

HAWAIIAN
RESIDENTIAL
ARCHITECTURE

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HARRY W. SECKEL

Member of the American Institute of Architects
Membre de la Société des Architectes Diplômés par le Gouvernement Français

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FOREWORD

A principal expression of the relation of different groups of peoples to their varying habitats is found in the kind of houses they build. Through the long course of human history, technological growth coupled with the development of the arts has transformed mere shelter into architecture. In this publication, Mr. Seckel's felicitous examination of the contemporary Hawaiian environmental home is an expression of an architect's approach to anthropology and natural history.

It is entirely appropriate that Bishop Museum, known primarily for its researches into the Polynesian past and into the varied aspects of Pacific natural history, should concern itself with the cultural forces that underlie our present Hawaiian residential architecture. The present and the past are but parts of a single continuum, while in its original sense natural history encompasses man's relation to his habitat as part of a larger concern with the whole of nature.

This publication is issued in conjunction with a special Bishop Museum exhibit on Hawaiian houses, installed in collaboration with the Hawaii Chapter of the American Institute of Architects. It is a pleasure to express the Museum's gratitude to our architectural colleagues. We are also indebted to Mr. Wenkam for his splendid photographs, some of which have previously appeared in *Sunset Magazine*, and to the owners of the houses illustrated for their gracious consent to the use of the photographs. Lastly, I wish to express the Museum's appreciation to Mr. Seckel for preparing this excellent and informative account, which will be of marked interest to everyone concerned with Hawaii and its people.

ALEXANDER SPOEHR
Director

HAWAIIAN RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE

What is the future of the Hawaiian residence? What are the influences that bear upon it and what are their effects likely to be? Will a unique architecture develop in the Islands?

It is maintained by one school that architecture should be the same everywhere. Improved transportation and communications are unifying the world. Universally available technologies, and the advent of synthetic or manufactured building materials are likewise unifying the world's architecture. Therefore, according to this theory, an office building in Panama, let us say, need not be—and should not be—essentially different from an office building in France or Sweden. They serve the same purpose, are built with the same materials and techniques and are air conditioned to the same temperature and humidity. The regional factors that used to be so important are fading. Therefore, the local differences in architecture are destined to disappear. A house is a house whether it is in Hawaii or anywhere else.

Another school maintains a diametrically opposite viewpoint. Man is not the same everywhere and never will be. Swedes do not live and work in identically the same manner as Panamanians. Not only are their living habits different, but so is the natural setting in which they live. Local materials and the local economy will always be an influence on building and social influences will always vary from one place to another. Rather than conform to a world-wide sameness, architecture should proudly reveal the unique characteristics of a region that distinguish it from the rest of the world. A house in Hawaii is not—or should not—be the same as a house in Canada.

Here then, are two diametrically opposed theories and they are particularly germane to our subject. To the degree that Hawaii's architecture conforms to a universal standard it ceases in any real sense to be Hawaiian. One can give consideration to it as Hawaiian architecture only insofar as it is regional in character.

There is little doubt that there are strong and compelling influences that are unifying our world and our architecture. There is much evidence that these influences will augment rather than decrease. Yet in spite of this, the local idiom to some degree will inevitably persist. It will continue in speech, in food, and in clothing.

To some degree, at least, it will be found in architecture. It will flourish most where conditions are optimum for its existence.

ENVIRONMENTAL INFLUENCES

What are the regional factors in Hawaii that are favorable or unfavorable to the development of a Hawaiian architecture?

ISOLATION. At first glance it might appear that the Hawaiian Islands, lying in the Pacific Ocean over two thousand miles from the nearest continent, represent a case of extreme isolation. Actually, this apparent remoteness is one of mileage only. Transportation by both sea and air from the mainland is excellent. There are no major economic, linguistic or political barriers between the Islands and the continental United States. Contact with the outer world is becoming increasingly easy. True enough a resident of Honolulu cannot get into his car and motor to another state. He is not subject, however, to anything approaching the degree of isolation that would in itself give rise to a local architecture of independent development.

MATERIALS. The Swiss had such an abundance of timber that they could use it without regard to cost. Out of this condition evolved the Swiss chalet. One could cite a long list of examples of distinctive architectural types resulting from an unbalanced supply of basic building materials. The igloo of the Eskimos is an obvious one. The adobe house of the Spanish colonists is another.

One might ask, then, what basic materials Hawaii possesses in economical abundance. The answer is simply that there are none.

There are indeed many island materials used in building. Among these are local varieties of stone and, of course, coral. There are clays suitable to sustain brick manufacture and there are deposits of sand and coarse aggregates for concrete and concrete block. Sugar cane fiber is used as the basic ingredient in the manufacture of wall boards and other products. There are several species of excellent specialty woods, notably koa, ohia and monkeypod. Bamboo and sisal are also locally available. Insofar as these are distinctive, their use imparts local character. But none of them is of such overwhelming excellence or is so inexpensive as to be rendered dominant in Hawaii's building. Most of the building materials used are imported.

There is little in this situation that could be expected to produce strong regional characteristics in Hawaii's architecture.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS. Where an unusual relationship exists between the cost of labor and materials, a special type of architecture can be expected to develop. The Japanese house, for example, was designed to use material sparingly at the expense of increased labor, for labor in Japan was cheap. Nothing is cheap in the modern American scene, but it is labor rather than material that must be used sparingly. That is why the intricate handicrafts of the past have disappeared from modern American buildings. The situation in Hawaii is not markedly different from that in the rest of the United States so that it is not in this direction that we can expect to find a basis for a different architecture.

There is, however, one economic point of difference between Hawaii and the mainland. In those areas where most building takes place, land in Hawaii is much more expensive than comparable sites on the mainland. A Honolulu resident spends an unusually high percentage of his budget for his lot. He has relatively little left over for his house. It is common also in Hawaii to build on rented land. This too acts as a deterrent to a large building investment. The Hawaiian house, therefore, tends to be somewhat smaller than the mainland house. Yet this difference is not sufficiently marked to produce a recognizable Hawaiian type of residence.

CLIMATE. It is essentially to protect himself from the elements that man builds at all. It is not odd then to find the results strongly influenced by the climate, and unusual climates tend to evoke unusual architecture. In Italy, for example, warm Mediterranean coastal regions lie but a relatively short distance from the snowbound settlements of the Alps. The extreme difference in the architecture is testimony to the effect of climate.

Few places in the world have as mild and even a climate as Hawaii. Situated in a southern latitude and cooled by ocean currents, it enjoys weather that approaches the ideal. The meteorological records of Honolulu, maintained since 1906, list no temperature lower than 56 nor higher than 89. Mean temperatures throughout the year are entirely in the seventies with excellent humidity conditions, continual breeze and high incidence of sunshine combined with cloud-studded skies. A climate such as this could be expected to induce the development of a special architectural type.

Yet, in spite of this, there are aspects of the climate that act negatively upon the development of a characteristic architecture.

In the first place the climate is too good. Extreme climates exert compelling pressures such as are reflected in the architecture of India and Scandinavia. The Hawaiian climate invites a special type of building but it does not compel one. In the past Islanders have built such anomalies as pseudo-Normandy chateaux and pseudo-Moroccan casbahs. The climate demanded neither, but it permitted both.

Furthermore, the Hawaiian climate never relates to any two houses in exactly the same way. The trade winds blow most of the time but they do not blow all of the time. Kona winds in the opposite direction, though relatively infrequent, not only exist but are characteristically rain bearing. This in itself would simply constitute a dual condition but in relationship to the accidented terrain of the islands it constitutes a great variety of conditions. The directions of slope, view, sun, kona and trade winds occur in an infinite variety of combinations. This works against the development of a single characteristic building type such as might occur if these conditions always prevailed in the same relationship.

Also, there are marked local variations of temperature, of wind velocity and particularly of rainfall. Hawaii is a land of micro-climates. Excessively rainy valleys lie within a few miles of excessively dry land. A noticeable difference in temperature exists between sea level and mountainside, and wind velocities vary with the topography. These local irregularities lend the charm of variety to Hawaii. They foster different neighborhood living patterns and, inevitably, different neighborhood building types. Consequently they work against the development of a single characteristic type of dwelling.

But, by and large, the climate is bland and one can live out of doors in Hawaii more than in other places. Here, again, the Hawaiian is favored by nature. In most places where the climate is favorable to outdoor living one is plagued by a teeming and troublesome animal world. Try living out of doors in the West Indies or in southeast Asia! Hawaii is fortunate in having neither monkeys nor snakes nor an aggressive insect population. The Hawaiian insect lives and lets live and man is permitted—in relative comfort—to share the outdoors with him.

Hawaii's climate is sufficiently special to encourage a regional manner of living and a regional architecture. It is not sufficiently

uniform to produce a single well-defined type of residence. It is sufficiently special to favor the development of a regional architecture but it is insufficiently extreme to force it.

SETTING. The topography of the Territory varies enormously. The average house site, however, is on a slope and is consequently subject to two influences.

The first of these is that a small hillside plot is usually not conducive to the long rambling one-story house that is currently popular on the mainland. It is conducive, rather, to the optimum arrangement of house that ingenuity can devise to accord with a complicated set of conditions.

The second is that the hillside site is often possessed of a superb view. Its full exploitation becomes an important factor in the determination of the house layout.

Architecture, furthermore, is designed consciously or otherwise to accord with its surroundings. It is designed for sunshine or gray skies, for mountain or plain, for garden or desert, for space or for congestion. For example, the silhouetted gothic architecture of England, France, Flanders and the mountainous regions of Spain was designed to be seen through a mist. It never flourished in the sunny regions of the Mediterranean. Thus, when a locality is possessed of a particular visual characteristic, one can expect a corresponding note to appear in its architecture.

Perhaps the most characteristic factor of the Hawaiian setting is its flora. On the mainland one usually sees the greater part of a house from the street. In Hawaii it is characteristically engulfed in tropical and non-deciduous foliage. The carefully arranged facade in full view at the end of an expansive level lawn is rare in Hawaii. Houses are usually seen only in part and in conjunction with foliage. This luxuriant growth has further importance. Not only does the climate invite living out of doors, but the flora makes it both desirable and possible. Its beauty acts as an inducement to open the house to the outdoors. Its very presence allows this without the sacrifice of privacy. It permits something akin to country living under conditions of extreme congestion and is—or should be—an important factor in Hawaii's architecture.

CULTURAL BACKGROUND. There are no historic prototypes in Hawaii that bear strongly upon present-day building or that are likely

to bear upon building in the future. Except for its high-pitched roof, the thatched hut of the early Hawaiian can be discounted as an influence. The first major architectural importation was that of the missionaries who brought from Boston the New England "colonial" dwelling. It is probably because the style was inappropriate to the Hawaiian setting that the importation never became an important traditional influence as it did in the Western Reserve in Ohio and elsewhere. Two classes of building followed. One was the locally developed plantation house which was sufficiently appropriate to the environment to exert a limited influence on what followed. The other was a variety of architectural styles imported from every known climate and epoch. The plantation house was never developed to a sufficient degree of excellence to become a strong tradition. Eclecticism on the other hand never became channelized. No one style ever predominated numerically, as happened in Florida and California where the climate and historic sentiment combined to favor a Hispanic idiom.

It is not in the locally developed prototype nor in the foreign anachronism, then, that one can expect to find a strong influence on Hawaii's architecture.

Neither does there exist a strong academic bias as sometimes obtains when all local architects, artists, or artisans have been trained in a single esthetically or intellectually inbred tradition. On the contrary, the local scene is characterized by the presence of men of widely dissimilar backgrounds.

Sometimes the work of a single man or group will become the basis of a local type. To date this has not happened in Hawaii.

Hawaii's population is predominantly Oriental. What can we infer from this? History teems with examples of architectural styles following the migrations of peoples. Invariably, however, the migrations in these cases came as conquests. The conquerors established themselves immediately at the top of the social and economic systems and imposed their culture—including their architecture—on the conquered, as the Mogul conquerors did in India or as the Moors did in Spain or as the Romans did so widely. This was not the case in Hawaii.

Traditionally, then, Hawaii is singularly free of architectural influences of special character.

Ethnic groups have brought with them their particular customs.

The Japanese traditionally removes his shoes on entering the house, lives with a minimum of furniture, and dines, bathes and dresses in a specific manner. These are special social usages that could evoke a corresponding architecture. For a house is built to live in, and a particular manner of living calls for a particular type of house. The greatest single social factor in Hawaii, however, is that it is American. It is American socially, politically and emotionally. The Oriental Hawaiian is first and foremost an American. The special customs of ethnic groups are fast dying out. In Hawaii they are honored by Caucasians and Orientals alike and, being honored, might persist to some degree for sentimental reasons. They are decreasingly important factors, however, in their influence upon Hawaii's architecture.

The Oriental migration did not introduce an Oriental architecture, and the customs that were introduced are rapidly disappearing. There remains, however, a certain Oriental influence or flavor that is reflected in the homes of both Orientals and Caucasians. Whereas prosperous homes along the Atlantic seaboard are accented with European works of art, this is not the case in Hawaii. Island residents travel less to Europe and more to the Orient. Works of art are imported primarily from the Far East. When the foreign note of decor is added in Hawaii, it is almost always Oriental. Aside from this one fact, Hawaii is singularly free of special architectural or esthetic tradition or background. Overwhelmingly it is the influence of the American mainland that predominates.

There is little in Hawaii's cultural influences that would tend to promote an architecture markedly different from that of other places in the United States. Neither will her isolation give rise to it. The same is true of her material supply and her economic system. It is essentially in her beautiful subtropical setting and her superb climate that one can find a key to an architecture that could be Hawaii's own. Yet neither of these exert compelling pressures. They simply constitute a tempting invitation that has not yet been generally accepted.

ENVIRONMENTAL LIVING. Unique domestic customs could in themselves compel a unique type of home. If the environment has not yet engendered an architecture, has it at least engendered a way of life?

Environment has endowed the Islander with the qualities that come with perpetual summer. He is relaxed and unhurried, and he is less prosaic than people from more barren settings. He is casual even to the point of indifference about much that he does. He is notable neither for his punctuality nor his industry, but he is friendly and at peace with himself and the world. Here, then, is an attitude toward life that has regional characteristics. But has a corresponding way of life developed? To what extent does an Islander actually live differently from a mainland American?

He moves and works at a summer pace. He wears the colorful and casual clothes of summer and lives with corresponding informality. His sports are summer sports throughout the year. But do his domestic habits show regional characteristics?

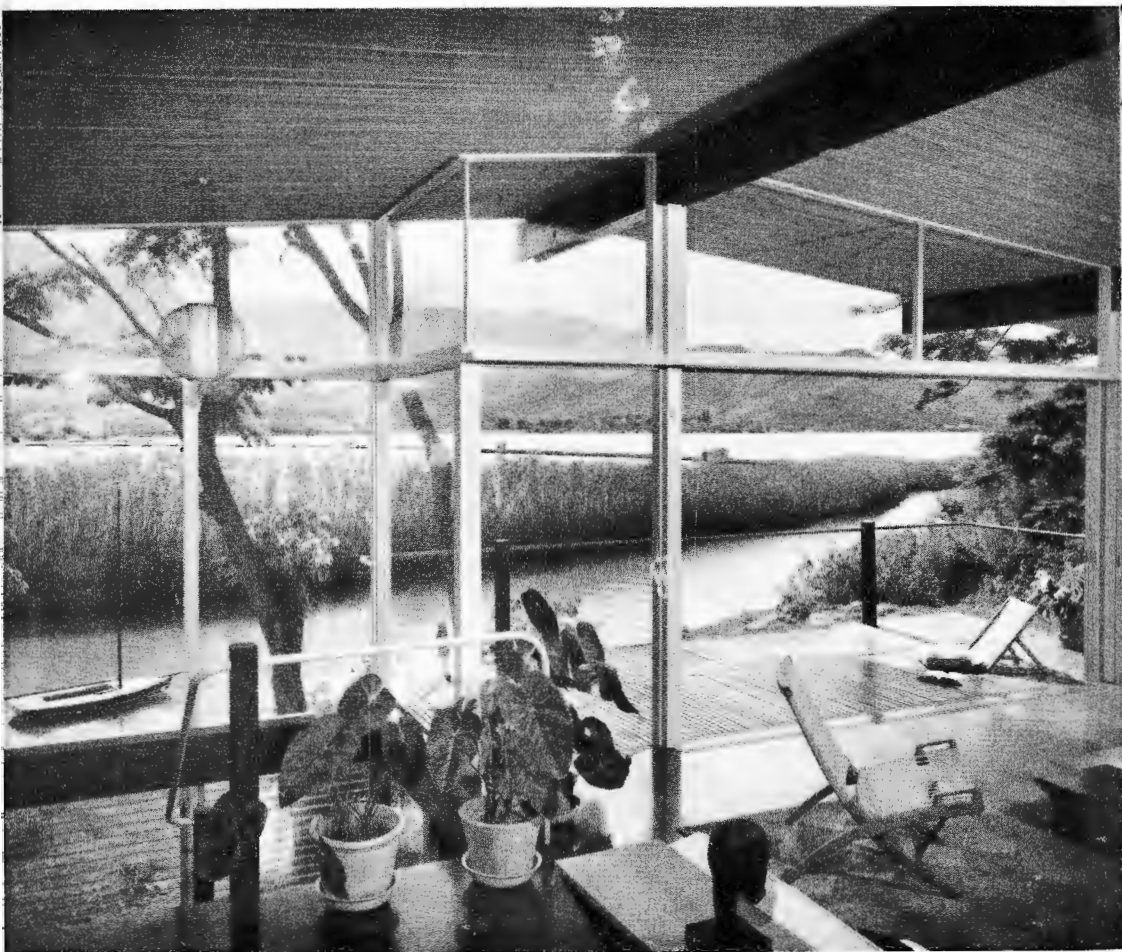
The average Islander sleeps indoors, has most of his meals indoors, and spends most of his evenings indoors in much the same manner as people elsewhere. Moreover, his indoors is shut off from the outdoors much as if he lived in a different locale. Certainly his home life shows less regional character than his environment would lead one to expect. He is aligned to a civilization that was not developed in his very special setting. His social and cultural heritage stems from colder climes and grayer skies. He has inherited a set of living habits that were not designed for Hawaii.

Not only has he inherited mainland living habits but he has inherited a mainland type house designed for mainland living. It is true that the seasonally used porch of the mainland is found in many island homes as the lanai of all year use. But, by and large, it is the mainland concept of a house that still predominates.

The Islander lives in proximity to sea and mountains of surpassing beauty. He lives near trees, flowers, and shrubbery that are in evidence throughout the year. He lives in an incomparable climate. But he has not yet found the means for fully enjoying all this. To live in full and constant intimacy with his surroundings would require a very special dwelling designed for a manner of living that has not yet evolved. This places him in an awkward position. To live differently he would need a special house, and the special house will evolve only if he lives differently or wants to live differently.

How can one expect a situation like this to resolve itself?





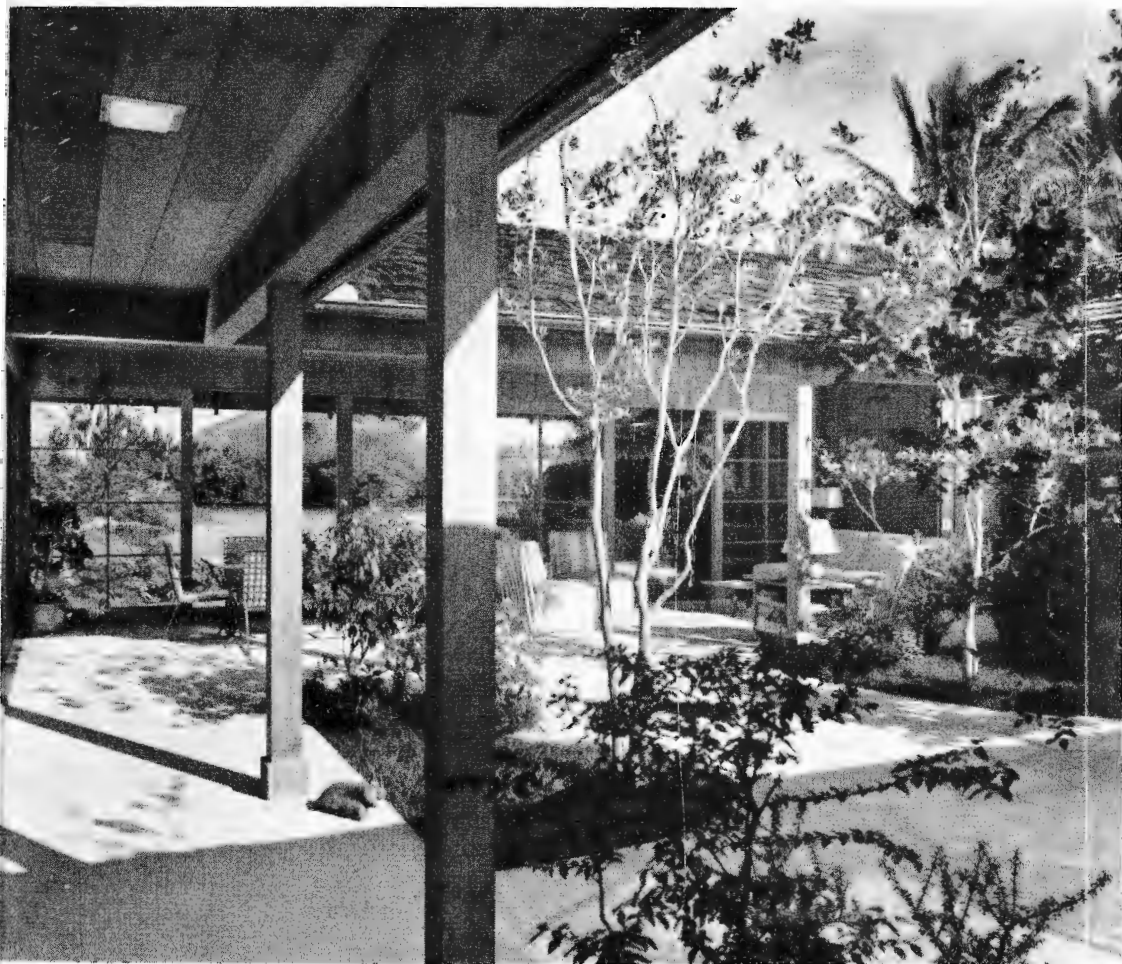
KANEOHE BAY RESIDENCE—Frank Slavsky, Architect, A.I.A.

MAKIKI HEIGHTS RESIDENCE—Lemmon, Freeth & Haines, Architects, A.I.A.



WOODLAWN RESIDENCE—Richard Windisch, Architect, A.I.A.

KULIOUOU RESIDENCE—Richard Dennis, Architect, A.I.A.



KULIOUOU RESIDENCE—Ives & Hogan, Architects, A.I.A.

DIAMOND HEAD RESIDENCE—Harry W. Seckel, Architect, A.I.A.



WOODLAWN RESIDENCE—Alfred Preis, Architect, A.I.A.



MANOA RESIDENCE—Wimberly & Cook, Architects, A.I.A.



KAHALA RESIDENCE—Haydn Phillips, Architect, A.I.A.

PUU PANINI RESIDENCE—Philip C. Fisk, Architect, A.I.A.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL HOME

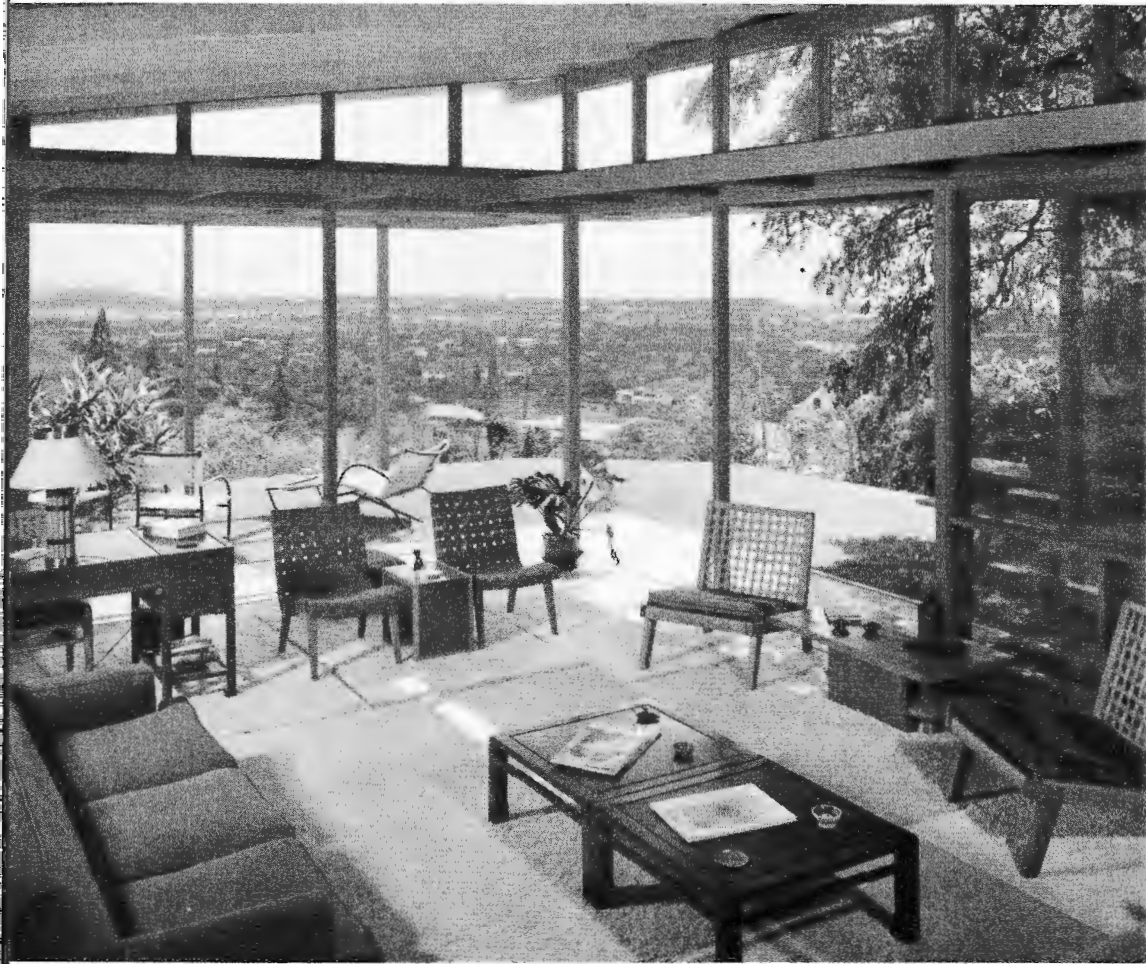
Living habits and the home are the professional concerns of architects. It is from the architects of Hawaii, then, that one can expect leadership in these matters.

Environmental, or at least partially environmental, homes have, of course, already been built in the Islands. They have been designed by architects of vision for people of imagination. Working together, they ignored the admonition that "it can't be done." The occupants are now enjoying a way of living that could be possible only in their Hawaiian setting.

These homes are a departure from the concept of an enclosed house as an entity separate from its surroundings. Instead, the entire site is considered as the dwelling. Some parts of it are completely open to the elements and others have the various degrees of protection required. Outdoor and indoor spaces are unified rather than separated. There are fewer walls, fewer partitions, and more glass than in the conventional house. Protection from wind and sun is carefully worked out in these homes. In fact, in many respects they constitute better than standard shelter in spite of their extreme openness. Most of them show the results of close collaboration between the architect and the landscape architect. Trees and shrubbery are incorporated into the dwelling as an integral part of it. The occupants live among foliage. These homes are carefully arranged to avoid the sight of neighboring houses and to take full advantage of open views. Even in congested districts they have often achieved an excellent sense of privacy and even of remoteness. As the whole of the site is incorporated into the living area, outdoor furniture is used extensively. Most of the time the occupants are out of doors or in areas that are partially out of doors. As one architect facetiously remarked, "It is like living in Hawaii."

These homes have been built and lived in and proven successful. It would be difficult indeed to induce any of their occupants to go back to the life they formerly lived in less appropriate houses. For one lives a different pattern in these open dwellings. The whole routine of housework and eating and sleeping and entertaining is advantageously changed.

To the degree that these experiments are successful, a regional way of life is introduced. As it develops and becomes popular, cer-



tain basic and unique regional customs will become established. And to the degree that the living pattern in the Islands becomes distinctive the Hawaiian home will become distinctive. This is regionalism at its best: a local architecture created for a local way of life induced by a local environment.

The partially environmental homes already built constitute a step forward, but none of them constitutes the ultimate in environmental living. If progress moves slowly along these lines, it is for two reasons.

The first of these relates to rooted habits and intelligent conservatism. One is not willing to change all of one's habits either suddenly or alone.

The second reason is that new advances introduce new problems and one cannot advance beyond certain points until these problems are solved.

Virtually no Islander is opposed to environmental living in principle. The thought of its practice, however, runs in opposition to his inherited habits and conjures up a host of doubts. Generally, to date, he has decided cautiously that he needs, first of all, a complete mainland type house. Then, if his budget will permit it, he wishes to attach a lanai for occasional use. Often his budget will not permit both, so he confines himself to the former.

The mainland type house is obviously neither necessary nor sufficient for island living. Yet the thought of living environmentally is not without its fears.

Can one really live on a lanai instead of in a living room? Can one dine happily without four walls? Can one really sleep other than in a conventional bedroom? Can one conveniently go from one part of the home to another without being fully enclosed? What about the cold or the sun or the wind? What about mosquitoes or other pests? What about stray cats or dogs or children or marauders? What happens at times of unusual storms? Will one's privacy really be assured and can one control one's children? Are outdoor views of any value after dark, and how about reflections from glass surfaces? Does one track dirt into the house and will dust and leaves blow in? What kind of furniture can one use and is there any outdoor furniture that is really weather resistant? What is the general effect before the plant material has fully grown? Will the cost be high? And will one achieve a home atmosphere?

These are intelligent doubts and as long as they cannot be dispelled with sound facts and evidence they will remain to foster conservatism. It is only by the successes of the adventurous that the conservative will allow himself to be convinced, and thoughtful conservatism will assuredly recognize several salient facts.

One is that environmental living does not imply the same mode of life and the same house on top of Tantalus that it does on the slopes of Diamond Head. It implies living in accordance with a particular local environment and requires a dwelling designed accordingly.

Another is that the design of the environmental home requires particularly skillful handling. It is obviously not a matter to be entrusted to the semi-skilled.

Still another is that until further progress has been made there will remain limitations that must be respected. And further progress depends in great measure upon public interest.

COMMUNITY INTEREST

The full development of Hawaii's environmental potential can be achieved only if the people of Hawaii care to achieve it. Certainly the architect must take the lead and point the way, but the interest of the community is required.

Not all of the members of even a hillside community can enjoy a view unless each house is built and landscaped with consideration for the others. This calls for community cooperation and community planning in the best sense.

Also one finds potentially superb views—priceless views—vitiated by the unsightly presence of telephone and electric power poles and wires. It is well known that they can be installed below ground. Where else in the world is the cost more justified? This, too, is a matter of community interest.

Though billboards have been kept off the highways, overly large and unnecessarily garish commercial signs unfortunately exist. The Outdoor Circle, The Hawaii Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, and other civic-minded organizations have worked hard and generously for years to instigate a signs ordinance or other means of control and have not yet succeeded. This, again, is a matter for the community.

One cannot happily open one's house to the environment if the environment includes the overly loud radio of a neighbor. This, too, is a community problem.

The average Hawaiian is a hill dweller, but local zoning ordinances take no cognizance of this fact. Present zoning ordinances establish home site standards by uniform minimum area for each district. This method, borrowed from mainland practice, was designed essentially for flat land. In the extremely accidented terrain of Honolulu it works very badly. The subdivider invariably divides his land into the greatest number of parcels permitted by law. In Kansas he can simply establish a geometric pattern on a map and produce proper home sites. In Honolulu's hills the same method results in a nightmare of chopped up land parcels established in contradiction to the natural rise and fall of the terrain. It results in bad roads, a lack of off-street parking space, dangerous private driveways, garages and houses perched crazily on steep slopes, poor drainage conditions, and general ugliness. It is just plain common sense to recognize that a zoning system developed on midwestern prairies is not ideal for Hawaii's hills. Instead, one could establish the same number of lots for a given subdivision, and certain minimum and maximum lot sizes, and require that property lines be established in conformity with the topography. One would achieve the same basic purposes of limiting the population density, protecting the character of the neighborhood, and assuring proper individual home sites. The same ends would be achieved with incomparably better results. This again is a matter for the community.

The increase of law and order have been important factors in the development of contemporary architecture. Even the picture window could not have flourished in a lawless society. It is to the organized forces of the law that modern man looks for his protection. In a climate where nature does not oblige the people to live behind closed doors an increased responsibility falls upon their police. A vagrant or a stray cat or dog is a greater potential nuisance in Honolulu than in Duluth. This again is a matter for the community to face.

Hawaii's flora is particularly precious to her. Major ravages by man, insect, or blight could have devastating effects. One could expect corresponding community interest.

Other places that have tropical foliage comparable to Hawaii's are nightmares of insect activity. Yet, while Hawaii is singularly fortunate in this respect, the condition falls far short of what it could be. Hawaii is often referred to as a paradise, but to date it remains a screened or semi-screened paradise. When the people become fully aware of the benefits that will accrue to them when the mosquito becomes a local rarity they will be willing to direct attention, energy, and funds to this end. This also is a matter for the community to face.

All of these things have a fundamental bearing on living and on the houses lived in.

If the population continues to grow, two inevitable results will follow. Presently unpopulated districts will be developed for house sites and apartment houses will become more numerous in Honolulu. Whether these and other changes are done well or badly will depend largely on the degree of community interest and community effort that is applied to them.

THE FUTURE

What is the likelihood that a unique manner of home life and a corresponding type of residence will become general in Hawaii? It seems clear that these are not environmentally compelled but only invited. In over a century since the arrival of the missionaries little has occurred in this direction. To date, it is only in construction techniques and details and in the elimination of heating systems that the climate has evidenced itself in Hawaii's building. Are there any valid reasons for expecting basic changes in the future?

If air conditioning becomes popular in the Hawaiian residence, which is unlikely, this change alone would closely align the future of the local residence to the future mainland standard and thus work against the development of a regional type.

On the other hand, certain present influences are conducive to a trend toward the environmental home.

The first is that during the past century the area of mainland influence upon Hawaii has shifted westward. A century ago mainland influence led the Islander to live New England style in a New England type house. Today he is influenced to live California style in a California type house. This is not brilliant progress but it is fortunate cir-

cumstance. The people of Hawaii are now aligned to a manner of living and type of house less foreign to their environment. Circumstance has moved in the right direction.

Also, at least partially environmental homes have been successfully designed, built, and lived in. This is an important step forward.

Will this movement find acceptance among an appreciable segment of the population? This is a question pertaining to something essentially Hawaiian. Its answer lies largely in the degree of regional awareness of the Islander.

It is when a people looks upon itself as an entity that it assumes pride in its marks of identity. Thus local accents of speech are cherished along with regional customs, habits of dress, of food, and of architecture.

Regional awareness flourishes where geographic boundaries are naturally defined, where strong historic traditions exist, where racial, religious or genealogical identity is peculiar, or where a special character of setting is evident. It is encouraged by the presence of unique products, special customs, special skills or accomplishments, or a chamber of commerce that considers it advantageous.

Certain of these conditions prevail in Hawaii, and regional awareness is clearly evident. There is local pride in the climate and the scenery, and there is a general feeling that life is pleasantly different in the Islands.

This regional awareness certainly extends to the home which the Islander seeks to invest with a special character. Polynesian atmosphere or Hawaiiiana, though usually confined to speech, picturesque tradition and accessories of dress occasionally finds expression in the home. Facile orientalism, in the consciously picturesque sense, is indulged in with avidity in architectural embellishment, interior decoration and landscaping. The idea, in short, is to "create an atmosphere." For all its superficiality it is often done with skill and, good or bad, it has become part of the local scene.

It is not surprising that the superficial or extraneous has taken the lead over a more fundamental or basic approach. The superficial has an immediate popular appeal and it is easy to do. It can be added to what already exists and it requires no community effort and no radical thinking. It is a simple reaching out for a Hawaiian

idiom. It may be an indication that the stage is set for more important things to happen.

The people of Hawaii have a very special environment to enjoy. They have not yet found the means for its full enjoyment. If in time this becomes a matter of general interest, the means will be found. Island living will become a unique way of life. This will happen only if the people of Hawaii want it to happen.

Then, and only then, will the truly Hawaiian dwelling emerge.