The Last RESORT

A CHRONICLE OF PARADISE,
PROFIT, AND PERIL AT THE BEACH

SARAH STODOLA



THE LAST RESORT. Copyright © 2022 by Sarah Stodola. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information, address HarperCollins Publishers, 195 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.

HarperCollins books may be purchased for educational, business, or sales promotional use. For information, please email the Special Markets Department at SPsales@harpercollins.com.

Ecco® and HarperCollins® are trademarks of HarperCollins Publishers.

Parts of the chapter on Waikiki originally appeared in the article "Climate Change Drowns the Beach Vacation," in *Culture Trip*, and the essay "Among the Very Tall," in *Flung Magazine*.

All illustrations are courtesy of the author unless otherwise noted.

FIRST EDITION

Designed by Angela Boutin

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

ISBN 978-0-06-295162-5

22 23 24 25 26 LSC 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

I'M NEVER COMING HOME

Thailand and England



Phra Nang Beach, on the Railay peninsula in Thailand.

WHERE ALL PASSIONS COMBINE

Monte Carlo, the Jersey Shore, and Cap d'Antibes



F. Scott Fitzgerald immortalized the international beach culture phenomenon at La Garoupe Beach in his novel *Tender Is the Night*.

AMONG THE VERY TALL

Waikiki



The old groin at the Royal Hawaiian held the beach fronting the resort in place, but caused the sand on the other side to disappear.

Courtesy of Scott Rosenstein

INTO FAR-FLUNG PLACES

Fiji



The seawall behind the beach that went in during construction of the Naviti Resort contributed to a cascade of ecological changes.

NEW FRONTIERS, PRECARIOUS BUSINESS

Nicaragua and Senegal



New breakwaters in the Saly area have helped bring robust beaches back to Senegal's most popular resort destination.

PARADISE LOST (TO OVERDEVELOPMENT)

Tulum, Ibiza, and Cancún



Since 2015, sargassum seaweed has often overwhelmed the beaches of the Riviera Maya. Removing it has become a never-ending project.

A GLOBAL JUGGERNAUT

Vietnam and Portugal



Hotels along the shorefront in Da Nang cater mostly to Chinese and domestic tourists.

THE LONG HAUL TO THE HIGH END

Sumba (Indonesia)



At Nihi Sumba, one of the world's most revered beach resorts, the villas have two levels, private pools, and multiple bathrooms.

BEYOND THE SEA

Barbados and St. Kitts



The previously uninhabited southern end of St. Kitts is being developed as a center of luxury tourism.

A TALE OF TWO ISLANDS

Bali and Nias (Indonesia)



The former lobby and reception of the Sorake Beach Resort, the only bona fide resort Nias has ever seen.

$\mathsf{E} \ \mathsf{L} \ \mathsf{E} \ \mathsf{V} \ \mathsf{E} \ \mathsf{N}$

GHOSTS IN THE MACHINE

Baiae, Rockaway, and Acapulco



The Edgemere Hotel once stood on this stretch of land in Rockaway, New York.

UP TO HERE

Miami Beach



The Art Deco Sagamore, National, and Delano hotels along Collins Avenue in Miami Beach.

A BETTER WAY

Tioman Island (Malaysia)



This machine on Tioman Island, Malaysia, converts used beer bottles into sand that can be used to make concrete.

SANDS OF TIME

The Future of the Beach Resort



The remaining shell of Brighton's West Pier is today an emblem of the resort's past glories.

NOTES

One: I'm Never Coming Home: Thailand and England

- 13 Dr. Robert Wittie came to Scarborough to start a resort: Lena Lencek and Gideon Bosker, *The Beach: The History of Paradise on Earth* (Penguin Books, 1999), p. 68.
- 13 William Clarke's letter about his time at the seaside: Fred Gray, *Designing the Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature* (Reaktion Books, 2006), p. 17.
- 14 Design of the earliest seaside resort hotels: Ibid., pp. 22–23.
- 18 Henry James on the seaside town of Hastings: Henry James, *Collected Travel Writings: Great Britain and America* (Penguin Putnam, 1993), pp. 225–26.

Two: Where All Passions Combine: Monte Carlo, the Jersey Shore, and Cap d'Antibes

- 20 I owe much of the history of Monte Carlo recounted here to: Mark Braude, *Making Monte Carlo: A History of Speculation and Spectacle* (Simon & Schuster, 2016).
- **20** The 1852 guidebook noting Monte Carlo's sad state: *Handbook for Travellers in Northern Italy*, 4th ed. (London: John Murray, 1852), p. 75.

- 21 Venice's Ridotto and its eventual outlawing of gambling: David G. Schwartz, *Roll the Bones: The History of Gambling*, second printing (Winchester Books, 2013), pp. 97–98.
- 21 Germany bans gambling in 1872: David Clay Large, *The Grand Spas of Central Europe: A History of Intrigue, Politics, Art, and Healing* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), p. 200.
- 22 Early-nineteenth-century Nice accommodations and English Quarter: Mariana Starke, *Travels in Europe between the Years 1824 and 1828* (London: John Murray, 1828), p. 117.
- 23 The "fine sandy beach" that once graced the bay in Monte Carlo: Georges Vigarello, "The Bathing Resort in Monaco," from *Monacopolis: Architecture, Urban Planning, and Urbanisation in Monaco: Projects and Constructions, 1858–2012* (Nouveau Musée National de Monaco, 2013), p. 576.
- 23 François Blanc took over the Monte Carlo casino in 1863: Ibid., p. 579.
- 24 François Blanc's improvements to Monte Carlo: Ibid., pp. 579-80.
- 24 The railroad reached Nice in 1864: Mary Blume, *Cote d'Azur: Inventing the French Riviera* (Thames & Hudson, 1994), p. 37.
- 25 The year after the train to Monte Carlo began service, overnight visitors shot up to almost 170,000, with 345,000 visits to the casino: Bernard Toulier, "Monaco: Inventing a World-Class City-State by the Sea," from *Monacopolis: Architecture, Urban Planning, and Urbanisation in Monaco: Projects and Constructions, 1858–2012* (Nouveau Musée National de Monaco, 2013), p. 556.
- 26 The origins of the phrase "a sunny place for shady people" in reference to the French Riviera: This phrase is usually attributed to W. Somerset Maugham, who used it in his book *Strictly Personal*, published in 1941. A quick search of Google Books confirms that writers were using it already in the early twentieth century. And anyway, the full sentence that Maugham writes is, "The Riviera isn't only a sunny place for shady people."
- 28 Pleasure and even hedonism took over at the seaside in Monaco: Vigarello, "The Bathing Resort in Monaco," p. 583.
- 31 At Cape May, a slope "so regular that persons may wade out at a distance. It is the most delightful spot the citizens can retire to in the hot season": Charles A. Stansfield, *Vacationing on the Jersey Shore: Guide to the Beach Resorts, Past and Present* (Stackpole Books, 2004), p. 14.
- 31 Cape May's first hotel opened by Elgin Hughes: Emil R. Salvini, *The Summer City by the Sea: Cape May, New Jersey, an Illustrated History* (Rutgers University Press, 1995), p. 8.

- 31 Early history of Congress Hall: Jack Wright and Curtis Bashaw, *Tommy's Folly: Through Infernos, Hurricanes and War: The Story of Congress Hall, America's Oldest Seaside Hotel* (Exit Zero, 2016).
- 32 The Mount Vernon Hotel's demise: Ibid., p. 28.
- 32 Sources on the early history of Cape May include *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries*, written by William Nelson and published in 1902; *The First Resort*, written by Ben Miller and published in 2010; and *Cape May* from the Images of America series, written by Joseph E. Salvatore, MD, and Joan Berkey, and published in 2015.
- 32 The very early history of Long Branch: *Entertaining a Nation: The Career of Long Branch*, a publication by the Writer's Project, Works Projects Administration, State of New Jersey, 1940.
- 33 "much and fashionable company" at Long Branch: from *Gordon's Gazetteer* in 1834, as quoted in *Entertaining a Nation*.
- 33 Several books offer good histories of Long Branch and the Jersey Shore resorts in general, notably *The Jersey Shore: The Past, Present & Future of a National Treasure*, by Dominick Mazzagetti; *Entertaining a Nation: The Career of Long Branch*, commissioned and published by the Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration in 1940; and *The New Jersey Coast in Three Centuries*, written by William Nelson and published in 1902.
- 33 Long Branch was the most popular resort in the United States: "Seeking Comeback: Long Branch Hopes to Regain Some of the Glamour of the Old Days," *New York Times*, June 4, 1961.
- 33 Long Branch as favorite watering hole in the United States: "Long Branch: The Season at Its Height," *New York Times*, July 13, 1870, p. 4.
- 33 Long Branch as "the American Monte Carlo": Chas. Sydney Clark, "The Strange Holy City of New Jersey," in *The Wide World Magazine*, January 1900, p. 496.
- 33 Nahant as an early summer resort: Bryant F. Tolles Jr., Summer by the Seaside: The Architecture of New England Coastal Resort Hotels, 1820–1950 (University Press of New England, 2008), pp. 89–90.
- **34** On the Black experience in Atlantic City: Nelson Johnson, *Boardwalk Empire* (Nelson Press, 2010), pp. 35–53.
- 34 African-American coastal land ownership in the American South after the Civil War: Andrew W. Kahrl, *The Land Was Ours: How Black Beaches Became White Wealth in the Coastal South* (UNC Press Books, 2016), p. 7.
- **39** John Dos Passos on Gerald and Sara Murphy: Calvin Tomkins, "Living Well Is the Best Revenge," *New Yorker*, July 28, 1962.

- 39 In Antibes in the summer, the movie theater opened once per week and telephone service shut down at 7 p.m.: Amanda Vaill, *Everybody Was So Young: Gerald and Sara Murphy, a Lost Generation Love Story* (Houghton Mifflin, 1998), p. 122.
- 40 When Gerald Murphy got to La Garoupe, the seaweed was four feet deep: Tomkins, "Living Well Is the Best Revenge." (This profile provides a lot of key information about the Murphys' time in Antibes.)
- 41 The beach is the modern picnic: As described by my friend Steve Ruddy.
- 41 The renovated casino in Juan-les-Pins: Mary Blume, *Cote d'Azur: Inventing the French Riviera* (Thames & Hudson, 1994), p. 90.

Three: Among the Very Tall: Waikiki

- 44 Oahu's 27,000 hotel rooms: Numbers reported by the Hawaii Tourism Authority.
- 44 The Hawaiian Islands' \$18 billion tourism industry: Hawaii Tourism Authority's 2018 statistics.
- 45 The beach of Waikiki was originally a barrier island, with wetlands taking up the area between it and mainland Oahu: Robert L. Wiegel, "Waikiki Beach, Oahu, Hawaii: History of Its Transformation from a Natural to an Urban Shore," *Shore & Beach* 76, no. 2 (2008), p. 3.
- 46 A thirty-one-year-old Mark Twain stayed in Hawaii for four months reporting on the islands for the *Sacramento Union*: James Mak, "Creating 'Paradise of the Pacific': How Tourism Began in Hawaii," working paper written for the Economic Research Organization at the University of Hawaii, February 3, 2015, p. 5.
- 46 Queen Lili'uokalani "living very quietly at a little place called Waikiki": "Hawaiians Want a Monarchy," *New York Times*, November 30, 1893.
- 47 "What I have always longed for was the privilege of living forever away up on one of those mountains in the Sandwich Islands overlooking the sea": Mark Twain, *Roughing It in the Sandwich Islands* (Mutual, 1990), p. xxiv.
- 49 "Waikiki as it exists today is generally a keen disappointment to the visitor": "Honolulu Beaches Will Be Improved," New York Times, October 29, 1928.
- 49 By around 1930, eleven groins had been constructed on the Waikiki beaches: Tara L. Miller and Charles H. Fletcher, "Waikiki: Historical Analysis of an Engineered Shoreline," *Journal of Coastal Research* 19, no. 4 (Fall 2003), p. 1027.
- 53 In Waikiki, "a \$1.5 million restoration and expansion is in the works":

- Nathan Eagle, "Save Beaches or Property? Climate Change Will Force Tough Choices," *Honolulu Civil Beat*, July 28, 2017.
- 54 In 1885, a round-trip ticket on a steamship between San Francisco and Honolulu cost \$125: Mak, "Creating 'Paradise of the Pacific," p. 16.
- 55 Commercial air travel from the continental United States arrived in Honolulu in 1936: Rebecca Maksel, "Hawaii by Air," *Air & Space Magazine*, October 2014.
- 55 A ticket on the first flight from California to Hawaii in 1936 cost \$3,000: David Romanowski, "The First Transpacific Passenger Flight," Smithsonian Air & Space Museum website, July 14, 2014.
- 55 Silent film star Dorothy Mackaill died in her room at the Royal Hawaiian in 1990: "Dorothy Mackaill, Actress, 87," *New York Times*, August 16, 1990.
- 56 More than 3 billion people in the global middle class: Homi Kharas, "The Unprecedented Expansion of the Global Middle Class: An Update," Brookings Institution working paper, February 2017.
- 57 Sea levels are rising faster in places losing the gravitational pull of the Greenland Ice Sheet: Elizabeth Gudrais, "The Gravity of Glacial Melt," *Harvard Magazine*, May-June 2010.
- 57 The Ala Wai Canal was created to catch the overflow of water in Honolulu and direct it toward the ocean: Katie Okamoto, "Honolulu Might Be Sunk Due to Climate Change," *Newsweek*, May 1, 2016.
- 57 The groundwater in Honolulu is rising: "As sea level rises, much of Honolulu and Waikiki vulnerable to groundwater inundation," Phys.org, March 28, 2017.
- 58 Since 1960, sea level has risen between two and six inches in the Hawaiian Islands: "What Climate Change Means for Hawaii," Environmental Protection Agency, August 2016.
- 58 In April 2017, Waikiki experienced its highest-ever tide: Catherine Toth Fox, "Our Waikīkī: King Tides, Beach Erosion and Water Pollution—Can Waikīkī Be Saved?" *Honolulu Magazine*, February 12, 2018.
- 59 Waikiki's 2012 beach renourishment funding: "2012 Waikiki Beach Maintenance," Hawaii Department of Land and Natural Resources, July 2013.

Four: Into Far-Flung Places: Fiji

62 Fiji's pre-World War II tourism in Suva: Nicholas Halter, "Tourists Fraternizing in Fiji and the 1930s," *Journal of Tourism History* 12, no. 1 (2020), pp. 27–47.

- 63 Pan Am's first transatlantic direct flight: Elizabeth Becker, *Overbooked:* The Exploding Business of Travel and Tourism (Simon & Schuster, 2016), p. 9.
- 64 The French received guaranteed paid vacation time in 1936: Ibid., p. 52.
- 64 Between 1940 and 1970, U.S. GDP rose 10 times over: United States Bureau of Economic Analysis statistics.
- 65 The world's first overwater bungalows: Mark Ellwood, "The Story Behind the World's First Overwater Bungalows," *Condé Nast Traveler*, August 11, 2017.
- **65** Growth in international tourist arrivals since 1950: "UNWTO Tourism Highlights: 2017 Edition" and the UNWTO Tourism Dashboard.
- 65 Airline passengers increased tenfold between 1950 and 1970: Hans-Liudger Dienel and Peter Lyth, eds., *Flying the Flag: European Commercial Air Transport Since 1945* (Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), p. 16.
- **65** Tourism is now the third-largest export globally: "UNWTO Tourism Highlights: 2017 Edition."
- 66 Tourism became Fiji's biggest industry: Apisalome Movono, "Conceptualizing Destinations as a Vanua: The Evolution and Resilience of a Fijian Social and Ecological System," in *Tourism Resilience and Adaptation to Environmental Change* (Routledge, 2017), p. 291.
- **68** Bill Clark coined the term *bure*: Colin Taylor, "Revive the History of the Tropics," *New Zealand Herald*, July 4, 2008.
- **68** The Korolevu Beach Hotel size by the 1970s: Unheadlined article, *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, May 28, 1974.
- 71 A report on the Denarau development from the time: Rowan Callick, "Tourism Project Puts Fiji on EIE's Map," *Financial Review* (Australia), November 9, 1989.
- 72 Tourist accommodations "reifying and aestheticizing regional differences": David Bennett and Sophie Gephardt, "Global Tourism and Caribbean Culture," *Caribbean Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (March 2005), p. 15.
- 73 The history of the village of Vatuolalai and the Naviti Resort, and the evolution of Vatuolalai's culture, comes from Apisalome Movono's extensive research on the topic, relayed to me in interviews and published in the following journal articles: Apisalome Movono, Heidi Dahles, and Susanne Becken, "Fijian Culture and the Environment: A Focus on the Ecological and Social Interconnectedness of Tourism Development," Journal of Sustainable Tourism (August 17, 2017): 451–69; Apisalome Movono and Susanne Becken, "Solesolevaki as Social Capital: A Tale of a Village, Two Tribes, and a Resort in Fiji," Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research (2018): 146–57; and Apisalome Movono, "Concep-

- tualizing Destinations as a Vanua: The Evolution and Resilience of a Fijian Social and Ecological System," in *Tourism Resilience and Adaptation to Environmental Change: Definitions and Frameworks* (Routledge, 2017), ch. 17 (no page numbers).
- 74 The *magimagi* building technique in Fiji: A good explanation of the technique can be found on the website of the Museum of New Zealand: collections.tepapa.govt.nz/topic/1116.
- 77 That sea walls cause beach erosion was well understood by the 1970s: Orrin H. Pilkey and Howard L. Wright III, "Seawalls Versus Beaches," *Journal of Coastal Research*, Special Issue No. 4. The Effects of Seawalls on the Beach (Autumn 1988): 41–44.
- 79 "Runoff from the resort and its golf course had served as a fertilizer to an ocean algae": Apisalome Movono, Heidi Dahles, and Susanne Becken, "Fijian Culture and the Environment: A Focus on the Ecological and Social Interconnectedness of Tourism Development," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* (August 17, 2017): 462.
- **80** The construction of a concrete walkway and decline of fishing in Vatuolalai: Ibid.
- 80 The ecological changes to Vatuolalai by 1998: Ibid., 458–59.

Five: New Frontiers, Precarious Business: Nicaragua and Senegal

- 86 Nicaragua's low crime rate: "A Surprising Safe Haven," *Economist*, January 28, 2012, p. 43.
- 86 Growth in international arrivals to Nicaragua: Matthew L. Fahrenbruch and David M. Cochran Jr., "Waiting for the Wave: Assessing the Vulnerability of Tourism in San Juan del Sur, Nicaragua, to Tsunamis," *Journal of Latin American Geography* 13, no. 3 (2014): 31.
- 88 The Sandinistas' appropriation of land and property: Mark A. Uhlig, "Nicaragua Victor Plans to Return Some Land Seized by Sandinistas," *New York Times*, March 3, 1990, sec. 1, p. 1.
- 88 Daniel Ortega taking a high-end property in Managua for himself: Larry Rohter, "A Tug-of-War in Nicaragua Over Seized Property," New York Times, March 2, 1997, sec. 1, p. 8.
- 88 The Somoza estate from which Anastasio fled: Howard LaFranchi, "Former Somoza Estate Calls Tourists, but Only a Few Echos Are Heard," *Christian Science Monitor*, January 22, 1997.
- 88 The Sandinistas turned Montelimar into a resort: Stephen Kinzer, "Nicaragua's Ideology of Sun and Surf," *New York Times*, November 23, 1988, sec. A, p. 3.

- 88 Half of Nicaraguans in poverty in the early nineties: World Bank International Development Association Report: "Nicaragua: Supporting Progress in Latin America's Second-Poorest Country."
- 89 Nicaragua minister of tourism on promoting tourism in Nicaragua: Larry Rohter, "Nicaragua on the Mend," *New York Times*, February 16, 1997, sec. 5, p. 10.
- 90 Bands recording at Maderas Village's studio: Julia Eskins, "Two Nights in Maderas: Plugging into Nicaragua's Most Magnetic Village," Suitcase, April 21, 2017.
- 92 "My bathing suits, even when I hung them out to dry": Adapted from my own work, "Shocks of Beauty and Mildew, 50 Meters from the Ocean," *Flung Magazine*, February 27, 2017.
- 93 Nicaragua's tourism industry represents 12.7 percent of GDP in 2017: "Travel and Tourism Power and Performance Report," World Travel & Tourism Council, 2018, p. 5.
- 93 The causes of 2018 unrest in Nicaragua: Richard E. Feinberg, "Nicaragua: Revolution and Restoration," paper published by *Foreign Policy* and the Brookings Institution, November 2018, p. 7.
- 94 Nicaragua tourism after the April 2018 uprising: Al Emid, "Nicaragua's Political Impasse," *Global Finance*, July/August 2019.
- 94 Nicaragua's economy in 2019 and 2020: The Economist Intelligence Unit's "Nicaragua: Country Outlook," December 2019.
- 94 Loss of tourism employment after protests in Nicaragua: Tom Phillips, "Ghost Resorts: Nicaragua Crisis Ravages Nascent Tourism Industry," *Guardian*, August 8, 2018.
- 98 In the early 1970s, the Senegalese prime minister made a speech on tourism development, among other topics, at the Plaza hotel: Robert J. Cole, "Senegal to Base Her Future on Broad Diversification," *New York Times*, October 21, 1970, p. 65.
- 99 Senegal's tourism peaked in the 1980s and then began a steady decline: Phil English, "Senegal: A Service Economy in Need of an Export Boost," WIDER Working Paper, No. 2016/150, United Nations University World Institute for Development Economics Research, 2016, pp. 4–6.
- 99 Hotel nights in Senegal declined over the first decade of the twenty-first century: "Senegal Update: Learning from the Past for a Better Future," World Bank Group, December 2014, p. 32.
- 100 Saly's beach resorts lost their beaches: Ibid.
- 101 Government changes to encourage tourism after Sall became president: "Race to the Next Income Frontier: How Senegal and Other Low-

- Income Countries Can Reach the Finish Line," International Monetary Fund, 2018, p. 345.
- 104 Reasons for the high cost of hotels in sub-Saharan Africa: "Tourism in Africa: Harnessing Tourism for Growth and Improved Livelihoods," World Bank, 2013, p. 46.
- 105 Factors hindering air travel in Africa: Julian Hattem, "Why Is African Air Travel So Terrible?" *Bloomberg*, November 21, 2017.
- 105 More liberal aviation policy in Africa would lead to lower fares: "Africa Would Benefit from Liberalization," International Air Transport Association, October 9, 2014, accessed at https://airlines.iata.org/analysis/africa-would-benefit-from-liberalization.
- 106 Senegal's difficult bureaucratic and judicial system for businesses: "2020 Investment Climate Statements: Senegal," U.S. State Department, Bureau of Economic and Business Affairs.
- 106 Only a quarter of Senegal's population can read and write in French: Leigh Swigart, "The Limits of Legitimacy: Language Ideology and Shift in Contemporary Senegal," *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 10, no. 1 (June 2000): 95.

Six: Paradise Lost (to Overdevelopment): Tulum, Ibiza, and Cancún

- 112 Lionel Beehner's experience in Tulum: Lionel Beehner, "From Beach Bungalows to Artisanal Dinners, A Tulum Postmortem," *Flung Magazine*, May 8, 2015.
- 115 Early days of Ana and Jose in Tulum: Susan Spano, "Yucatan Journey, by VW Beetle," *New York Times*, December 19, 1993, sec. 5, p. 6.
- 116 Tulum's landfills can't handle the trash: Reeves Weideman, "Who Killed Tulum?" *New York*, February 20, 2019.
- 122 Butlin took Henry Ford's approach to carmaking: David Harrison and Richard Sharpley, eds., *Mass Tourism in a Small World* (CABI, 2017), p. 98.
- 123 Club Med as "a haven of informality and escape": Grace Lichtenstein, "Does Club Med Live Up to Its Titillating Legend?" *New York Times*, January 1, 1972.
- 124 Trigano explaining Club Med's appeal: Flora Lewis, "Smile! It's Profitable for Club Med," *New York Times*, October 10, 1976.
- 124 The Situationists' Club Med slogan: Screaming for Change: Articulating a Unifying Philosophy of Punk Rock (Lexington Books, 2010), p. 69.
- 124 By 1972, there were sixty-four Club Meds: Lichtenstein, "Does Club Med Live Up to Its Titillating Legend?"

- 124 In 1992, 23 percent of warm-weather vacation bookings were for all-inclusives: Betsy Wade, "Counting Costs at All-Inclusives," *New York Times*, April 19, 1992, sec. 5, p. 3.
- 124 Growth of the all-inclusive market between 2014 and 2019: Lebawait Lily Girma, "Why the Business of All-Inclusive Resorts Will Never be the Same," *Skift*, March 3, 2021.
- 128 History of spring break: The 2016 documentary *Spring Broke* provides a great overview of spring break's evolution.
- 129 The building of a road along the Caribbean coast of the Yucatan Peninsula: Paul P. Kennedy, "Jungle Road Deep in Mexico," *New York Times*, July 7, 1963.
- 129 The city built alongside the Cancún resort: Robert J. Dunphy, "Why the Computer Chose Cancun," *New York Times*, March 5, 1972, accessed online.
- 132 Cancún had 35,024 hotel rooms as of 2017, the most recent data available from Mexico's Secretariat of Tourism.

Seven: A Global Juggernaut: Vietnam and Portugal

- 136 The rise of the Chinese middle class as "one of the most fascinating human dramas of our time": Cheng Li, "Introduction: The Rise of the Middle Class in the Middle Kingdom," in *China's Emerging Middle Class: Beyond Economic Transformation*, ed. Cheng Li (Brookings Institution Press, 2010), p. 3.
- 136 Size of the Chinese middle class: Homi Kharas and Meagan Dooley, "China's Influence on the Global Middle Class," Brookings Institution, October 2020, p. 2.
- 136 In 2009 the Chinese government dropped its tightest restrictions on overseas travel: Elizabeth Becker, *Overbooked: The Exploding Business of Travel and Tourism* (Simon & Schuster, 2016), p. 296.
- 136 On the growth of Chinese international travel: Oliver Smith, "The unstoppable rise of the Chinese traveler—where are they going and what does it mean for overtourism?" *Telegraph*, July 2, 2019.
- 136 Chinese share of the global tourism market: "China and the World: Inside the Dynamics of a Changing Relationship," McKinsey Global Institute, July 2019, p. 102.
- 137 Annual growth of the global middle class: Homi Kharas, "The Unprecedented Expansion of the Global Middle Class: An Update," *Global Economy and Development at Brookings* (February 2017), p. 13.

- 137 The reshuffling of the geography of the global middle class: Ibid., pp. 11–14.
- 137 Obtaining tourist visas as an Indian citizen: "How This Indian Couple Navigated Visas to Travel the World," Nomadic Matt, December 4, 2019.
- 141 Vietnam's growing tourist arrivals, especially from China: "UNWTO Tourism Highlights: 2018 Edition," p. 16.
- 141 Tourism's share of Vietnam's economy: World Travel & Tourism Council data.
- 141 4 million Chinese visitors to Vietnam: "China and the World," p. 105.
- 143 Factors in the erosion of Cui Da beach in Vietnam: An Thinh Nguyen et al., "Tourism and Beach Erosion: Valuing the Damage of Beach Erosion in the Hoi An World Heritage Site, Vietnam," *Environment*, *Development*, and Sustainability 21, no. 1 (March 2018).
- 145 "Leakage" in Vietnam's tourism industry: "Taking Stock: Recent Economic Developments of Vietnam, Special Focus: Vietnam's Tourism Developments: Stepping Back from the Tipping Point—Vietnam's Tourism Trends, Challenges, and Policy Priorities," report from the World Bank, July 2019, p. 43.
- 146 Since 2015, the Chinese company Fosun International has owned Club Med: Dominique Vidalon, "Chinese-owned Club Med to Open 15 New Resorts by 2019," Reuters, January 26, 2017.
- 146 Club Med catering to Chinese guests: Kevin Chan, "Western Brand, Chinese Characteristics: Club Med in Guilin," *Chicago Tribune*, August 25, 2017.
- 149 McKinsey's surveys on Chinese consumer behavior: "China and the World," p. 98.
- 149 Special lanes for Chinese tourists at Thailand's airports: "Special Lanes Open for Chinese Tourists at 5 Airports," *Bangkok Post*, August 4, 2018.
- 149 The most popular international destination for Chinese tourists: "Guidelines for Success in the Chinese Outbound Tourism Market," World Tourism Organization, 2019, p. 14.
- 152 90 percent of international tourists to Portugal come for coastal tourism: "Tourism Statistics at the Regional Level," report published by Eurostat, March 2020, p. 8.
- 153 2008 financial crisis effect on Portugal: Paul Hockenos, "Portugal Has Emerged as Europe's Booming Anti-Germany," *Foreign Policy*, December 28, 2017.

- 153 The arrival of low-cost airlines in Portugal: "Low-Cost Airlines: Bringing the EU Closer Together," report by the Centre for European Policy Studies, 2018, p. 20.
- 153 Emergence of big-wave surfing in Portugal: Patrick Kingsley, "This Town Once Feared the 10-Story Waves. Then the Extreme Surfers Showed Up," *New York Times*, November 11, 2018.
- 154 International tourism down 72 percent in the first ten months of 2020: Data from the World Travel & Tourism Council.
- 154 Portugal's tourism revenues crashed during 2020: Catarina Demony, "Portugal must diversify tourism-dependent economy after pandemic, government official says," Reuters, November 23, 2020.
- "Taking Stock," pp. 36 and 43.
- 155 Portugal's changing climate is more extreme than the global average: Anabela Carvalho et al., "Climate Change Research and Policy in Portugal," *Wiley Interdisciplinary Reviews: Climate Change* 5, no. 2 (2013).
- 155 Portugal may soon have two separate seasons as July and August become too hot: Camelia Surugiu et al., "Climate change impact on seaside tourism—Portugal and Romania: Two different case studies with strong particularities," Revista Economica, January 2011, p. 126.
- 155 Richard Tol on northern Portugal as a safer real estate bet than southern Portugal: Brad Amburn, "Warm New World," *Foreign Policy*, October 26, 2009.
- 156 The ripple effect of climate change and climate migration: Abrahm Lustgarten, "The Great Climate Migration," *New York Times Magazine*, July 23, 2020.

Eight: The Long Haul to the High End: Sumba (Indonesia)

- 165 Carbon footprint of a trip from the United Kingdom to Croatia: "Calculating the Carbon Emissions of Vacations—Key Findings," results of study commissioned by Responsible Travel published at: responsiblevacation.com/copy/carbon-emissions-of-holidays.
- 165 Per capita CO₂ emissions by country: Data by country is available on the World Bank's website.
- 166 Transport to hotels accounts for more carbon emissions than hotels themselves: "OECD Tourism Trends and Policies 2018," p. 71.
- 166 The development of electric and hybrid planes: Chris Baraniuk, "The Largest Electric Plane Ever to Fly," BBC, June 17, 2020.

- Takeoff? Aviation Biofuels Past, Present, and Future," report produced by the Atlantic Council, January 8, 2019.
- 173 Patients treated in the Sumba Foundation's health clinics: The Sumba Foundation Year End Report 2018, p. 8.

Nine: Beyond the Sea: Barbados and St. Kitts

- 178 Growth in tourism to Barbados from 1955 to 1980: R. B. Potter, "Tourism and Development: The Case of Barbados, West Indies," *Geography* 68, no. 1 (January 1983): 46.
- 179 The early decades of British Barbados: Simon P. Newman, *A New World of Labor: The Development of Plantation Slavery in the British Atlantic* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp. 55–59.
- 179 Sugar cultivation and slavery both took hold in Barbados in the 1650s: Dr. Karl Watson, "Slavery and Economy in Barbados," *BBC History*, most recently updated February 17, 2011.
- 180 Mark Carey on historical European and American views toward the Caribbean climate: Mark Carey, "Inventing Caribbean Climates: How Science, Medicine, and Tourism Changed Tropical Weather from Deadly to Healthy," *Osiris* 26, no. 1 (2011): 129–41.
- 181 Black Barbadians purchased land with money earned working on the Panama Canal: Christine Barrow, "Ownership and Control of Resources in Barbados: 1834 to the Present," *Social and Economic Studies* 32, no. 3 (September 1983): 96.
- 188 Barbados's western shoreline has been eroding since the 1960s: J. Brian Bird et al., "Coastal Subsystems of Western Barbados, West Indies," *Geografiska Annaler. Series A, Physical Geography* 61, no. 3/4 (1979): 221–36.
- The sewage spill on Barbados's south coast in 2018: "Barbados's Mucky Election: Polluted Politics," *Economist* (online), May 24, 2018.
- 194 Growth of St. Kitts and Nevis's tourism industry in 2019: "Travel and Tourism: Global Economic Impact and Trends 2020," World Travel & Tourism Council, p. 6.
- 197 The Four Seasons' golf course on Nevis used up more water than the island's main town: Carol McCabe, "Small Is Beautiful: On the Island Nation of St. Kitts & Nevis, the Clock Stands Still and Tourists Are Sparse," *Los Angeles Times*, October 20, 1991.

Ten: A Tale of Two Islands: Bali and Nias (Indonesia)

207 The Dutch were intrigued by the Hindu religion on Bali: Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Periplus Editions, 1989), p. 12.

- 208 Bali's slave trade: Ibid., p. 14.
- 208 In 1914, the tourist bureau in Batavia extended its scope to Bali: Michel Picard, "Cultural Tourism, Nation-Building, and Regional Culture: The Making of a Balinese Identity," in *Tourism, Ethnicity and the State in Asian and Pacific Societies* (University of Hawaii Press, 1997), p. 190.
- 208 Opening of the Bali Hotel in Denpasar: Michel Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, translated by Diana Darling (Archipelago Press, 1996), p. 24.
- 209 Number of tourists visiting Bali in the 1930s: Ibid., p. 25.
- The Dutch program of "Baliseering," or the Balinization of Bali: Picard, "Cultural Tourism, Nation-Building, and Regional Culture," p. 186.
- 210 Niassans traded slaves for gold with the Acehnese: Andrew Beatty, *Society and Exchange on Nias* (Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 3–4.
- 210 The Dutch took an interest in Nias beginning in the 1660s: Ibid., p. 3.
- 210 The 1693 agreement between the Dutch East India Company and Nias chiefs: Bente Wolff, "Extending the Self: Otherness in Cosmology and Consumption in a Nias Tourism Area" (PhD diss., National Museum of Denmark, May 1999), p. 38.
- 210 Dutch fort on Nias destroyed by flood in 1861: Ibid., p. 39.
- 211 The Dutch took control of Nias in 1906: Beatty, Society and Exchange on Nias, p. 4.
- 211 Mabel Cook Cole writing about Nias in 1931: Mabel Cook Cole, "The Island of Nias, at the Edge of the World," *National Geographic*, August 1931, pp. 201–24.
- 211 "Primitive Nias... rivals Bali for strange customs, royal processions and festive dress": "Random Notes for Travelers," *New York Times*, October 20, 1935, p. 193.
- 211 The *Times* again promoted a cruise to Nias: "Notes for the Traveler," *New York Times*, November 28, 1937, p. 203.
- 211 The ring road built on Nias in the 1930s: Alain Viaro, "Road Development and Tourism in Nias, Indonesia," TU Vienna, ASSIP Project, 2016, p. 54.
- 212 In the 1950s, Bali had very little tourism: Adrian Vickers, *Bali: A Paradise Created* (Periplus Editions, 1989), p. 182.
- 212 In 1989, two underwater cables brought electricity from Java to Bali: Anto Mohsin, "Lighting 'Paradise': A Sociopolitical History of Electrification in Bali," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: An International Journal* (2016): 3–4.
- 212 Bali hotels in the 1960s: Vickers, Bali: A Paradise Created, p. 184.

- 212 Bali's tourism development in the 1970s with a World Bank loan: "Project Completion Report: Indonesia: Bali Tourism Project," World Bank, June 5, 1985.
- 213 Bali's own government was not involved in the tourism plan for the island: Picard, "Cultural Tourism, Nation-Building, and Regional Culture," p. 182.
- 213 Growth in foreign tourists on Bali: Data from Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali (Bali's statistics agency).
- 214 Problems on Nias with Dutch shipping line KPM ceasing operations in Indonesia: "Indonesia's Economic Dilemma," *Far Eastern Survey* 29, no. 4 (April 1960): 59.
- 216 The reemergence of surfing at Kuta Beach in the 1960s: Scott Laderman, *Empire in Waves: A Political History of Surfing* (University of California Press, 2014), p. 66.
- 217 Javanese taking the best jobs on Bali and tourism increasing inequality: Picard, *Bali: Cultural Tourism and Touristic Culture*, pp. 62–63.
- 218 Locals grew suspicious of motives behind Nias airport plan: Wolff, "Extending the Self," p. 36.
- 218 The 2004 earthquake was the strongest in forty years and longest in recorded history: "Analysis of the Sumatra-Andaman Earthquake Reveals Longest Fault Rupture Ever," National Science Foundation website, May 19, 2005.
- 220 Bali's trash problem: Fiona MacGregor, "Bali Fights Back as Tons of Plastic Threaten to Spoil Once-Pristine Paradise," NBC News, August 23, 2019.
- 221 Bali's per capita GDP is over \$17,000 US: From statistics provided by the Indonesian government's statistics bureau, translated for me by Fiona Chandra.
- 221 The non-Balinese development of Bali tourism: Graeme MacRae, "If Indonesia Is Too Hard to Understand, Let's Start with Bali," *Journal of Indonesian Social Sciences and Humanities* 3 (2010): 19.
- 223 Just 3,143 foreign tourists came to South Nias in 2016: Anggreani Dachi et al., "Tourism Village Development Pattern in Bawomataluo Village, South Nias Regency, Indonesia," *International Journal of Research* 6, no. 3 (March 2019): 295.
- 223 South Nias GDP and poverty level: From statistics provided by the Indonesian government's statistics bureau, translated for me by Fiona Chandra.
- 223 Nias poverty and income levels: From statistics provided by the Indonesian government's statistics bureau, translated by Fiona Chandra.

Eleven: Ghosts in the Machine: Baiae, Rockaway, and Acapulco

- 226 The size and position of Baiae's ruins: *Nero's Sunken City*, documentary that aired on PBS, March 29, 2017.
- 228 The layout of ancient Baiae: Lawrence Keppie, "'Guess Who's Coming to Dinner': The Murder of Nero's Mother Agrippina in Its Topographical Setting," *Greece and Rome* (Cambridge University Press; second series), vol. 58, no. 1 (April 2011): 37.
- 229 The concrete dome of the Temple of Mercury: Nero's Sunken City.
- 229 The large freshwater cistern in Baiae: Ibid.
- 230 Horace writing about Baiae: Fikert K. Yegul, "The Thermo-Mineral Complex at Baiae and *de Balneis Puteolanis," Art Bulletin* 78, no. 1 (March 1996): 137.
- 231 No public buildings have been uncovered in Baiae: Nero's Sunken City.
- 231 Nero's murder of his mother at Baiae: Keppie, "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner."
- 231 Vice and scheming at Mar-a-Lago: Isaac Arnsdorf, "The Shadow Rulers of the VA," *ProPublica*, August 7, 2018. Sean Illing, "Why Trump's Mar-a-Lago Is a Magnet for Grifters," *Vox*, August 25, 2020. Don Sider, "Party Time at Mar-a-Lago," *South Florida Sun Sentinel*, June 28, 1995.
- 231 Baiae land falling and rising due to bradyseism: Nero's Sunken City
- 235 On the early history of the Rockaways: Alfred Henry Bellot, *History of the Rockaways from the Year 1685 to 1917* (Bellot's Histories Inc., Far Rockaway, 1918).
- 236 The scene at the Marine Pavilion hotel: Benjamin F. Thompson, *History of Long Island* (E. French, 1839), p. 359; "Manners, Customs, Amusements and Characteristics at Rockaway," *New-York Daily Times*, August 10, 1853, p. 2.
- 236 Early Rockaway tourism centered on the peninsula's eastern end: Vivian Rattay Carter, *Images of America: Rockaway Beach* (Arcadia, 2012), p. 7.
- 236 Far Rockaway's status with elite New York in the mid-nineteenth century: "Far Rockaway. A Once Fashionable Sea-Side Resort," *New York Times*, May 31, 1874, p. 9.
- **238** Rockaway's bygone hotels: Emil R. Lucev Sr., *The Rockaways* (Arcadia, 2007).
- 238 Arverne's golden age at the end of the nineteenth century: "Arverne Urban Renewal Project: Cultural Resources Survey," report prepared for Dresdner Associates by Historical Perspectives in 1986.

- 239 Rockaway Beach Hotel details: "Rockaway Beach Hotel. A Description of the Mammoth Summer Inn Which Is Almost Ready for the Public," *New York Times*, July 9, 1880, p. 5.
- 239 Rockaway neighborhoods were among the hardest hit from COVID in spring 2020: Michael Schwirtz and Lindsey Rogers Cook, "These N.Y.C. Neighborhoods Have the Highest Rates of Virus Deaths," *New York Times*, May 18, 2020.
- 241 Over 100 hotels in Rockaway in the 1930s: Lawrence Kaplan and Carol P. Kaplan, Between Ocean and City: The Transformation of Rockaway, New York (Columbia University Press, 2003), p. 72.
- 241 Rockaway hotels at the end of World War II: Ibid., p. 82.
- 241 48 million visitors to Rockaway in the summer of 1950: Carter, *Images of America: Rockaway Beach*, p. 9.
- 241 Rockaway's falling summertime population in the midcentury years: Kaplan and Kaplan, *Between Ocean and City*, p. 38.
- 241 The failed attempts to modernize Rockaway as a resort: Kaplan and Kaplan, *Between Ocean and City*, p. 76.
- 242 The train to Rockaway becoming part of New York City transit: Carter, *Images of America: Rockaway Beach*, p. 93.
- 242 The Jacob Riis parking lot was built for 9,000 cars: Robert Caro, *The Power Broker* (Vintage Books, 1975), p. 508.
- 242 Cutting "Rockaway Special" train service: "Rockaway Special Cut to Weekends," *New York Times*, July 17, 1959, p. 21.
- 242 New York City's plan to relocate welfare recipients to Rockaway: Kaplan and Kaplan, *Between Ocean and City*, p. 57.
- The substandard welfare housing in the Hammels section of Rockaway: Ibid., pp. 62–63.
- 243 Robert Moses's plan for new apartment buildings in Rockaway: "Housing to Erase Rockaway Slums in Hammels Area," *New York Times*, November 13, 1956, p. 1.
- 243 The Rockaways' disproportionate amount of Queens public housing: Kaplan and Kaplan, *Between Ocean and City*, p. 130.
- 243 More than 4,000 structures razed in Rockaway's Edgemere and Arverne: Mark Sherman, "City Opens Its Biggest Plot, in Arverne, to Development," *New York Times*, March 11, 1984, sec. 8, p. 7.
- 246 Staying at the Hotel Las Brisas in 1981: Alan Riding, "What's Doing in Acapulco," *New York Times*, February 8, 1981, sec. 10, p. 13.
- 248 The first flights to Acapulco in 1934: Stephen R. Niblo and Diane M. Niblo, "Acapulco in Dreams and Reality," *Mexican Studies* 24, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 35.

- 249 The earliest hotels in Acapulco: Andrew Sackett, "Fun in Acapulco?" In *Holiday in Mexico: Critical Reflections on Tourism and Tourist Encounters* (Duke University Press, 2010), pp. 172–73.
- 249 There were four hotels in Acapulco in 1933: Ibid., p. 164.
- 249 Mexico's promotion of Acapulco in the 1930s: Ibid., pp. 164–65.
- 249 Farmers kicked off their land for Acapulco tourism development received no compensation: Niblo and Niblo, "Acapulco in Dreams and Reality," p. 40.
- 250 The Mexican government's forceful expropriation of beachfront Acapulco land: Sackett, "Fun in Acapulco?," p. 170.
- **253** Flights available to Acapulco from New York City in 1981: Riding, "What's Doing in Acapulco," p. 13.
- 253 The anarchic nature of Guerrero in the early twentieth century: Niblo and Niblo, "Acapulco in Dreams and Reality," p. 33.
- **Teddy Stauffer attacked by gunman at his hotel: Teddy Stauffer,** *Forever Is a Hell of a Long Time* (Henry Regnery, 1976), pp. 246–48.
- 254 Overdevelopment in Acapulco: Roger Joseph Bergeret Munoz et al., "Complexity of Acapulco Evolution as a Tourist Destination," *Journal of Intercultural Management* 9, no. 3 (September 2017): 16.
- 254 Cancún overtook Acapulco with foreign tourists: Michael Clancy, "Mexican Tourism: Export Growth and Structural Change since 1970," *Latin American Research Review* 36, no. 1 (2001): 135.
- 254 The decline of international visitors to Acapulco: Munoz et al., "Complexity of Acapulco Evolution as a Tourist Destination," pp. 17–18.

Twelve: Up to Here: Miami Beach

- **257** Geoff Dyer on visiting Miami Beach: "The Despair of Art Deco," *Threepenny Review*, Spring 2002.
- 259 History of the pre-tourism days of Miami Beach: Polly Redford, *Billion-Dollar Sandbar: A Biography of Miami Beach* (Dutton, 1970), pp. 70–71.
- 260 The creation of artificial land on Miami Beach: Ibid., pp. 70–71.
- 260 "[i]t took faith to undertake the job of making the waste of sand and the mangrove swamp into an attractive and habitable place": This passage from the *Miami Metropolis*'s January 10, 1913, edition is quoted on page 14 of the city of Miami Beach's "Ocean Beach Historic District Designation Report" in 1995.
- 260 For a wonderful accounting of the projects that have added to Miami Beach's total acreage: Carolyn Klepser, *Lost Miami Beach* (History

- Press). Specifically, see the section titled "Reconfiguring the Land," beginning on page 22 of the 2014 paperback edition.
- 260 On the 1926 hurricane: Redford, Billion-Dollar Sandbar, pp. 173-74.
- 263 Miami Beach's anti-hawking regulation: Susan Askew, "Sidewalk Café Hawking Violations and Appeals Mounting," *Re: Miami Beach*, November 30, 2019.
- Numbers on global sea level rise and Miami-area sea level rise: These were provided to me by Dr. William Sweet at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA).
- Projected sea level rise in southeast Florida: "Unified Sea Level Rise Projection Southeast Florida: 2019 Update," report published by the Southeast Florida Regional Climate Change Compact, p. 9.
- 264 On the plans for the Delano Hotel in 1994: Timothy Jack Ward, "Remaking a Hotel, the Un-Miami Way," *New York Times*, August 4, 1994, sec. C, p. 4.
- 265 The abandoned plan to raze many blocks of buildings in South Beach: Gregory Jaynes, "In Decaying Southern Miami Beach, the Elderly Huddle in Frailty and Fear," *New York Times*, October 28, 1982, sec. A, p. 18.
- 265 In 1981, Miami had the highest murder rate in the country: Kelly, James, "Paradise Lost?," *Time*, November 3, 1981.
- 266 History of Miami Beach's beach erosion and replenishment efforts: Miami-Dade County Beach Erosion Control Master Plan, 2006.
- 267 Vegetated dunes were installed on the Miami Beach shore in the 1980s: City of Miami Beach Dune Management Plan, January 2016.
- 268 Hurricane Irma Washed Sand from Miami Beach: "Replacing Miami's beach sands costs millions. Here's how Congress could make it cheaper," *Miami Herald*, October 24, 2017.
- 268 Miami-Dade County Economic benefit from tourism: William D. Talbert III, "Greater Miami has worked hard to become a top tourist destination, and it shows," *Miami Herald*, October 24, 2019.
- 268 Miami Beach's real estate was worth \$37.4 billion in 2018: "Miami Beach, Florida: Stormwater Management and Climate Adaptation Review." Report from the Urban Land Institute Report. April 2018, p. 20.
- 269 On the check valves installed in Miami Beach's drainage pipes: Jeff Goodell, *The Water Will Come: Rising Seas, Sinking Cities and the Remaking of the Civilized World* (Little, Brown and Co., 2017), p. 235.
- 272 Michael Shvo bought three hotels in South Beach: Katherine Kallergis,

- "Here's How Much Michael Shvo and Partners Paid for Their South Beach Hotels," *Real Deal*, August 5, 2019.
- 272 Michael Shvo conditioned his purchase of the Richmond and South Seas hotels on the passing of a new zoning ordinance for the properties: Susan Askew, "Approval of Additional Oceanfront Height Opens Door for New Development," *Re: Miami Beach*, August 3, 2019.
- 273 A \$100 million renovation of the Ritz-Carlton St. Thomas was "substantially funded by insurance proceeds": "Braemar Hotels & Resorts Reports Fourth Quarter and Year End 2019 Results," *Bloomberg*, February 26, 2020.
- On Sandals Resorts not selling: Josh Kosman, "Caribbean Hurricanes Scaring Sandals Resorts Bidders," *New York Post*, November 13, 2019.
- 276 Miami-Dade's proposed impact fees for developers: Jessica Lipscomb, "Miami-Dade Could Ask Developers to Pay for Climate Change Costs," *Miami New Times*, July 6, 2016.

Thirteen: A Better Way: Tioman Island (Malaysia)

- 287 Prices based on carbon footprint at the Arctic Blue Resort: Company press release, accessed at http://arcticblueresort.com/ArcticBlueResort _PR_EN_V3.pdf.
- 288 The British report that recommended abolishing frequent-flyer programs: Laurie Clarke, "Here's How a Frequent Flyer Tax Could Help Cut Airline Emissions," *Wired*, October 16, 2019.
- 288 Passengers flying via Sweden's airports decreased 4 percent in 2019: "Sweden Sees Rare Fall in Air Passengers, as Flight-Shaming Takes Off," BBC, January 10, 2020.
- 291 Westerners drove up prices at Yugoslavia's Adriatic resorts: Rory Yeomans, "From Comrades to Consumers: Holidays, Leisure Time, and Ideology in Communist Yugoslavia," in *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s)* (Central European University Press, 2010), pp. 93–94.
- 292 Coconut palms native to India and the Malay Peninsula: Lucas Brouwers, "Coconuts: Not Indigenous, but Quite at Home Nevertheless," *Scientific American* (online), August 1, 2011.
- 292 West Palm Beach requires trees other than palms: Kimberly Miller, "Oaks Instead of Palm Trees? Florida's Iconic Palms Don't Cut It with Climate Change," *Tampa Bay Times*, November 26, 2019.
- 294 Miami-Dade's proposed impact fees for developers: Lipscomb, "Miami-Dade Could Ask Developers to Pay for Climate Change Costs."

- The argument of climate exactions: J. Peter Byrne and Kathryn A. Zyla, "Climate Exactions," *Maryland Law Review* 75, no. 3 (2016).
- 298 Golf course fertilizer kills coral reefs: Emily M. Bock and Zachary M. Easton, "Export of Nitrogen and Phosphorus from Golf Courses: A Review," *Journal of Environmental Management* 255 (February 1, 2020).
- 303 Coral reef cover has declined between 30 percent and 50 percent since the 1980s: Melissa Gaskill, "The Current State of Coral Reefs," PBS, July 15, 2019.

Fourteen: Sands of Time: The Future of the Beach Resort

- 306 Between \$15 billion and \$23 billion of Florida real estate will be underwater by 2050: "Risky Business: The Economic Risks of Climate Change in the United States," report published by the Risky Business Project, June 2014, p. 24.
- 306 Some of the Florida Keys will not be saved: Alex Harris, "At \$60 Million a Mile, the Keys May Abandon Some Roads to Sea Rise Rather than Raise Them," *Miami Herald*, December 5, 2019.
- 307 Property tax hikes in the Outer Banks: Christopher Flavelle, "Tiny Town, Big Decision: What Are We Willing to Pay to Fight the Rising Sea?" New York Times, March 14, 2021.
- 311 Beach proximity increases room rates in Mexico: Gabriela Mendoza-Gonzalez et al., "Towards a Sustainable Sun, Sea, and Sand Tourism: The Value of Ocean View and Proximity to the Coast," *Sustainability* 10, no. 4 (2018): 1012.