

Aspects of the Hawaii outlook with impediments and constraints on labor, investment, and tourism

A presentation adapted for the Hawaii Workforce Development Council from the 2025 PATA/TTRA Annual Outlook & Economic Forecast Forum

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A macroeconomic outlook overview

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Economic projections of Federal Reserve Board members and Federal Reserve Bank presidents

Percent

Variable	Median ¹				
	2024	2025	2026	2027	Longer run
Change in real GDP	2.5	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.8
September projection	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.8
Unemployment rate	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.2
September projection	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.2	4.2
PCE inflation	2.4	2.5	2.1	2.0	2.0
September projection	2.3	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0
Core PCE inflation ⁴	2.8	2.5	2.2	2.0	
September projection	2.6	2.2	2.0	2.0	
Memo: Projected appropriate policy path					
Federal funds rate	4.4	3.9	3.4	3.1	3.0
September projection	4.4	3.4	2.9	2.9	2.9

1. For each period, the median is the middle projection when the projections are arranged from lowest to highest. When the number of projections is even, the median is the average of the two middle projections. 4. Longer-run projections for core PCE inflation are not collected.

Economic forecasts from Hawaii DBEDT

Economic Indicators	2022	2023	2024	2025	2026	2027
	Actual		Forecast			
<i>Percent</i>						
Total population growth	-0.5	-0.3	-0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
Visitor arrivals growth	36.2	4.6	-0.6	3.2	2.6	2.4
Visitor days growth	30.5	1.4	-3.3	2.8	2.2	2.2
Visitor expenditure growth	50.5	5.4	-1.4	4.3	3.9	4.0
Honolulu CPI-U inflation	6.5	3.1	4.3	3.1	2.7	2.6
Personal income growth	1.9	5.5	4.7	4.4	4.1	4.1
Real personal income growth	-4.7	2.5	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.7
Personal income deflator growth (inflation)	7.0	2.8	3.1	2.7	2.5	2.4
Non-agricultural wage & salary job growth	5.3	2.3	0.9	1.2	1.2	1.0
Civilian unemployment rate	3.5	3.0	2.9	2.7	2.6	2.5
Gross domestic product growth	10.4	6.9	4.5	4.5	4.2	4.2
Real gross domestic product growth	2.9	2.0	1.6	2.0	2.0	1.8
Gross domestic product deflator growth (inflation)	7.3	4.8	2.9	2.6	2.4	2.5

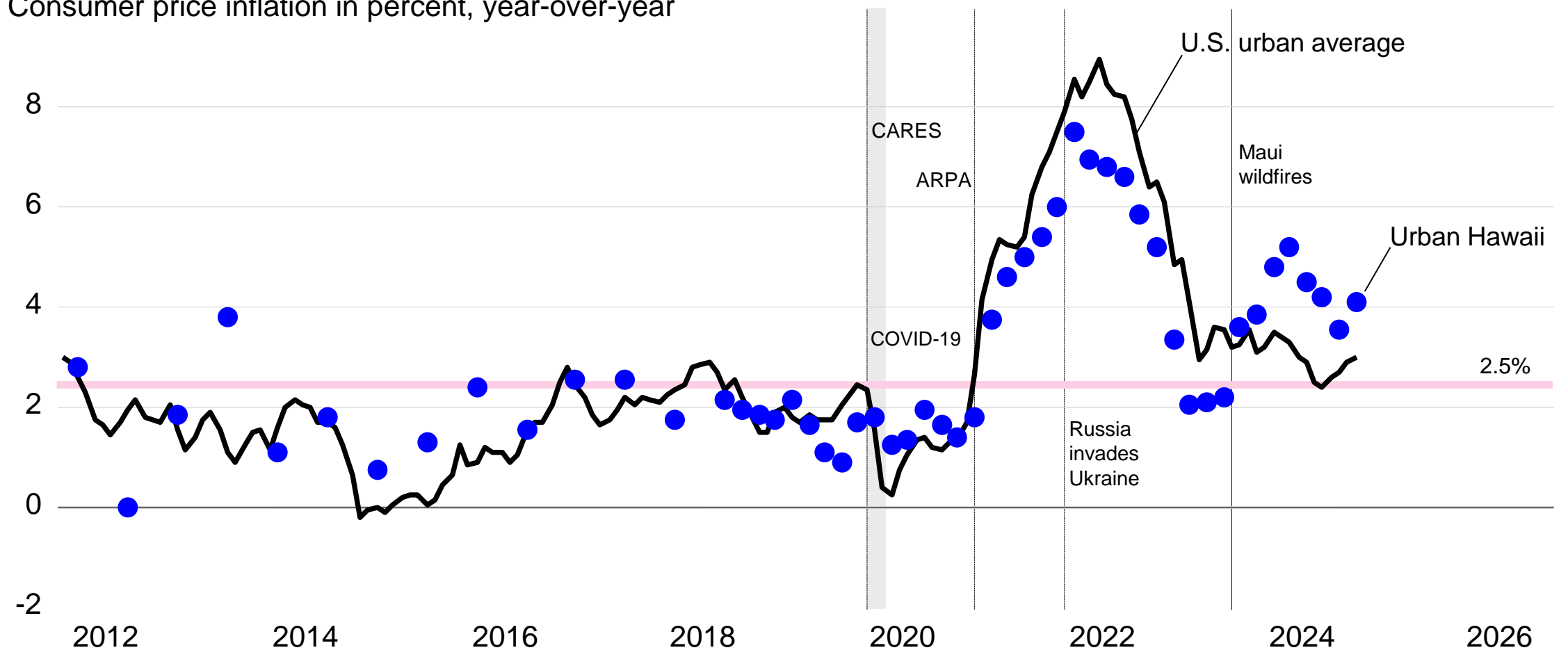


Inflation and monetary policy

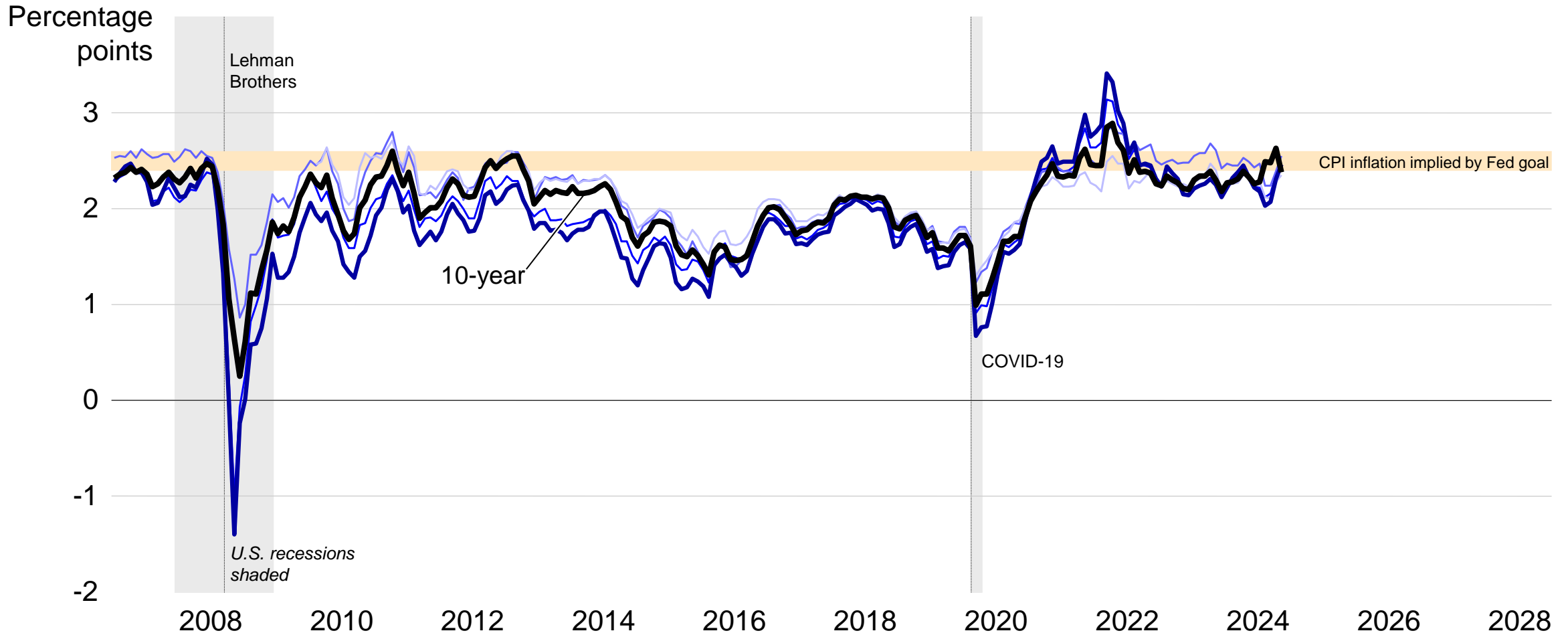
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Urban Hawaii CPI inflation eased after post-wildfire housing cost surge (FEMA rent); renewed upward drift most recently

Consumer price inflation in percent, year-over-year

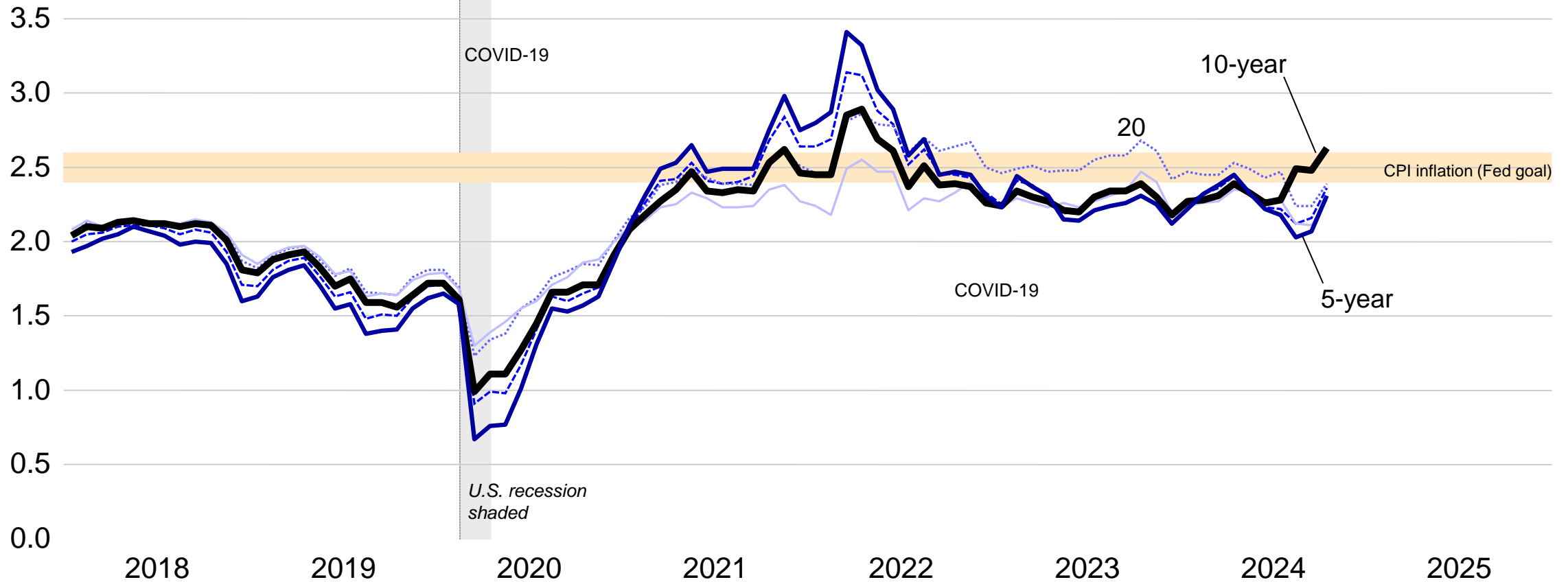


Term structure of expected inflation implied by nominal U.S. Treasury minus real (TIPS) yields stable (2% PCE goal \Leftrightarrow 2.5% CPI inflation)



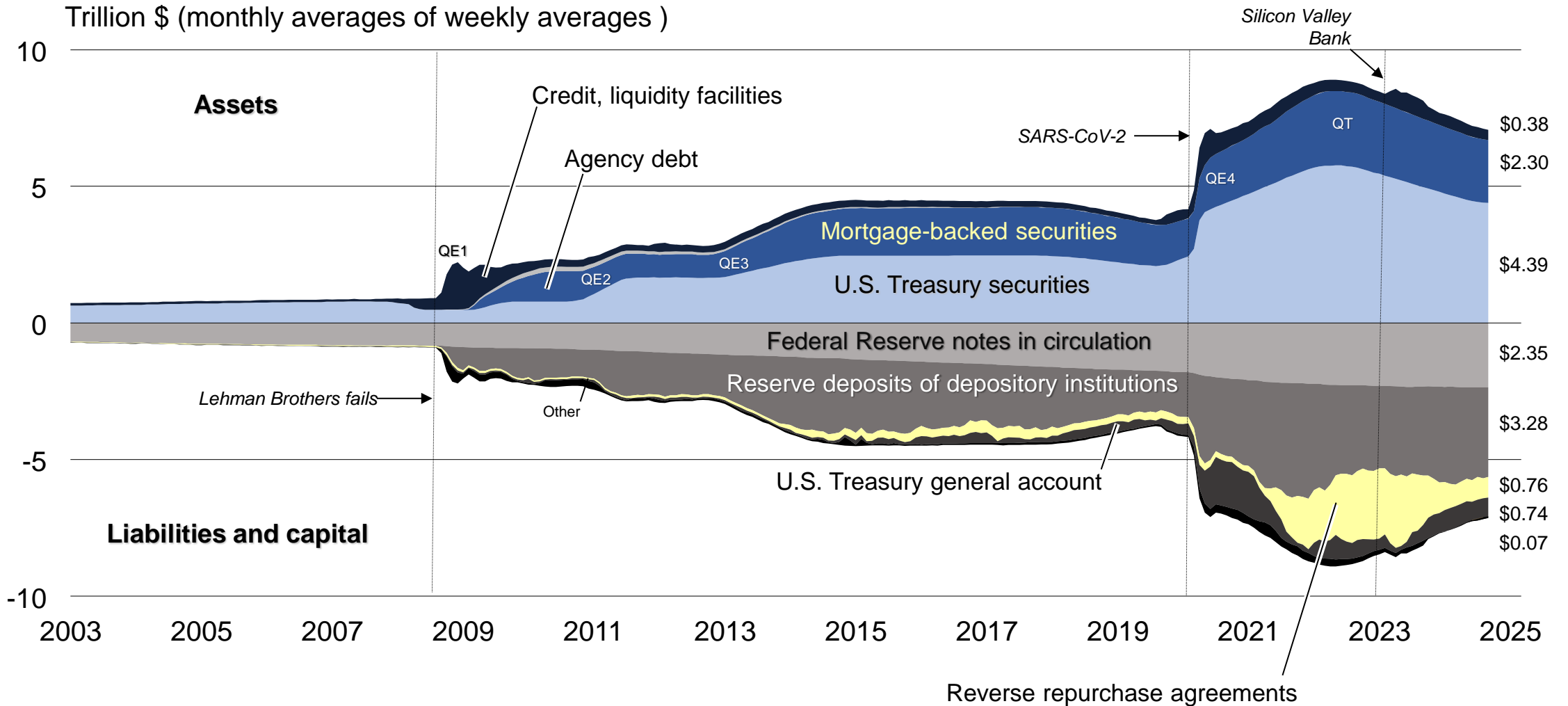
Term structure of expected (“breakeven”) inflation began lifting off (along with Bitcoin) as prospect of Trump election gained credibility

Percentage point difference between nominal Treasury yields and TIPS yields—an “expected inflation” proxy



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Quantitative tightening (QT) shrinking Fed balance sheet while policy pivots to lower target rates: reserves stable, reverse repos shrinking

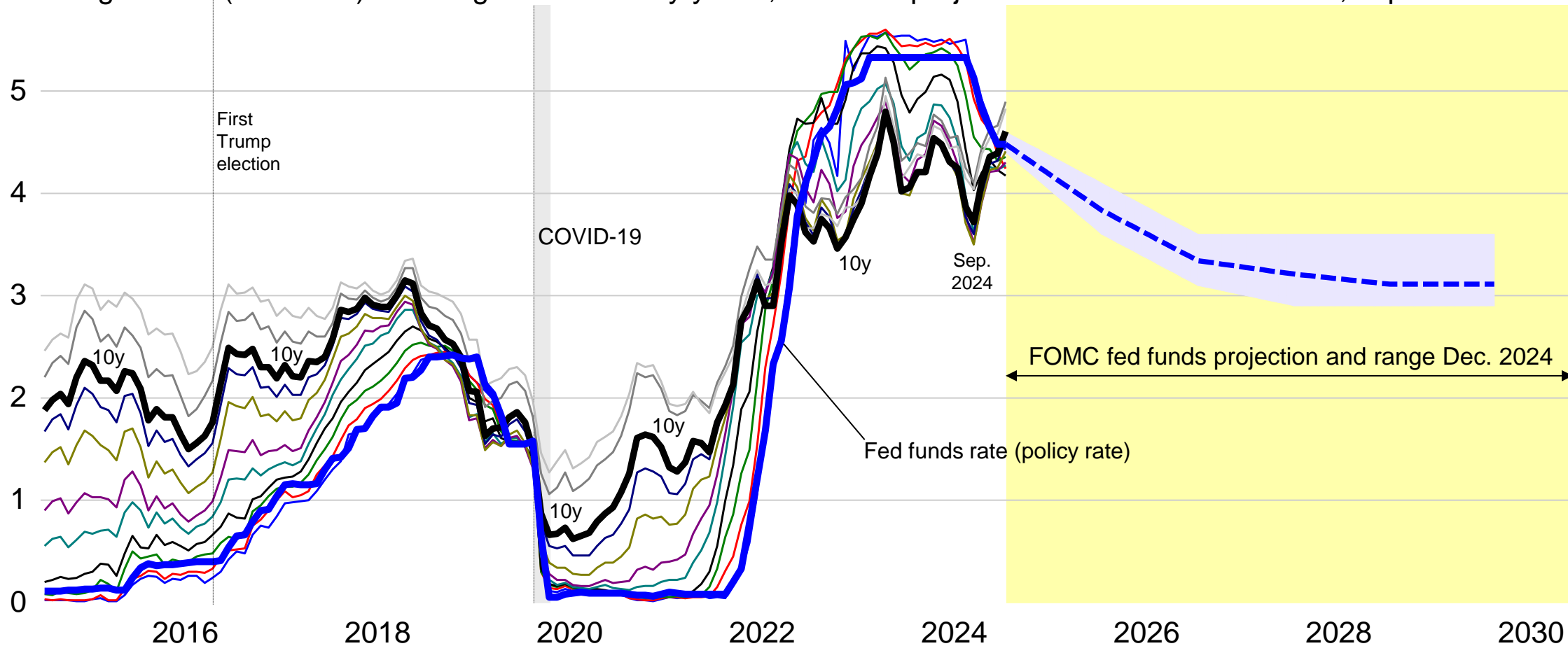


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Sources: Monthly averages of weekly averages, Federal Reserve Board (Statistical Release H.4.1), compiled through week released September 11, 2024 (<https://www.federalreserve.gov/releases/H41/default.htm>); on September 18, 2024, FOMC guidance capped monthly runoff at \$25 billion for Treasuries and \$35 billion for MBS and set the bid-offer spread on O/N reverse repos at 5.0-4.8 percent (<https://www.federalreserve.gov/newsevents/pressreleases/monetary20240918a1.htm>).

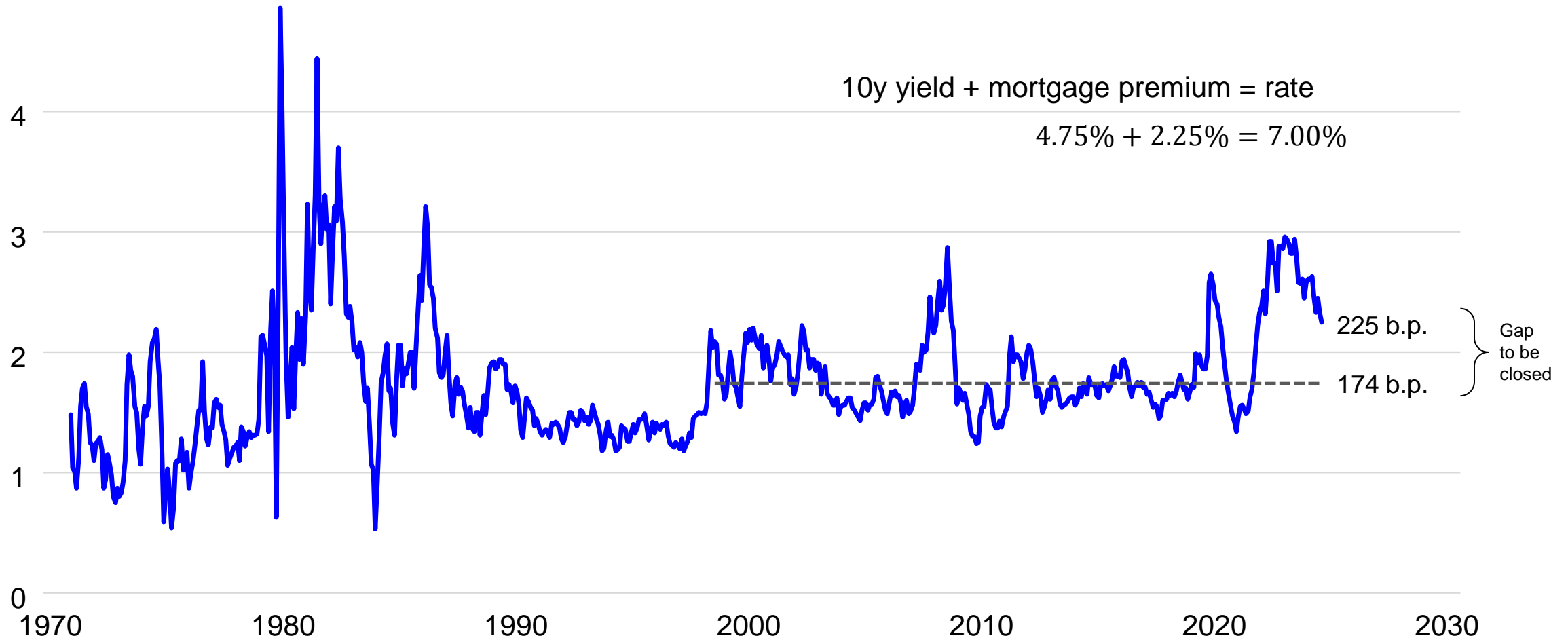
Term structure of interest rates, Dec 2024 projections; uncertain LR and overnight “neutral rates:” $3.5 \leq r_{10y}^* \leq 4.75$ and $2.8 \leq r_{O/N}^* \leq 3.6$

Overnight rates (fed funds) and long-term Treasury yields, and FRB projections for the fed funds rate, in percent



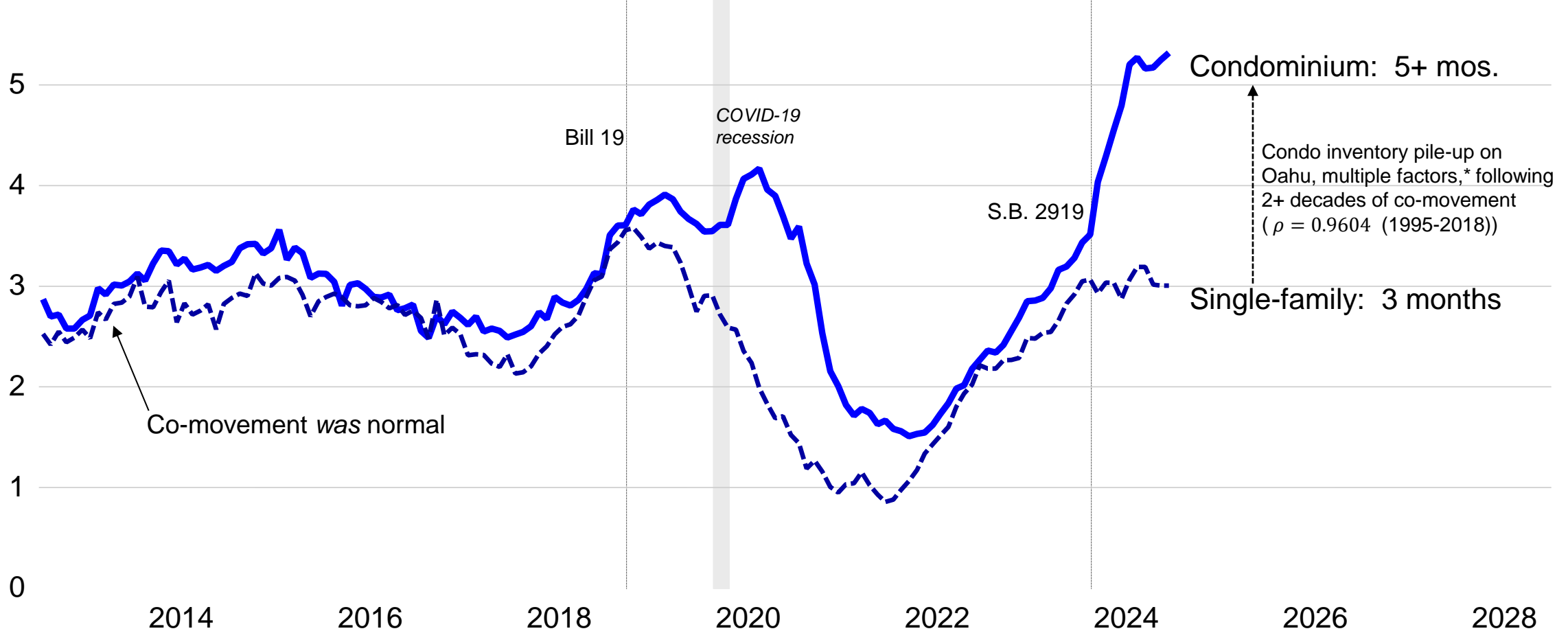
Mortgage rate premium of 175 basis points to 10-year U.S. T-Note yield about 50 basis points too high (descending but still at 225 b.p.)

Average 30-year residential mortgage rate premium to 10-year U.S. T-Note yield (percentage points)



Honolulu Bill 19 (2019), S.B. 2919 (2024) ⇒ condo stigma, raise investor uncertainty, lower risk-adjusted returns on condos, inventory pile-up

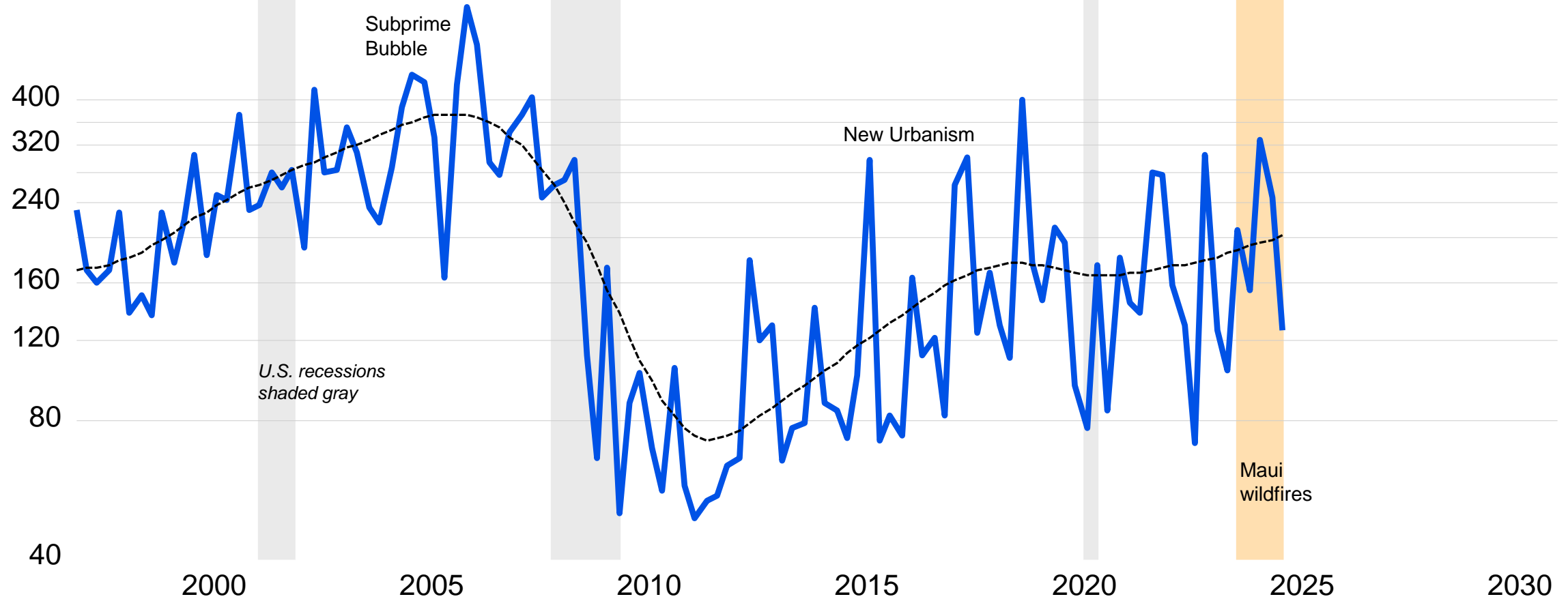
Oahu months of inventory remaining, s.a.



*Condo risk-adjusted returns impaired by vintage issues (maintenance and operation expenses), rising insurance premia, tourism pandemic hiatus in 2020, and political risk posed by county council and state legislative initiatives to affirm county governments' abilities to police, suppress short-term rentals

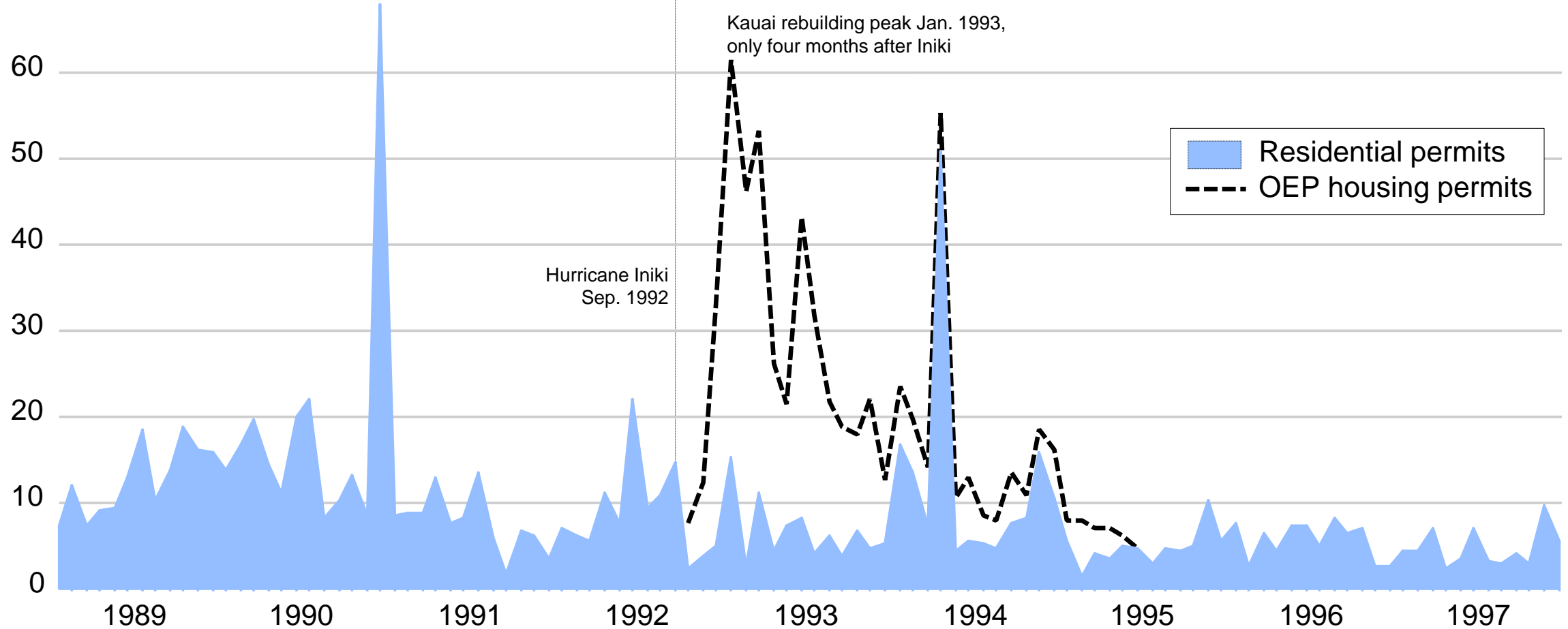
One year later, Maui new residential building permits exhibited little evidence of replacement for 2,000 houses destroyed in August 2023 wildfire

Quarterly new housing units authorized by county building permit, s.a. (log scale)

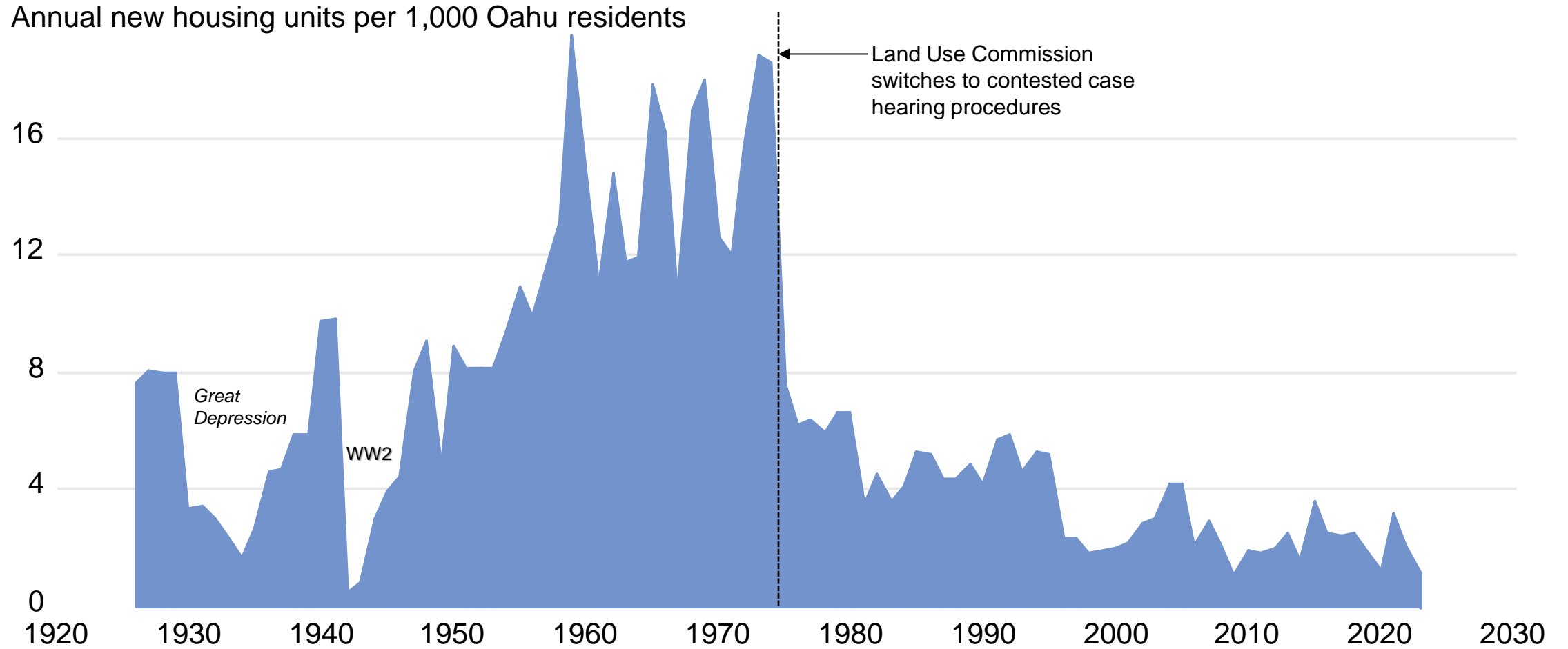


How the big girls do it: Kauai Mayor Joanne Yukimura Office of Emergency Permitting issuance peaked four *months* after hurricane Iniki (1992)

Stacked monthly Kauai residential building permit values (million current \$)



Oahu new housing units authorized by county building permit per 1,000 residents: “so good in 2023, only world war was worse”

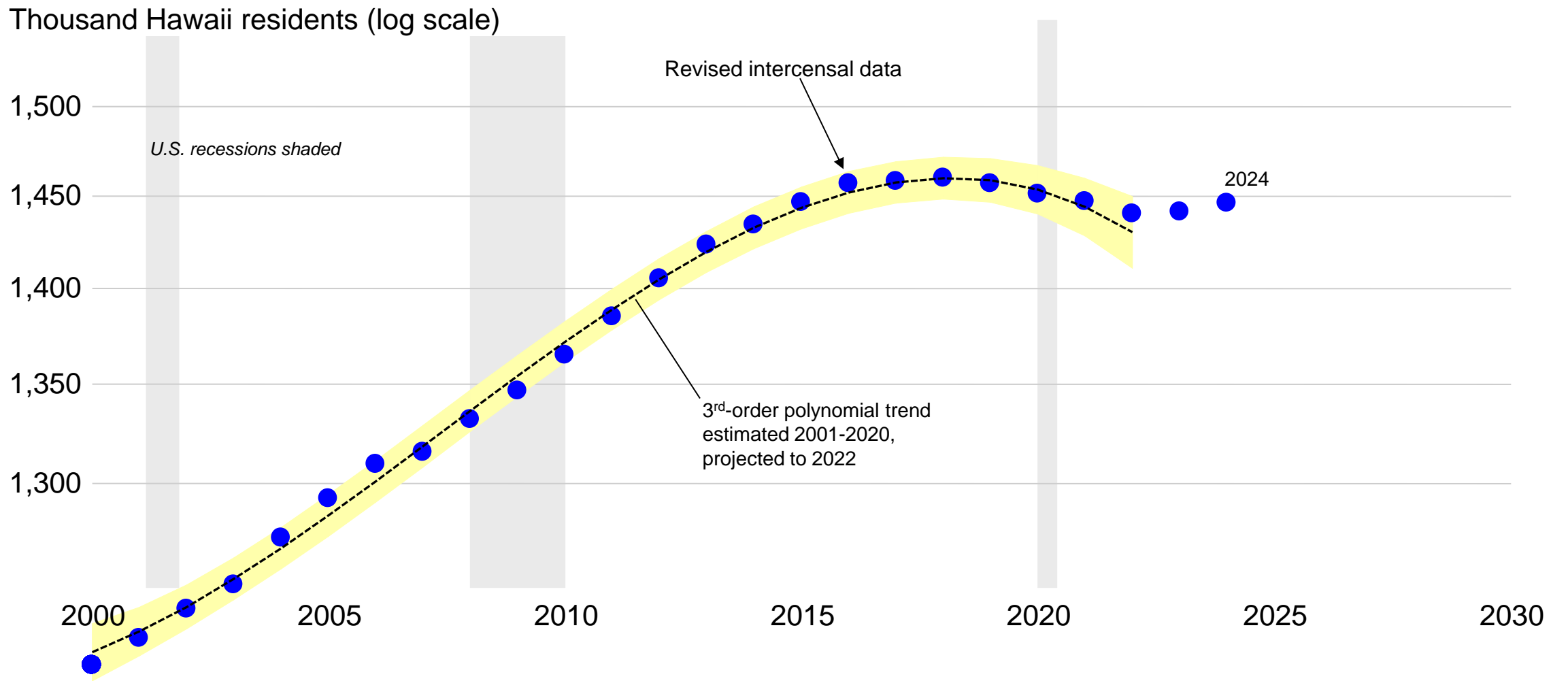




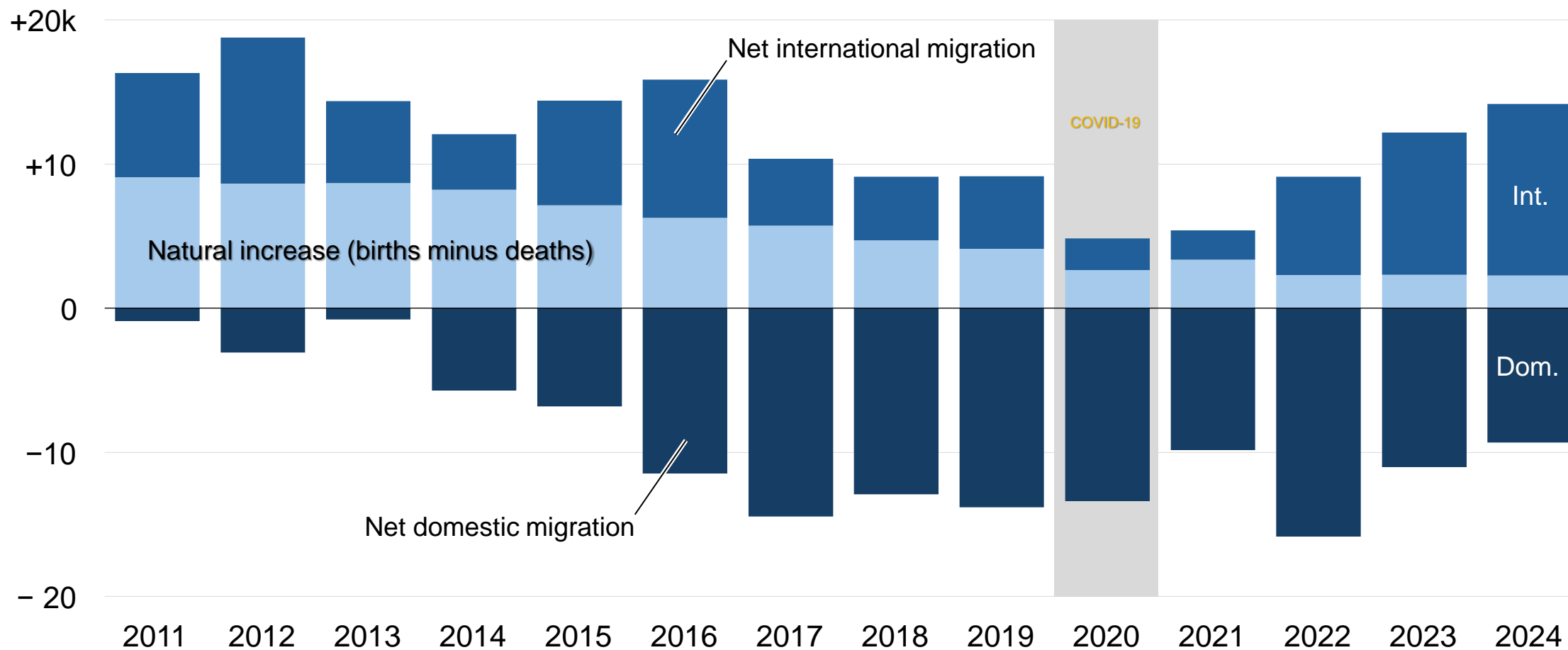
Demographic, workforce trends mixed

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Hawaii statewide resident population intercensal estimates to 2024: some post-pandemic factor now reversing late-2010s decline

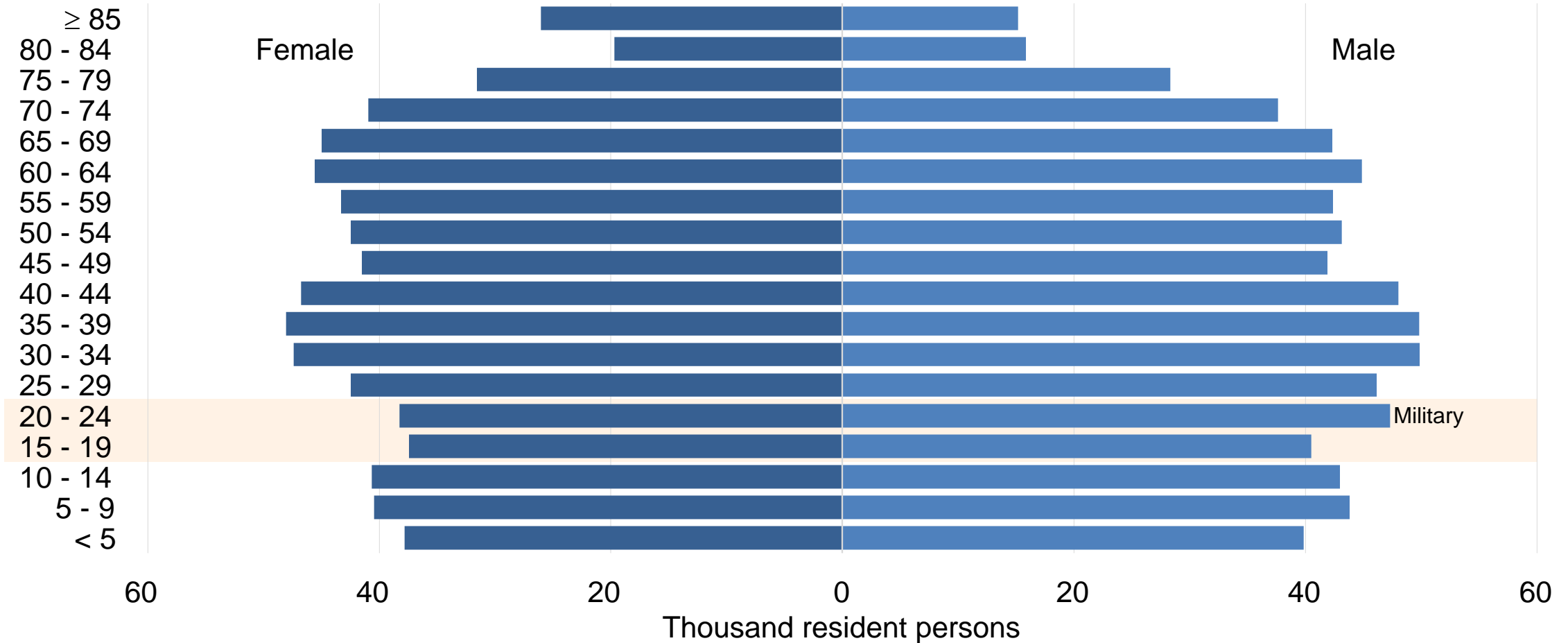


Components of Hawaii population change after 2020: increase in net international in-migration, decrease in net domestic out-migration



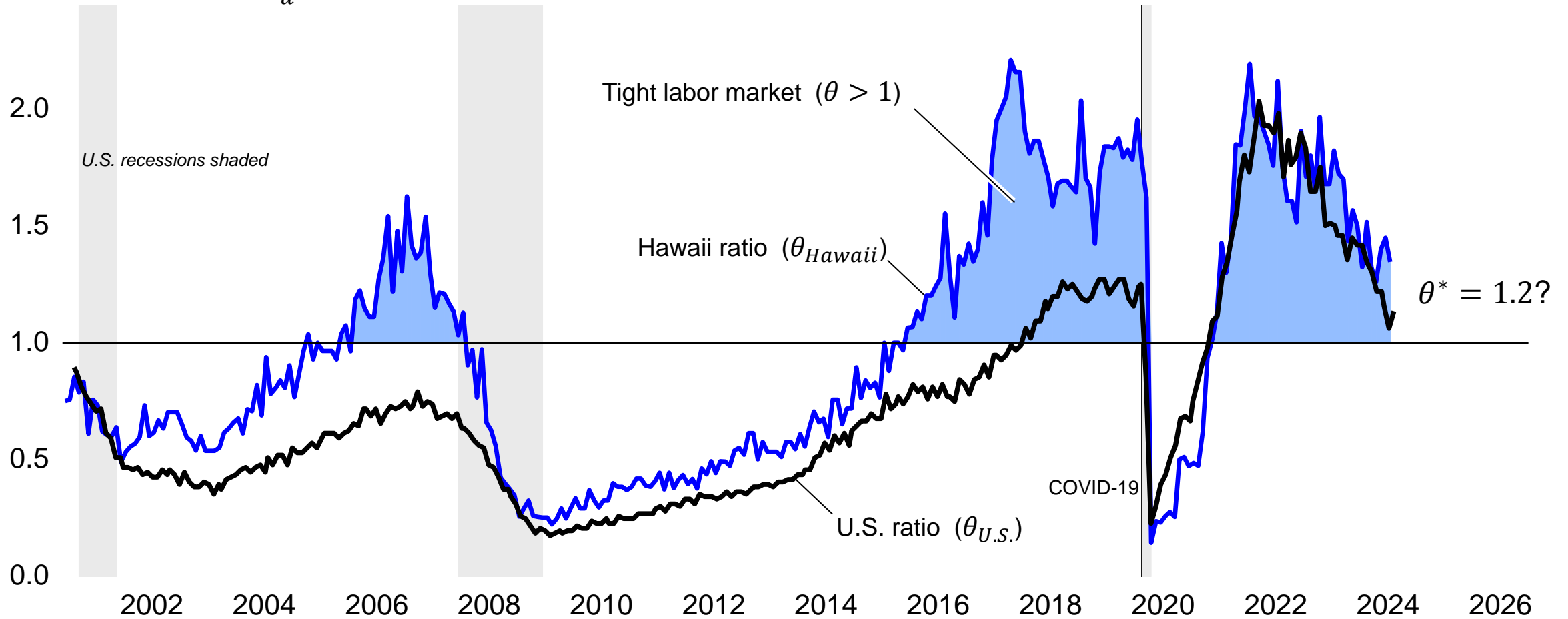
Labor constraint: more ≥ 40 than < 40 ; more in every 10-year cohort including age 65-74 than in age 15-24 cohort (workforce entrants)

Hawaii 2023 resident population by 5-year age cohort

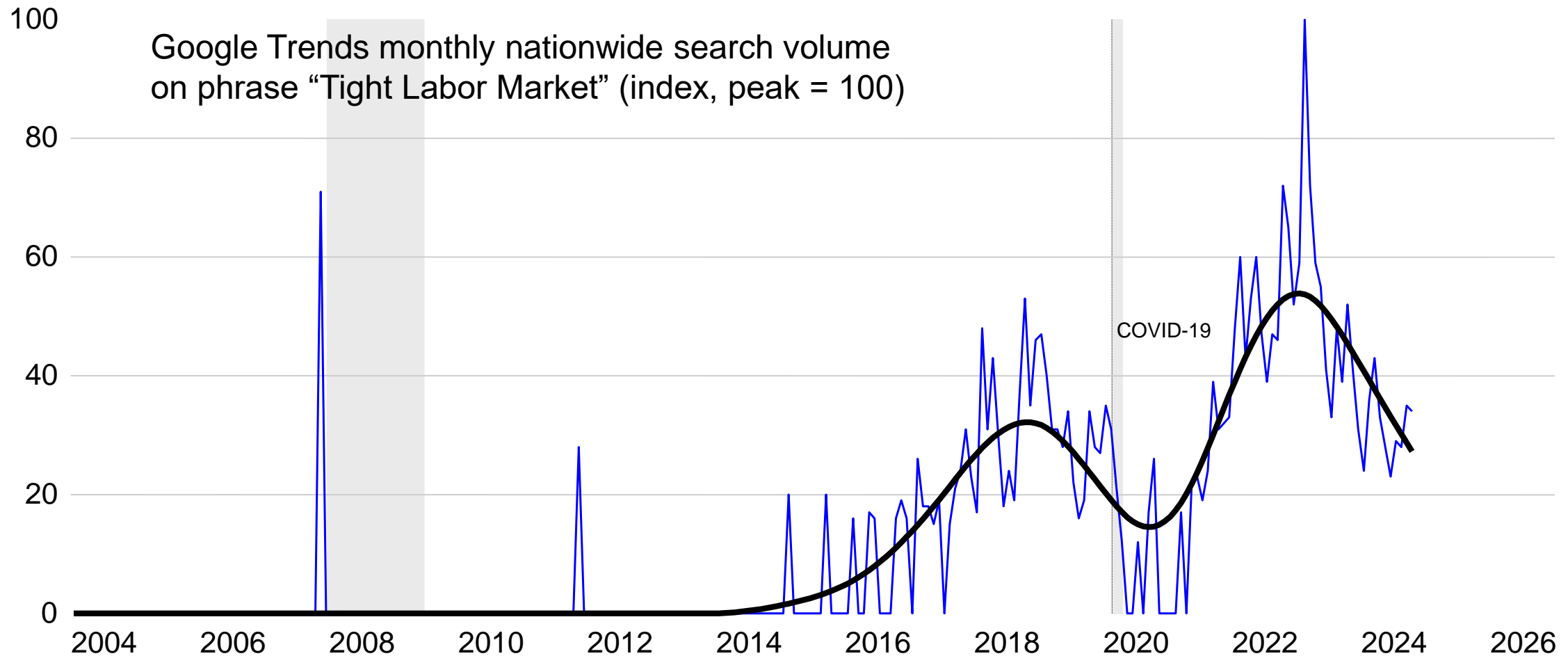


U.S. national Beveridge ratio only significantly exceeded 1 post-pandemic; recent easing of tightness vulnerable to policy uncertainty

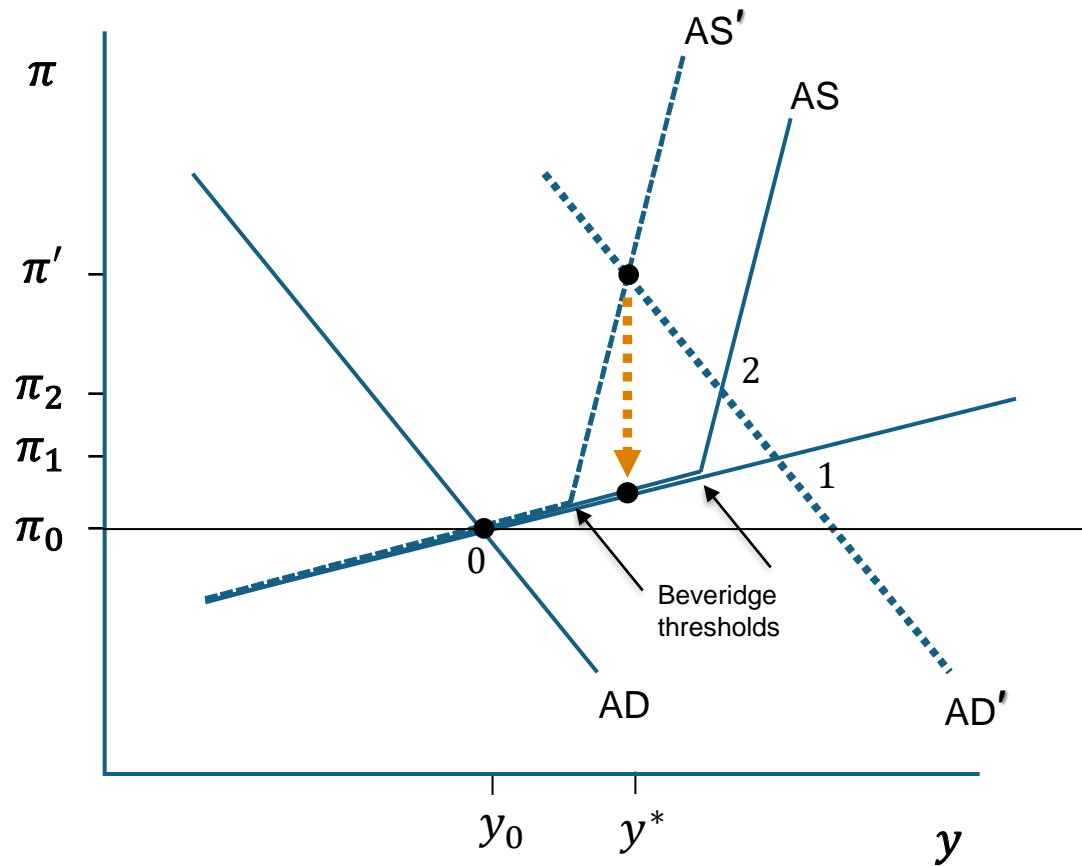
Beveridge ratio ($\theta = \frac{v}{u} \geq 1$): vacancy rate (job openings) divided by unemployment rate



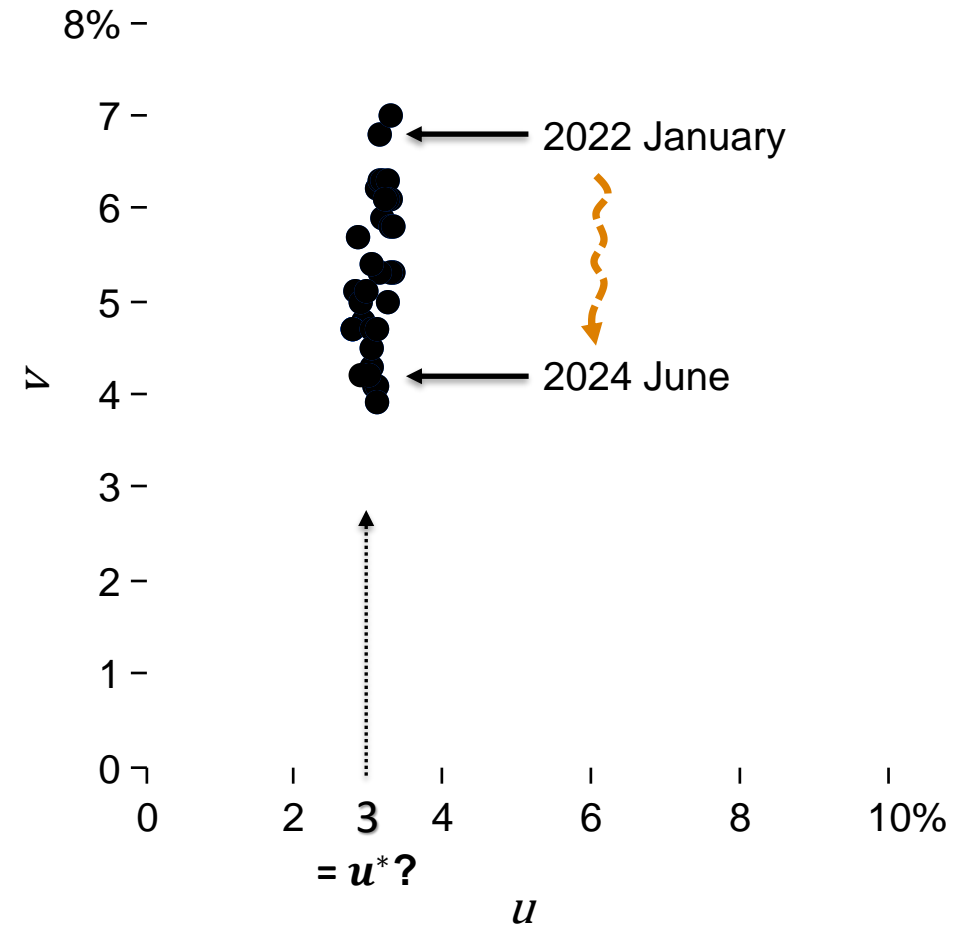
FOMC stuck the Soft Landing: what did fearful of “1970s Repeat” miss? (1) Inflation expectations well-anchored; (2) tight labor markets



Fed Jackson Hole conference (Aug. 2024): disinflation \Rightarrow job openings down (not $du > 0$)

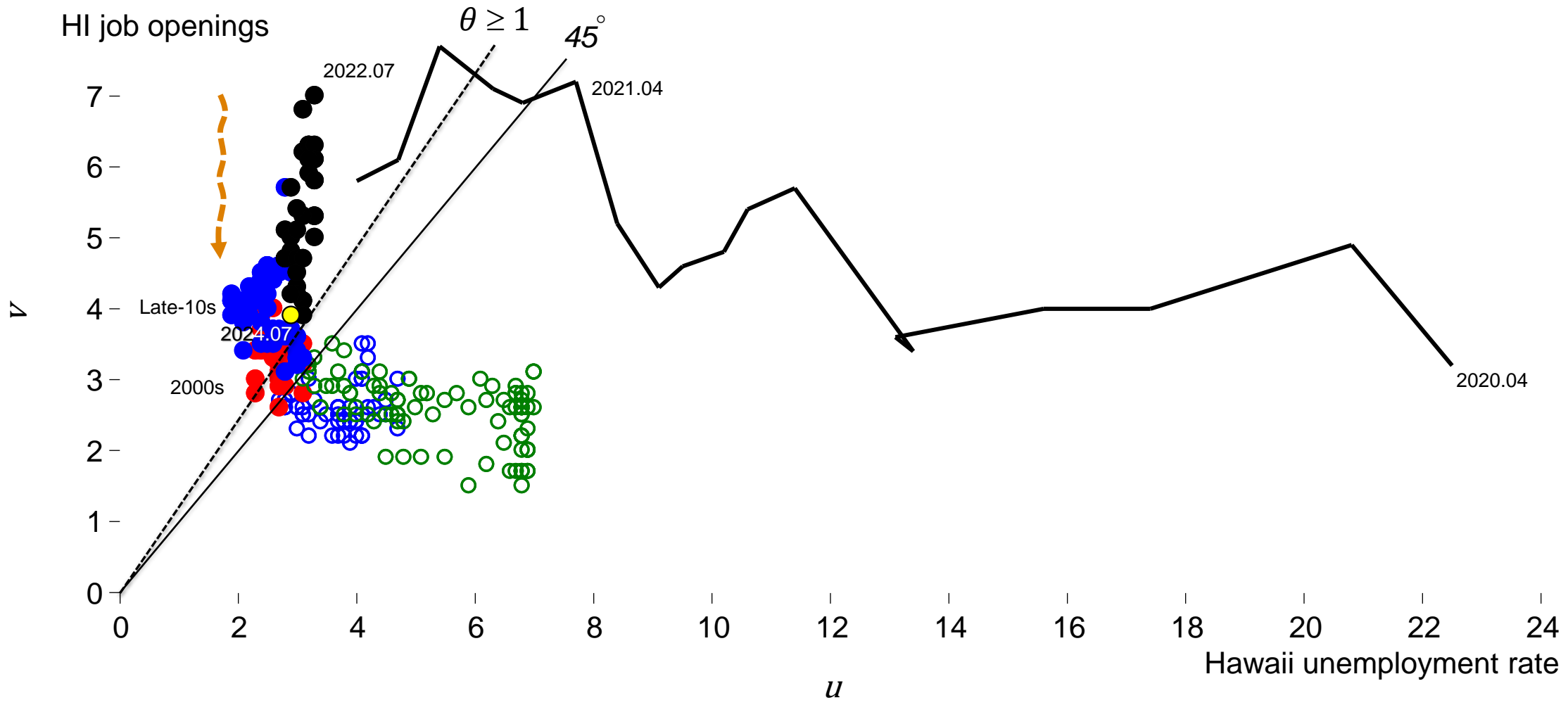


π_1 = Demand shock without Beveridge kink
 π_2 = Demand shock with Beveridge kink
 π' = Demand shock compounded by supply shock



Hawaii disinflation after waning fiscal stimuli, plus global supply chain rearticulation: falling vacancies

Hawaii Beveridge Curve (full dataset 2001-2024))—post-pandemic job openings cycled up and over 7 percent; once $\frac{v}{u} > \theta \approx 1$, combined with supply chain rearticulation, $d\pi \ll 0$, $du = 0$.

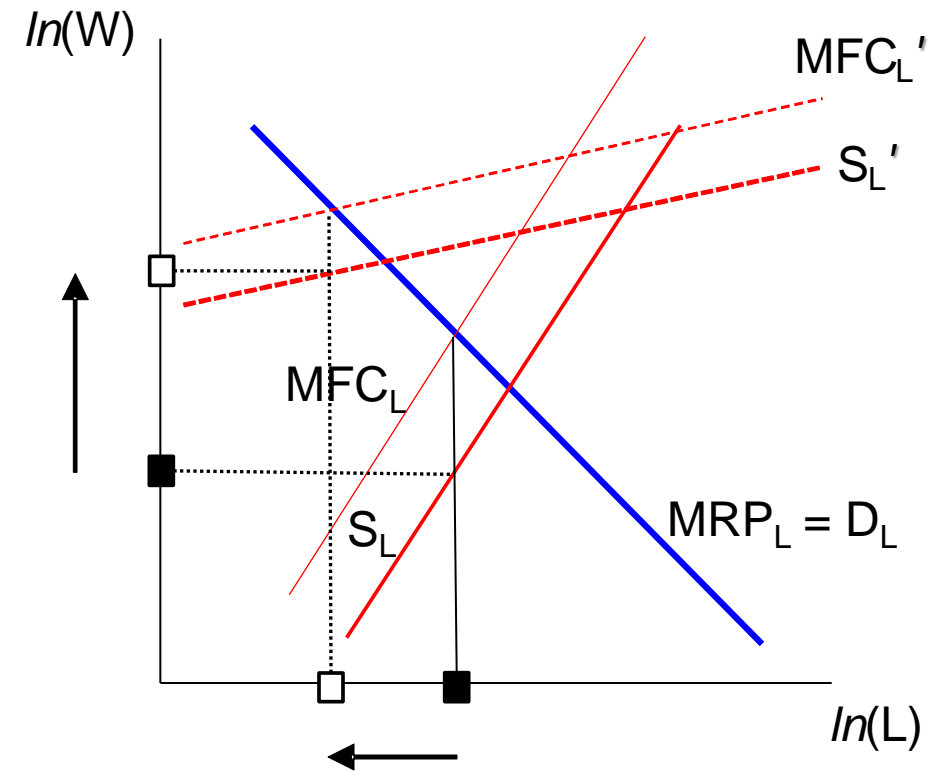


Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics Job Opening and Labor Turnover Survey (JOLTS) (<https://www.bls.gov/data/home.htm>)

Derived demand is marginal revenue product of labor (MRP_L), it equals marginal factor cost (MFC_L) at $Max(\pi)$ employment, but market wage determined by supply; now suppose reservation wage rises

Pandemic recovery: increased quit elasticity among young, non-college workers moving from lower-paying to higher-paying, more productive jobs (monopolistic competition)

1. Half of wage increase from job change rather than same-job wage growth
2. Increased pattern of competition reallocating workers from low- to higher-wage employers
3. Boost to wages in low-productivity firms larger than for high-productivity firms!
4. Consistent with higher employment share of larger firms



After "Figure 2: Effect of Rotation of Labor Supply Curve in Monopsonistic Labor Market"

Autor *et al*: Quit elasticity rose for young, non-college workers; half of wage increase from job changes from low- to high-wage employers



- “The pandemic increased the elasticity of labor supply to firms in the low-wage labor market, reducing employer market power and spurring rapid relative wage growth among young non-college workers who disproportionately moved from lower-paying to higher-paying and potentially more-productive jobs.”
- Rising labor market tightness drove wage compression, boosting quit elasticity, augmenting competition in the low-wage labor market

Search for jobs with amenities: worker preference shift—take working-from-home (WFH) in place of pay (Şahin; Autor; Bloom)

“The pandemic increased the elasticity of labor supply to firms in the [*monopsonistically-competitive*] low-wage labor market, reducing employer market power and spurring rapid relative wage growth among young non-college workers who disproportionately moved from lower-paying to higher-paying and potentially more-productive jobs.” (Autor *et al*)

1. Quits rose: Great Resignation in search for more flexible job opportunities
2. Vacancies increased: hard-to-fill, *low-amenity* vacancies
3. Job-filling rate decreased: shift in worker preferences to more flexible jobs
4. Wage compression at bottom of distribution (Autor *et al*)
5. Workers at top of distribution “willing to pay” up to 8-10% of income for full-time WFH (Bloom *et al*)

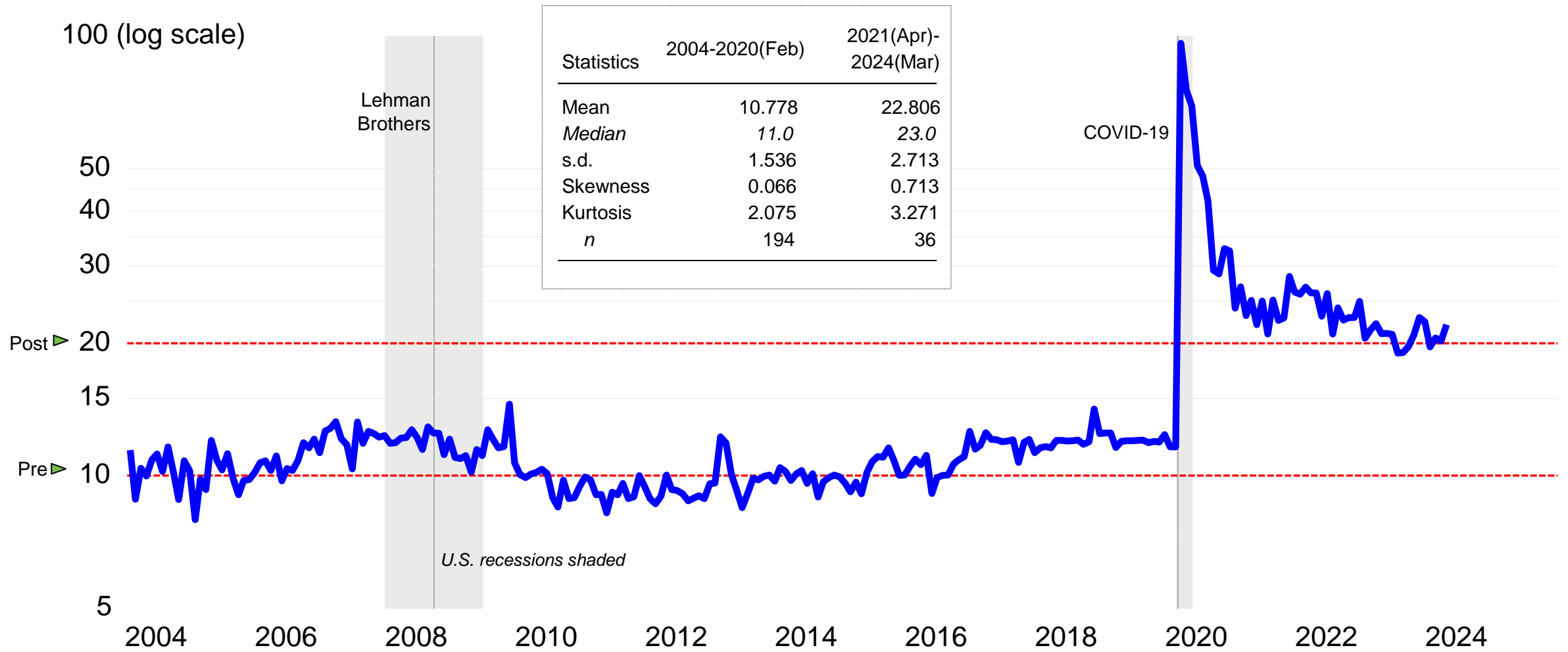
Şahin (*et al*): *the shift in worker preferences coupled with rapid recovery triggered an increase in quits in search of more flexible job opportunities and put downward pressure on wages in high amenity jobs*

WFH post-pandemic = simultaneous, unplanned, successful universal experiment in distributed work; stabilized at higher share than before

- WFH significant impact on residential real estate (spatial and temporal pattern of housing valuation dynamics) and some CRE classes (office primarily, retail secondarily)
 1. Urban core (Oahu) Donut Effect (Nick Bloom, Stanford): one-time WFH demand wave toward suburbs, exurbs, Zoomtowns (e.g. Maui, Kona-Kohala *resort condos*)
 2. Lesser impact on urban core condos (Survival of the City (Ed Glaeser, Harvard))
- Recent empirical analysis: John Mondragon and Johannes Wieland (May 2022), “Housing Demand and Remote Work” Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, suggesting that one-half of U.S. annual home price appreciation since 2019 is attributable to remote work

Sources: Arjun Ramani & Nicholas Bloom (May 2021), “The Donut Effect of Covid-19 on Cities,” *NBER Working Paper 28876* (<https://www.nber.org/papers/w28876>) and “Nick Bloom on Working From Home...Will it Persist?” Bendheim Center for Finance (Princeton) webinar (<https://bcf.princeton.edu/events/nick-bloom-working-from-home-will-it-persist/>), Edward Glaeser (October 2021), “Survival of the City,” Bendheim Center for Finance (Princeton) webinar (<https://bcf.princeton.edu/events/edward-glaeser-on-triumph-of-the-city-the-future-of-urban-life-and-work/>), John Mondragon and Johannes Wieland (May 2022), “Housing Demand and Remote Work” *NBER Working Paper No. w30041* (<https://www.frbsf.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/wp2022-11.pdf>).

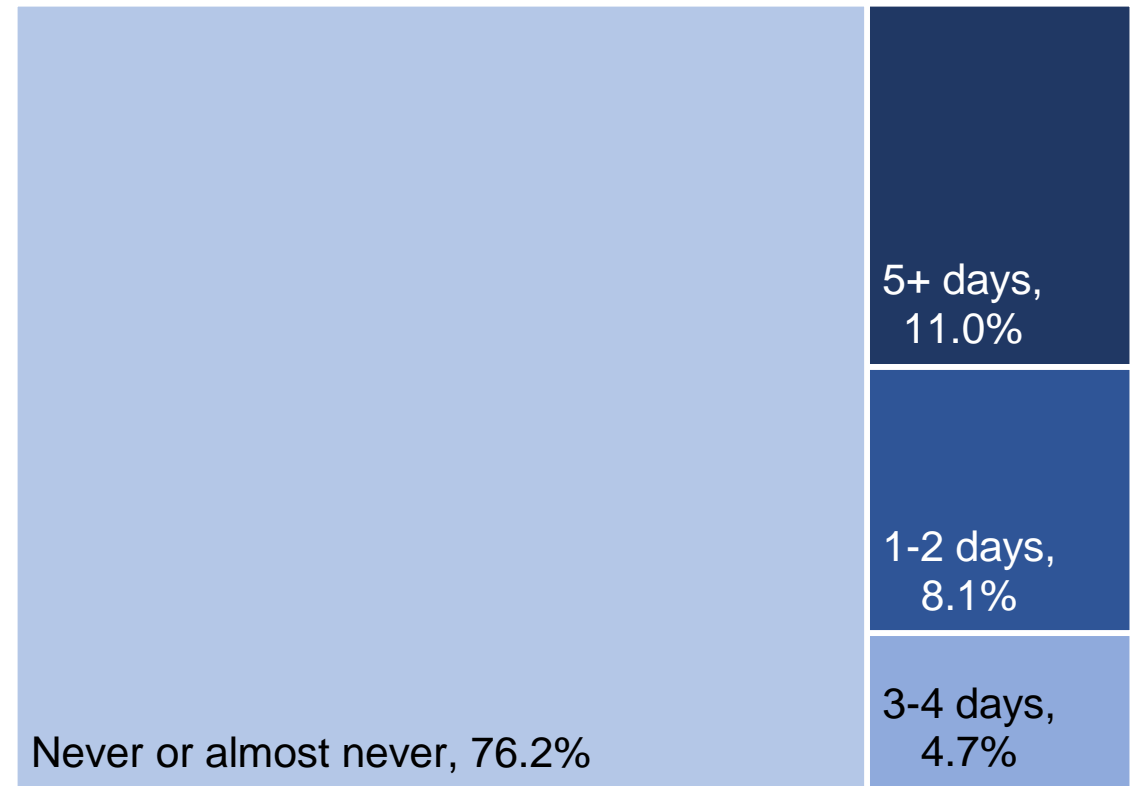
Global Google searches on the phrase “working from home” jumped at pandemic onset, still *double* pre-pandemic volumes after settling



Almost 90% of U.S. workers never worked from home before 2020; in 2024 almost 25% of all Hawaii workers did, full-time or hybrid WFH

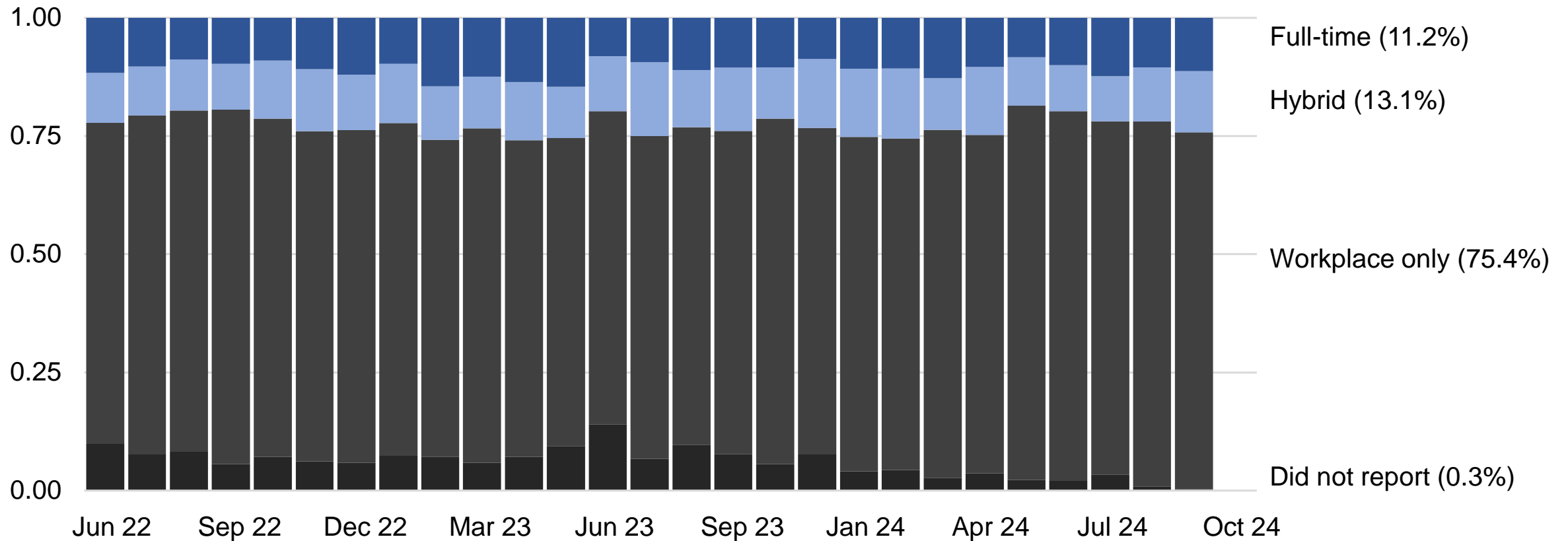


Pre-pandemic (U.S.)

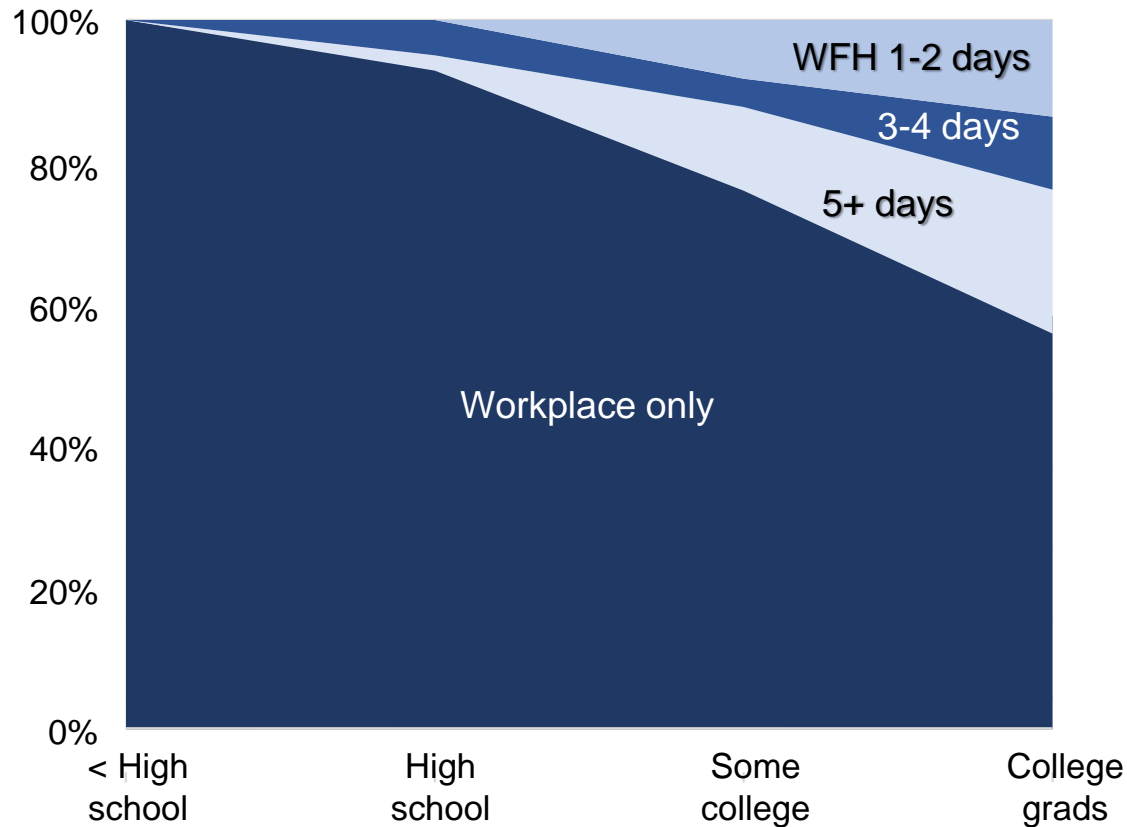


September 2024 (Hawaii)

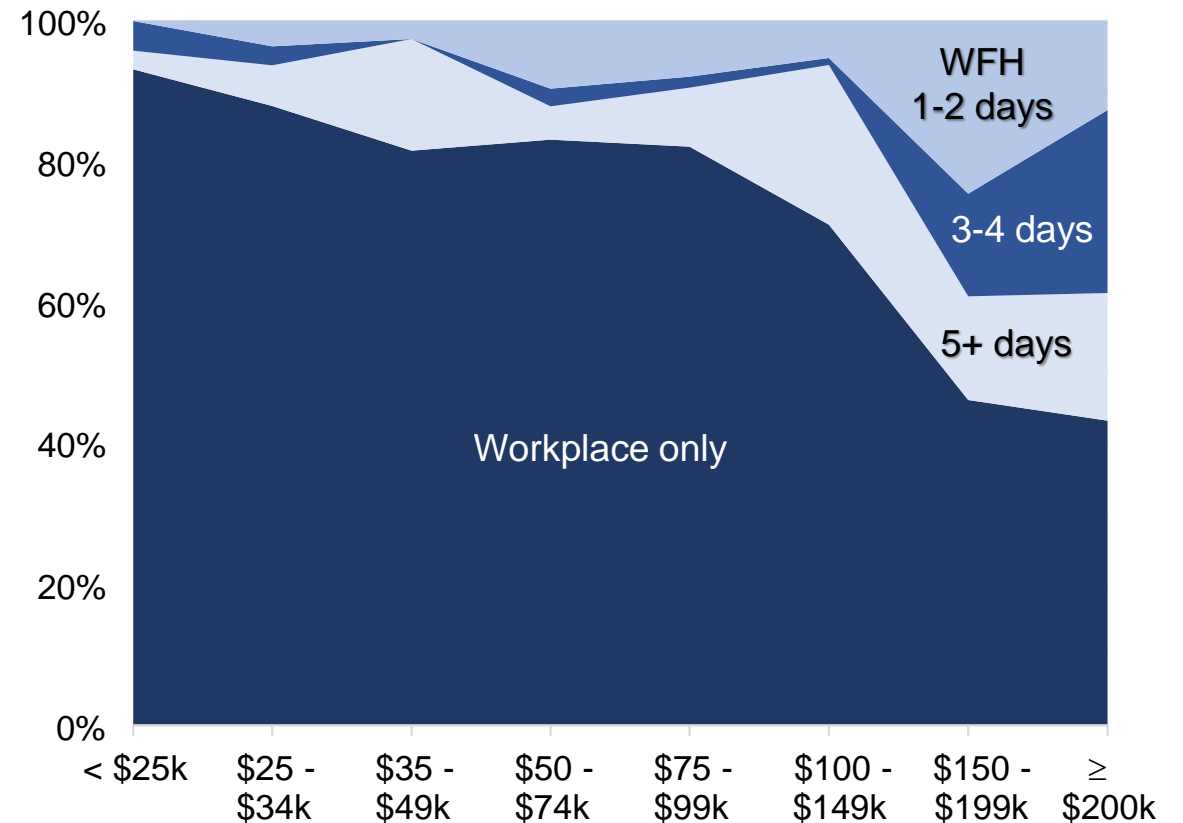
Hawaii working in workplaces and from home—full-time and hybrid—remained steady in 2022-24 Census Bureau Household Pulse Surveys



Hawaii WFH by education, income: tasks, occupations, industries with remote workers distinctly influence commercial real estate



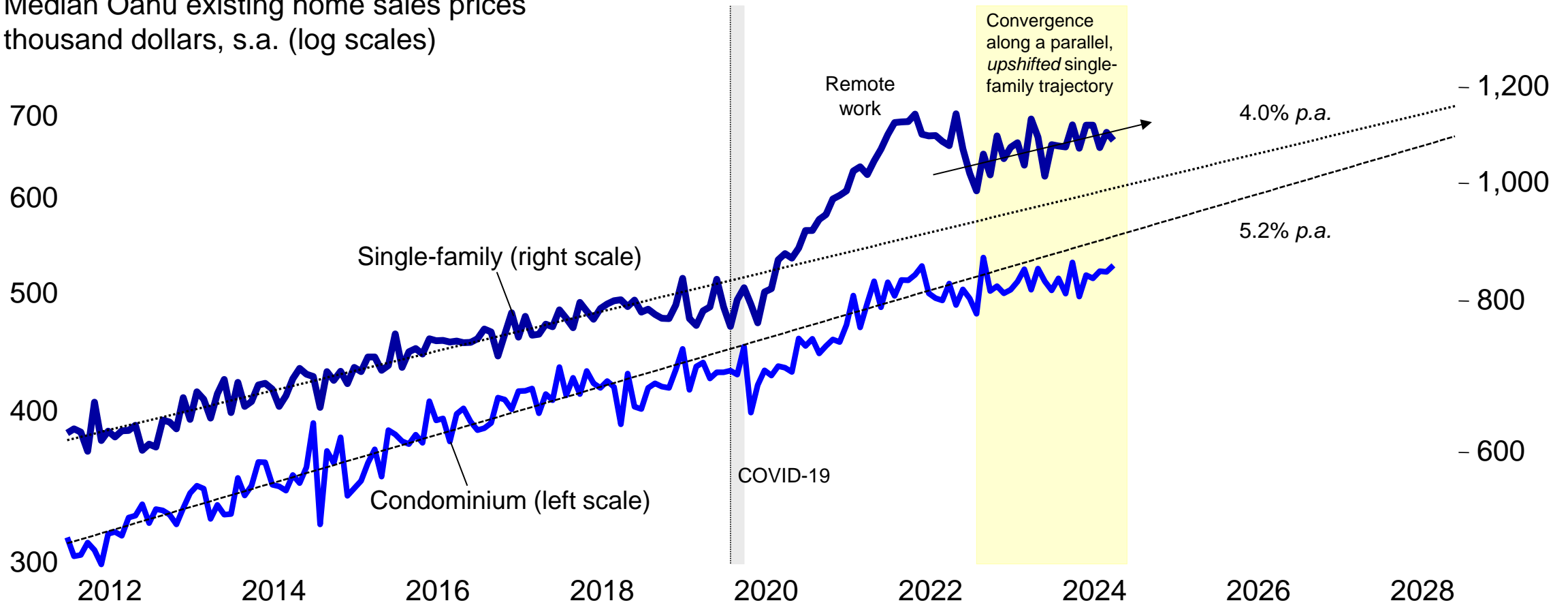
By educational attainment



By household income

Oahu median existing home sales prices trajectories since 2022: SF prices *above*, parallel to 2010s pre-pandemic trend (not condos)

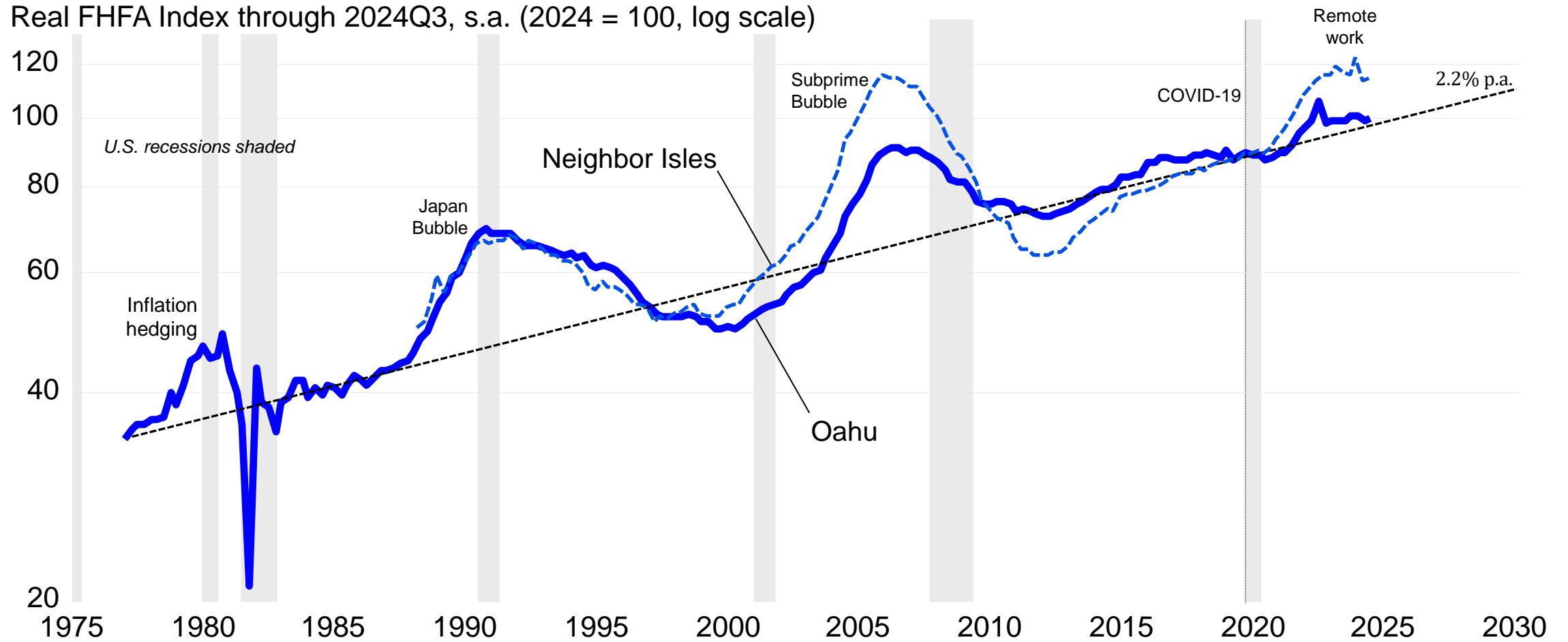
Median Oahu existing home sales prices
thousand dollars, s.a. (log scales)



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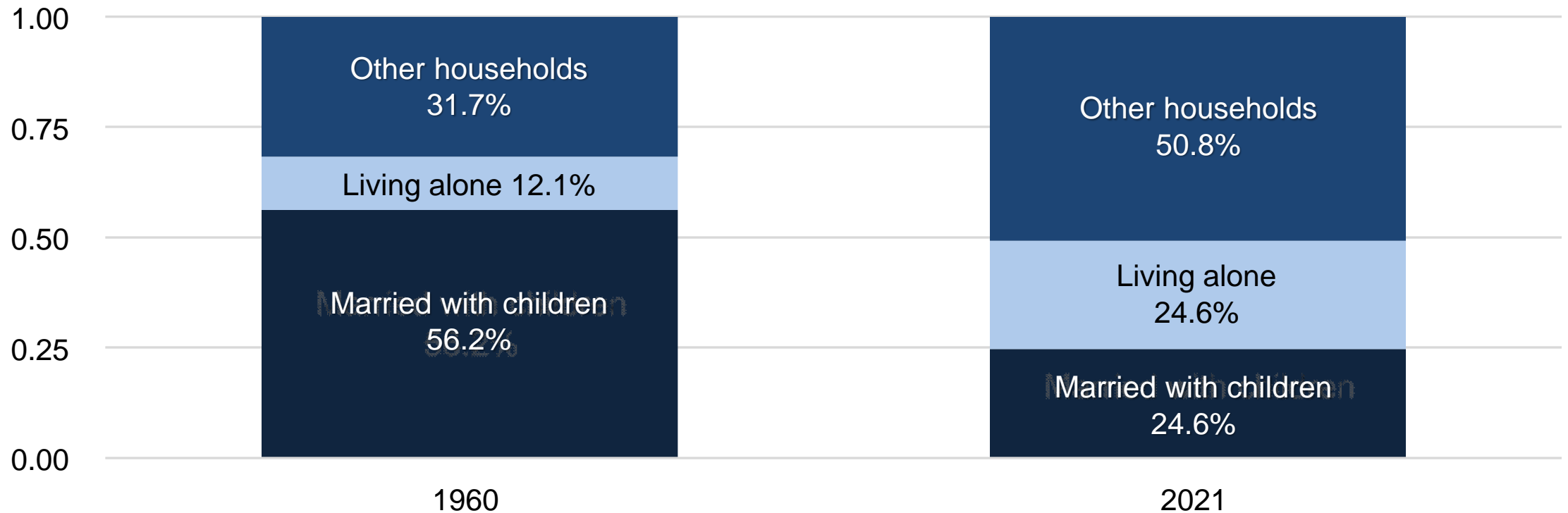
Sources: Honolulu Board of Realtors, Hawaii DBEDT (<http://dbedt.hawaii.gov/economic/meil/>); monthly median existing home sales prices seasonally adjusted using Census X-13 ARIMA filter through December 2024, with stationary trend regressions on pre-pandemic interval 2011(June)-2018(June), by TZ Economics.

Real—inflation-adjusted—quarterly housing valuation impulses above, around LR appreciation rate (sales *and* mortgage collateral values)



Hawaii household *composition* since the mid-20th century: more units needed for more *independent* living—women, elderly, incels with trucks

Hawaii household composition, 1960 census vs. 2021 ACS data





Demographic, workforce trends: post-pandemic *structural* change

- Resident population *increased*, 2022-2024, after decreasing, 2018-2022
 - Rising international in-migration to Hawaii
 - Falling domestic out-migration from Hawaii: post-pandemic *reversal*
 - Vagabond and remote workers moving *to* Hawaii? New STR tourist cohort?
- Easing of tight labor market (post-pandemic drop in $\frac{v}{u}$) may portend future macro slowdown
- Remote and hybrid work stabilized around one-quarter of Hawaii workforce, post-pandemic:
 - Donut Effect on housing valuations (housing demand spatially radiated to suburbs, exurbs)
 - Impact expressed as higher suburban SF home prices relative to urban condos
 - CRE implication: workers who don't commute don't stop at gym, mall on the drive home
 - Are Neighbor Islands now Zoomtowns? New offshore investor (Dick Mayer's worst nightmare)



Hawaii real GDP per capita permanently was reduced 10 percent by pandemic legacy and official state policies to suppress tourism

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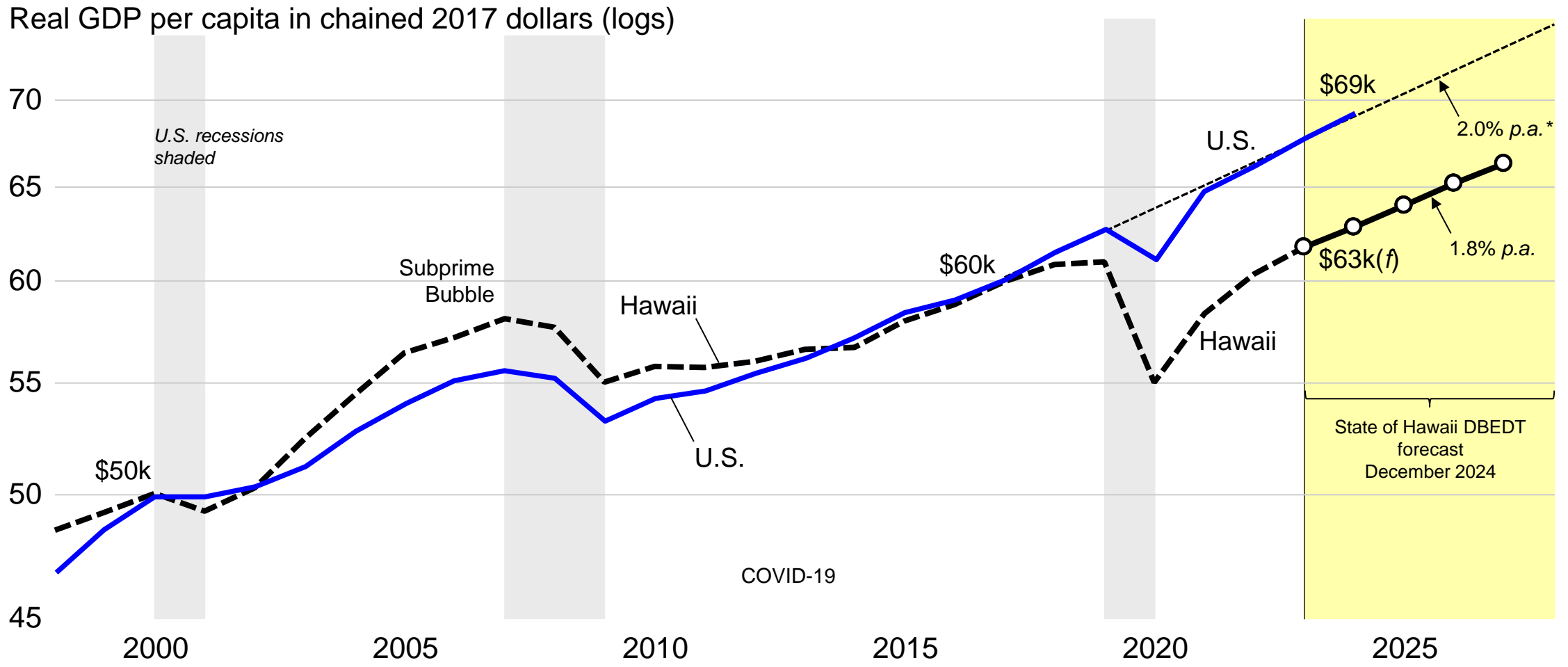
O'AHU DESTINATION MANAGEMENT ACTION PLAN 2021–2024

O'AHU

Action A

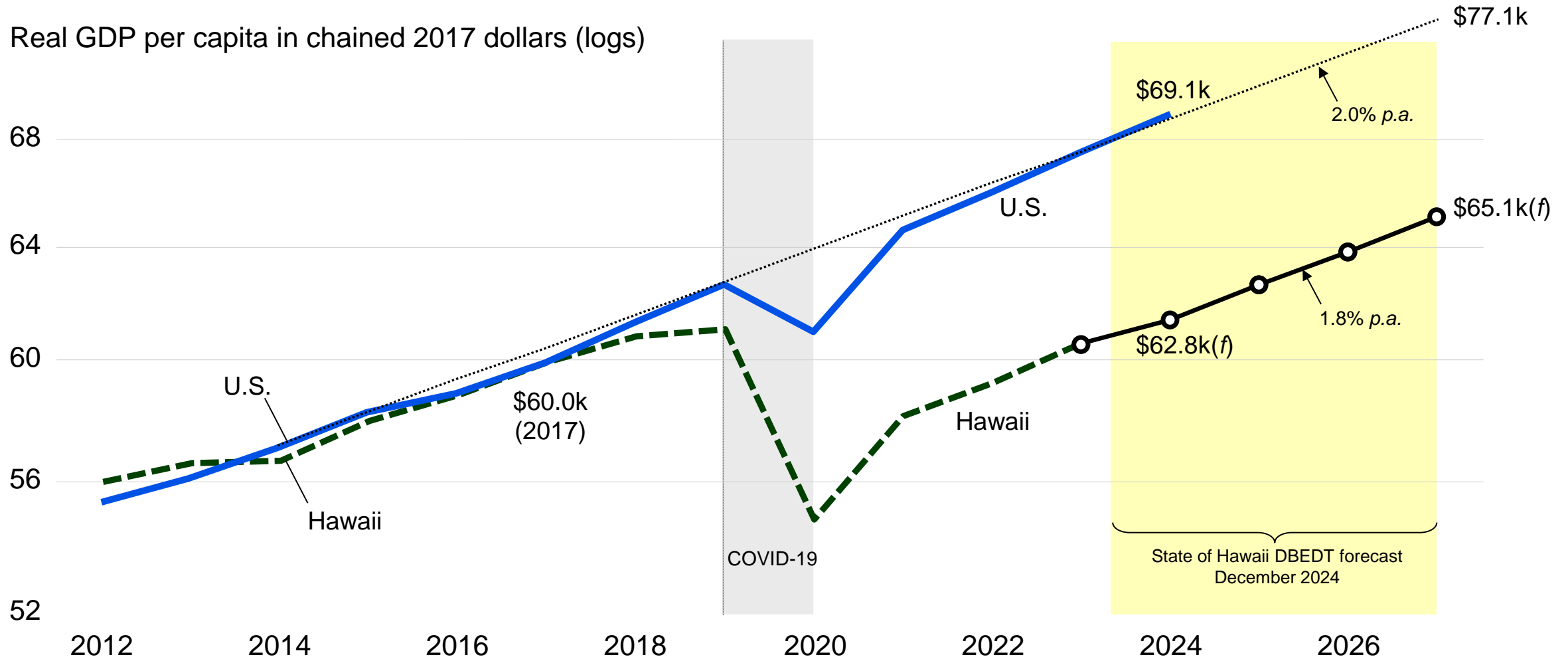
Decrease the total number of visitors to O'ahu to a manageable level by controlling the number of visitor accommodations and exploring changes to land use, zoning and airport policies.

Hawaii and U.S. per capita real GDP matched, traded places over pre-pandemic decades; risk of persistent Hawaii shortfall in 2020s



Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, (<https://www.bea.gov/data/gdp/gdp-state>). *Stationary trend regression on U.S. real per capita GDP, 2017-2023. Hawaii real per capita GDP forecast growth rate calculated from Hawaii DBEDT (December 4, 2024) *Quarterly Statistical & Economic Report: Outlook for the Economy* (<https://dbedt.hawaii.gov/economic/qser/outlook-economy/>). Annual U.S. data for 2024 GDP scheduled for release January 30, 2025, and GDP by state data for 2024 scheduled for release March 28, 2025 (<https://www.bea.gov/system/files/2024-09/2025-News-Release-Schedule.pdf>).

State of Hawaii output forecast 2024-2027: growth near that for U.S. during 2020s, still *lower* per capita GDP in 2027 than in U.S. *last year*

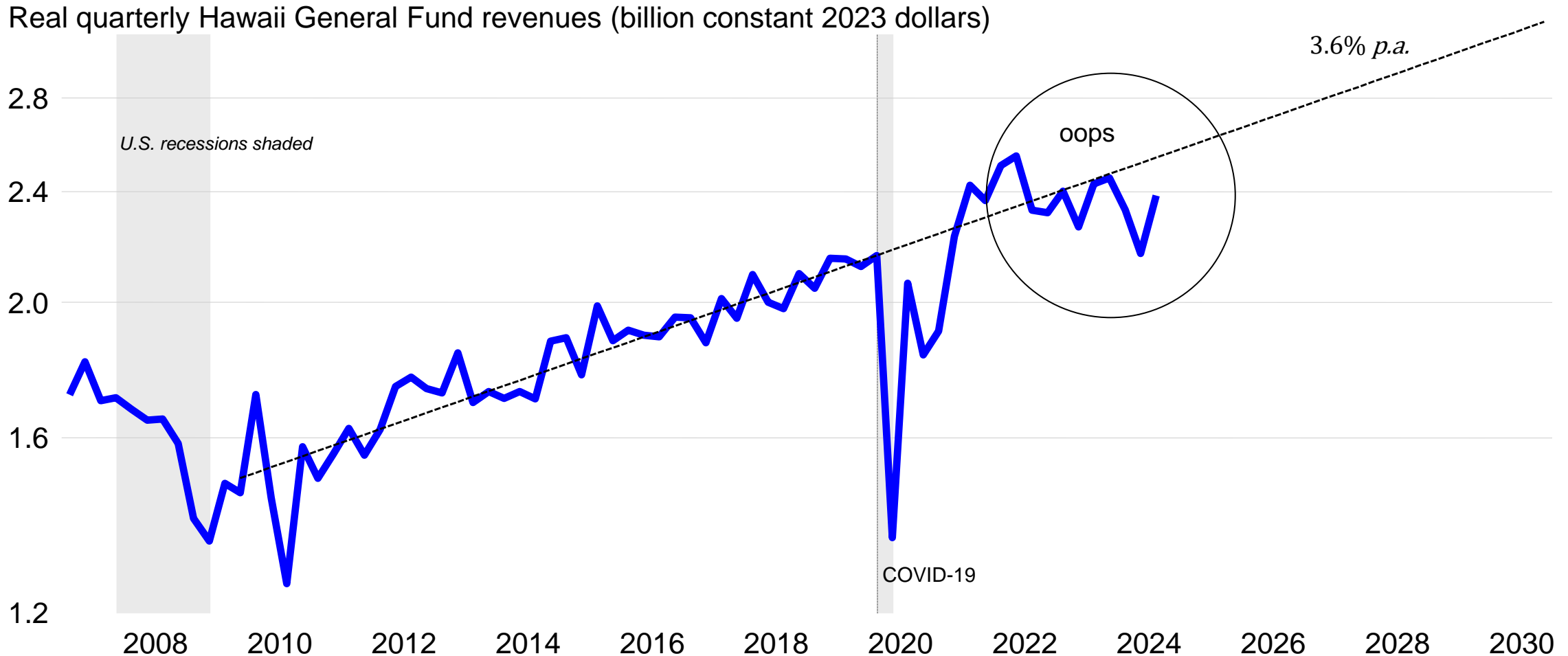


Source: U.S. Bureau of Economic Analysis, (<https://www.bea.gov/data/gdp/gdp-state>), stationary trend regression on U.S. real per capita GDP, 2014-2023, at 2.0% compound annual growth rate; Hawaii real per capita GDP forecast growth rate by Hawaii DBEDT (December 4, 2024) (<https://dbedt.hawaii.gov/economic/qser/outlook-economy/>). U.S. data through 2024; GDP by state data for 2024 to be released March 28, 2025 (<https://www.bea.gov/system/files/2024-09/2025-News-Release-Schedule.pdf>).

Final takeaways: monetary policy trajectory in hand—lower interest rates if inflation subsides on trend—fiscal policy chaotic, uncertain

- U.S. Federal Reserve anticipating gradual interest rate descent—risk now is federal *fiscal* policy (risk of incipient U.S. recession induced by instantaneous federal government downsizing)
 1. Overnight policy rate—fed funds rate—has another 100-150 basis points to subside
 2. Difference between long-term rates (say, 10-year today @ 4.50%) and short-term rates (say, overnight today @ 4.25%) should widen through 2027 (maybe to 4.0% long, 3.0% short)
- Hawaii's options limited in dealing with global and national macro shocks (layoffs, tariffs, *etc.*)
 1. At 150-160 ¥/\$ not much Hawaii can do to retrieve Japanese travelers
 2. Federal government in Hawaii dominated by defense, but non-defense remains vulnerable
 3. Hawaii also throttled by self-owns (anti-tourism, anti-science, anti-development denialism)
 4. Demographic realities: absent immigration, only *human capital* can mitigate labor shortages
- Systemic vulnerability (Washington D.C.) can be countered by local initiatives to clear pathway for greater flows of *physical* capital formation (urban density; *multiples* of homebuilding): leadership

Current real General Fund revenue trends suggest Hawaii not as resilient as perceived, not robust to fading federal stimuli, tourism



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Source: Hawaii Dept. of Taxation, Hawaii DBEDT (https://files.hawaii.gov/dbedt/economic/data_reports/mei/2024-08-state.xls), U.S. BLS (<https://data.bls.gov/toppicks?survey=r9>), quarterly data including 2024Q3 estimate based on year-over-year nominal change in July-August monthly data. Seasonal adjustment, deflation with quarterly interpolated Urban Hawaii CPI-U, and stationary trend regression by TZE. .

Pau

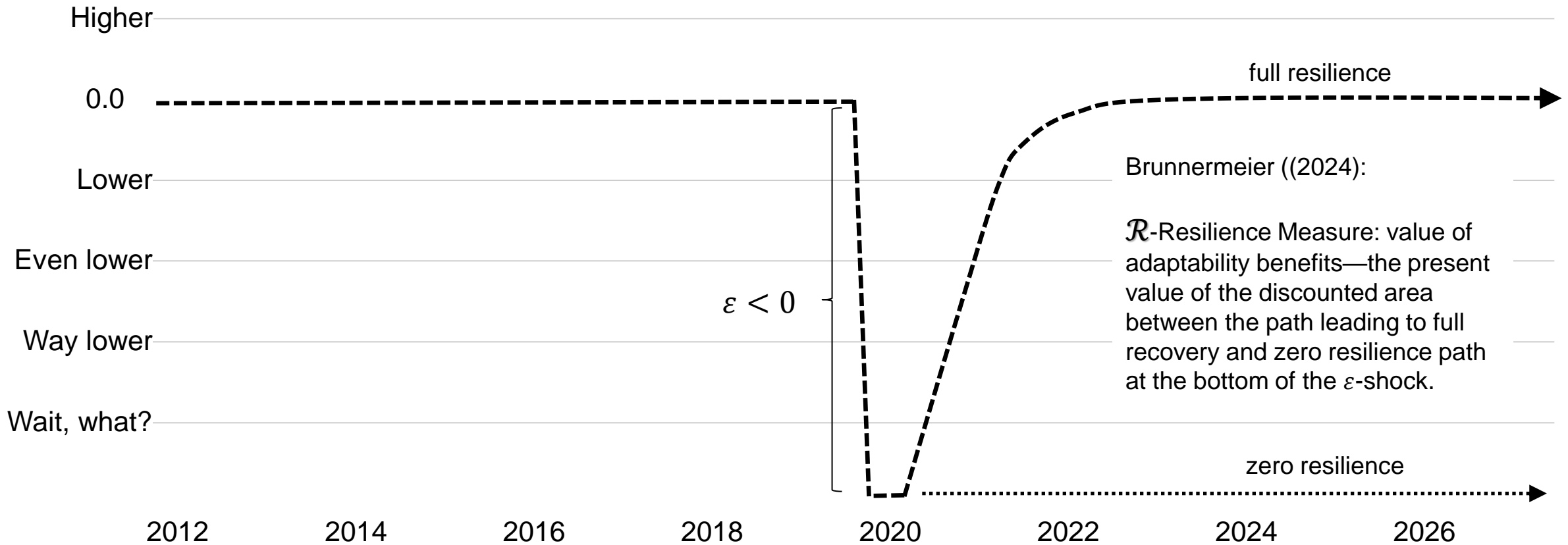


Appendix: resilience means returning to pre-shock trajectory

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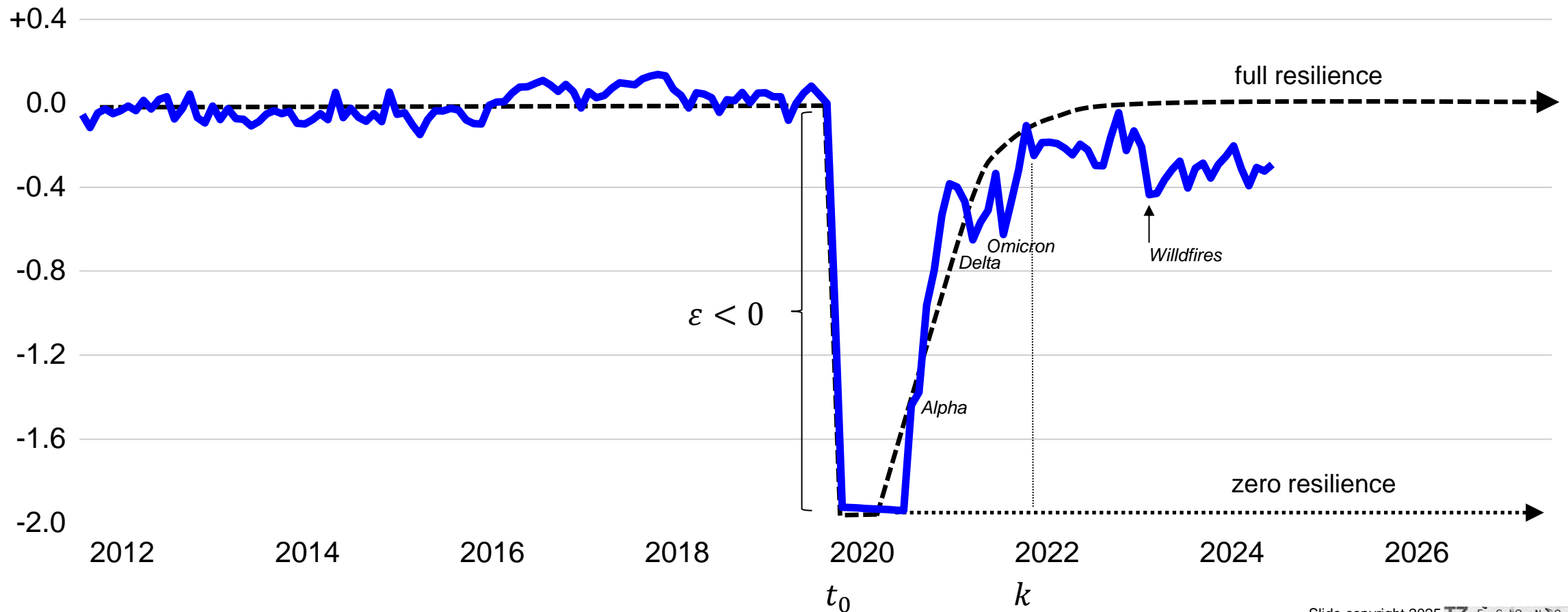
Theoretically: does economic system *adapt* to exogenous shock ($\varepsilon < 0$)?

A resilient stochastic process bounces back to the original stationary dynamic equilibrium



Practically: are Hawaii real tourism receipts resilient?

Monthly detrended Hawaii tourism receipts in billion constant 2024 dollars, s.a.

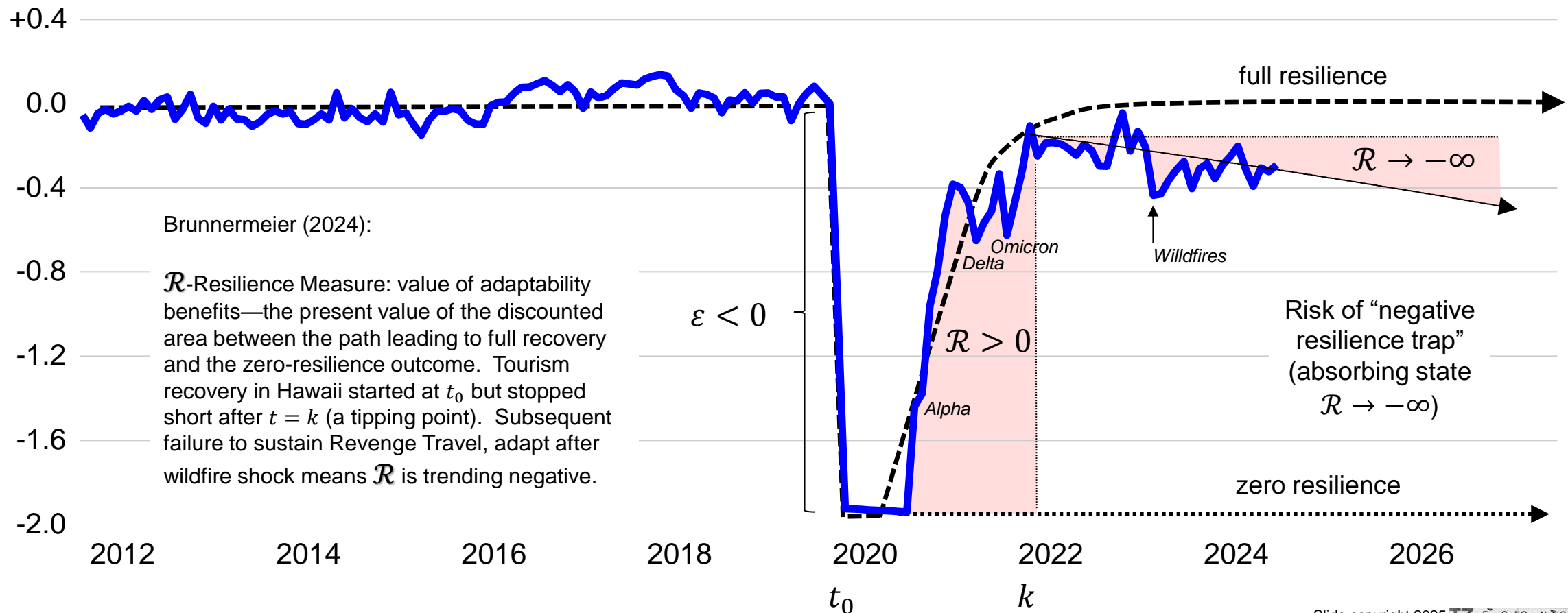


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Source: Hawaii DBEDT (<https://dbedt.hawaii.gov/visitor/tourismdata/>); data through December 2024 seasonally adjusted by TZ Economics using Census X-13 ARIMA filter. This analysis after Markus K. Brunnermeier (January 6, 2024), "Macrofinance and Resilience," *American Finance Association Presidential Address*, Allied Social Science meetings, San Antonio, Texas (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z94I-G5gz4o>). See also Markus K. Brunnermeier (December 2024), "Presidential Address: Macrofinance and Resilience," *Journal of Finance* vol. 79 no. 6, pp.2683-3728.

Recent: ε -shock at t_0 , recovery after k stopped short (tipping point?), benefit of adaptability, the \mathcal{R} -Resilience Measure, not fully realized

Monthly in billion constant 2024 dollars, seasonally adjusted



Brunnermeier (2024):

\mathcal{R} -Resilience Measure: value of adaptability benefits—the present value of the discounted area between the path leading to full recovery and the zero-resilience outcome. Tourism recovery in Hawaii started at t_0 but stopped short after $t = k$ (a tipping point). Subsequent failure to sustain Revenge Travel, adapt after wildfire shock means \mathcal{R} is trending negative.

$\varepsilon < 0$

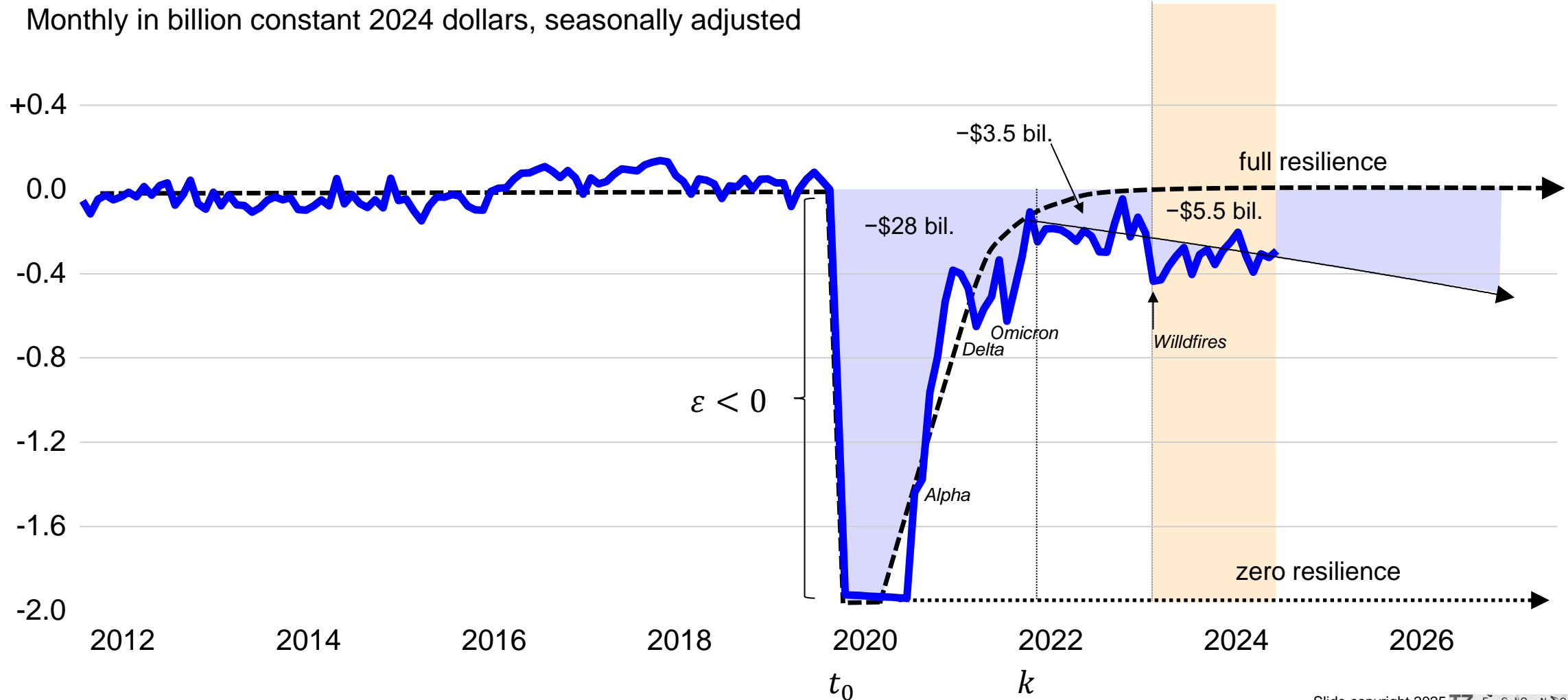
$\mathcal{R} > 0$

Risk of “negative resilience trap” (absorbing state $\mathcal{R} \rightarrow -\infty$)

zero resilience

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ε -shock at t_0 , truncated recovery at k (tipping point?), Black Swan (wildfires), each leading Hawaii to forego cumulative tourism receipts



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Losses associated with each ε -shock are a measure of potential benefit of greater adaptability, greater resilience, faster recovery

Foregone economic benefits of adaptability as potential gains from maximizing \mathcal{R} -measure (resilience measure)

Billion 2024\$*	Event (“ ε -shock”)	Interval (Hawaii dates, not NBER dates [†])
-14.372	Great Recession + "Jobless Recovery"	Jan 2008 - Aug 2012 (incl. Tohoku seismic event)
-27.803	Covid Pandemic + “Reopening”	Mar 2020 - Feb 2022 (through Omicron)
-3.473	Revenge Travel (incl. weak yen)	Mar 2022 – Jul 2023
-5.536	Maui wildfires (Lahaina, etc.)	Aug 2023 - Dec 2024

Example: implementation of pre-flight PCR covid testing protocols—partly because of signaling—from October 15, 2020 immediately began to stem losses from pre-vaccination travel volumes constrained by uncertainty and pandemic quarantines, an *adaptation* to an ε -shock which, by reviving travel to Hawaii, restored otherwise foregone tourism receipts; widespread availability of vaccination for general public, April 2021, accelerated the recovery trend

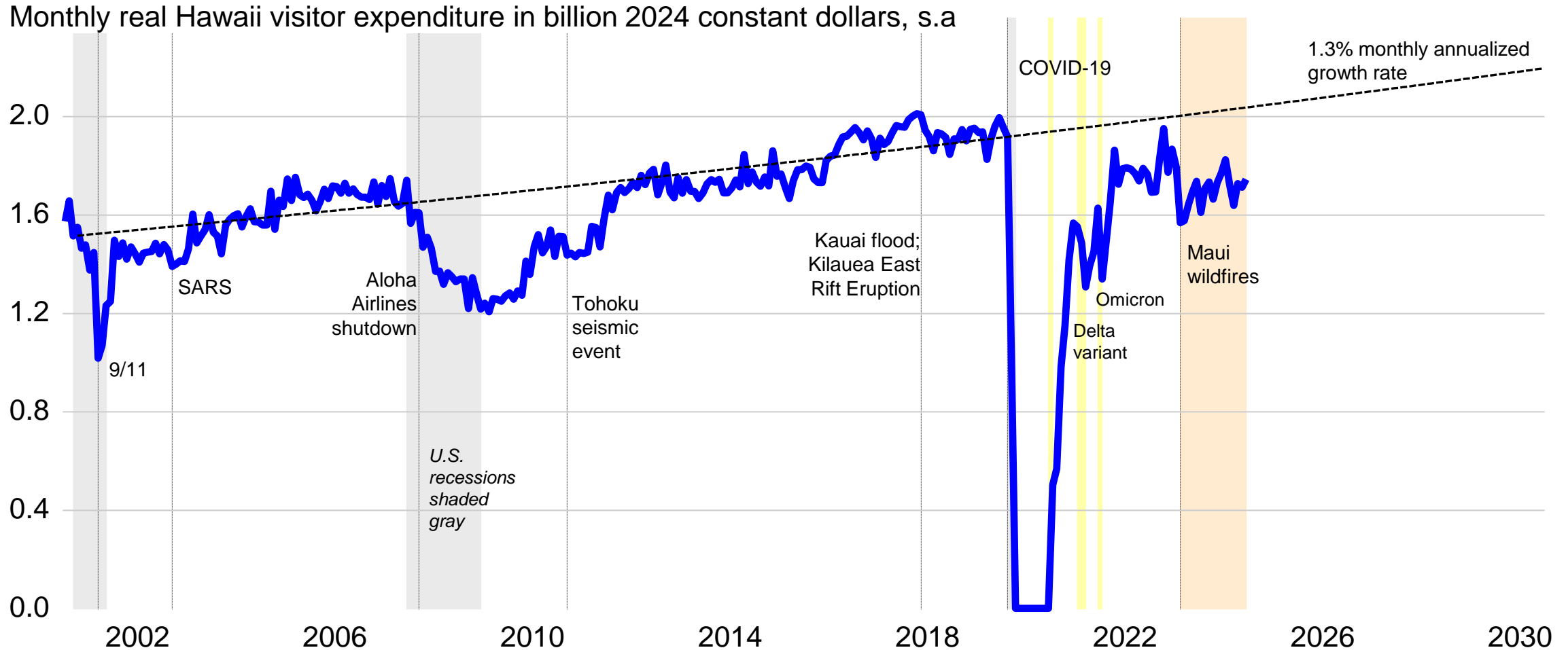
Others: HEPA filters on commercial passenger aircraft (High Efficiency Particulate Air filters), N95 mask-wearing, public reporting of high-frequency COVID-19 morbidity and mortality data, other public health interventions—partly by rebuilding confidence (trust) in travel safety protocols: *perceptions* (trust)

FAIL: Maui post-wildfire tourism messaging—e.g. Aquamansplaining DO NOT GO TO MAUI; little Maui replacement homebuilding for > 18 months post-wildfire

*Updated and re-estimated through December 2024

[†] National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), <https://www.nber.org/research/data/us-business-cycle-expansions-and-contractions>

Various cyclical factors and asymmetric exogenous shocks deviate real Hawaii tourism exports from dynamic, stationary equilibrium

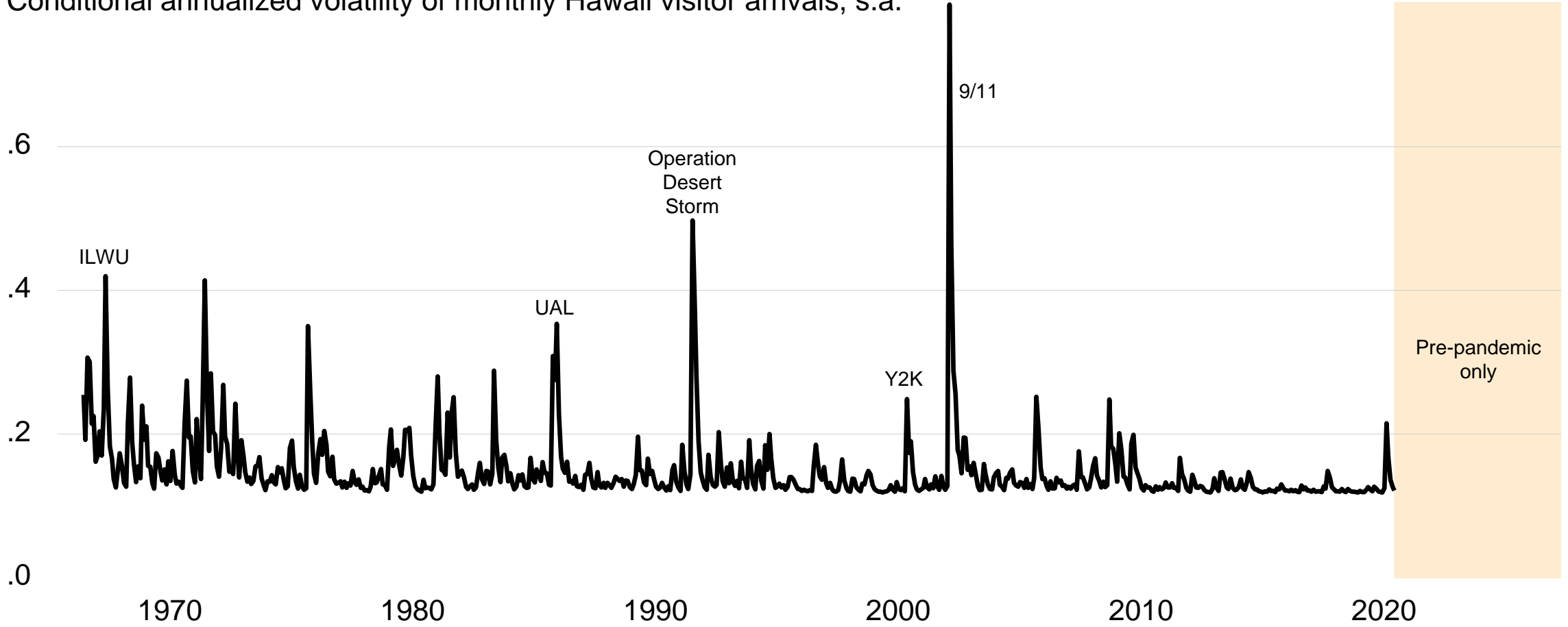


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Sources: Hawaii DBEDT (<https://dbedt.hawaii.gov/visitor/tourism/>, <https://dbedt.hawaii.gov/visitor/tourism-price-index/>), data through December 2024; TPI is seasonally-adjusted then integrated with U.S. CPI-U and rebased to 2024 = 100; visitor expenditure is also seasonally-adjusted and deflated with transformed TPI; real visitor expenditure long-term trend estimated from stationary component, 2001 (Apr) – 2020 (Feb).

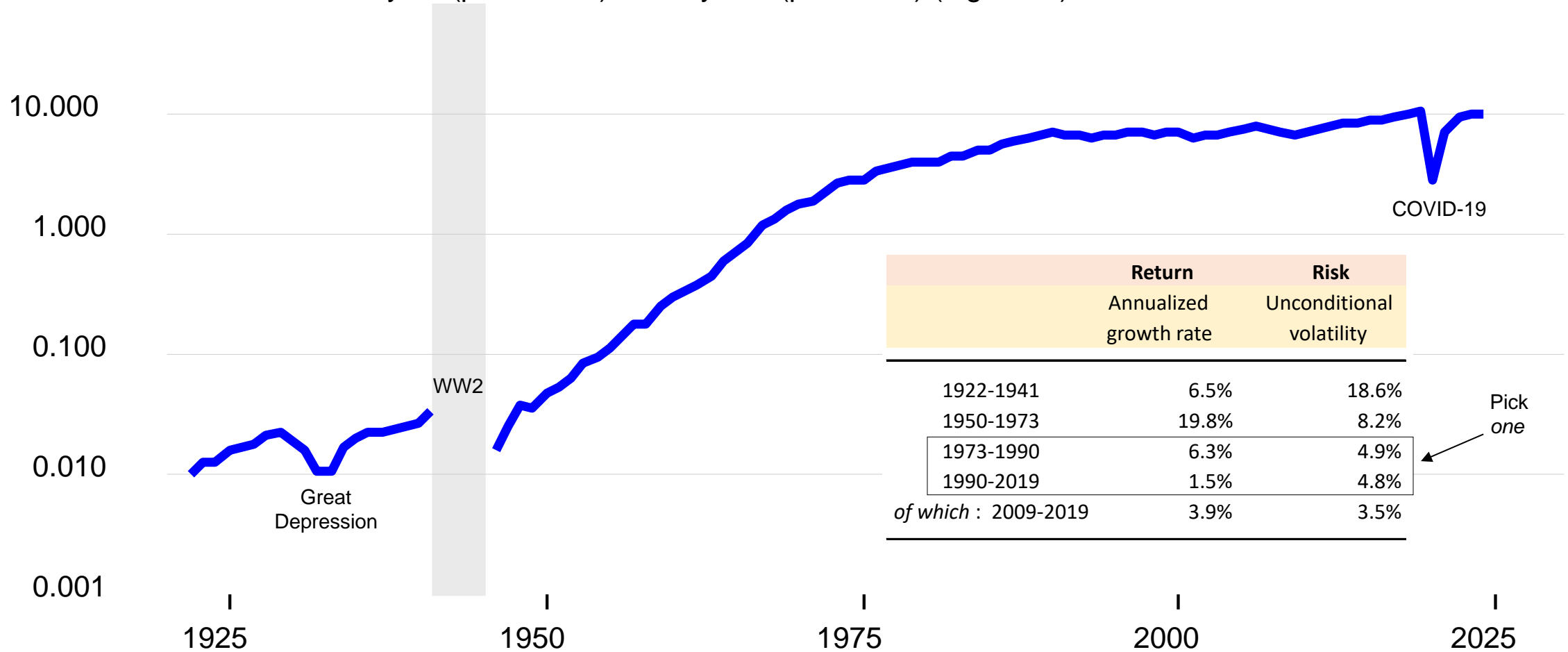
Conditional annualized monthly volatility of visitor arrivals was about 13.3 percent (like S&P 500), pre-pandemic (seek *risk-adjusted* return)

Conditional annualized volatility of monthly Hawaii visitor arrivals, s.a.



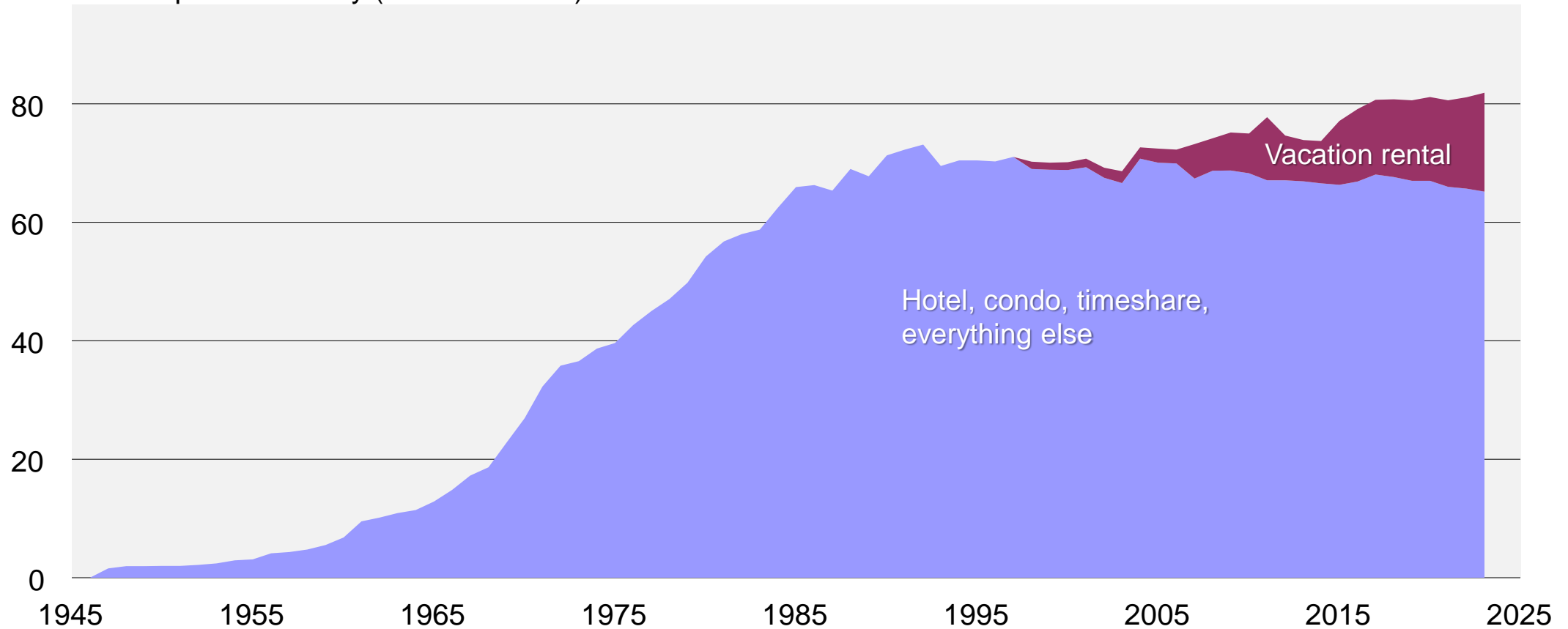
Annual statewide visitor arrivals 1990-2019 grew at a compound annual rate of 1.5 percent with 4.8 percent annual volatility

Annual Hawaii visitor arrivals by air (post-WW2) and by sea (pre-WW2) (log scale)



Traditional Hawaii lodging capacity peaked c. 1990, later growth is *all* short-term rentals; global brands consolidating traditional

Hawaii visitor plant inventory (thousand units)





Tourism strategic fails \Rightarrow mid-2020s Hawaii > \$35 billion foregone

- Underappreciated: risk asymmetric, leptokurtic (downside only; “fat-tailed” events—Black Swans)
- Appeasing anti-tourism denialism with bogus no-growth “solutions” to overtourism
- Only *active* destination management mitigates negative externalities—tourism spillovers—not tourism suppression
- Tourism does not pre-empt other economic activities from diversifying Hawaii’s economy
- Should we be celebrating achievement of HTA Glorious Goal to “decrease the total number of visitors to Oahu” in *2021-2024 Destination Management Action Plan*?

Pau

