and the MPC organized numerous public hearings on the proposal. Among the various groups which articulated their position on the issue through submissions and letters were the Hana Community Association (HCA), the Kaeleku Property Owners Association, the Hana Citizens Advisory Committee, and the Kauiki Council, a coalition formed in 1984 to promote self-determination among Hana Hawaiians. In addition, several environmentalists group

such as Maui Tomorrow and Friends of Hana Coast opposed the project. These groups were interested in preserving Hana as the “last Hawaiian place.” Conversely, KHM employees supported the project on the basis of securing their jobs.

With respect to the runway extension at Kahului airport, the State Department of Transportation made the proposal to the Maui County Council. The proposal required an amendment to the Maui County General Plan and a change in zoning and land use pattern. This, therefore, fell under the jurisdiction of the State Land Use Commission, the Maui Planning Department (MPD) and the Maui Planning Commission (MPC). As part of their responsibilities, the MPD and MPC reviewed the proposed capital improvements project, amended the General plan and granted the land zoning request of State officials. The Maui Economic Development Board, Inc. (MEDB) were also involved in the controversy as the issue was related to economic development in Maui.

Numerous business and labor groups supported the proposed project to secure their jobs and ensure more job creation. They included the Maui Visitors Bureau, Maui Hotel Association, the Maui Chamber of Commerce, the Airline Pilots Association, Maui Farm Bureau, Laborers International Union, Hawaii Carpenters Union and Mason’s Union and citizens groups such as Keia La Maui (Maui Today). The business and labor groups later formed the Maui Pueo Coalition headed by Jimmy Rust, a native Hawaiian and former bulldozer operator.

Other residents were opposed to the proposed project and they included citizens groups and associations such as Maui Tomorrow, Maui Air Traffic Association, Sierra Club Hawaii Chapter, Hui Ala Nui O Makena. The environmental and citizens groups also formed the Maui No Ka Oi coalition (Maui is the Best), headed by Dana Hall. Isaac Hall, an attorney and husband of Dana Hall, was also opposed to the project. Numerous individuals such as realtors, professors, biologists,

politicians, lawyers, pilots, farmers, construction workers, and company employees were also involved in the controversy.

Although both controversies involved otherwise disparate groups and individuals, they all seemed to be organized around the issue of what Maui ought to be and what it could become in future. The similarities and differences in opinion with regard to tourist-related development projects in Maui seemed to serve as the points of commonality that unites these groups.

The study reveals a division between two groups of people who held radically different visions of what Maui ought to be and what it can become in future. The proposals were perceived differently and given different meanings by residents. The differences in perception and meaning resulted in the controversies, conflicts and tensions among residents on the island.

4. What were the main themes and arguments emerging in the course of the controversies?

Numerous arguments were presented by both supporters and opponents of the two proposed projects. The arguments revolved around specific themes such as a) economic impact (employment/unemployment, tourism, construction, agriculture, and fishing); b) environmental impact (air/water/noise pollution, alien plant/animal species, and aesthetics); c) social impact (ethnic relations, locals v strangers, crime, drugs); d) cultural impact (lifestyle, rural ambience, erosion of Hawaiian identity); e) political implications (State-County-Community relations, foreign control v local control); and f) operational impact and safety (take-off/landing safety, accidents/emergency medical response). The arguments were usually presented at public hearings organized under the auspices of official bodies such as the Maui County Council and in written testimonies to the Maui

County Council, the Maui Planning and Land Use Committee and the Maui Planning and Economic Development Committee.

Supporters of the proposed golf course in Hana were mainly concerned about the positive economic impact of the project. They argued that the golf course was needed to increase occupancy rates at Hotel Hana Maui and keep the hotel in business. The economic stability and financial health of KHM was necessary to preserve Hana as “ a unique Hawaiian Place” because the company was the major employer of Hana residents. Most of the supporters argued that the project was needed to provide more job opportunities for Hana residents and secure jobs for those who were already working for KHM. They were also concerned that, should the hotel close down, there would be unemployment which could result in the exodus of young adults in search of employment opportunities elsewhere.

The opposition, however, felt that Hana could be preserved as a unique place by preventing any further development. They were, therefore, against the idea of a golf course in Hana. They argued that the project would have negative environmental and cultural impacts. They also asserted that the use of chemicals on the golf course was a potential source of water pollution that could threaten Hana’s fish stock. The fear of damage, destruction and displacement of natural resources (plant, animal and human) was also raised frequently by opponents.

Another issue of concern to those opposed to the project was that it might open avenues to further development and urbanization of Hana, a situation that could affect the rural lifestyle enjoyed by Hana residents. They seemed to be interested not only in the preservation of the beautiful scenery of Hana and of some of its historic sites, but also in preserving a way of life.

Stressing the importance of the Kahului airport runway extension project, supporters argued that the project was needed for safety reasons, to boost the tourist industry and also to provide employment opportunities for Maui residents. The extension was needed for the safe landing and take-off of fully-laden wide bodied jets to Maui and to encourage international flights. The internationalization of the airport was to help Maui compete with other destination areas for tourists, thus boosting the tourism industry. Direct flights to and from Maui were also needed for the transportation of agricultural produce from Maui. The majority of the residents who supported the project argued that it would protect and provide employment for numerous Maui residents who were either unemployed or seeking full-time jobs.

On the other side of the debate, opponents raised concerns about the negative environmental and cultural impact of the proposed project. Most opponents feared alien plant and animal species might be introduced to Maui on international flights. The alien species such as snakes and bugs would subsequently have negative impact on Maui's environment and the lifestyle of its residents. An internationalization of Kahului airport, they argued, would bring more wide bodied jets to Maui and this might cause air and noise pollution. Over-crowding was another concern raised by the opposition. They contended that increased tourism could lead to over-crowding, traffic congestion and infrastructural strain. Crime and the use of drugs were seen as some of the social vices that were associated with an international airport. There was also the fear of Japanese tourists dominating Maui, as in Waikiki. Some opponents also argued that further development was not needed in Maui and that growth ought to be controlled.

Although the two case studies involved two different communities and concerned two different proposed projects, there are some similarities in the arguments raised by both supporters and

opponents during the course of the controversies. Supporters of both the golf course and the runway extension proposals seemed to be more concerned about the economic impact of the project. They were interested in the project's potential to boost the tourism industry, the life blood of Maui. Employment opportunities and financial security seemed to be the two major issues that influenced some residents decision to support the proposed projects. Opponents, on the other hand, perceived the proposed projects differently. They were more concerned about the physical environment and the lifestyle of residents. The degradation of the beautiful and serene environment of both Hana and Maui was of major concern to most of the opponents of the proposed projects.

The controversies revealed a heightening of local fear of Japanese economic domination and the impact Japanese tourists could have on Maui's culture. In both the Hana and the Kahului airport case studies, opponents knowing of the impact Japanese tourists have had on Waikiki, were concerned that Maui would become another Waikiki. They were interested in preserving the Hawaiian way of life. The fear expressed about Japanese tourists was seen by some supporters as a reflection of racism toward the Japanese.

Although the supporters and opponents of both projects included relative "newcomers" in Maui, most of the newcomers were accused by supporters of having what they termed as "moat mentality." They were accused of opposing the projects because they wanted to preserve their idea of paradise, the charm and beauty of the island which attracted them in the first place.

Despite the worsening economic conditions on the island, the relatively affluent "newcomers" from Mainland U. S. were accused of caring little about the welfare of the working people on the island. Tension, thus, existed between "newcomers" and "locals."

Among the political implications of the controversies were the tensions that mounted between some State officials, some Maui County Council members and some residents. While State officials were accused by some Council members as having their priorities misplaced by extending the runway, some residents accused some members of the MCC of accepting campaign contributions from developers. Lawsuits filed against some Council members involved in both issues further heightened the tension among the contending parties.

The controversies revealed that, whereas supporters of the two projects were interested in the positive economic impact of the projects, opponents were concerned about the negative environmental and socio-cultural impact. Supporters were interested in jobs and financial stability while opponents were concerned about environmental degradation, crime, drugs, overcrowding, and Japanese domination.

5. What strategies and techniques were used by the main actors in trying to have their views prevail?

Different strategies and techniques were used by the main actors as they struggled to define the potential outcomes of the projects. Supporters of the proposals sought to highlight their potential benefits and to prevent the definition of tourist-related development projects as being problematic and something that public officials ought to “do something about.” In both issues, the ideas and activities of the parties involved in the controversies emerged in the public arena in an organized fashion. The issues had cognitive dimensions to them. Convinced of the truth of the issues, both supporters and opponents of the proposed development projects presented arguments which seemed to suggest that the facts of the issues should be persuasive to any reasonable person. They presented

arguments which they believed would enable residents to perceive the projects as good or bad and, therefore needed to be started or abandoned. For example, supporters of the golf course in Hana were convinced that the project was needed for Hotel Hana Maui to be economically viable, a condition needed for employees of the hotel to maintain their jobs and to ensure their financial security. Opponents, however, believed that the project would cause more harm than good and would, in particular, have negative impact on Hana's culture and environment. As a result, they tried to persuade other residents to oppose the project which they feared might alter the "last Hawaiian place."

Similarly, arguments presented by supporters and opponents of the runway extension in Maui also had cognitive dimension. Both parties presented arguments on what they considered to be the "truths" about the proposed project. Supporters were convinced that the project would help boost not only the tourist industry but also the agricultural and construction industries. They were also convinced that the project would provide jobs, facilitate the easy transportation of agricultural products and ensure public safety. Opponents were, however, convinced that the project would not only cause alien plant and animal species to invade Maui but also have negative socio-cultural impact on Maui residents.

In both case studies, supporters and opponents of the proposed golf course and the runway extension felt the facts regarding the issues, as presented in their arguments, should be persuasive to or not challenged by any reasonable person. The moral dimensions of the issues related to how residents perceived and evaluated the potential outcomes of the projects. Those who perceived the projects as important fought to have them started. Conversely, those who thought the projects would result in more harm than good, also fought to prevent them. With regard to the golf course

issues, opponents accused some Council members of accepting campaign money from KHM. They argued that it was morally wrong to do that as they might favor the developer. Supporters of the runway extension argued that it was morally wrong not to support a project that might prevent accidents.

Residents on both side of the debate adopted specific strategies of legitimation and de-legitimation. These included the utilization of scientific knowledge and expertise, claims of adherence to democratic principles, reference to their socio-economic status and local privileges, claims of representing the interest of the majority and future generations, as well as the denigration of opponents. For example, in justifying their positions, both supporters and opponents of the golf course proposal claimed to be seeking the well-being of future generations in that they were representing the interest of the young and the unborn children of Hana. The project meant financial security not only for Keola employees but, as supporters claimed, also for their children and their children's children. Opponents also argued that they had a duty to preserve the few historic and archaeological sites left in Hana for their children and generations yet to come. Some supporters also claimed that the democratic rights of KHM were being violated, and that KHM had the right to develop a golf course on a piece of property it owned. Thus, KHM and its supporters represented the issue as one of fairness and liberty with respect to property rights.

In addition, supporters of the project, most of whom were KHM employees used their socio-economic status as a strategy for legitimation. As employees who could potentially lose their jobs if KHM went out of business, they saw a justification in supporting the project. They portrayed "newcomers" and "rich retired people" as opposing the project because they cared little about the well-being of locals who were likely to lose their jobs if KHM had to shut down. Although relative

“newcomers” and “outsiders” were accused of opposing the project because of their desire to preserve the beautiful and serene atmosphere of Hana which attracted them, it was quite evident that such people were found on both sides of the debate. During the controversy, both supporters and opponents stressed the importance of being a local resident, with special ties to the community so as to be actively involved in the issues, either for or against the projects. In presenting their arguments, both parties indicated in one way or the other the importance of Hana as their place of birth or where they were raised. Those who were seen by locals as “outsiders” also tried to show their strong local ties by making reference to their having been married to a local resident or having lived in Hana for a number of years. Stressing the importance of being a local resident, both supporters and opponents indicated that they were interested in preserving a place they called home.

In trying to have their views prevail, both parties made statements which seemed to cast doubt on the importance or validity of the motives, morals, and expertise of their opponents. Supporters of the golf course accused their opponents of being anti-development, and as such of being selfish and greedy. The opponents, in turn, questioned the financial situation of KHM and accused it of misrepresenting facts about its financial condition. They also challenged the validity of KHM’s financial plan and portrayed the supporters of the proposal as greedy people who were misguiding and blinding Council members through their “fancy mouthwork.”

With respect to the Kahului airport runway extension, residents on both sides of the debate adopted specific strategies to legitimize their position. Two federal biologists raised concerns about the invasion of alien plant and animal species in Maui if Kahului airport was opened to international flights. They argued that an invasion could drastically alter Maui’s ecosystem and residents.

Opponents of the project later used the federal biologists' statements to justify their argument that the project ought to be abandoned.

From a professional standpoint, representatives of the Airline Pilots Association (ALPA), argued that restricting runway length affects the safety of travelers and flight crew. They were, therefore, in favor of a longer runway for Kahului airport. Some supporters made reference to these statements when they were also arguing in support of the runway extension. Opponents also used aspects of comments made by the ALPA to challenge the safety issue raised by supporters. The opposition argued that representatives of the FAA and the ALPA were of the view that it was safe to fly in and out of Kahului airport.

Supporters of the proposed project used their socio-economic status to stress the importance of the project. Claiming to represent the working people of Maui, the leader of the Maui Pueo coalition, Jimmy Rust referred to himself as one of the "little guys" he was representing. He also claimed to be speaking on behalf of the unemployed people of Maui who were seeking employment. Both groups claimed to represent the majority of Maui residents. The leader of the Maui Pueo Coalition indicated in the coalition's position statement that the coalition represented more than 16, 000 people. The leader of the Maui No Ka Oi Coalition also claimed to represent grass-roots groups in Maui.

In the debate, emphasis was placed on being a Hawaiian. The two main coalitions involved in the controversy displayed their local attributes by selecting leaders who are native Hawaiians and by adopting "Hawaiian" names. Related to this was the emphasis placed on being a "local resident." Although some supporters of the proposed project were "newcomers", the relatively affluent

“newcomers” from Main land U. S. were mainly accused for opposing the proposed project because they wanted to preserve what they saw as “paradise.”

With regards to State-County decisions on the issue, some Council members asserted that they were not prepared for additional growth in Maui and, therefore, urged State officials to abort their proposal. Some opponents supported this idea by stressing that the wishes and needs of locals ought to prevail over that of the State. They asserted that, as residents of Maui, they ought to have the final word on issues that are likely to affect every aspect of their lives and not an imposition of State will.

Supporters of the runway proposal suggested that opponents had a “moat mentality”, i.e., having found “paradise” in Maui, they were trying to keep others out. Some members of the Maui Pueo Coalition portrayed the leaders of the Maui No Ka Oi Coalition as insincere, manipulative and interested only in satisfying their own selfish desires. Opponents also accused supporters of misleading the public. They also accused leaders of the tourist and construction industries of being greedy.

There was a common trend in the controversies surrounding the golf course proposal in Hana and the Kahului airport runway extension in Maui. For example, both issues had both cognitive and moral dimensions. Specific strategies, notably claims of representing the interests of majority and future generations, the importance of being a local, as well as the socio-economic status of contending parties and the denigration of their opponents were used to legitimate or de-legitimate the positions taken. All these strategies and techniques emerged as the groups and institutions, including government officials, competed and struggled over “ownership” of the issue.

The political dimension of the issues was manifested in the conflict and debate over the fixation of responsibility. Related to the multiple possibilities of resolution of the issues (Gusfield, 1981) was the idea of who was responsible for doing something about the controversies. Considering the fact that the Maui County Council (MCC) and its commissions and committees represented Maui residents, it was apparent that they had the responsibility for solving the problems related to the issues. Both supporters and opponents of the proposed projects were looking up to Council members to do something about the issues. At public hearings and in written letters, residents appealed to the MCC to either support or oppose the proposed projects.

It was evident in the Hana issue that the MCC had total control of the issue. Through meetings held by its committees and commissions and the numerous public hearings held, the MCC was able to resolve the issue by approving the proposal subject to some twenty one conditions. This was not the case in the runway issue. There seemed to be a struggle for "ownership" of the issue in that the MCC and the two main coalitions involved in the controversy, the Maui Pueo Coalition and the Maui No Ka Oi Coalition, tried to control the issue. The MCC had the responsibility to do something about the issue, but as the controversy intensified, they began losing control of the debate. The leaders of the two coalitions sought to control the public's definition of the issue and behaved as if the problems related to the issue could be resolved by both groups reaching an agreement. The MCC battled to retain ownership of the issue even as they faced challenges from others. Although the MCC seemed to have regained some measure of control of the issue that was far from being resolved, the two coalitions continue to influence the public's definition of the issues.

Symbolism and ritual played a very important role in the airport runway extension controversy. During some of the numerous public hearings, Hawaiian chants and traditional gift-giving

ceremonies were used by members of the Maui No Ka Oi Coalition to express the importance of being a Hawaiian. In showing their support for the restrictive language in the General Plan, the coalition members offered woven coconut-frond filled with fruits to Council members. The Maui Pueo Coalition, on the other hand, distributed spam and other canned goods to the homeless, sending out the message that they too could become homeless if the runway was not extended. The language used by both supporters and opponents during the debates revealed how important, or unnecessary the proposed projects were. By asserting that hundreds of people might lose their jobs if the golf course was not constructed or the runway was not extended, supporters of the projects sought to demonstrate that they were more concerned about the plight of the working people than in mere unemployment statistics.

CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

The social constructionist framework, as this study demonstrates, provide a useful analytical framework for understanding the social and political basis of the problems related to the proposed projects and how the controversies were socially constructed. The proposed projects were perceived and defined differently by residents on the island of Maui. While some residents argued on the positive economic impact of the projects, other raised concerns on the negative environmental and socio-cultural impacts. The struggle to define and prevent the definition of the issues, as well as the claims and rejection of claims of representing the interest of residents, resulted in the controversies, conflicts and tensions among residents. This study also demonstrates that the rhetoric of inclusion and exclusion, as well as the rituals ceremonial and dramatic qualities of public actions (Gusfield, 1981) play an important role in any analyses of public issues.

It is acknowledged that the research method used in this study - the review of secondary materials instead of direct field research - may seem inadequate to fully examine the complex nature of these controversial issues. Not everything relating to the issues was reported in newspapers or presented in public position statements and the insights that could come from direct observation are lacking. Despite such limitations, this exploratory study has ventured into an uncharted territory, touching on a subject largely neglected in tourism research. It goes beyond the usual studies on "host-guest" relations by focusing on the dynamics of relations among hosts, occasioned and structured by tourism, which themselves also influence "host-guest" relations.

In analyzing the impact of tourism in destination areas, most writers on tourism treat residents as homogenous groups reacting to tourists and the tourist industry in either a positive or negative way. Doxey (1976) and Butler (1980) assert that residents' reactions and attitudes to tourists and the tourist industry depend on the stage of development of the industry. In their studies, they argued that residents, at the inception stage of tourism, will be excited about new development projects and support such projects. But as the industry grows and development projects increase, residents may become irritated and oppose further development. The resistance may lead to conflicts, tensions and controversies. Although their works provide valuable insight into host-guest relations at each stage of tourism development, they fail to acknowledge the heterogeneous nature of residents and their varying motives and concerns; they tend to classify residents as a fairly homogenous group, which depending on the stage of tourism development, reacts in different ways to tourists and the tourist industry.

This study marks a significant departure from the works of Doxey and Butler. The study has paid attention to the heterogeneous nature of residents in a tourist destination; it explains the often

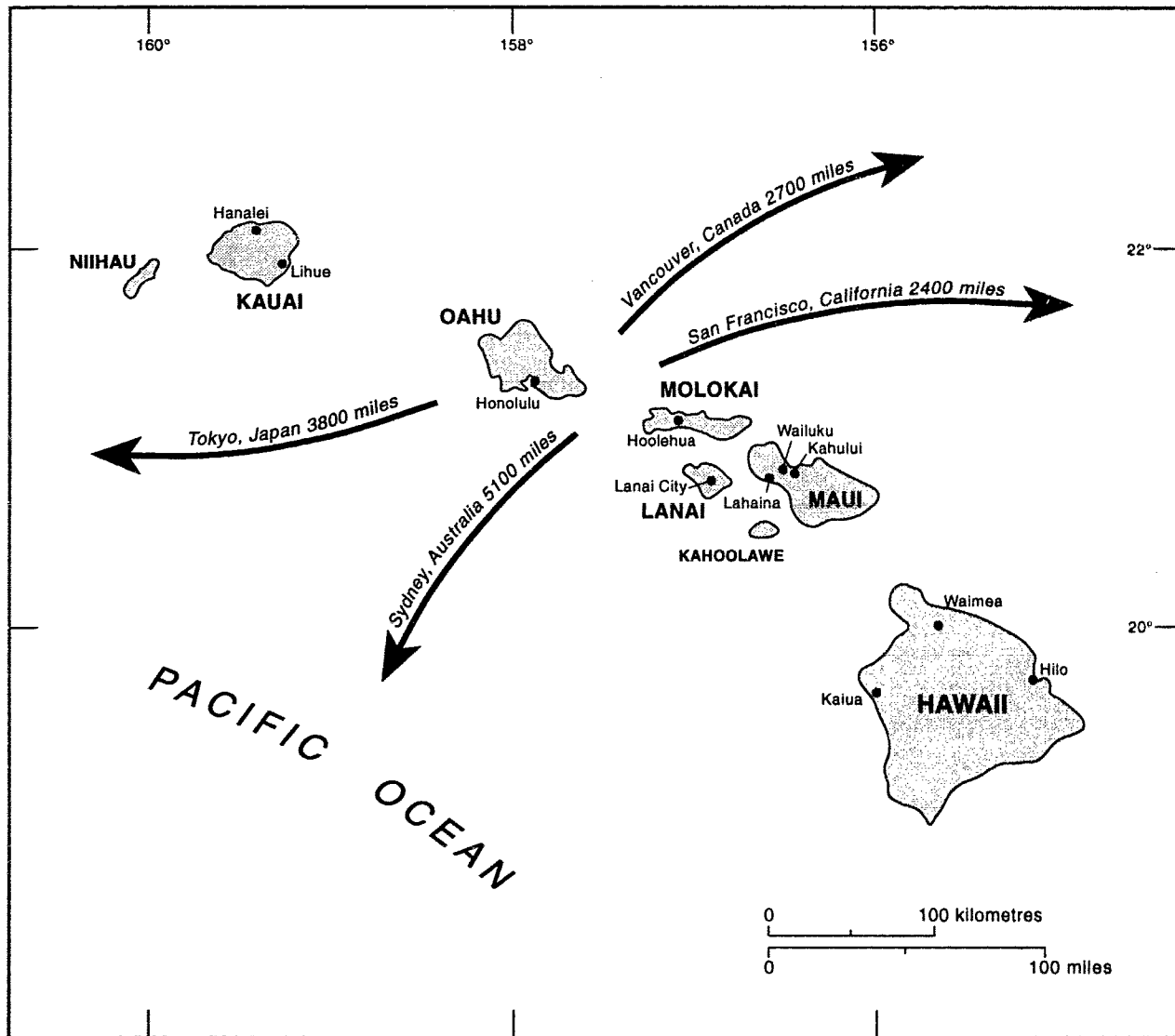
widely divergent interests, views and perspectives among residents on tourism development.

Further, given that there has not been any detailed academic study of Maui tourism to date, the thesis serves as a breakthrough in that area by providing the basis for a more comprehensive study of tourism and public controversies on the island of Maui. Future research in this area could focus on the role of the media in constructing such controversies.

While the thesis has touched at various points on the impact of tourism on indigenous Hawaiian culture, this is clearly an area demanding special attention in any future research. Tourism has not been the only factor in the decline of this culture, but it has obviously played a major role in the second half of this century. In many respects this role has been extremely exploitative. The most obvious manifestation of this is the commercial exploitation of Hawaiian culture for touristic purposes, a form of cultural appropriation and degradation over which native Hawaiian have little control. Less obvious, perhaps, is the exploitation of the theme of Hawaiian cultural preservation to justify or rationalize the “moat mentality” of many residents of Maui.

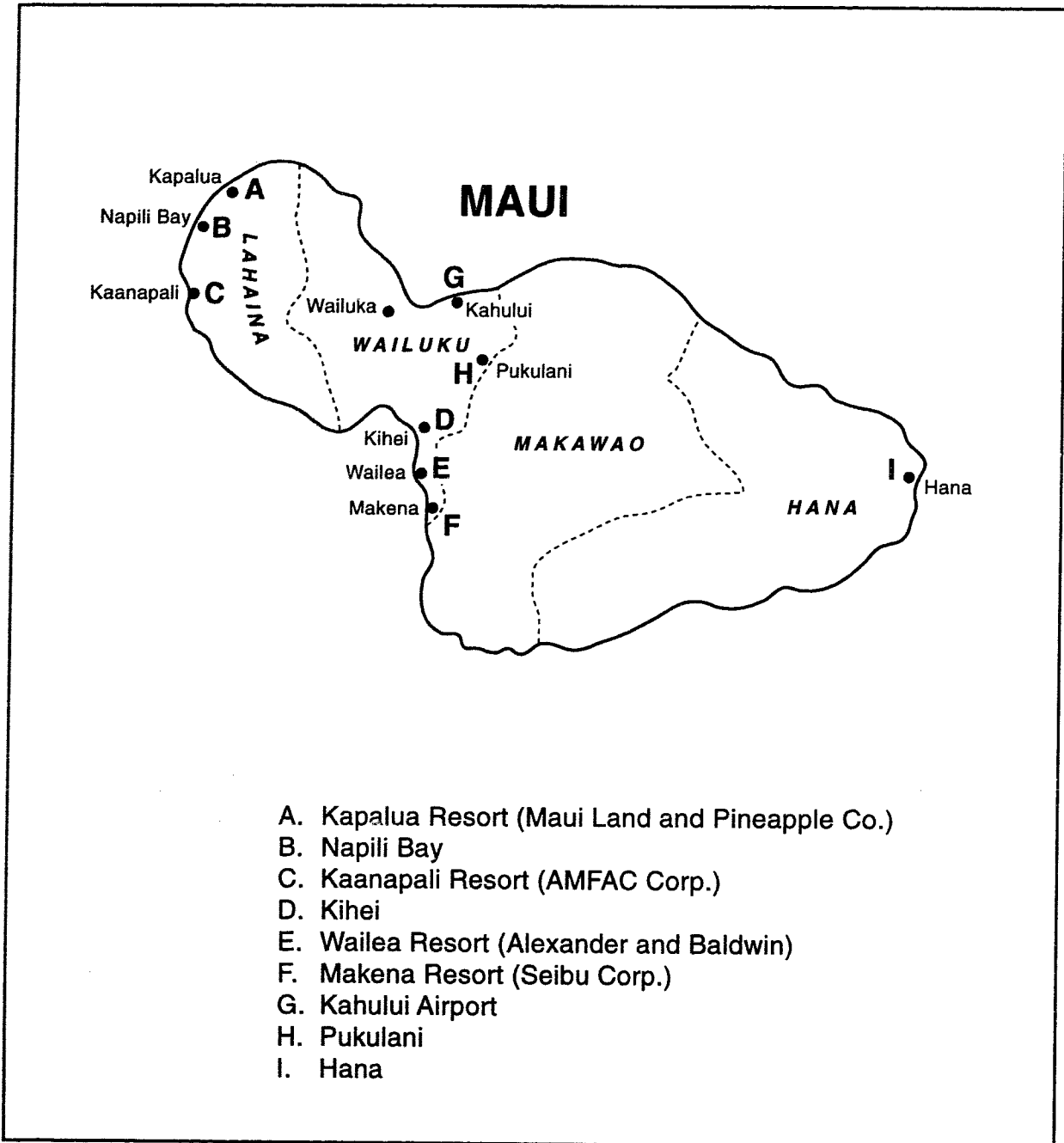
What, then, do native Hawaiians make of the situation in which they find themselves? What does it mean to be a native Hawaiian living in Maui today? That there is no single answer to these questions is suggested by the divergent views expressed by native Hawaiians involved in the two controversies examined in the thesis. This in itself indicates that tourism may be a highly divisive issue for them, one which divides families, friends and neighbours into opposing camps and seriously threatens the fabric of social relations. To fully understand the implications of tourism for native Hawaiians would require a very different form of research than that employed for this thesis. Whether or not this researcher can do such research at some time in the future, it is certainly a task which needs to be engaged in while there is still time.

APPENDIX I. The Major Hawaiian Islands



Source: cf Farrell B.H. 1974. *Western Geographical Services Vol. 10: 186*

APPENDIX II. Major Towns, Resorts and Roads in Maui



Source: Maui County Data Book, December 1993.

APPENDIX III

FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYZING CORE DATA

A. ORIENTATION ANALYSIS OF DATA FILES (Newspaper reports)

1. Inventory of Major Themes:

- a) Summary description
- b) Time of emergence
- c) Introduced by
- d) Developed by

2. Inventory of Arguments:

- a) Summary description
- b) Time of emergence
- c) Introduced by
- d) Developed by
- e) Challenged by

3. Public Forums Mentioned:

- a) Description
- b) Auspices
- c) Purposes

4. Significant Events:

- a) Description
- b) Date
- c) Significance

5. Official Documents Mentioned:

- a) Description
- b) Potential Value for the Research

B. ANALYSIS OF POSITION STATEMENTS

1. Classification of Major Themes:

Theme 1. Economic Impacts (employment/unemployment; tourism industry; construction industry; agriculture; fishing.)

Theme 2. Environmental Impacts (air/water pollution; noise; alien plant/animal species; aesthetics.)

Theme 3. Social Impacts (ethnic relations; local v strangers; crime; drugs.)

Theme 4. Cultural Impacts (lifestyle; urban ambience; erosion of Hawaiian identity.)

Theme 5. Political Implications (State-County-Community relations; foreign control v local control.)

Theme 6. Operational Impacts and Safety (take-off/landing safety, accidents/emergency medical response.)

C. ANALYSIS OF THEME ARGUMENTS

1. Summary of argument

2. Orientation (pro-development, anti-development, neutral/unclear).

3. Proponent status/affiliation.

4. When introduced

5. Subsequent versions.

6. Cognitive dimensions.

7. Moral dimensions.

8. Legitimation:

- a) Scientific knowledge, expertise
- b) Professional competence, expertise
- c) Democratic principles
- d) Legal principles
- e) Socio-economic status
- f) Local privilege
- g) Denigration of opponents

APPENDIX IV

APPROVAL CONDITIONS OF THE HANA GOLF COURSE

Pursuant to Section 19. 510. 050 of the Maui County Code, the zoning established for the parcels of land shall be subject to the following conditions:

1. That an open space easement around the golf course of 1500 feet shall be preserved and maintained by the Declarant. The easement may be used for agricultural purposes and shall not be subdivided into agricultural lots for the construction of farm or luxury dwelling.
2. That the Declarant, to the extent possible, shall avoid or limit the use of chemicals on its golf course and shall seek to comply with the environmental management requirements of the Audubon Society of New York, or a local equivalent, to receive a "green certification."
3. That the Declarant shall be in compliance with the Department of Health's "Twelve (12) Conditions Applicable to All New Golf Course Development," and any subsequent amendments thereto.
4. The the Declarant's Integrated Pest Management Plan and Golf Course Management Plan shall be submitted to the Department of Water Supply and the Department of Health for review.
5. That the Declarant shall submit an annual report to the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Health on the types and quantities of all chemicals applied to the golf course area.
6. That the Declarant shall perform base-line monitoring of water quality to determine chemical levels prior to the issuance of grading permits. Such monitoring shall include tests for all chemicals currently approved for use on turf in Hawaii, except for such chemicals as provided in condition 7, below.
7. That during construction and after completion of the golf course, the Declarant shall monitor ground water for all chemicals applied to the golf course. Results shall be submitted to the Department of Water Supply and the Department of Health. Exceptions may be allowed by the Department of Water Supply and the Department of Health when the chemical applications are applied in low levels or poses a vanishing low risk of contamination.
8. If chemicals are found in the Department of Water Supply's wells, which can be reasonably attributed to the application of chemicals to the golf course, the Declarant shall fund any replacement or mitigation costs to the satisfaction of the

Director of the Department of Water Supply. The level of contamination requiring well replacement or mitigation shall be determined by the Director of Water Supply, in consultation with the Declarant, and based on generally accepted safe drinking water standards of the Department of Health.

9. That the Declarant shall also monitor root zone, in-stream and near-shore waters for chemicals applied to the golf course. The results shall be submitted to the Department of Water Supply, Department of Health and Department of Land and Natural Resources. Stream and near-shore monitoring shall include evaluation of chemical concentrations in tissues of marine organisms.
10. That a mitigation plan for potential contamination of streams, near-shore waters and marine organisms shall be approved by the Department of Health and the Department of Land and Natural Resources. A copy of the approved mitigation plan shall be submitted to the Planning Department.
11. That a detailed archaeological mitigation plan (data recovery and interim preservation) shall be submitted to the Maui County Cultural Resources Commission for review and to State Historic Preservation Office for approval prior to implementation. The preservation plan shall include sufficient buffer zones around preserved sites and protection measures during construction work. The State Historic Preservation Office must verify in writing, the successful execution of the data recovery and interim preservation plans prior to land altering development activity in the area of the sites. A site preservation plan, including long-term maintenance and site interpretation shall be submitted to the Maui County Cultural Resources Commission for review and the State Historic Preservation Office for approval, and implemented prior to the opening of the golf course for public play. The preservation plans shall address those sites within the project boundary, as well as other sites within close proximity to the golf course, in particular the physical integrity of the Kaoahaepali heiau.
12. That the Declarant shall submit the grading and construction plans to the Department of Planning, the State Historic Preservation Office, and the Maui County Cultural Resources Commission prior to submitting the application for grading permits and building permits.
13. That the Declarant shall have a qualified archaeologist on-site during all grading activities. A monitoring report at the completion of the fieldwork shall be submitted to the State Historic Preservation Office.
14. That the Declarant shall preserve the physical form of the historic railroad bed, provided that where railroad bed must be crossed, its form may be preserved by earthen fill.

15. That the Declarant shall donate 15 acres of land to the Hana Affordable Housing and Community Development Corporation prior to the issuance of the certificate of occupancy for the golf course clubhouse.
16. That the Declarant shall provide alternate routing in the form of perpetual easements for traditional hunting access, cultural access or recreational access that may be impacted by the project.
17. That the Declarants shall offer the residents of the County substantially reduced rates (green fees and cart fees) not to exceed 50% of the published rate.
18. That the Declarant shall implement a vocational training program, which may include on the job training and correspondence courses, to assist Hana residents to have the opportunity to acquire jobs requiring special abilities in golf course maintenace and management.
19. That the Declarant shall submit the architectural plans for the golf course clubhouse to the Urban Design Review Board for review and comment.
20. That the Declarant shall submit a list of plant material to be used for golf course landscaping to the Department of Agriculture for approval.
21. That the Declarant shall establish a nonprofit corporation or trust initially comprised of Hana residents who have lived, or have family that lived in Hana prior to 1945, and shall convey to this trust: a) land title to the archaeological and cultural sites shown on the map attached hereto, and b) the access easements to be established by the Declarant for Hana residents, pursuant to Condition 16.

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