Globalization and Social Change on Lāna'i
A Qualitative Case Study

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Before the 1990s, Lāna'i was a rural, plantation-style community of approximately 2,700 people who for many years existed apart from modern-day Hawai'i. Since the introduction of pineapple in 1920, Lāna'i has been an extremely stable community with little change in its culture and environment. A unique subculture evolved from a multiethnic, Pacific Islander and Asian American, island population and its one-crop economy, built on the primary production of pineapple. In 1985, however, the transnational, California-based Flexi-van Corporation merged with the island's owner, Castle & Cooke, and assumed ownership of 98% of the island. Soon after the merger, this global corporation announced its plans to phase out pineapple and develop tourism.

The development of two world-class resorts became part of a large project that includes two golf courses, 350 acres (775 units) of luxury residential development, affordable homes, service facilities, and new commercial areas. The island's population is projected to increase dramatically in the next decade – with newcomers from markedly different cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds settling on Lāna'i.

Not long after the announcement that Castle & Cooke (since renamed Dole Foods) planned to proceed with their resort development, agriculture began phasing out and pineapple workers were retrained in hotel operations. The first resort opened in 1988; the second, in late 1990. Golf courses were developed in areas adjacent to the two hotels. The Company received approval to develop approximately 350 luxury housing units in one resort district and eventually gained approval for an additional 425 luxury housing units in the other.

Although build-out rates have been slow, the potential remains for a substantial increase in the amount of housing and the transformation of the social structure of the entire community. The luxury nature of these housing

developments has implications for demographic shifts in this predominantly working-class community. A large influx of workers came from off-island, and a majority of managerial positions went to individuals from the American continent. Thus, the current situation in Lāna'i provides an ideal natural laboratory setting to study the global impacts of major development on a rural Pacific community.

This article is based on a study intended to offer a better understanding of the relationship between interdependent social and economic systems.[1] It measures changes in quality of life, which may be determined through a composite examination of economic development, lifestyle change, and subsequent changes in community well-being. In an era where industrialization and globalization impinge upon rural areas at unprecedented rates, it is critical to accurately predict the environmental and human impacts of these activities. This type of knowledge provides a basis for designing preventive strategies and responsible policy decisions regarding the course and rate of future economic development and urbanization.

The Conceptual Framework of Social Change

Tourism

Economic shifts in Hawai'i primarily convert industries from agribusiness to tourism-related activities. The social impacts typically associated with tourism and related growth include: changes in types of employment, increased incomes, and increased costs of living (Frederick 1993; Liu 1986; Liu and Var 1983; Summers and Branch 1984); changes in the quantity and quality of natural resources and related use patterns (Kammas and Salehi-Esfahani 1992; Matsuoka and McGregor 1994; Matsuoka et al. 1994); a need for increased infrastructure to keep pace with population growth (Matsuoka 1992; Obsborne et al. 1984); changes in the organization of communities and loss of community-based control in decision making (Brown et al. 1989; Cohen 1984; Gill and Shera 1990; Oliver-Smith et al. 1989; Wilkinson 1984); and cultural impacts (Gehrmann 1994; Marion 1990). Other less tangible, yet critical, aspects related to *quality of life* include psychological adjustment (Husaini and Neff 1987; Kamisasa 1983), identity and spirituality (Nason 1984; Olsen et al. 1985).

An aspect of tourism that has received increased attention in decision-making forums is the complex relationship between economic development and community and family cohesion. Although there has been limited research in this area, results from existing Hawai'i-based studies suggest a correlation between tourism development and an increased incidence of crime in resort communities (Fujii and Mak 1979; Fukunaga 1977), problems in conjugal relationships (e.g., divorce) stemming from changing gender roles such as higher employment rates for women, and increased rates of child abuse and neglect (Abreu 1987).

The disempowered (e.g., economically disadvantaged, ethnic minorities) may be especially vulnerable to stressors generated by such recent economic transformations. Those subjected to changing physical environments, changing interpersonal relationships, changing jobs, etc., are predisposed to stress and must adopt new patterns of coping and adaptation to avoid health and mental health problems (Moos 1976). Persons are exposed to social changes when they move to a new community setting, or when change occurs in the community in which they reside. The latter condition is perhaps more stressful, especially when changes are involuntary, undesirable, and/or based on unilateral decision-making.

Human Ecology

Human ecology represents a way to conceptualize exchange between systems or spheres within which people function (Berry 1979; Germain 1979; Hawley 1986; Schnaiberg 1994). Economic and environmental shifts set in motion changes in existing human ecology systems, including the community, family, and individual levels. We need to determine the scope of issues to be considered and assessed, including the conditions behind the etiology of social and psychological problems, local adaptation processes and coping mechanisms. We can apply a human ecological analysis to understanding the person-environment congruity or *goodness-of-fit*, and assess how social change impacts people differently, depending on their cultural perspective and psychological constitution. Such an analysis provides an important framework with which to study social change in rural locales.

The ecological model is primarily concerned with the basic interaction between units of people and their physical environmental setting (Berry 1979).

It includes an analysis of factors such as the economic *exploitative pattern* typically used (e.g., means for sustenance), the *settlement pattern* of the group (e.g., location and duration of a community throughout the economic cycle), and the *demographic distribution* of the group (e.g., relative gender, age, and ethnic composition of community through time).

The model suggests that the nature of social organization and stratification vary according to factors such as residence stability and the sedentary nature of the community. People residing in sedentary communities are often characterized as having traits associated with a heightened sensitivity and responsiveness towards community members. These adaptive behavioral traits tend to require sensitivity to, and reconciliation of differences with, long-term neighbors. Conversely, highly transient people are more likely to move away when social interaction becomes problematic, suggesting a lower social sensitivity and responsiveness to this general community. Conflicts arise when these two different means of interacting and problem-solving are present in the same community.

This conceptual framework has been applied to the study of communities to assess the impact of social, economic, and environmental change (Matsuoka et al. 1996; Matsuoka et al. 1994; Minerbi et al. 1993; Sancar and Koop 1995). It is generally used to assess systemic change that results from shifts that originate in any particular realm in the human ecology. Here the integrity of a sociocultural or community ecosystem is seen as a primary determinant of quality of life. Residential continuity is a measure of cultural continuity, and the persistence of customs and life-ways is associated with a sense of place.

Communities

Mobility or rapid social change looses the bonds of social attachment and feelings of unity within a community (England and Albrecht 1984; Sell and Zube 1986). As new people are drawn into an area and local residents migrate away or die, communities undergo fundamental changes and even dissolution. England and Albrecht (1984) studied the impact of energy development on rural communities experiencing rapid, boomtown growth. They found that rapid growth disrupted existing social ties of the community, and that as time passed, new ties were eventually established and new residents began to adapt to the community environment. The changes, however, often resulted

in new social orders or hierarchies, and created divisions between long-time residents and newcomers.

Sell and Zube (1986) contended that if the past was lost with the proprietors of folklore and tradition, a subsequent loss of community identity and attachment would occur. They also reported in their study that long-time farmers were more sensitive to social change than newcomers, who were unaware of previous community conditions.

Work Shifts and Family Welfare

Numerous studies have examined the relationship between parental work schedules and the psychological status of families (e.g., Bronfenbrenner and Crouter 1982; Hoffman 1983; Staines and Pleck 1983). These studies found that irregular patterns in work days have a negative impact on the quality of family life, as reflected in reduced time spent in family activities, higher levels of perceived work-family interference, and problems in family adjustment. Other aspects of work schedules also influence family stress. For example, both the number of hours worked and shift work were associated with more work-family conflict.

Staines and Pleck (1983) found that the degree of control that a person had over his/her work schedule was a critical, moderating factor. Some measure of control over one's work schedule tended to reduce the negative impact of irregular and excessive working hours. Regarding the joint effects of both parents' work schedules, a wife's schedule conflict tended to be exacerbated when her husband worked weekends, whereas his conflicts were enhanced when she worked an irregular shift during the week. The results of this study suggest differential effects of employment according to the type and level of one's position. In single-industry communities where the majority of workers are employed by one entity, workers are generally confined to particular working-class jobs, with little control over such things as work schedule and pay-rates. Obviously, a low to moderate salary, paired with a high-cost economic environment, encourages dual-worker households. In Hawai'i, a high cost-of-living, paired with service-oriented occupations, creates an imbalance between work and family time; that is, parents spend a disproportionately high amount of time at work.

A Study of Social Change in Lāna'i

In our study of the quality of life under social change in the Lāna'i community, we worked with focus groups. Focus group encounters provide qualitative data that is particularly effective in understanding why people think or feel the way they do (Krueger 1988). The nuances of verbal expression, especially critical in Pacific Asian cultures, can be appreciated by integrating tacit forms of knowledge (intuitive, felt knowledge) into interpretive procedures. Focus groups can help explain how people regard an experience, idea, or event. They provide an opportunity for the participants to discuss, share, and provide information relevant to each person's perceptions, feelings, and reactions to issues and events.

Approximately eleven focus groups were held during each phase of a longitudinal three-phase study.[2] The groups represented virtually every major constituency on the island and often had a pre-existing association or organization that had already discussed many issues related to the development. Thus, bringing people to the table for discussion did not require a selection of individuals, but a request to each group's leadership.

Our study consisted of three phases, spread out over three-year periods, over a period of six years. The data analysis was based on identifying theme frequencies over time (the three phases) and across groups. In each study phase, a broad spectrum of groups were identified and recruited.

Participation from a cross-section of constituencies was critical to comparing results across groups, and providing an integrated approach to understanding the themes/issues that emerged from discussions. Groups that participated in at least one phase of the research included the following:

- Native Hawaiian groups
- Filipino Community Association
- Japanese American Hongwanji (Buddhist Church)
- Small Business
- Large Business
- Human Services
- Educators
- Police

- Emergency Services
- High School Youth
- Churches (various Christian denominations)

Focus group participants were guided by a trained facilitator through a series of semi-structured questions. The open-ended questions were designed to allow the focus groups to identify issues and themes on their own. Generally speaking, constraints were not placed on the amount of time spent on any given topic, although efforts were made to keep the discussions relevant to the questions. The criteria for identifying themes were based on discussion points that involved three or more participants, for a duration of three or more minutes.

The focus group discussions generated a multitude of themes pertaining to the social impact of resort development. Some themes remained constant throughout the phases, some themes appeared early and then disappeared, while others appeared only in the later phases. There was generally a lack of issues/themes appearing in the first study phase; some themes were mentioned more frequently in subsequent phases. The theme of *loss of community cohesion* occurred more frequently as the study progressed. One might assume that as time progressed, there were higher incidences or stronger sentiments related to particular social issues and change, possible due to the delayed effects of development.

Focus Group Themes

The following discussion expounds on the major themes that emerged from the focus groups. Each theme was assigned a number representing its level of significance, which reflected the number of times it was discussed by focus groups over the three phases (3: high (5 or more times); 2: medium (3 to 4 times); 1: low (2 times)).

Families were at risk and changing (3) – Time-series analysis indicated that concerns about family welfare became more severe during the later phases of research, or as the impacts of development progressed or became more obvious. Of primary concern was how changing work schedules and multiple jobs affected family dynamics, and the degree to which parents could supervise and influence the development of their children. Family time and

activities had declined, weekends and holidays were no longer sacrosanct for family activities and gatherings, older siblings were raising younger siblings, and larger community institutions were not able to reinforce, or compensate, for declining family cohesion.

Loss of community cohesion (3) – There was a general feeling that the sense of closeness between residents was diminishing. Prior to the resort development, residents knew everyone in the community and there was a high degree of predictability that came from growing up together and lifestyle regimentation (e.g., work and leisure). Residents thought that changes in these fundamental aspects of community created a loss of cohesion. The economic shift also meant the loss of critical congregating places (e.g., the labor yard), where locals spent time sharing news, commiserating, and expressing support. The general values of the community were not the same. Feeling powerless in the face of the Castle & Cooke, people adapted by becoming more self-centered and less involved in community affairs.

Increased substance abuse (3) – Initially, the problem was attributed to the increased presence of construction workers on the island. The constant travel between islands and the transient lifestyle was conducive to what was perceived as widespread drug use among construction workers. Illicit drugs were more readily available to Lāna'i residents who came into contact with the workers. However, some believed that the drug issue/problem on Lāna'i was there prior to economic development. Even as the number of construction workers declined after hotel construction, a wave of crystal-meth-amphetamine or "ice" use struck the Islands, including Lāna'i. It was also suggested that the ice epidemic and other substance use was related to greater stress levels in the community.

Increased crime (3) – Depending on the group, crime took on different meanings. The Company expressed strong concerns about the growing incidence of vandalism against property (e.g., fences, burning of hay, Company cars). Other groups were concerned about the increased incidence of theft and burglary. Homes and cars were being burglarized at higher rates since the resort development. Police reported more juvenile and drug-related crimes. Youth were dealing with boredom by getting into more trouble. The unstable economy, unemployment, and increased stress led to higher rates

of substance abuse and associated crime. Older people were concerned about personal safety in terms of newcomers with no ties to the island being prone to commit crimes, and with the growing number of reckless drivers.

Increased stress (3) – Increased stress levels were sensed within the community. Many residents reported working two or even three jobs because of sporadic hours at the hotels due to low occupancy and cost-of-living increases (e.g., mortgages, utility costs, college tuition for youth). Stress was associated with scheduling multiple jobs, getting from job to job on time, and having to balance work and family responsibilities. Time at work detracted from family time, and children were becoming more independent. Changing family roles and structure (compounded by work stress) predisposed family members to intergenerational conflict, domestic problems including marital discord, and substance and alcohol abuse as a way of coping with stress.

Company controls Lāna'i (3) – This theme pertained to major decisions made by top Company officials, with little input from the community. In a single-industry town like Lāna'i, all major decisions would ultimately affect all residents. The Company was influential in the political arena and capable of swaying the votes of politicians. Constant threats of layoffs and even total closure was critical in leveraging support from labor unions and employees. Employees were reticent about publicly criticizing the Company for fear of losing their jobs. There was also mention of the Company trying to buy support for their proposed luxury home development by meeting with various constituencies and offering financial support in the form of grants in exchange for favorable testimony on this matter.

Company broke promise to hire locals for supervisory positions (3) – The Company promised to prepare locals (through community college courses and training) for supervisory and management positions. This program won support of locals, who were concerned about ethnic divisions between management and service personnel. The actual lack of advancement of locals up the employment ladder, however, was discouraging to those who developed expectations regarding employment equity. Most of the top managerial positions were held by personnel transplanted from the American continent (i.e., Caucasians), which led to resentment and poor morale among some workers.

Greater disparity between the rich and the working class (3) – This theme related to concerns about the style and intent of economic development. The resorts were designed to lure society's "upper crust," who could afford to stay at the most expensive hotels in Hawai'i (Mānele Bay Hotel and Kō'ele Lodge). The luxury homes would encourage this class of people to reside on the island, thus creating a marked contrast between wealthy residents and the general population of working-class locals. Sensitivity to this issue was especially evident among long-time residents, who recalled living under similar circumstances as late as 30 to 40 years ago. Social cleavages separating the rich and working poor were very pronounced during this period. Locals were forbidden to travel beyond prescribed geographic boundaries within the town limits. Long-time residents feared the return of this type of exclusivity that the resorts and luxury homes would bring.

Need more health and social services (3) – This was generally a concern among those who provided pubic services. The concern was that Lāna'i was already the last in Maui County to receive resources and personnel, because it had the smallest population and the least amount of political leverage. Many services/programs were provided by off-island professionals who lacked commitment to the island. Services also tended to be irregular and insufficient. Some services/professionals were spread thin by their caseload demands, and this led to burn-out among providers. Insufficient services were exacerbated by increased social issues/problems related to increased stress and population growth.

Growing job insecurity/threat of layoffs (3) – These real concerns came from the fact that numerous workers had recently lost their jobs; and there were threats of more layoffs if the Company did not receive approval for more luxury housing developments. The resort economy was not faring well amid an economic recession, and further development in terms of luxury homes was seen by the Company as the only way to recoup its investment. Resort employees were encouraged to support development initiatives as a way of saving their jobs.

Development leads to changing values/behaviors (2) – This concern pertained to overall changes observed including lifestyle and pace, the infusion of newcomers from the continent who espoused different behaviors, a decline in family values, growing significance of peers among children, age

segregation, loss of social cohesion, an increase in individuality and materialism, increased anonymity and crime, competition over diminishing resources, and stress and coping mechanisms related to cultural and environmental shifts.

Children were becoming materialistic (2) – This sentiment stemmed from parents compensating for their absence by giving their children money. Families and children also had access to more amenities, because incomes were higher and more variable with the new economy. Children were, furthermore, being exposed to the "upper crust" of society – wealthy people and celebrities visiting their island. Thus, there was a concern that children were being exposed to the wrong values and role models.

Need more programs for youth (2) – This theme came up primarily in comparisons between the prior economy of pineapple and the current resorts. Under pineapple, youth found summer employment in the fields. Many believed that this laborious work cultivated a strong work ethic and camaraderie among the island's youth. The lack of employment opportunities, combined with decline in family activities, created an activity void for youth. There were not enough youth-oriented programs on the island to compensate for these changes.

High teacher turnover rate (2) – This concern stemmed from the pattern of temporary placement of junior or inexperienced teachers who, following college, began their teaching careers on Lāna'i, and left after only a few years. The brief nature of their stay implied a lack of commitment to the school and community, left students without consistency in adult models and leaders, and left administrators engaged in an annual search for new teachers. Some obstacles to recruiting teachers included the remote nature of the island and insufficient teacher housing.

School administrators were non-supportive (2) – The general consensus among participants was that the public school administrators had their own agenda, relied on favoritism over a democratic process, and were generally non-supportive of teacher suggestions on how to improve the island's educational system (e.g., curriculum, better utilize resources). A related issue raised was how administrators supported luxury home development (in exchange for Company grants) without consenting teachers.

Developer was insensitive to Hawaiian culture (1) – The Hawaiian group believed that the developer (Company) was exploiting their culture for commercial purposes. The Hawaiians believed that the resort planners and management had a superficial understanding of their culture, yet wanted to integrate Hawaiian themes and symbols into the hotel decor and guest activities. New hotel management from the continent and their spouses had little or no understanding of Hawaiian or local values and behaviors, and were at times offensive. Hawaiians believed that too many questions were asked, and asked inappropriately without regard for the true meaning of the information and the context that it came from.

Youth working in hotels lost interest in school (1) – This concern involved high school students assigned to work evenings, which interfered with their ability to complete homework assignments or study for exams. Gainful employment also meant students had greater purchasing power and were becoming more materialistic. Adults felt that having greater access to materials at this age was instant gratification, which interfered with students' long-range educational goals and preparing for college.

Master plan needed for Lāna'i (1) – This concern was related to piece-meal development, without a general or master plan for the entire island. Problems associated with piece-meal planning were an incomprehensible picture of the social and environmental outcomes, human resource needs and availability, and land-use approvals and redesignations.

Big chain stores would wipe out local businesses (1) – Small-business owners were concerned about the prospect of large, chain-store operations coming to Lāna'i and taking over consumer markets. Larger operations would be able to reduce costs (e.g., reduce shipping, wholesale mark-up costs) and thus present a major threat to existing businesses. The value of a locally owned business sector was seen in terms of money staying in the community, greater sensitivity to employees, and more personalized services to consumers.

Development brought loss of local culture (1) – This concern stemmed from the process of acculturation accelerated by the social changes associated with economic development. New socialization forces were influencing the values of youth (e.g., exposure to rich people, MTV and rap music, declining significance of family). People were less available to help each

other, and cultural institutions/organizations were becoming more difficult to maintain. Cultural values which stipulated respect and care for elders, altruism, and collectivity were becoming scarce.

Out-migration of Lānaʻi's youth/no jobs (1) – This theme was mentioned by Japanese American participants, most of whom were elderly and had offspring who had moved from Lānaʻi. They had encouraged their children to go to college and find jobs that did not involve menial labor. The resort economy did not pose new opportunities for repatriation of their offspring, because most had established themselves professionally and were not poised for work in tourism.

Elderly issues/concerns (1) – This theme was brought up by Japanese Americans. The evolution of the Lānaʻi community and other social factors (e.g., out-migration of youth, widowhood) led to varying degrees of social isolation among this cohort. Some salient concerns were health issues and services, and the continuation of cultural traditions and institutions. A critical strength of the Japanese Americans was the high degree of cohesion cultivated over a lifetime of shared experiences, including work, religious worship, and leisure activities.

Need more police protection (1) – Sentiment about more and better police protection seemed to correlate with stronger concerns about crime. Small-business owners were concerned about petty theft stemming from newcomers to Lānaʻi who were more anonymous and had little social connection to established residents. In regards to the increasing drug use, residents apparently knew who was using and selling drugs, and could not understand why the police did not intervene. Japanese Americans, who were almost invariably senior citizens, also expressed concerns about crime and inadequate police protection. This is a very common concern among seniors, often the victims of crime.

Hawaiian community was becoming less cohesive (1) – Concerns were expressed about breakdowns in the transmission of cultural values through changes in the family, the pervasive influence of non-Hawaiians and non-locals, and economic stressors placed on individuals antithetic to community building. Throughout the history of the island, communities were displaced, traditional economies replaced, and the immigration of foreigners left Hawai-

ians in the minority. Community-based efforts were underway to restore Hawaiian culture (e.g., hula, canoe-paddling, archaeological groups) and cultivate greater cohesion and pride in the community.

Increased traffic (1) – Resorts brought greater numbers of residents and tourists, more service and construction vehicles, greater prosperity and purchasing power, and a higher need for automobiles on the island (commuting to hotels). The island's existing road system was reaching the limits of its carrying capacity, especially during peak traffic hours. Traffic congestion was a growing concern as well as changing driving habits (e.g., speeding, impolite drivers, driving under the influence), which made roadways less safe.

Filipino community was close-knit (1) – Filipinos stated that their community was basically an aggregate of extended families who had immigrated to Hawai'i at varying points in history. Families sponsored their relatives from the Philippines. Family ties and social bonding stemming from a common heritage contributed to a strong Filipino community. The close-knit quality was especially evident during events such as weddings, birthday and graduation parties, Barrio Fiesta, and other cultural activities. Filipinos pooled their resources and labor in order to accomplish tasks which benefited families and bred a strong sense of community.

Children were not being supported (1) – Concerns were expressed about the welfare of children, who were often the forgotten group amid social change. Work schedules and multiple jobs meant a high degree of parent absenteeism. Children were seen as vulnerable, because there was little compensation for general decline in family and community support. Concerns were expressed about the need for greater guidance and support provided by positive adult role models, the transmission of spiritual and moral beliefs, and the provision of basic emotional support to meet the needs of developing children.

Residents could not speak out/oppose the Company (1) – There was a belief that residents, especially those who worked for the Company, could not speak out and criticize the Company without some form of reprisal. This sentiment was based on incidences where those who had spoken out in the past placed themselves in jeopardy of losing their jobs, leases, homes, etc. Some believed that all employees were expected to support Company

initiatives despite whatever personal beliefs they might have. There was also mention of the practice of individuals who wrote and delivered anonymous testimony to decision-makers in order to avoid any repercussions.

Small business sales were flat, not improved (1) – Small business owners anticipated the resort economy would stimulate growth in sales and profits. More workers would be moving to the island, and tourists would shop at their stores and frequent their restaurants. Service-related businesses assumed that as the Company expanded its tourist operations on the island, this would lead to greater demand for services. This type of trickledown economy, however, was not occurring. The resorts were losing millions of dollars due to low occupancy. The island's overall population had increased, but so had food services for employees at the hotels. The hotels had also opened gift shops and restaurants that detracted from sales for local businesses.

Concerns about limited water supply (1) – The primary issue was whether potable water from the island's high level aquifer could sustain the current amount of usage, as well as the planned expansion of the resort district. The Company argued that there was ample water on the island to sustain the resorts, golf courses, planned luxury homes, etc. Others (e.g., the Japanese American group) argued that based on their experience, water was in short supply and there would be problems in the future, especially in the event of a drought.

Race/ethnic problems between locals and haole (Caucasians)[3] (1) – There was a general belief that locals held an inherent grudge against haole, because of experiences in the past and cultural differences. This negative sentiment was aggravated by employee rank divisions according to ethnicity (haole had better jobs) and the influx of new residents and visitors from continental United States. Filipinos believed that they were misunderstood by haole managers who were unable to read the subtle behavioral cues of Filipino workers. The Company believed that ethnically related beliefs and conflicts were unjustified in most cases, perhaps justified in others, and that efforts were needed to improve dichotomies between haole and locals. They discussed the need to better orient newcomers to the island.

Increased repatriation of Lāna'i people (1) – There was the belief that former Lāna'i residents, mainly those who grew up and left as young adults, were coming back to work in the hotels. The new economy was offering better

jobs than the plantation did, and expatriates were lured back by new opportunities and the chance to be reunited with family. The Company had initially tried to recruit former Lanaians to work in the hotels.

Overcrowded beaches (Hulopo‘e) (1) – There was a feeling that Hulopo‘e Beach (the island's primary recreation area) was becoming more crowded and less desirable because of the number of tourists who were frequenting it. In the days prior to the resort, locals felt a sense of ownership over Hulopo‘e. There were now beach amenities provided for hotel guests, more pollution, and an unspoken line of demarcation separating tourists from locals.

Globalization of Lāna‘i: Impact on Humans and the Environment

Families on Lāna‘i attempt to adapt to external changes spurred by the economy. Moving from a product-oriented, agricultural economy to a service one requiring interaction with customers meant exposure to activities and work schedule changes that created stressors. Virtually every family in this single-industry community was affected by the economic shift.

Children, particularly adolescents, were at risk because of changing family patterns and absentee parents who were preoccupied with working multiple jobs and making ends meet. A decline in family support is usually negatively correlated with an increase in extracurricular activities, antisocial behaviors, and substance abuse among adolescents (Smart et al. 1990; Shilts 1991). During the period under which Lāna‘i was undergoing economic changes, police informants reported an increase in property crime, substance abuse, and gang-like activities by juveniles. A growing number of reports of domestic violence were explained by declines in the quality of conjugal relationships, parents compensating for loss of control over children's behavior by resorting to corporal punishment, and increased work-related stress paired with a lack of appropriate strategies for stress reduction.

It is important to note that not all families were affected in the same way by economic changes. Against the backdrop of changing family dynamics and roles, close, tight-knit families maintaining their integrity served to buffer members against extenuating circumstances. Cohesive families may also serve other functions that enhance individual coping. For example, Voydanoff

and Donnelly (1989) noted that families who are emotionally close serve as a resource for social support, as well as an institution that provides people with appropriate problem-solving skills.

But, because of the degree and multitude of changes, family cohesion was more difficult to maintain, required a stronger commitment (i.e. more time and energy), and was not supported by larger institutional structures such as cultural activities and the church. Parents who were better at time management, who had resources enabling them to provide activities for their children that compensated for reductions in parental involvement, or who were not affected by the changing economy, because they were not employed by the resorts, generally fared better.

Not examined was whether family conditions were exacerbated by economic stressors, thus resulting in negative changes. It is quite possible that pathologies existed in some families well before these socioeconomic changes.

Community Cohesion

The Lāna'i community had been relatively stable over the past several decades (Office of State Planning 1989). The exceedingly high number of close friendships reported, reflected a strong sense of social cohesion and identity (Matsuoka and Shera 1990). Cohesion was also reflected in the large number of guests invited to weddings, graduation parties, baby lū'au, baptismals, and other celebrations. Newcomers to Lāna'i are moving into what is a very stable community, however, the projected increase in population to approximately twice its current size (Office of State Planning 1989) will have a major effect on how individuals view their community.[4]

Resort communities in Hawai'i have drawn large numbers of people from other places, particularly the North American continent. The infusion of new people may be viewed as a positive means for expanding the cultural base of the community. On the other hand, a large influx of newcomers who possess radically different values will severely affect the established social fabric of the community, causing a considerable degree of polarization. The latter was, in fact, the case on Lāna'i, as outsiders assumed the best and highest-paying jobs under the new economy, and higher positions of power.

Fewer hours outside of the work place also meant a marked reduction in civic and voluntary activities. Community-based organizations and institutions suffered from reduced participation by members because of conflicts with their work schedules. Churches, the cornerstone of community cohesion, lamented a decline in membership attendance. Over time, a general decline in community participation will bring a loss of identity associated with sharing a common locale, and a sense of mutuality derived from working towards common goals.

Crime and Substance Abuse

An important indicator of community adjustment and adaptation to changing socioeconomic conditions is crime (Fujii and Mak 1979; Pizam 1982). The crime rate on Lāna'i increased substantially between 1991 and 1995 (63% in total offenses; Maui Police Department 1995). With the exception of 1993, relatively constant incremental vises occurred in crime rates each year. In terms of specific types of offenses, the categories of burglary and larceny, assault, vandalism, and disorderly conduct increased significantly. According to Lāna'i drug counselors, many of these offenses were drug related. The year 1995 was particularly high in reported criminal offenses. Our study's limited time frame of five years makes it difficult to determine any long-term trends, but the data represent a significant increase in reported crime on Lāna'i during this period.

It is difficult to determine correlational patterns between population increases and crime rates. The population on Lāna'i did increase with the arrival of new workers and their dependents, but crime rates appear to be disproportionately higher than the rate at which the community has grown. Increased crime on Lāna'i is consistent with the experiences of other resort areas, especially those including major problems such as larcenies at beach parks and other visitor attractions, property crimes, drug-related offenses, and assaults (Community Resources 1990). Some increases in crime could be directly attributed to activity surrounding the hotels. The Company voiced concerns about vandalism of Company property and embezzlement of revenues and resources by employees.

A growing community-wide concern is personal safety and security. Reports of larceny or burglary indirectly affect the whole community in terms

of residents taking precautionary measures. In a community which historically has had little crime, people were inclined to keep their cars and homes unlocked. Whether real or distorted the threats, residents for the first time have expended energy securing their possessions. The arrival of new people or strangers to the island is likely to enhance feelings of distrust and concern for personal safety. For example, a recent, alleged rape incident has had profound effects on the behaviors and attitudes of women on the island.

Structure of Unequal Employment

A frequent, consistent theme derived from focus groups was the hierarchy of employment that favored non-residents over residents in managerial or salaried positions. Residents expressed strong concerns regarding broken promises to hire local residents for supervisory positions. Training programs that were developed (and supported by the Company) to prepare residents for management roles did not amount to much, as graduates did not secure the jobs they had expected. While the Company argued in favor of "meritocracy," it did little to dispel public mistrust generated by their failure to follow through on these commitments. A dual labor market characterized Lāna'i's tourist economy, where a disproportionately large number of relatively well-paying managerial positions were filled by newcomers and the majority of low paying and service positions were occupied by Lāna'i residents (Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation 1993).

Conclusion

Land-use policies based on a clearer understanding of social and cultural impacts are essential to preserving life ways in rural Hawai'i communities. It is incumbent upon planners and decision-makers to realize the relationship between socioeconomic change, social problems, and environmental degradation – or efforts to address them will chronically lag behind rates of economic development.

There have not been systematic attempts to monitor Lāna'i's social conditions since the completion of the last phase of this study. Since 1997, efforts have been made to diversify the economy through the promotion of small-scale, privately operated farms. Such activity, however, is impeded by a diminishing water supply, unstable markets, and logistical issues related to

transporting goods to wholesalers. Attempts to obtain fallow agricultural lands to develop affordable housing under the auspices of Hawaiian Homelands are still being negotiated. While some residents who qualify for leases are content with acquiring residential lots, others wish to obtain large tracts of pastoral lands in order to develop alternative economies. The availability of water is again debated; legal issues over the breaching of a water agreement made during land use hearings continue to rest with the courts. A case is pending before the State Supreme Court over the illegal use of potable water from the high-level aquifer by the Company.

As we have learned from this study, externally driven transnational development of this style and magnitude leads to unanticipated and inadvertent social problems. The history of Lāna'i illustrates the etiology of social problems induced by global change. Although definite benefits are gained from development (e.g., employment, tax revenues), resultant social problems affect the well-being of family and communal life, problems which cannot be adequately addressed through an *ad hoc* human service approach. New strategies in community building are needed to counter and replace large-scale development, and encourage economic activity that will deter development propositions from the outside. Community-based initiatives in economic development and social planning may serve a critical preventative function while maintaining a preferred island lifestyle.

Land use and economic development policies need to be reexamined in accordance with new knowledge pertaining to the negative social and cultural impacts of globalization. More research in this area is needed to fill an information gap and dispel commonly held notions that employment is synonymous with quality of life in rural communities. Economics and employment are critical variables that need to be considered amid other factors that constitute our notions of quality of life. Public policy with measures that require mitigation to reduᵒce the social impacts of development are essential and in the best interests of corporations. Mandates also need to be monitored and enforced.

Once we are able to identify and understand the significance of the vast array of attributes existing within rural Pacific communities, then we can use this knowledge to empower communities, alter the results of processes of globalization, and engage in responsible, community-based planning for the future.❖

Notes

1. This research was supported by National Institute of Mental Health grant 5R 24 MH 49387-01-02-03.

2. Each study phase involved focus groups, a community survey, a high school survey, and, for phase one only, an alumni survey.

3. The term "haole" refers to Caucasians, generally those from the continent. Sometimes there are distinctions made between haole born in the islands and those who immigrated.

4. At the end of the third phase of the study, the estimated Lānaʻi population was 2,700. The difficulty in estimating population size was due to the number of transient workers on the island (in the construction and hotel industries).

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