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PICTURES OF 'PARADISE':

UNDERSTANDING PERSPECTIVES OF DEVELOPMENT

IN THE COMMUNITY OF NORTH KOHALA

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This thesis is dedicated to my family; Jim, Belinda & Tracy McLees.
They are conservative, yet fabulous people.
They have inspired this thesis.

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ABSTRACT

The arguments communities articulate in development disputes usually hide their more intangible interests, like quality of life and respect for the land. In addition, communities are not homogenous entities with only one interests. Understanding how different people within a community understand their local environment and the threats that development can bring may help bring an appreciation of values that exist outside the legal framework. This may be essential in constructing cooperation between the different stakeholders in a conflict. This particular study focuses on the North Kohala region of the Big Island of Hawai'i, which is a community with people from various ethnic backgrounds and whose experiences in the region vary significantly. This thesis seeks to understand how communities respond to the threat of development by looking at how members of a community use their sense of place to frame development projects, and how these frames shape arguments and strategies.

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PREFACE

My Community Experience: The Club

Most people desire to belong to something greater than themselves; to be a part of a greater project or purpose and be among their peers. Being a part of a group provides the social relations that allow people to have easier access to food or favors, and provide enforcement of rules that are commonly agreed on. This idea of community is very attractive in most circles. When I was in 6th grade, my parents moved us from the woods of Auburn, Washington into Meridian Valley Country Club in Kent, the town next door. It was complete with gates, a golf course and a club-house, which you had to buy a membership to belong to. I was very excited to move there. Some friends from school lived in there so finally, I would have other kids my own age to play with, rather than just me and my little sister.

While I enjoyed the first couple of years playing capture-the-flag and hide-and-seek with our neighbors, I realized that not everybody around us liked the country club for the same reasons I did. They did not like idea of kids running around and playing on the golf course in our backyard after dark; we even had a mean lady up the street who yelled at us all the time. We of course, did not see a problem with what we did. What was the point of that huge golf course-lawn and trees, anyway, if not to run around on? As I got older, my father served on the board of the housing committee, which regulated what kinds of structures you could put up on your property and made sure that everyone kept their yards neat. I remember the controversies; someone put up a flagpole, another household

was not weeding their yard, saying they preferred the 'wild' look, but then we were caught up on the wrong side of the rules: we had painted our house, but some people felt it was too yellow, annoying my parents immensely.

We went to eat at "the Club" (the country club restaurant) for birthdays, Mother's Day, Easter and at various other times of the year[1]. There was always plenty of socializing between members at these meals. People were friendly, but there was always gossip, and to be honest, I never liked the 'country club' life. I could not wait to leave. But one day, I was out with some friends, and a car of kids from the other high school in town started to harass us. My sister was with us and I was getting pretty nervous. We were able to get away, and I told my friend who was driving to head straight for the country club where there are security guards to operate the electric gates. We told the guard the description of the car, so he could refuse them entry. That was when I appreciated the country club community and its enforceable rules.

While the country club provided some protection for me on one occasion, it is not the nice ideal community that many would like it to be. People often had different ideas of what it meant to live there; their rights and responsibilities. It is relatively homogenous; mostly white, upper middle class people. But not everyone who lived there could afford or wanted a membership. These people made up another group inside the country club and were excluded from participating in many events the club offered. There were also

[1] As I got older, some people from my high-school started working there (though no one who lived in the country club was allowed to work there). One day, the most popular boy in school, who I had known a long time, was refilling my water. It was an uncomfortable feeling; we belonged to the same community in one respect, where he a higher position than me, and then here we were with roles reversed!

people who were looked down on for indiscretions, offending the wrong person, and for being mean old ladies up the street. This community, while economically and ethnically similar, still had a wide variety of backgrounds that resulted in different values and interests. However, from the outside, the community was characterized a homogenous whole of rich, white people who were snobby[2]. We had plenty of problems with vandalism; people's houses getting egged, small pipe bombs exploding during golf tournaments, but no one outside the country club had any sympathy for us. In fact, my peers at school thought it was funny. It was my best friend's little brother who caused so many of the problems. Their family was criticized from within the country club for having a "juvenile delinquent" and from the outside for being "rich".

Most communities in the United States and indeed the world are not homogenous. But when we approach communities, we assume that the people have the same values and interests throughout. While many communities seem harmonious from the outside, they often conceal, whether purposely or not, many disparities of ideals and interests and internal conflicts. Even this relatively homogenous community has differences in what is viewed as appropriate behavior and presence in the community.

[2] In 11th grade, my AP US History teacher was trying to illustrate the concept of a ghetto without using the usually negative stereotype of inner cities. He said that people in the country club I lived in were rich, white, stuck-up people who locked all their problems in with gates and spent their days shopping only at Nordstrom's (a relatively high-end department store in Seattle). He then asked how many people in the room lived there. 12 out of 60 students lived there, including the most alternative people in the class. I was really upset at the time, but in retrospect, it is a great illustration of how communities are viewed as homogenous when in fact they are really quite diverse, and how offending it can be to be mischaracterized in such a way.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND THEORY

And I draw the line where it is right now...
to me all development is a cancer. Smart development is a smart cancer.
(Interview)

Figure 1.1 The Road into Hawi

1.1 Introduction

Traveling to North Kohala from Kailua-Kona is a long, hot drive; the scenery consisting mainly of lava fields, yellow grass and the ocean. Finally, the road curves to the east and starts to head towards Hawi, the air becoming cooler and the scenery greener. Small shops line both sides of the street for about a half a mile (figure 1.1). A group of men and women sit outside one of the coffee shops every morning, watching the town and discussing everything from the weekly gathering at Mahukona[1] to world politics. The tourists wander around visiting the various shops and restaurants. Kapa'au is another mile

[1] Every Wednesday night, some residents travel the eight mile stretch south to Mahukona, a former port, and now park and campsite. A covered area is used to set up acoustic equipment and people come to play various instruments, eat, drink and socialize.

or so down the road, where again you see small shops and cafes, with more people sitting out front, the one room Bond Memorial Public Library and the Kamehameha Statue.

Meeting people is not difficult here. Most people are friendly, even to an outsider who has come to 'research them'. Most conversations I had were very informal, and never stayed on one topic too long. People were generally very interested in what I was doing and asked me as many questions as I asked them. Everyone I talked to showed an interest in and concern about development issues in Kohala.

In 2002 a proposal was submitted by Ahi Nui Tuna Farming Company for an offshore aquaculture cage off the coast of North Kohala, near Kawaihae. Their proposal consisted of plans to capture juvenile tuna in the open ocean and grow them out in one of eighteen cages 4.5 miles northwest of Kawaihae, about 2,000 feet offshore. This project would require leasing 216 acres of ocean, with 16.4 acres of this being requested for exclusive use. Ahi Nui's was met with swift opposition from the community in Kohala, which eventually. The success of the opposition was credited to a group in the community made up of newer, wealthy, mostly *haole*[2], residents who had successfully worked within the legal and regulatory framework to beat Ahi Nui. However, much opposition also came from other parts of the community. Native Hawaiians strongly opposed the project based on rights of and respect that should be accorded to Hawaiians. Most of the community did not trust the developer, despite the fact that one of the company's principals was part

[2] *Haole*, literally foreigner, is a term used in Hawai'i to describe people of Caucasian ancestry. It is commonly used in everyday language, and is not necessarily a derogatory term unless used on certain contexts. In Hawai'i, people are often identified by their race; for example like Japanese, Filipino, or *hapa* (half *haole* and some other race). I myself am *haole* and after giving the term much thought, chose to use it because of its acceptance as a non-derogatory term by my interviewees and friends from Hawai'i.

Native Hawaiian. Indeed while credit was given to one segment of the community for successful resistance, all segments of the community were instrumental in stopping this project.

A deeper look in to the community of Kohala reveals a diversity of perspectives that is not seen easily from the outside. While one group is more visible due to its activity in newspapers and letter writing campaigns to public officials, a variety of arguments were forwarded by of different people. They reveal a whole range of perspectives about development that rely on an emphasis of Kohala as a 'special place' and therefore worthy of protection from potentially alienating or polluting projects.

This thesis seeks to understand how communities respond to the threat of development by looking at how members of a community use their sense of place to frame development projects, and how these frames shape arguments and strategies. This particular study focuses on the North Kohala region of the Big Island of Hawai'i, which has been relatively successful at stopping some development projects in recent years. Of course, North Kohala has not been untouched by development, but the threats of commercial and housing development have been more conspicuous, creating more awareness and activity surrounding the issue.

Common approaches to resolving conflicts between communities and outside interests usually essentialize a community's argument by attributing a set of interests to the *whole* community, overlooking variations, despite the best intentions of negotiators and facilitators. The frequent failure of outsiders to understand the nuances among different

voices in communities leads to a misunderstanding of issues, perspectives and interests, leading to increased polarization inside and outside the community. It is important to understand their multiple and varied interests and arguments so that the dialogue between communities and outsiders is not so contentious, polarized and un-resolvable. If outside parties can be more understanding of the community's interests, it is possible that the intractable environmental conflicts that are created out of these types of disputes can be avoided, or at the least minimized.

North Kohala is a very diverse community with people who are from various ethnic backgrounds and whose experiences in the region come from distinct histories played out from pre-contact Hawai'i, through the plantation periods (when thousands of migrant laborers came to Hawai'i from Asia, the Pacific and Europe), to the current influx of wealthier people from the mainland. Listening to the various ways that community members define Kohala, why it is special to them, and their arguments against specific projects may help us in understanding the roots of their discontent. The dominant value system seen from the outside may result from power imbalances, where minor voices are marginalized. It effectively erases their interests from conversations, yet their underlying grievances remain.

This approach of understanding different perspectives, or frames, could be extremely important to places like Hawai'i. The wide diversity of people has created a place that has a unique blend of cultures from around the world and as a whole, where there is a very strong sense of place. Most people who come to visit or who live here recognize it as a

unique place. But what is special about Hawai'i varies throughout the different groups that have settled here; from Hawaiian, Asian immigrants from the plantation period and the influx of haoles from the mainland United States. Each brings with them a different set of values and cultural norms, hybridizing to create a unique blend of cultures.

1.2 Theoretical Framework

Three concepts will be used to identify how communities respond to development. First I will discuss ideas of community; how they are formed, assumptions about them and what forces have the potential to pull them apart. Next I will discuss sense of place, which becomes an important part of how people in Kohala frame their 'home'. Sense of place is defined differently by different people, creating different value systems. Finally, I will discuss the idea of a frame; a metaphor that illustrates the structure of perceptions. Frames influence what people see and how they interpret the world.

1.2.1 Concepts of Community

When we imagine a community, we often imagine an "organic whole" (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). Developers, planners and the government often make assumptions about communities that perpetuate this stereotype; the most common being that communities are small, that they have a homogenous social structure and that they share common interests and norms (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). But these assumptions make communities easier to essentialize and stereotype. It also disrespects the individuals of the community, de-legitimating individual interests and concerns.

So what is a 'community'? We use this word every day, but assume that what we are referring to is understood by everyone else. Who makes up a community? Who

represents them? Communities can be place-based or idea-based, such as the 'community of North Kohala' or the 'scientific community'. But when approaching any community in research or in 'real life', they must be given respect for the diversity that exists *within* it, not just how different it from other groups. Each person has had unique life events that have shaped who they are and what they value, but they probably still consider themselves to be part of a certain community; indeed, probably even more than one. Communities are also sites of contention; conflicts do not only happen *between* communities, but also *within* communities. Multiple groups exist within a community, and not all their interests are the same. To respect the diversity of a community and take it into account when approaching one adds a layer of complexity, and though it may make negotiation more difficult, agreements reached in this way are likely to have more support.

In a place-based community, the diversity of people and the ways they interact with other people and the place should not be ignored. Massey observes that "'place' and 'community' have only rarely been coterminous" (Cresswell 2004; 63) and later discusses how different people experience the same place. The spaces through which each person moves are unique, from the connections they make to the places they go inside and outside of the community. Because if this, each person has a unique perspective of a place as they intermingle with different groups inside their 'community'.

Indeed, facilitation between developers and communities could benefit from an increased awareness and appreciation for this kind of diversity and perspective. Often recognizing

multiple interests and actors is essential to peaceful negotiations within and between communities (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). This recognition forces planners to take the dynamic interests of multiple actors into account. When individuals in the community are respected, they may not resist projects so strongly, because often people will be more satisfied if they have been recognized and heard. What also needs to be recognized are informal processes that happen in a community. Certain people in a community, such as elders, may be more respected for their knowledge, and people often turn to them when there are questions or conflict. Working with these key individuals within a community may facilitate acceptance of new ideas by the larger community. These people have the advantage of being able to communicate new ideas in a way that may appeal to the community more than an outsider, who may not be known or trusted. Often, these types of local-level processes reflect informal institutions within the community. These institutions reflect and regulate the norms that people live by and which shape their actions and reactions (Agrawal and Gibson 1999).

Communities are in constant struggle against centrifugal forces that threaten to break them apart. Outside forces, especially market forces stand in direct contrast to what communities are supposed to represent in an idealized vision; tradition often gives way to modernity and rationality (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). People have to find jobs outside the community and then begin to desire better cars and improvements to their homes. This leads to the different interests and possible conflicts between community members. Also different histories associated with ancestry and origin will lead to dramatically

different ways of valuing the community. One only has to listen to the wide variety of stories that are told about the community and the place to see this.

1.2.2 Sense of Place

Place, and the construction of it, is a much contested subject. Place is a bounded part of space that contains meanings and help to constitute social relations and identity (Duncan 2000). However, the concept of place can be different to different people. There are two ways of approaching space that are relevant to this paper. The first is the social constructionist approach. Geographers of this school like David Harvey argue that place is constructed by relations under the forces of capitalism (1996). This gives place the quality of being unnatural and impossible outside the sphere of human influence (Cresswell 2004). And indeed, "[t]his approach is favored by those with a progressive political agenda as it indicates that if things are one way now, they might be entirely different later" (Cresswell 2004, 30). If we can construct it, we can 're'construct it as values and societal conditions change, changing its meaning and how we use it.

Doreen Massey argues, however, that Harvey's approach is limiting in that it only accounts for relations of capital, but ignores other types of relations that exist outside of that force (1993). The contribution of feminist and indigenous studies shows us that issues of gender and ethnicity clearly influence experiences and actions of everyday life. She argues that "what gives place its specificity is not some long internalized history but the fact that it was constructed out a particular constellation of relations, articulated together at a particular locus" (Massey 1993, 66). It is not just capitalist relations that

help to construct our sense of place, but relations of gender and ethnicity that combine to form a unique interpretation of a place.

Another way of approaching place is the phenomenological approach, which claims that to argue that place is social, cultural or physical is reductionist and obscures any real understanding of the whole of place. Place "is a phenomenon that brings [social, cultural and physical] worlds together and, indeed, in part produced them" (Cresswell 2004, 31). A modernist view of place is that there is no relation between self and place, whereas supporters of the phenomenological approach would argue that is no place without self and no self without place (Casey 2001, 683-4).

This lack of separation between self and place seems to mirror many indigenous views of place. These emphasize a community not only between people but between objects in the physical environment. The reciprocal relations between all these objects are vital to life, and importantly, assume no human dominance over nature (Patterson 2000). In fact, place is represented as a presence that is alive with mythic and spiritual meaning (Cajete 2000). This in turn informs their relationship with nature, which is not only a source of their livelihood, but a source of their being. Therefore, to know a place, a person has to experience it firsthand and be a part of its life-process (Cajete 2000, 181).

1.2.3 Perceptions and Frames

A closer look at the arguments and strategies that a community uses to defend itself can reveal the fundamental values that the community holds. An increased appreciation for the different perspectives can help create a more neutral atmosphere in these situations.

One way of approaching this is to try and identify the 'frames' people use to define their perspective on issues. Frames:

> ... *vary in degree of organization. Some are neatly presented as a system of entities, postulates, and rules; others- indeed most others- appear to have no apparent articulated shape, providing a lore of understanding, an approach, a perspective.* (Goffman 1974, 21)

Since a frame is a set of rules through which we see the world, then the function of frames is to help people organize and understand daily occurrences by projecting their frames of reference on the world around them. While ordinary events confirm a frame, extraordinary events make us take notice because they do not fit in our vision of what is normal (Goffman 1974). That is when we become uncomfortable and are likely to either make a way for that event to conform to our frame, often by ignoring it (like assuming UFO activity is in the imagination of people) or protesting its validity (like protesting arguments for development).

The frames people hold allow them to define a problem, its relative importance and what facts are considered relevant (Hunter 1989; Canton Campbell 2003). Frames become the lenses through which stakeholders view conflict (Pinkley and Northcraft 1994). However, since the construction of a frame is usually unconscious and people are generally not aware of the role their frame has in shaping actions, thoughts and perceptions, properly addressing frames can be problematic in the discourse of policy making (Schön and Rein 1994).

However, to an attentive observer, frames may be identified by listening to the narratives, or stories, that people use to situate themselves in the world. When we informally talk to

people, we illustrate our discussions with stories, which we make exciting by highlighting the more interesting developments and facts. Narratives help structure and make sense of a complicated and confusing world, helping to create a story and having a strategic function: to persuade others to adopt it (Blaikie 2001). As mentioned above, local community groups will employ narratives that are grounded in the framework of planning policy, so when developers claim that a project will be safe, members of the opposition may look for evidence to the contrary (Kemp 1990). For example, a project presented as having little effect on the local environment may be countered as being extremely polluting as people seek to oppose the arguments set for by the developer. Communities know that their arguments have to be grounded in a 'rational' frame but in effect they may inadvertently marginalize themselves by not expressing the true reasons for their opposition.

In the current framework of policy planning, intangible issues are rarely reflected in policy and regulatory frameworks (Suryanata and Umemoto 2005). Indeed, the way that communities articulate their positions could obscure their real grievances. By using the theoretical concept of a frame, we can begin to see how positions are expressed, and by understanding how disputants frame issues, we can understand not their only perceptions, but their reactions. Too often, this process happens in reverse, where we observe people's reactions to understand their perspective. But this is difficult at best as rarely do arguments from people who hold opposing frames 'make sense' to each other, making their interests difficult to translate. The idea that rational discussion can help people overcome their differences ignores that there is not just one shared system of beliefs and

values (Hunter 1989; Northrup 1989). Different cultures, generations or societies may have a different set of beliefs and what they consider to be rational. In addition, by the time people are reacting to threats, they already feel provoked and may be less willing to discuss their underlying interests and perceptions.

Once disputants have an understanding of the roles of different and possibly competing frames in a conflict, they can hopefully develop appreciation for how each stakeholder perceives the same situation. This process can also help expose the underlying interests in a dispute, which can help find areas of possible resolution. This process of helping people to understand different perspectives holds a great deal of promise in reducing the level of intractability and hostility in conflicts (Burgess and Burgess 1996).

Key to this approach is the role of reframing. In conflict resolution, reframing may be initiated by a mediator, who helps stakeholders take a new perspective by getting them to stand back and look at an issue from a different angle (Lewicki, Gray and Elliot 2003). From this it is hoped that as parties begin to understand how their actions may contribute and exacerbate an intractable conflict they will discover what actions they can take to help resolve it (Schön and Rein 1994: 37-38). In addition, reframing can allow them to understand how other stakeholders assign meaning and what their underlying intentions are in relation to their interests (Gray 2004).

However, reframing is also a process that occurs repeatedly outside of conflict resolution procedures. As new information becomes available, individuals must weigh it against

what they already know and decide whether it is acceptable or not. If it is, there may be some adjustment required to an existing perspective in order to accept this new information (Lewicki, Gray and Elliot 2003). This can be manifested when a community must decide which development fits into their idea of acceptable. Often people or events that might otherwise be unacceptable can be reframed as part of strategy to resist a seemingly greater threat.

Adjusting perspectives, frames and stories are processes that individuals and communities struggle through in order to be seen as legitimate to the general public, media and the government. Community representatives could write letters to the editors of newspapers and hold community meetings so that everyone has an understanding of the issues. Because more than one frame can be assigned for an object or event, it is possible to adopt frames strategically in order to appeal to a wider audience (Hillier 2000). It is even possible to move between frames in order to adopt a more defensible rationale. This reframing can be seen as another form of strategy to acquire support for a cause. A frame might actually support an action that might otherwise be opposed in order to counteract a perceived greater threat. These strategies can also serve to 'persuade' people to a certain perspective. If more people can articulate the same story, their case will be stronger. Through these mechanisms, communities hope to articulate their stories with outsiders, hopefully creating sympathy with a greater community. Indeed, many global environmental narratives such as soil erosion or resource depletion are employed in community resistance to development (Blaikie 2001).

One of the strongest forms of community identity building is in the face of resistance (Castells 1997). When this happens, communities adopt narratives to justify their position by framing their narratives with the defining facts and issues that are considered relevant (Hunter 1989; Canton Campbell 2003; Gray 2003). In this process, a problem is defined, injustices related and resolutions are presented. Often, local arguments will be tied to global narratives, such as health and environment. A local dispute over the siting of a facility might also invoke strong arguments about a loss of authenticity or a loss of the intrinsic beauty of nature: both narratives are larger than just one place. Indeed, "[I]deas of nature in particular have an enduring... power in social conflicts" (McCarthy 1998: 136). Using these larger narratives and frames can be a strategic action, as it can help a movement collect support from outside the community, hopefully attracting more powerful outside interests who share their interests. You tell a story to get sympathy, you emphasize the injustices and you gather support for your cause.

The stories people tell often reflect the individual's sense of place and frame the strategies they take in response to threats (Gray 2003). Sense of place forms a strong bond, because even though each person may have a different 'sense of place', they do share the idea that there is one. This reflection of their reality influences their interactions within and outside of the community (Bell 1992). Communities, maybe unconsciously, but strategically minimize differences so their bond, and therefore their positions, appear stronger in the face of outside threats.

How people frame their sense of place is a key in understanding arguments and actions people take to protect it. Global values often provide a framework for individuals and communities to evaluate their local circumstances and environment (Burningham and O'Brien 1994). In fact, global forces such as capitalism and political discourses can affect how people perceive of their environment (Hunter 1989; Northrup 1989; Burningham and O'Brien 1994; Castells 1997; McCarthy 1998). Once people contextualize global values, they can then make decision regarding the value of the local environment and what strategies should be adopted to protect it. "Place has become a political symbol for those who want to fight against the ever-present power of global capitalism" (Cresswell 2004: 62). Global capital does not care about specific places, and in effect "delocalizes" it (Cresswell 2000). But increasingly a strategy to resist this process is to articulate a strong attachment to place, professing the uniqueness of local resources and living. This is often done by appealing to global institutions like the United Nations around global issues manifested in their locality. By emphasizing the place, and appealing to global bodies, local communities attempt to counter forces of capitalism and globalization (Cresswell 2000; Harvey 1996). However, Harvey suggests that we take careful consideration of ecological sentiments of place as he feels they yield only incomplete local knowledge and notes that while this form of opposition to capitalism is popular, it neglects taking into account socio-economic realities on a larger scale (1996).

Outside developers often label communities as selfish when their project is being criticized. A term that is repeatedly used is NIMBY, short for the 'Not in My Backyard' movement, which represents the mobilization of communities in defense of their local

space (Castells 1997; Fisher 2000). It is difficult to read through much literature on community resistance to development and not come across the label of NIMBY. The manifestations of this movement are credited with stopping many development projects such as jails, hazardous waste facilities, industrial development and countless others (Lake 1993). Because of this, the terminology of NIMBY has become rather pejorative and the movement is considered rather selfish (Burningham 2000). Communities often seem to resent being called NIMBY even as they use arguments that are associated with it.

Developers and planners argue that NIMBY groups lack any rational arguments against development; they only want to stop development in their area. Not only have NIMBY movements been accused by developers as being selfish, but also by the environmental movement as a barrier to solving environmental problems (Fischer 2000). NIMBY is blamed for the inability to solve many of our pressing social problems from environmental degradation to homelessness and poverty (Lake 1993). In this framework, NIMBY is a villain, and people in communities know it. Researchers have argued to abolish the concept of NIMBY as it is a negative stereotype and is not conducive to creating an open discussion between stakeholders (Kemp 1990; Burningham 2000).

Even so, this mobilization of communities in defense of their place has become the fastest growing form of environmentalism as it has become one of the only ways to articulate concern for local space (Castells 1997). As economic and environmental arguments have taken precedence over any other claim, communities are increasingly

stymied to produce an acceptable argument that can adequately convey their interests and values. Because different value systems are being used in these disputes (i.e. economic versus sense of place), it is difficult to negotiate between them. Local communities are forced to ground their arguments in the framework of planning policy, construct their arguments based on the initial presentation of a project or base their argument on the perceived trustworthiness of a company (Kemp 1990). They often defy scientific and technical 'experts' who come in and make the case for projects, dismissing the methods of their studies and creating their own studies (Kemp 1990; Fischer 2003). For example, some arguments against locally unwanted land uses are: the facility is not needed; it doesn't belong in the particular region or place within the regions; the siting and operational procedures are poor; and the effects of the facility will be harmful to people's health and environment (Popper 1987). Local communities have a different hierarchy of concerns about risks and these risks are either not addressed by developers or they are just dismissed as irrational (Kemp 1990). While intangible arguments could be presented to dispute a facility in a formal setting such as a public hearing, rarely is that argument given adequate consideration because of that lack of 'rationality' or legal incentive for the developer to comply.

1.3 Methodology

1.3.1 Ethnographic Qualitative Approach

I believe the best way to understand the views of a community is to travel there and meet people who are a part of it. This way I can listen to their voices, see their expressions and create a more casual environment for discussing these issues that are so close to their

heart. I wanted to be an active participant with people in the community, creating a level of trust that would create an atmosphere where people would be more willing to open up to another outsider who was 'studying' them. This sort of qualitative approach is relevant to my study because it requires that the researcher be "an active learner who can tell the story from the participants' view, rather than an 'expert' who passes judgment on participants" (Creswell 1998: 18). Qualitative data collection provides an opportunity for the researcher to be a tool of data collection, which helps in collecting material from a variety of sources; including interviews, observations, interactions, visual texts, personal experiences and case studies (Creswell 1998).

1.3.2 Fieldwork

In preparation for my fieldwork in June of 2004, I gathered archival information from newspapers and websites. I was able to construct an outline of various development projects that had been proposed in the area and review some of the debate surrounding them from both residents of North Kohala and representatives of the development projects themselves. I found a few individuals who were prominent in the public documents, and began searching for contact information to see if they would be willing to be interviewed. I attempted to contact people before my trip and was only moderately successful. However, one person I called was very helpful in placing me in contact with other members of the community.

I spent my first few days in Kohala sitting at local cafes and coffee shops, meeting people who are interested in someone who is not 'from here' and who is willing to 'talk story' for a while. I met a wide variety of people this way, and everyone was interested in what

I was studying. I waited for a few days before I started asking for interviews, as I received the impression that while people were interested in what I was doing, no one likes to be 'studied'. Most of my interviews were informal and un-taped. I had originally hoped to record my interviews on a digital voice recorder, but in an effort to put people at ease, I rarely asked to record conversations.

Some people were concerned about the source of my funding. They wondered if my funding could come from the projects that they were trying to stop. One interviewee was very pointed in asking if I was there to 'spy' for the company. However, after explanations about the non-controversial source of my funds, it seemed I had overcome their suspicions.

I was able to record 8 interviews and took notes of numerous informal conversations. Six of my recorded interviews were Caucasians who had migrated from the mainland anywhere from 15 years to 6 months prior to my visit. Another taped interview was with a person of Hawaiian and Caucasian decent whose family had been in the Kohala area for many generations. The last recorded interview was with a person of mixed Asian ancestry who would be considered 'local'. In addition, I also interviewed 14 other people whose interviews were not formally recorded. Of these, 5 were Caucasian, 3 were Native Hawaiian and 6 were 'local'. Whether recorded or not, all these interviews were guided by a series of open-ended questions; the number of questions was determined by the flow of conversation and how willing the person was to talk. Most formal interviews lasted anywhere form 45 minutes to 2 hours, with one interview lasting three and a half hours.

The un-taped conversations were usually shorter, about 10 minutes to about an hour. The interviews were conducted at local coffee shops, cafes, on the beach and at people's houses, generally wherever they felt comfortable. In writing up these stories in this paper, I used historical material as well to supplement and provide greater detail to the narratives.

On three separate trips to the Big Island in November and December of 2004 and January of 2005, I was working on another project that was also discussing development in the area. After informing people of my personal research interests, I would discuss more in depth on development in Kohala. During these trips I had more access to Native Hawaiians and local fishermen, who were very accommodating to me. These interviews really helped to round out my research.

1.3.3 Analysis

At the conclusion of my research trip, I transcribed my recorded conversations into Microsoft Word so that the documents could be imported into a qualitative software analysis program called NVivo. I also created a document of notes from my un-taped interviews for the same purpose. I tried to inductively create catagories that emerged from the interviews. From my initial research into the development cases in Kohala, I was specifically looking for statements discussing the environment, the economy, and Native Hawaiian issues, however, as I read and coded I allowed other catagories and different perspectives of each of these themes to emerge. These catagories become keywords that are used to organize data into nodes (appendix A).

1.3.4 About Interviewing

While open ended interviews can provide a researcher with a great deal of information, there are factors that could possibly affect the data collected from my interviewees. The idea of 'being studied' seems somewhat dehumanizing. I had some difficulty when asking people for formal interviews in the context of this project. People are justifiably concerned about being misunderstood and misrepresented. While doing research for another project recently, I was interviewing a Hawaiian gentleman who expressed annoyance at researchers who come over 'study' them and take their knowledge back to "wherever they came from", and claiming that knowledge as their own; twisting it to conform to their theories. I have tried to keep the spirit of my interviewees in my analysis of their comments. I have also tried to represent them as objectively as I can (while recognizing the filter of the interviewer) and treating them with the same respect that they gave me.

1.4 Summary of the Thesis

Chapter two describes North Kohala in two parts, which define the catagories that emerged in my community. In the first half, I will begin with the importance of Kohala to Hawaiians and narrate some of the more salient stories that come from the area. I will then move on to the missionary period, which had a significant impact on the population and led to the arrival of sugar plantations. I will then discuss the sugar era and the dramatic impacts it had on the social make-up of the region which is important to understanding the dynamics of the region today. The second half of the chapter will discuss the struggles that the area has gone through since the sugar plantations closed in the 1970's. The discovery of Kohala as a paradise has attracted many new residents from

the mainland and also brought new project proposals for development projects. I will discuss some of those issues to provide a backdrop for the discussion on how these issues are perceived. I will end with the sense of place for Hawaiians, locals and haoles to establish the underlying perspectives of Kohala for the discussion of frames in the following chapter.

Chapter 3 discusses the various ways that Kohala is framed by the different groups within the community. I will first discuss rights framing, with an emphasis on Hawaiians rights. Then I will discuss economic frames and environmental frames. I will introduce some issues of reframing in this chapter which have produced some interesting arguments. What would be acceptable as development and the differences between commercial and housing development will then be highlighted. I will end by discussing two groups that have been formed to promote the interests of the difference segments of the community.

In the concluding chapter, I will present a summary of my findings. In this, I will discuss the importance of understanding different ways of framing conflict and how different strategies, including reframing and community organization, are taken can reflect those frames. I will also reflect where this research can be positioned in framing theory. Finally I will discuss the role of frames in conflict resolution; seeing frames as a metaphor provides a way of finding where interest overlap, which provides a possibility to finding an agreeable solution.

CHAPTER 2

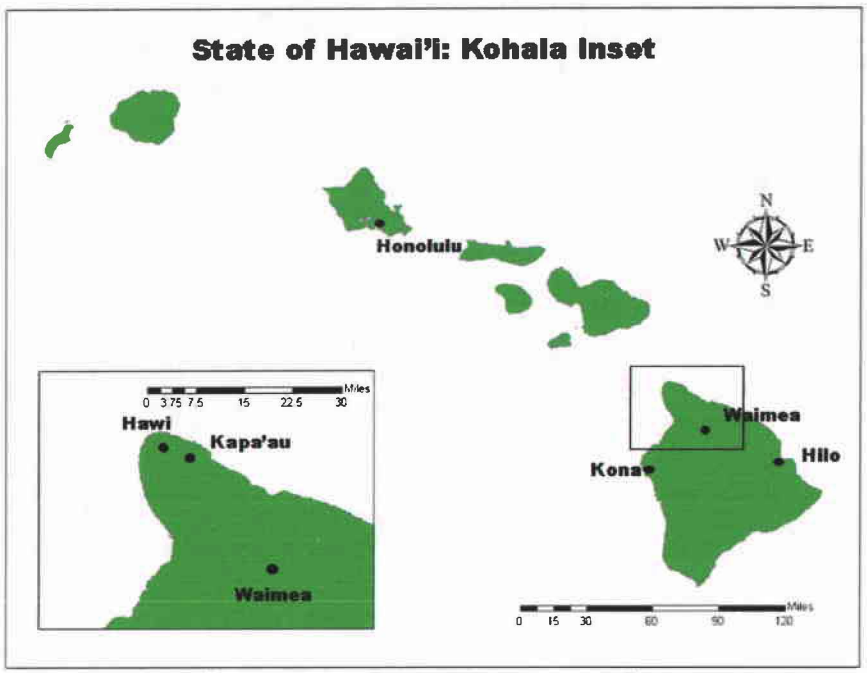
HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

Talking to people in North Kohala *about* North Kohala was often an entertaining experience. The term 'talk story' that is commonly used in Hawai'i to describe conversations is indeed an adequate description of what happened to me on many occasions. People love to tell their story, and when people have a strong sense of place like many of the people I talked with, you are bound to be regaled with many stories and experiences. It seems people liked to tell the story of their place because of that sense of special-ness they feel for it. Telling the story allows them to feel the pride and love they connect with North Kohala. It seemed that even if my interviewees stories were not about them personally, but about ancient Kings or long deceased relatives the stories were, in a sense, about the person I was talking to.

Because community perspectives are so closely tied with their history, it was important for me to get as much of the history of the place as I could from the people I talked to. When I asked the question, 'what makes North Kohala so special to you?' I received different answers which often correlated with their experiences of and in Kohala. Hawaiians discussed how important Kohala is to Native Hawaiians in their stories about

the birth of Hawaiian people and about King Kamehameha. The mostly Asian ex-plantation workers would tell stories about plantations, what life was like, and the

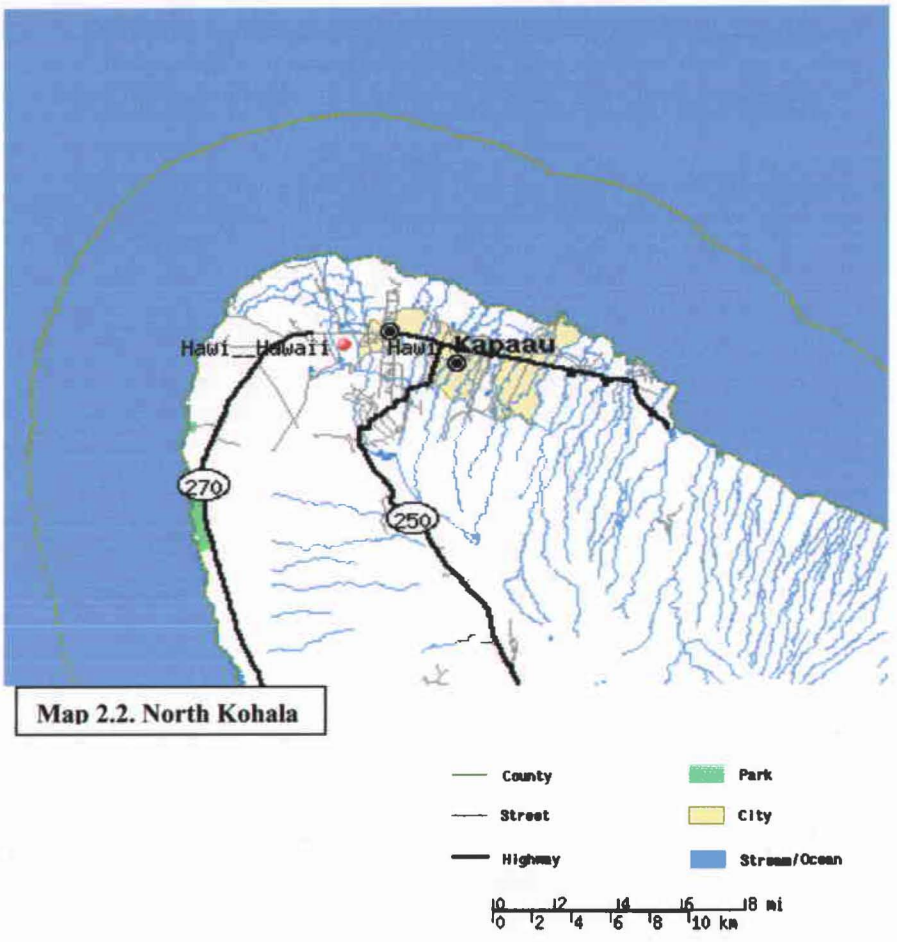


Map 2.1. State of Hawai'i

connection they have to the land from working the fields for so long. Most haoles do not have the history in Kohala to tie them to the place. For them, Kohala was about the scenic beauty or pristineness. Throughout this chapter, I will relate some of the stories that were told to me by various members of the North Kohala community, and supplement them with historical documents where appropriate.

A short physical description of the area of North Kohala is in order at this point. North Kohala is located on the northern tip of the Big Island of Hawai'i (Map 2.1). The urban centers are Hawi and Kapa'au (Map 2.2). The population of this area is 6038, mostly concentrated in the two urban areas (County of Hawaii). Most people rely on the sales

and service sector for employment, which is mostly located in the South Kohala and North Kona districts (MCDC). The climate of North Kohala is somewhat variable. The



Map 2.2. North Kohala

leeward side of the district is hot, windy and dry, reflected in the sparse vegetation and brownish grasses. However, once the traveler turns east at the north end of the island, the climate and landscape change rather dramatically. Here, there is more rain and the air is somewhat cooler as the elevation slightly climbs. The vegetation is much greener and lush the closer we get to Pololu Valley at the end of the road. The area is also exposed to the trade winds, contributing to the more temperate climate. When people think of North Kohala, this lush picture is what usually comes to mind. Both Hawi and Kapa'au are settled in this slightly cooler, wetter climate.

In the 1960's, Kohala Sugar Company, the only remaining plantation in operation, began a project that phased out plantation camps, where workers lived in houses located in camps separated by ethnicity, in favor of employee owned housing (Phillips et. al.). Houses were purchased and relocated along the major roads of the district. This style of housing dominates the landscape in Kohala, along with the one or two story storefronts along the streets in Hawi and Kapa'au.

2.2. History of Kohala

In the following section, I will give a brief history of Kohala. I will start with the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom, presenting some of the legends and stories I has told in interviews. I will continue with a discussion of the missionary period, which began in the late 1860's. The sugar boom led into the sugar industry, which shaped Kohala and has lasting impacts until today.

2.2.1 The Hawaiian Kingdom

Kohala is rich in Hawaiian history and is a significant place for Hawaiians. I was told one legend that ties Kohala with the creation of man and one of the Hawaiian's staple foods. According to this legend, Pololu Valley was the first residence of *Wakea* and *Papa*, the god and goddess who created the Hawaiian Islands (Interview). Their infant first born son was buried there and in that place the first *kalo* (taro) plant grew, establishing a close connection between Kohala and *kalo* (Schweitzer 2004). The legend also explains the creation of the other islands and of humans. The island of Hawai'i is the first generation and is the eldest sister, Maui is the second oldest, and so on up the island chain. *Wakea* and *Papa* also created the first human. After he was created, the first man stood

motionless until the god Maui became enraged at this lack of movement. Maui broke the joint-less bones of the body at the knees, shoulders, elbows and so on, tearing the man's limbs from the web of skin that connected them with his body. Hunger compelled this human to seek food in the mountains where his feet were scraped by brambles to create toes and his fingers formed from the sharp splinters of bamboo while searching for food in the ground.

The narrative of Kohala also predominantly features the life of Kamehameha the Great, the chief of the Island of Hawai'i who conquered the other Hawaiian Islands, uniting them under a single ruler. While Hawaiians on other islands may see Kamehameha differently, on the Big Island, Kamehameha is a highly revered figure[1], and his life stories are known and repeated to any willing listener.

When Kamehameha was born, there were omens that a great leader had been born. To protect him, he was placed in the care of his uncle, isolated from his family. At five years old, Kamehameha was placed in the care of his uncle, Kalani'opu'u, who trained his nephew to be a great chief. He taught him how to fight with various weapons and prepared him for battles. When he was old enough Kamehameha set out with his uncle to build massive armies and entered into battles, most notably against the chief of Maui. As he grew more powerful, he gained many allies and also many enemies who tried to unseat his growing power. But he also created many innovative projects in Kohala that increased the stature of the area. He planted *noni* trees, *lo'i* (taro patches), and built irrigation

[1] Evidence of this is seen all over the area in the numerous historic sites, the Kamehameha Statue and at Kamehameha Park

ditches and longhouses for training his armies. Between battles, Kamehameha would travel back to Kohala to continue in agriculture, and soon fought the chief of Maui, and won. The people of Kohala grew to respect and admire their great chief who was unifying the islands.

Kamehameha used Kohala as a base for his conquest of the Hawaiian Islands[2]. He launched his armies from there when he went out to conquer the other island and his supply of food and men came though Kohala, a great source of pride for Kohalans. His favorite lands were in Kohala, at *'Iole*, where his favorite *lo'i* were and he where he would go to rest and recuperate. Kohala was an agriculturally productive place at this time, growing *ulu* (breadfruit), *'awa*, banana, sweet potato, and taro. Control of water was essential. There was abundant water in the rainier windward sections, and irrigation projects were created to bring some of it to the drier leeward sections (Schweitzer 2003).

Fig 2.1. Kamehameha Statue

[2] One of the more exciting stories about Kohala was the explanation of a rock that sits along the road from Hawi to Pololu, called Kamehameha Rock. In the story, Kamehameha had been swimming and had gotten chilled. So while walking home, up some very steep hills, he picked up this large rock to warm himself. Along the way, he met a couple of men and began to have a conversation with them. He used the stone to sit on while the men invited him to eat and talk story. When he finally heads for home, he leaves the rock where he had sat on it. While Kamehameha had not been wearing his royal clothing, the men knew who he was (there were not too many 6'8" men wandering around the island) and began to tell everyone the story. When the plantations came in and started plowing the fields, the stone was moved, but when the cart transporting it tried to cross the stream out of Halawa, the stone fell off the cart: a sign that it wants to stay where it is (interview).

The Kamehameha narrative is strong in Kohala and it is highly visible, indeed Kapa'au is home to the original Kamehameha Statue[3] (Fig 2.1). All over the island there are numerous historical sites signified by a sign with a representation of the King. In Kohala, each place associated with him is special, and on Kamehameha Day, June 11th, there are leis all over these special sites. People in North Kohala take Kamehameha Day seriously; instead of waiting for the weekend like other places in the state, they celebrate the holiday on the king's birthday, shut down the town and the highway, have a parade, and then celebrate with a big fair.

2.2.2 The Missionaries

Another strong narrative for Native Hawaiians in Kohala is the arrival of Christian missionaries to the region. According to missionary accounts, everywhere they went in Kohala, they were welcomed, presented with gifts and listened to as they preached the Christian gospel (Damon 1927). These early missionaries sometimes preached to crowds as large as 10,000 and sometimes more. As presented in early missionary accounts, the sheer numbers of Hawaiians who were converting to this new religion suggest that it had some appeal that the traditional Hawaiian religions did not offer.

Early mission houses were thatched buildings, like all the rest in the area, and never usually lasted more than a few years in the high winds of Kohala. The first missionaries dealt with rainy conditions, creating damp and moldy houses. Supplies were difficult to get and a permanent house was the distant dream of all the mission workers as supplies

[3] In a funny twist of events, Kohala accidentally ended up with this famous statue. Honolulu had commissioned a statue to be made in Europe, but as the ship carrying the cargo was traveling to Hawai'i, it got caught in a storm and sank. Another statue was built and placed in Honolulu. A few years later, the other statue was salvaged almost accidentally. The statue was placed in Kohala, commemorating the birth of the King

such as wood and stones had to be imported from Honolulu, and then carried up the mountainsides (Damon 1927). After a severe windstorm, the missionaries were allowed to move their house to *'Iole* (Kamehameha's favorite *lo'i*), where the winds were a bit less extreme and the weather was a little bit warmer.

By far the most famous missionary to the area was Reverend Elias Bond, who, along with his wife Ellen, created an environment for Hawaiians that generated a lot of respect and admiration. Soon after Bond's arrival to Kohala, he opened a teacher's school for the 32 teachers in the area. Bond used this school to learn Hawaiian himself, but also to diffuse knowledge and new ideas to the teachers. Soon Kohala's schools led most others in the state. There were few opportunities for children to learn in schools when Bond had arrived and as most parents did not want to send their children away to Hilo Boarding School, they would have to stop their educations after only a few years of basic schooling. In 1842 Bond decided to open up the Boys Boarding School, which began in September of that year. During its 36 years, over 300 boys would graduate, some becoming teachers in the district. Bond taught for as long as he could until his numerous other obligations forced him to appoint another teacher. But he was always closely involved with this school, requesting detailed accounts of its happenings (Damon 1927).

Mrs. Bond also opened up a girl's school to teach the young Hawaiian girls of Kohala sewing and to introduce them to reading and writing (Damon 1927). The limit was to be 20 girls every year, but many begged so hard to get in that usually the number was between 30 and 40. Some girls in the region walked over ten miles each way a day to get

to the school! This early version of the Kohala Girls Schools could not be continued for many years as was hoped, as the numerous other duties of Mrs. Bond began to conflict. It was about 30 more years before the Kohala Girls School could be reopened and fulfill the dream of the Bonds to produce 'productive and educated' young Hawaiian women. The Girl's School buildings still stand the beautiful grounds at *'Iole*.

Father Bond, as he was and continues to be today affectionately referred to as, was respected for his tolerance and his devotion to the Hawaiians to whom he ministered. Many early missionaries had tried to ban the use of tobacco and prevent Hawaiians from wearing leis. Father Bond was perhaps a bit more broadminded as to think that the church did not need to regulate these simple pleasures, endearing him even more to the Hawaiians. Father Bond was well-liked because he made great efforts for his Hawaiian community, like learning the Hawaiian language so he could speak to them in their own tongue. And he went to great lengths to seek out as many potential Christians as he could.

> *You can hardly imagine the difficulties of access, which is over 5 or 6 palis and the corresponding ravines of great depth. Awini... stands upon the top of a precipice from 1500-2000 feet in height. Up this we climbed, the hot sun pouring its full power directly on our backs, until almost completely exhausted. Our garments were literally saturated with the perspiration which had run from every pore and our limbs almost refused their office for a season* (Damon 1927, 86).

2.2.3 The Rise of Sugar

The sugarcane plantations arrived in Kohala with the help of Father Bond, who needed extra income to build his missions and schools after parting with the Protestant church.

He also hoped that the Hawaiians could generate income for their own needs. Bond opened the first sugar plantation, Kohala Sugar, in 1863, but as Hawaiian labor was not adequate to fill the amount needed to work the plantations, migrants were brought in, first from China, the Philippines, Japan, various islands in the Pacific and from Europe[4]. Plantations were hard work. The labor involved was arduous and exhausting and they were not treated well by the mostly *haole* plantation field managers. The laborers were required to get up at 5:00am and work whether driving and windy rain or blazing, dusty sunshine, until 6:00pm six days a week, only to earn $14 a month. Most of the early Chinese immigrants were single men who originally hoped to return to China. In order to deal with the harsh realities of plantation life, many turned to drinking, gambling and opium. They were brutally treated when they tried to organize to protest their conditions. After one incident in 1891 many were beaten and some tied to saddle pommels and dragged down the roads. In addition all of the windows of the houses in the Chinese camp[5] were demolished, and the Chinese store was destroyed. But many Chinese were able to persevere and finish their contracts and continue on to open their own businesses, and they took pride in that.

The other major labor group represented in Kohala is the Japanese, who arrived in Kohala in 1869, even before it was even legal to leave Japan. They were treated similar to the Chinese, earning less than $14 a month. The new arrivals were given a metal tag with

[4] Descendants of these workers make up the 'local' community. Locals may retain some sense of their heritage, but most do not even mention it when I asked them how they saw themselves in Kohala. Most are of mixed ancestry and are second, third and even fourth generation ' local Hawaiian'

[5] Plantation workers were assigned places to live based on their ethnicity. There were Chinese, Japanese, Pacific Islander, Filipino, Portuguese and even for the few Africans who had come over from the US. Separating the different groups made communication difficult and reduced the risk of organized labor.

a number, which became their identifying number so that the lunas[6] and plantations personnel did not have to memorize their difficult names. These tags had to be presented in order for the people to get paid. Some plantations never even knew the full names of the people who worked for them (Schweitzer 2003).

A total of seven mills were opened between 1863 and 1904: Kohala Mill, Halawa Mill, Union Mill, Niuli'i Mill, Star Mill, Hawi Mill and Hoea Mill (Stephenson, 1977). Most of these were consolidated at one time or another into the Kohala Sugar Company, as the price of machinery and labor rose. Sugar prospered in Kohala for over 100 years and was integral in forming the physical and social landscape of Kohala today. Mechanization of sugar began in the 1920's which decreased the demand for labor, leading to a great deal of out migration as people looked to Honolulu for better employment opportunities. (Kohala CDP, 1984).

In the 1950's, Kohala Sugar company began to break down some of its camp housing and offered its workers free lots of their own. Their plantation camp houses could even be moved to the new lots (Kohala CDP, 1984). Many of those lots are still in the possession of the plantation families today and can be seen in many areas of Kohala. By giving plantation workers land, the workers suddenly had an increased stake in the community, and it was hoped that this process would stem the out migration of labor. However, heavy out migration continued as some people returned to their homelands or moved to Honolulu in search for more work. Kohala began to really struggle to keep people in

[6] *Luna* means 'boss' in Hawaiian. This was the term used to describe the field bosses on the plantations.

Kohala, but in the mid-1960's, a new employer arrived that would begin the transition that would dramatically alter the socio-economic structure of Kohala forever.

2.3. Post Plantation Dilemmas

In 1964, Mauna Kea Beach Hotel opened up just a couple miles south of Kawaihae. Mauna Kea was a high-end resort and a world-class destination in an area that until then had felt little impact from tourism. With the completion of the road between Mahukona and Kawaihae, the Mauna Kea and other resorts that soon followed became potential employers of residents of Kohala, who were not able to depend on steady work from the plantations anymore. North Kohala was regarded by the government and developers as a residential community for employees of the rapidly growing tourist industry in West Hawai'i.

In 1971, Castle and Cooke, owners of Kohala Sugar, shocked the residents of Kohala by announcing plans to close their sugar operations (Kohala CDP, 1984). The industry was closing all over the state as global competition increased. The state had attempted to revive the industry, but with poor results. In 1975, Kohala Sugar Company closed, laying off the last of its workers, about 520 people, and leaving over 14,000 acres of sugarcane fields idle.

Tourism in South Kohala and North Kona was not enough to employ the residents of North Kohala, and many different alternatives were explored to try and provide some employment for the region. Probably the most infamous effort in Kohala was the State and County Task Force, whose goal it was to try and determine economic alternatives for

the area (Kohala CDP, 1984). The residents of Kohala were not asked to help with this important transition of their own future, and most influence and advice came from outside the district. Millions of dollars in public funds were used to support alternative businesses, including a feedlot, plant nurseries, hay operations and a plastics company. These businesses were not successful and the spending of public funds for such bleak results became a major issue statewide (Kohala CDP, 1984). In fact, the task force became quite a joke and a laughingstock in Kohala. Many locals perceived it as an opportunity for certain people to line their pockets with public money and a lasting result seems to be a lack of trust in the motives of the state.

2.3.1 Kohala Community Development Plan

North Kohala made another attempt to direct its own future in 1984 with the Community Development Plan (Kohala CDP, 1984). A CDP allows a community to create a framework from which to base future decisions about their community regarding development and growth. Many residents of North Kohala were involved in the process this time through eleven community meetings held over a period of seven months (March through October 1983) and the establishment of a Citizen's Participation Committee. This committee was made up of representatives of four community groups who researched and reported on issues and projects. Three other community meetings were held to present progress and alternatives to the entire community as well (Kohala CDP, 1984). One big component of this plan was the land-use concept map, which allows county planners to see how residents perceive that the land should be used.

The principal question for Kohala at this time was what kind and how much growth would be desirable. North Kohala had lost much of its population and deciding how it wanted to grow again presented difficult questions. Most people enjoyed the rural lifestyle North Kohala presented and had chosen to stay or come to the area because of it. The community had to be very active during the creation of this plan, but even more, had to continue to be active after the CDP was created so that the guidelines would continue to be accepted and followed. However, since the time of this plan, the population of North Kohala has almost doubled, and its social and ethnic structure has transformed dramatically. With the discovery of the Kona Coast as an ideal place to vacation, North Kohala was also discovered for its milder climate and rural quality of life. Increasingly, *haole* migrants from the mainland US are buying up large land lots and recently property values have started to dramatically increase, in addition to raising the property taxes of people who have lived in the area since the plantation days. This plan was supposed to be updated every ten years; however, after contacting the state, I found that one was never done.

2.3.2 Recent Development in North Kohala

With an economy highly dependant on tourism, the State of Hawai'i is attempting to diversify Hawaii's economic opportunities. The need was strongly felt after 9/11 and again after the SARS[7] scare in the spring of 2003. The number of tourists traveling to the islands dropped dramatically, and many businesses reliant on the influx of people had to restructure, including laying off employees and cutting services. The State has tried a

[7] Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) was a major concern in Hawai'i due to the large numbers of people who travel from Asia. Severe restrictions were in place concerning who was allowed to travel to the US, severely impacting tourism in the spring of 2003, the height of the scare.

variety of methods, including promoting science and technology, creating an atmosphere for film and television shows, creating alternative energy projects, diversified agriculture including aquaculture, and emphasis on products "Made in Hawai'i" (Hawai'i Department of Business, Economic Development & Tourism, 2004).

The islands are also developing rapidly, especially in housing development, with increasing pressure on the outer islands as a higher percentage of people are moving to Maui, Kaua'i and the Big Island than in the past. This increase of individuals on the outer islands has also created a need for improved infrastructure and jobs.

For the purposes of this paper, it is important to distinguish different types of development: industrial/commercial[8] and housing. The way each is perceived varies between different stakeholders, illustrating the variety of perspectives that exist. Gated 'communities' may be viewed favorably by people who live or want to live there, but those excluded may have a different perspective. Conversely, affordable housing might be disputed by residents of gated communities for lowering property values and creating 'problem areas' that they perceive will have higher crime. By contrast, in an area with increasing property values and housing prices, affordable housing would probably be welcomed by people in the 'community' with lower income.

[8] I link industrial and commercial because of how they were linked by my informants. However, a more in-depth study could view them separately and find more intricacies in other places. From my research, it seems that this distinction should be more widely acknowledged as arguments and strategies against them may differ.

In the following section, I will present a brief summary of four development disputes. Three of them are proposals for commercial and industrial projects and the last is the rising concern over housing development. I will present an outline of events to provide a background for the discussions in the next chapter.

Diesel Generators

In 1995, Hawaiian Electric Company on the Big Island (HELCO) proposed to install diesel generators to provide steadier power to North Kohala. More remote areas have problems with periodic brown-outs and the generators were proposed to alleviate this problem. The community's reaction was vocal and swift. By many accounts, this was the first time that the community of North Kohala collaborated together and stopped a project. Many arguments were presented by the community, which packed the Public Utilities Commission hearing on the issue.

Many residents of North Kohala place heavy value on the quality of the air; when the trade winds are blowing, North Kohala has some of the cleanest air on the island. A local nurse actually did a health survey on people in the area, to observe people's propensity to breathing problems. She found that Kohala has a large number of residents who moved to the area because of the quality of the air. Placing a diesel generator in the area evoked strong arguments against ruining the quality of the air in the region. Residents complained that there would be more difficulty breathing from the pollution from the generators.

Health was not the only argument used. Pollution and economic concerns were also used to justify opposition to the generators:

"The diesel fire plants are dirty and they're also dependant on resources that we don't have naturally on this island. In others words its fuel and fuel is always subject to price manipulation. Not the most efficient way to generate"

Eventually, a local attorney was "reluctantly drafted" to get an injunction against HELCO. However,

"...the judge in Hilo was an establishment judge, an old boy democrat, so he denied the injunction... It was incredible the amount of people in the community that got involved. We actually got the Public Utilities to hold a meeting on their request for a power plant out there. We had well over 100 people testify at the hearing and so the Public Utilities Commission went back to the board and rejected their request to build a power plant out here" .

HELCO's attempt to install diesel generators has been credited as providing the first opportunity for residents to experience the process of development and how they might be able to stop it.

Water diversion Project

Besides its clean air, North Kohala is attractive to people for its weather, which does include large amounts of rainfall in the more windward areas. Water is a controversial issue anywhere in Hawai'i, but one of the areas where it is most contentious is on the Kona coast of the Big Island. Being on the leeward plain, the Kona-side receives only a

small amount of rain, the use of which is under increasing pressure from residential and hotel development, and by the large number of golf courses. One solution to this issue was for the state water department to build a pipeline that would bring water down from North Kohala to Kona and the 'Gold Coast'.

Residents in Kohala took issue with losing their water to Kona. Kona is perceived as a place of uncontrolled development and Kohalans felt that bringing in outside water only perpetuated the problem. But North Kohalans had to figure out how to save their water. A survey done by the United States Geological Survey (USGS) assessed how much water was available to ship out of Kohala. Residents disagreed with results and the methodology and demanded the study be redone. It was, and the estimated amount of water was reduced from 20 million gallons/day (MGD) to 14 MGD, implying that less water could be safely (for the residents of Kohala) transported out of the region.

"...what screwed them, they did this bogus record of how much water is in our table, how much is going to be taken, and how much is going to be brought down... so they lost because their report was so bad."

Local residents went to battle again in court. The water department did an environmental impact statement (EIS) after which community members wrote down all the issues they contested, including the science behind the claims and the potential environmental impacts. Residents were unsatisfied with the water department's response to their complaints, stating they felt their concerns were not being adequately addressed. They then filed a lawsuit was filed against the water department, which the residents lost, so

then residents filed a second lawsuit. This time they claimed that the water department was in violation of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), but this lawsuit also failed. However, this protracted legal battle has tied up the money for the pipeline long enough to delay the project. The water department can still go ahead with their plan at any before 2005, when the EIS would expire. People who were coordinating the efforts blame the loss of these lawsuits on corrupt judges who were in 'good old boy' clubs and who "already knew which way [they were] going". Despite this, residents continued to push forward, hiring outside attorneys to do a more thorough job in court.

It is difficult to claim ownership of something that is not being used, so one option that has been proposed to address the difficulty of the community to claim the water is to actually use it for themselves. An alternative might be to starting planting more *lo'i*, or taro patches, and maybe other forms of agriculture that would rely on water from the aquifer. In this way residents can make sure Kohala water stays in Kohala.

Open Ocean Aquaculture

As Hawai'i tries to free itself from its economic dependence on tourism, the state is encouraging new forms of business and one of these ventures is open ocean aquaculture. This contentious issue presents new concerns to Hawai'i that must be addressed by lawmakers; including leasing ocean space, commonly thought of as a commons, and the possible environmental impacts from the sea cages. Two companies have succeeded getting permits and are currently operating in Hawai'i; one on Oahu off the coast of Ewa Beach and one in Kona, off Keahole at the Natural Energy Laboratory of Hawai'i

(NELHA). In North Kohala, a controversy arose when Ahi Nui Tuna Farms proposed to deploy eighteen cages for a tuna growout facility off the coast of Kawaihae.

Ocean aquaculture has been tried in many areas of the world, and often, the results have been disastrous on the environment. Pictures of polluted waters from fish feces and excess food are easy to find online. Some types of cages also break apart in severe weather and pieces of cages litter shorelines in Canada, Australia and elsewhere. Hawai'i enjoys some of the most pristine ocean water in the world, and residents feared a fish farm would ruin that.

On 6 October 2002, a public hearing was held on the proposed aquaculture development project by Ahi Nui. Thirty-three people testified for and against the proposed cages. Arguments against Ahi Nui included disputes about environmental impacts, rights to lease the ocean, access to ocean resources and respect of Hawaiian rights. Some testified in favor of the cages, including other entrepreneurs, representatives of research organizations and representatives of local ocean use councils. From transcripts of the hearing, environmental issues seemed to be of the greatest concern to the people present. Citing experiences and studies of the only other operating fish farm in Hawai'i, Ahi Nui argued that currents in the open ocean would quickly clear out any pollution that occurs from the fish farm. Opponents disputed Ahi Nui's claims that the currents in the proposed site flowed and claimed that these currents would not adequately flush out the fish byproducts. Instead the current was going to push the pollution ashore and into Kawaihae Harbor. Other environmental concerns included the fear that fish farming would

introduce disease to native fish stocks and concern about the affects escaped fish could have on native populations. These issues are well documented in other areas of the world.

Aquaculture is a traditional practice among Native Hawaiians. Walls would be built up along the shore where fish would be stored, alive, for use when they were needed; for a special feast or when fishing out in the ocean was not successful. Ahi Nui proponents argued that in essence, the aquaculture cages were modern fishponds. In addition the fish cages could act as a fish aggregating device (FAD) or what Hawaiians called a *ko'a*. The fish cages in Ewa have seen this happening, much to the delight of local fishermen. The food in the water attracts other fish, so fishing next to the cages provides a plentiful fishing ground.

Ahi Nui's failure to communicate with the people of Kohala offended many people in North Kohala. As a result, the community vociferously protested the proposed project.

"... this project creates many serious problems for future generations, does nothing to address Hawaiian issues and insults those of us who are from this place that have been preserving our rights and way of life taught to us by our ancestors. This project is [an extreme] disservice to those of us from Kohala (or anywhere in Hawaii, but especially Kohala) just to have a few people make money off of our resources. To make a few rich, the rest of us have to lose out on our fish is what it amounts to???" (Written Testimony to DLNR; 6 Sept 2002)

Housing Development

One other form of development has been progressing on Kohala, but it is more difficult to see. With the increase of wealthier people in the area land has become a very valuable commodity and housing development has increased dramatically. When the plantations closed, there was a great deal of land that was suddenly open and uninhabited. Through the years, the company that now owns most of that land, Chalone, now Kohala Surety, has been selling off tracks of land to people who move to the area. Most of the land is zoned for 20 acres lots, but some of the lots were later re-zoned to allow for more houses per lot (Kohala CDP, 1983). As a result there has been an increase in high-end residential developments and gated communities.

The relatively undeveloped Big Island of Hawai'i has been 'discovered' as an ideal place to live by many people from around the world, and especially from the mainland United States. Much of the housing development there in the past decade has been in the form of resorts or second homes. Indeed, as many as 35% of home sales on the Big Island fall into this category (Scheafers 2004). It is predicted that in the next 25-30 years, there will be a dramatic increase in this type of housing. North Kohala, the northern district on the Big Island of Hawai'i, is an area that is feeling the increasing pressure from development as the tourist pressures from the Kona Coast expand, and as an area that is considered an ideal place to live.

The development has caused property taxes and land values to increase. Meanwhile, residents who owned their homes from the plantation days are having an increasingly difficult time retaining their land as taxes and the cost of living in the area increase. Many

residents in Kohala are forced to make the hour-plus drive every day to work in the tourism industry in Kona; jobs which hardly pay enough to sustain a family. However, fighting against this subtler form of development presents different challenges for reasons that will be discussed later. Housing development continues relatively unabated and is actually increasing in pace and scale.

2.4 Categories of a Community

After I began to extract the themes out of my interviews, it seemed that the best way to organize these groups was how they expressed what Kohala meant to them, or their sense of place. Based on this, I placed people into groups that are commonly acknowledged in Hawai'i: Hawaiians, locals and *haole*. I chose to use these terms because they are descriptive and commonly used in Hawai'i. In addition, I do recognize that any categorization serves to essentialize people placed within those groups.

The ethnic make-up of the state of Hawai'i defies any majority from emerging. The population is 41.6% Asian, 24.3% White, 9.4% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, with the remaining 9.3% Hispanic, African American or Native American. In addition, 21.4% of the population identified with more than one race, compared with a national average of 2.4% (US census 2000). This unique diversity has created a situation where everyone is a minority, and no one's ethnicity is invisible. It also creates a unique mix of cultural, historical and linguistic variables that combine to create a distinctive culture that is identified as 'local' (Reed, 2001).

This unique diversity in the state of Hawai'i has created a situation where everyone is a minority, and no one's ethnicity is invisible. It also creates a unique mix of cultural, historical and linguistic variables that combine to create a distinctive culture that is identified as 'local' (Reed, 2001). Local can be an exclusionary term, used to determine who 'is' and 'is not' a part of the community. Difficulties often arise for *haole* people coming from the mainland when they are confronted with their 'whiteness', which has been depriviledged and decentered in Hawai'i. Mainlanders feel uncomfortable being labeled haole because they are for the first time confronted with their ethnicity, whereas on the mainland, where they are usually in the majority, their whiteness is invisible (Reed, 2001). I hope this will help the reader in understanding my choice of catagories and more importantly, how they fit in the context of Hawai'i.

The difference between these groups is most easily seen in the different ways they articulate their sense of place. In the following section, I will outline the characteristics of each group's perception of Kohala, and how they identify with the area. I will use this as a backdrop for further discussions on how sense of place informs different ways of framing resistance to development.

2.4.1 A Hawaiian Sense of Place

When trying to understand a Hawaiian 'sense of place' it is essential to understand the very different processes that Hawaiians go through to understand their place and roles within it. Rather than constructing place, Hawaiians see place through a more phenomenological lens: place is not just dirt and plants, it is people and ancestry. All aspects of life are created to be in balance: the land, the plants, the ocean, the animals and

the people. All of nature is related by kinship and by a sense of community; indeed for Hawaiians there is no separation between nature and culture. Because of this worldview the relationship with nature is one of kinship, not proprietorship, which significantly affects their approach to the environment. Importantly, there is also a balance between the land and the sea. The land is not given priority because the ocean is just an important a source of life and transportation.

"Hawaiians look at the ocean as a road, it's not a barrier, you get in the canoe and you go."

Another aspect of a Hawaiian sense of place is the importance of genealogy. An important part of how a Hawaiian sees themselves depends of their ancestors, their *'ohana* (family). Place provides a connectedness to ancestors who shape and illustrate a person's role in the world. But genealogy is again not merely limited to people, it encompasses the land and ocean, the plants and animals. The naming of places is very significant for Hawaiians. Many areas, such as hills, caves, streams and valleys, have important stories associated with them and relay significance to Hawaiians. These stories tell them their history and therefore who they are. To Hawaiians, there is no Kohala without Hawaiians because there would be no stories and the land would have no meaning. Conversely, without the land, the Hawaiians would have no identity.

For Hawaiians their power comes from the *'aina*, the land. The land and the ocean are sources of life and sustenance, but in order to maintain that and receive the benefits, these sources must be respected. Hawaiians have a distinctly different view of the ocean from

Western thought. Instead of viewing it as a commons, it was carefully managed, with rules about access and removal. In addition, importance is placed on living in the area of their birth. As outside influences pull people out of the area, usually to larger cities like Honolulu or places on the mainland, there is increasing concern that people are becoming disconnected with the land.

The basic unit of Hawaiian land is the *ahupua'a*, a concept of land that encompasses all the land *mauka* to *makai* (from the mountain to the ocean) in one wedge-shaped section of the island. An *ahupua'a* provides a way of organizing life: kinship, community, relations with the land and other people. Traditionally, access to another *ahupua'a* was regulated by asking permission. The Hawaiians I talked to felt very strongly about the respect that should be given to Hawaiians by outsiders who come in and try to 'make productive use' of their space.

Until recently, North Kohala has been a relatively isolated place. Hawaiians I talked to expressed concern for the increasing exposure to the rest of the island; there are more tourists and more threats of development. While the Hawaiian narratives are still strong in Kohala, there is a real fear that the increase in housing costs and influx of new people who are not acquainted with Hawaiian ways of life will continue to erode the sense of community that Hawaiians share in and with the area. Hawaiians are proud of their values they take from their Polynesian cultural roots. They see themselves as open and friendly, emphasizing community and family over individualism. There is respect for *kupuna* (elders), who many in the community turn to for direction and conflict resolution.

While open and friendly, they are increasingly concerned with outside (Western) values that may wear away at the ways Hawaiians identify with their land and each other.

2.4.2 A 'Local' Sense of Place

In Hawai'i, 'local' has come to be synonymous with being *from* Hawai'i, but it is a different category than Hawaiian. It combines the Japanese, Filipino, Chinese, Portuguese, Korean and Pacific Island people who came over in the late 1800's and early 1900's to work in the plantations have combined with Polynesian culture and created a culture unique to Hawai'i (Reed 2001). Sometimes Caucasians are included in 'local' if they blend in with local values and can show a history in Hawai'i. Local values often clash with 'mainland' culture as local culture draws on Pacific and Asian culture that stress harmony, communitarianism, centrality of family, group membership and conflict avoidance. Many mainlanders find that characteristics that helped them get ahead on the mainland, such as independence, confrontation and individualism actually hinder their acceptance into a community in Hawai'i (Reed, 2001). This difference in essential to understanding community dynamics in Hawai'i, especially in the use of a term like 'local'. The pride of locals is often manifested in the common questions in Hawai'i, "Where you from?" and "What high school you went?" The 'local' identity has become 'We're from here, you're not'. In many ways it is a defensive identity against the perceived threats from the Western, individualist values that are increasingly present in Hawai'i.

Plantation life created a unique blend of culture that predominates in Hawai'i today. There is a strong pride of being from the plantation and social relations continue today in

many parts of the islands, including Kohala, even after the loss of sugar. They survived and bonded together through the harsh conditions of plantation life. Many continue to live in the old plantation houses that were moved to the small lots they received from the sugar plantations. However, their livelihood is earned (whether they continue to work or if their income is supplemented with income from spouses or children) is very dependant on development within the area.

Kohala has been constructed as a place that allows the unique local culture to survive. The plantation history in Kohala is vital to many locals who maintain the identity of a plantation worker. To many locals, Kohala represents a way of life, not just a place to live. The isolation of Kohala allows them to continue the way of life they grew up with. Many locals I talked to share a common bond with the land, but it as a bond of pride of having worked the land on the plantations. They are still able to live and raise their families in Kohala, maintaining their way of life.

2.4.3 A 'Western' Sense of Place

Until about 20 years ago, haoles in Kohala were associated with the plantation managers who often used brutal techniques to coerce the plantation workers to work harder in the fields. But most of the haoles I interviewed had only moved from the mainland to Kohala in the past 15 years, though one had moved in the 1970's. While there are a variety of stories about how people ended up in Kohala (from following a loved one and following someone to Kohala to just driving through one day and falling in love with the place) most of those I interviewed to came to Kohala and stayed for its relative isolation so they

could retire and build a house. Undoubtedly, Kohala is a beautiful area with a great climate and clean air. But most who have lived in the area also recognize a certain special-ness that makes them stay. Many of the mainlanders also adopted the Hawaiian narrative as what makes Kohala special. It would be difficult for me to be able to discern whether this serves a strategic function, since these interviewees already know my purpose for talking to them.

As Kohala has been discovered as an ideal, undeveloped place to live that still maintains a 'rural quality of life', the area has had to deal with the influx of outside ideas and values that are having an impact on the environment and community. There has been a rapid increase in housing development and land becomes an increasingly valuable commodity. Kohala has many characteristics of paradise for many people coming from various areas around the world. Its beautiful weather and lush scenery make for an Eden in the middle of the Pacific. This isolated, open landscape has proved irresistible to many people who visit and decide to move to Kohala. These new haole residents arrive from the mainland US ready to retire and live their lives in solitude and relaxation. Most are lucky enough to be able to support themselves off of savings and do not need to work.

Paradise implies certain values and ways of seeing a place. In paradise, you do not have problems with pollution or people's health. In paradise you do not have to work and everybody has a friendly relationship with their neighbors. For many in this group, paradise also means living with the land, not using the resources in a potentially damaging way. Many of the newer residents moved to the area to get away from these

'problems' and are usually against any sort of development. Development is discussed in the context of global environmental pollution and resource issues and people often take more extreme stances; such as being completely against *all* development or arguing for only 'environmentally friendly' development.

Now that they are here, they will fight to keep their paradise for themselves. They use the environmental and economic justifications and often go to great lengths to stop projects. But they are also enjoying the fruits of development in other areas, and while many acknowledge this, they argue that they have earned the right to live in this paradise and they do feel lucky to be there. They see themselves as a part of this community; they want to live simply and they do not want it to change after they arrive. Indeed, they seemed to be the group *least* willing to accept change.

2.5 Summary of the Chapter

The sense of place for people in the community of North Kohala is intricately tied to the history of the place. However, what that history is and its importance varies depending on the conditions of their existence when they first arrived. Hawaiian history involves legends and a strong Kamehameha narrative. Pre-contact Hawaiians also depended heavily on agriculture in the region. Ironically, agriculture, albeit a different type, is what brought in thousand of immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. But the conditions of these immigrants were not ideal; they worked hard, were treated harsh and were compensated very little. But as the plantations closed down, they were able to take advantage of development down the coast. Mainland US migrants are the most recent to

arrive, but their sense of place has more to do with the beauty and 'pristine' quality of the land as an ideal place to live rather than tie through work and history.

As North Kohala is being discovered for its ideal living conditions, it has also been discovered for its abundant (seemingly) water and wind, its ocean resources and vast agricultural lands. While housing development has been increasing, there have also been attempts in commercial and industrial development. However, residents of the area have been successful in keeping out industrial development, though not as successful in preventing the (mostly upscale) housing development. Why certain development is viewed more negatively can be uncovered when we look at how the residents frame development, and what constitutes acceptable and unacceptable development. In the next chapter, I will discuss how residents perceive different types of development within Kohala. With the background presented in this chapter, we should have a better understanding of the perspectives that people take on certain issues.

THE VIEW OF KOHALA:

FRAMES AND THEIR IMPACTS ON STRATEGIES

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss the various framings of Kohala that occur by different segments of the community. I will first discuss rights framing, emphasizing Hawaiian rights. Next I will discuss the various economic frames that are held by different groups within the community, including a, discussion on the role of tourism in arguments against development in Kohala, which proved particularly interesting. I will then discuss environmental frames, including the role of local knowledge and science. I will follow this with a section on how various aspects of development in Kohala have been reframed based on values of 'community', which presents some surprising results on perceptions of housing development. Finally, I will discuss two strategies that have been taken by different segments of the community, and how effective they have been in promoting certain interests

3.2 Rights Frame

In written testimony against Ahi Nui's tuna cages, some representatives from the Hawaiian community protested the installation of the sea cages because of the lack of respect given to Native Hawaiians in Kohala. They were upset at not being asked for access to resources of their *ahupua'a*, which was a violation of their rights, and that taking of the juvenile *ahi* amounted to theft of their resources. The letter also conveyed anger at the rudeness with which their questions had been met by the company. In a culture that is more communal, and where it is important to get along with your neighbor,

it is incomprehensible to them that they would be treated in this way. Many described the meetings and hearings with Ahi Nui as being little more than lectures.

"Our opposition to their project was met with rudeness and arrogance. The attitude was "How dare we challenge their project." (Written testimony to DLNR; 6 Sept 3002)

Developers have had the unfortunate habit of not approaching the community in a conciliatory manner. Unfortunately, it is expected the community will not be consulted, despite the public hearing process, which happens too late for any real community input. Hawaiians feel as if they are being left out of the process, and only being approached at the very last minute. They feel they have important knowledge about the local environment that could facilitate a better decision making process, but they are being marginalized on their own land.

Hawaiians also see that developers do not have a vested interest in the continuation of a Hawaiian sense of place because they do not respect Hawaiian values with regard to the environment. Hawaiians consider themselves a sharing people. When you arrive at their home, immediately you are treated to food and drinks. They feel they this should be extended back to them when a developer comes in with a project. But no project has been able to make a solid promise of sharing the benefits of the development with the community. Development becomes framed as a continuation of the dispossession of lands during colonization by the United States.

One of the entrepreneurs of Ahi Nui was of Native Hawaiian descent and in presentations to the community of Kohala, he framed the fish cages saying they were similar to Native Hawaiian fishponds[1] and asserting that the cages would also act as a *ko'a*[2], providing an abundant supply of fish to fishermen. He was seen as trying to ingratiate himself with the community, but Hawaiians, while initially tentatively supportive, ultimately withdrew their support because they felt that the claim to Hawaiian-ness was merely strategic, not a claim made out of an effort to be truly Hawaiian.

"Office of Hawaiian Affairs [says] submerged lands [are] to be held in trust for ALL Hawaiians, not just a select few who proclaim they are Hawaiians and want their project to go forward."

The local community also resents when outsiders come in with development projects without consulting the community first. Many locals expressed to me that while they may not be Hawaiian, they are still Kohalans, and they have been there longer than these Hawaiian entrepreneurs who come in from other parts of the state. For locals, the strong connection with the land through their plantation history, and the isolation that has bred pride and self-reliance, creates a strong bond to the land. While they recognize they do not have the same genealogical rights as Hawaiians, they feel that out of respect for their place in Kohala, they too should be consulted.

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[1] Fishponds were built by Hawaiians along the shore to store live fish for feasts or when the catch was too low.

[2] *Ko'a* is the Hawaiian word for a fishing ground in the ocean. Fishermen would go out in canoes and feed fish in a specific area so the fish would become acclimated to their presence. They would then be easier to capture. Each person or family would have their own *ko'a*, which was recognized by everyone else as a private territory for fishing.

3.3 Economic Frames

Most development promises some form of employment; either in the short term in the construction of facilities or in longer term employment at the facility. Out of all the development proposed, only Ahi Nui's proposal could promise any long lasting jobs for local residents. However, the promise of jobs was met with skepticism. Many people argued that only some people would benefit from new jobs, others said they are "too old to learn anything else" as the jobs would have required special training. In addition, the number of jobs that would be brought in was deemed to be negligible and not enough to make any real impact on the local economy. Taken as a whole, most residents believed that the benefits were outweighed by the disadvantages.

The fishermen in the community were concerned about the impacts of the fish cages on the local economy and fisheries. Ahi Nui promised they would be exporting the tuna they raised to markets on Japan, and thus would not disrupt local markets, appeasing the fishermen somewhat. But fishermen also feared the potential impact on the fishery when Ahi Nui went to capture thousands of juveniles at a time. They would be taking fish from the commons as their own, and continue growing them in the commons for their private gain. In written testimony to the Department of Land and Natural Resources, one person argued that "Taking this (submerged) land and ocean is to do a disservice to all of us who have relied on the ocean to provide food for us".

But the local and Hawaiian populations are stuck in a kind of no-win situation: as much as they might resent the incursion of the outside world in their community, they also

recognize the importance of the jobs that development brings. The resorts down the coast have become the lifeblood for many in Kohala who had no training after the loss of sugar in the region. However, it is important to them to keep resort development outside of Kohala. Many are willing to drive the 45 minute-plus commute each way to work if it means not having the hotels up in their place.

"I [had a job in Kona] for 4 years. You get up before sunrise, drive your sorry butt down there, you work a 12 hour day, you still got an hour and something drive home. Kids are asleep when you leave, asleep when you get home. You go someplace on the weekend, They go oh! I thought you moved away. No I'm working in Kona. It's not convenient, but you make that choice when you live here... I guess that's part of your personal investment that makes Kohala special, because we don't want K-Mart... So it's a balance."

If the cost of defending North Kohala from development is having to drive farther to work, most locals are willing to pay it to maintain their 'way of life.' If it means they can stay happy and support their lifestyle, they seem mostly willing to do that. In many cases, it also means taking a job that might seem less fulfilling; working in construction or at a car rental company, rather than creating a business in Kohala. However, in my time in Kohala, I talked to many people who take these somewhat more menial jobs so that when they are not at work, they do not have to think about work. Owning a business is time consuming, difficult hard work. Having to create artwork and sell it could make a hobby into an arduous task. Many locals in Kohala would rather be able to leave work behind on evenings and weekends.

"I'm really against job creation... Go build a road. It's not a career, it's not a passion, and it's not a thing that you want to do. It's just a job. I don't want a job. I want a way of life. Maybe that's why we put up with jobs down coast and an hour away, it's because it supports our way of life."

The idea of supporting a way of life, not a career, is common throughout North Kohala. The people caught in the middle of the debate over development, who need it for income, but do not want it around them, have been able to find a middle ground. Generally they accept certain forms of it down the coast, because there are benefits they recognize to having it: Kona has better health services, nice restaurants and supplies that you cannot get in the small shops in Hawi and Kapa'u. This perspective was a surprise for me. I have never thought that people would take a job just to support a way of life like this. But I can see they accept it because it is helps maintain their ideas of what it means to be in Kohala.

In chapter 2, I mentioned that the distinction between 'local' and non-local (*haole*) often seems to be a type of defensive identity against the outside threats to a way of life. To many locals and Hawaiians, these mostly *haole* newcomers and their big houses represent not only changes but the very dispossession of Hawaiian lands and oppression they had on the plantations. But some of their defensive identity has an economic foundation. With the influx of outsiders with money, many local and Hawaiian residents are increasingly unable to pay the taxes on their rapidly increasing property values. One resident told me that his property value had doubled within the last two years. Another told me how he

knew of a family that was unable to retain their land and the family had resorted to violent measures to try and keep the realty company from selling it. Eventually, that family lost their land and had to move out of Kohala. The influx of new houses only serves to reinforce these inequities.

The economic frames used by haoles was one of the more interesting arguments that I heard in Kohala. In the small buildings that have helped Kohala to maintain its 'small-town' atmosphere, there is a growing art industry, with a number of shops in Hawi and Kapa'u. There are painters, wood workers, potters and a variety of other types of art made and sold in Kohala. Much of this art is too expensive for residents of the area, so it is very much geared towards tourists who are trying to find more 'authentic' experiences in Hawai'i. Generally, the tourist to Kohala is the tourist trying to find the out-of-the-way place, and look for something unique to take back. Most of the artists are wealthier people who come in to relax while working on a hobby, and maybe sell some of their work.

"There's a lot of guys here that always wanted to have a little store so they could hang up the sign saying 'going fishing.'. They don't have to make a profit. It's a façade in a lot of ways and they don't make a sale for months, who cares? Yet the kind of tourist that goes up to Kohala and doesn't just follow the circle is the kind of tourists that's going to buy artwork in an out if the way place".

Generally the artists are people from other places, but they are also part of Kohala. They try to find a place that is still within the community, at the same time trying to cater to a

certain kind of tourist. This interviewee has reframed artists into a reason to keep the place less-developed: the tourist.

The other major draw for North Kohala is Pololu Valley at the end of the highway. Pololu is an image that defines Kohala; books and brochures about Kohala usually feature the view of the valley from the parking lot. A 15 minute trail down the side of the *pali* (cliff) takes people to a beautiful valley, once populated by Hawaiians villages, but which is now a rocky beach and ocean that stretches back into a grassy meadow (Figure 3.1). Though the ocean is not necessarily safe to swim in[3], it is a beautiful place to hike down to and spend an afternoon. Probably about a hundred people visit Pololu every day, maybe more during the height of the tourist season. These tourists form the base for the rest of the economy in Hawi and Kapa'u. Hopefully the travel-weary tourists will stop at one of the delis or coffee shops and then go to one of the curio shops to buy souvenirs.

Fig. 3.1. Pololu Valley

[3] Many residents warned me not to swim off this beach. At least one person drowns every year due to the swift current and riptides visible even from the parking lot.

The fear presented in Kohala about development is that it would ruin the small-town atmosphere that brings in many of the tourists. As much as Hawaiians, locals and haoles might resent the tourists, they also recognize much of their livelihood depends on whether or not those tourists show up in Kohala and down the coast in South Kohala and Kona; a lesson learned after September 11th, 2001, and SARS in spring of 2003.

"Well the argument you most often hear, and it's true, is the economy is so based on tourism and more and more increasingly tourists are looking for unspoiled areas in which to vacation. That is the strongest argument at the present time against development here. Because whether they like it or not, it unites everybody"

Residents seem to strategically position tourism to suit their arguments as they questioned the sustainability of polluting industries alongside tourism:

"The hotels along the coast are centered on ocean recreation and are the number one employers on the Big Island. How many jobs is Ahi Nui going to provide? There is no comparison between these jobs and contribution the tourism industry makes on the Big Island. If you open up a tuna farm and it harms tourism by polluting our sea, then we lose the main source of income for our community. Do we want to take the risk of sacrificing the number one driving force of the economy on the Big Island?"

The economic framing of this situation may be more strategic than something that the residents really believe in. In North Kohala, as in other areas in Hawai'i, the tourist plays a contradictory role in the eyes of the residents. However, even if the tourist is slightly ridiculed, residents are also forced to recognize that they are vital to community's well-

being. But there is the fear (even by people who moved there in the same way) that the tourists will decide to move in, and that hurts the sense of a small-town community. So tourism plays a very contradictory role, though it seems to present a strong argument when it is combined with environmental issues, because the quality of the environment in North Kohala and tourism are intricately connected.

3.4 Framing the Environment

The environment can be framed in a variety of ways, leading to different justifications for 'saving it'. The first way is for its intrinsic beauty, or the moral imperative of saving the environment for 'future generations'. The 'pristine' quality of the environment in Kohala was mentioned in every interview with *haole* residents, and it was usually the first justification for actions against development plans. These arguments, however, assume that the current state is natural. In Kohala, the environment has changed dramatically since Hawaiian settlement. Hawaiians practiced agriculture on a large scale, altering the vegetative cover and developing irrigation. 100 years of sugar plantations significantly altered the landscape; more forest was cleared and extensive irrigation systems were built. When people argue to protect the environment, they are arguing to protect their ideal perspective of nature, which in Kohala, seems to be the current state.

"I love it here because of the power of the unobstructed natural environment. One thing that attracts me to Kohala is the amount of open space and pasture land. Humans don't make too much improvement, if you ask me."

In order to value the intrinsic character of nature, there should be no sign of development.

Any disruption of the view of open spaces means having to live with the daily reminders of development projects. The tuna cages proposed by Ahi Nui created a significant amount of concern about the view planes with many haoles because their cages would have to sit on the surface of the water, which would disrupt the view of the open ocean from the shore and from people's houses. People move to Kohala to get away from these reminders of industrial life and they want to be able to "enjoy the ocean" without seeing a "fish factory". However, affecting view planes is not considered as strong an argument as pollution or economics, though residents can frame it as a threat against property values. Ultimately, this argument to preserve the view is regarded by developers as a NIMBY issue. Residents seem to accept this and use the more persuasive environmental and economic arguments against Ahi Nui.

Often, when arguments are presented in term of these more intangible values, developers and planners simply accuse groups of being adopting NIMBY strategies. In wrapping themselves in their perception of what living in Kohala means, and what they value about it, they argue to maintain those features that make Kohala special: the rural quality of life, the pristine environment, open spaces, etc. Some have allowed that certain projects could work elsewhere, just not here. Surprisingly, some even were forthright in saying that they know they are being selfish, being NIMBY-ish.

"Well I think generally there was a feeling here that we had been suffering a long time from unchecked development... It's NIMBY kind of in a sense, but it's such a delicate balance here on an island, so. We have to do what we have to do."

A few *haole* interviewees admitted to NIMBY-ism, and use the terminology even though it is acknowledged that it is a negative stereotype. It illustrates that even though they know they are operating outside the accepted framework of developers and planners, they are still willing to fight for their own values of Kohala.

'Saving' the environment is a global issue in many ways. This framing can utilize and mobilize information from almost any place around the world. With the use of newspapers and the internet, tools that many people in Kohala have used to compile information, people have been able to present strong arguments against projects. Nowhere was this more evident than during the dispute over the open ocean fish cages. A search for aquaculture on the internet can make people around the world aware of the issues in North Kohala and people in Kohala aware of issues around the world.

"Modern fish farming... threatens our marine environments. Fish farming operations in South Australia, Spain, Chile, British Columbia, and the state of Maine are excellent examples of where the open-ocean aquaculture industry has caused substantial harm to marine environments" (Oiye and Harp 2005).

In this case, the environmental frame has allowed *haole* residents to see global environmental and health concerns and situate them in North Kohala in a way that people from around the world who are 'environmentally conscious' can relate to. They can also use global resource arguments from the global discourse on the environment, like this statement:

"The diesel fire plants are dirty and they're dependant on resources that we don't have naturally on this island. In others words it's fuel, and fuel is always subject to price manipulation. Not the most efficient way to generate."

This makes their fight part of a greater global goal, which they hope can draw in people from outside for support.

Probably the most influential argument from haoles to save the environment comes in the form of health issues. Residents want to protect the clean air, water and land in Kohala from development in order to minimize health impacts. This frame constructs commercial and industrial development as polluting and having a negative affect on the health of the community, which is a common argument used around the world against development. North Kohala, being at the northern tip of the island, is blessed with strong trade winds, keeping the area free of the only real pollution threat, vog[4]. Arguments against HELCO's diesel generators were framed as a source of pollution that could cause respiratory problems. In fact, many people moved to Kohala for some of the cleanest air in the state. The health survey mentioned above that was conducted when the diesel generators were being proposed found that many people who moved there for respiratory related problems did have a hard time breathing when the vog was present and were fearful of having similar problems from the pollution from the generators.

Aquaculture cages are also accused of having potentially negative health effects.

[4] Vog is the term used to describe the pollution and haze that emerges from Kilauea Volcano on the south side of the Big Island. Trade winds usually blow it south, keep the air clear. When the trade winds stop and the Kona (south) winds blow, the vog is pushed north throughout the island chain. Vog has been linked to an increased rate of asthma and respiratory distress.

"It'll bring more sharks, it'll bring more parasites. It'll join the run-offs form the golf courses and form more red tides. Make the fish inedible."[5]

If the fish waste becomes a pollution issue it could not only effect the quality of the wild fish caught by fishermen but it can also affect the water that people swim, surf and dive in. Hawai'i does not have many water quality inspectors for the ocean environment and the fear is that those inspectors would not be able to adequately monitor the situation and people would be swimming in grossly polluted waters, possibly getting sick. The leeward side of the Big Island enjoys some of the cleanest waters in the world. Residents of all backgrounds are suspicious of any project that can ruin that. I mentioned above that one argument against the aquaculture cages was a disruption of the view plane out in the ocean. One person explained to me that not only are surface cages unsightly, but the sight of them would be a constant reminder of a potentially polluting industry.

Because Hawaiians view the environment as a continuation of their own community, environmental frames and arguments against development projects emphasize how hurting the natural environment would hurt the Hawaiian community. They have centuries of experience in the area and much of the local population has been fishing and hunting in the area for generations. Both of these groups feel that they have special, intricate knowledge of the environment; they know the seasons, the weather, the currents and the patterns of fish and wildlife because they have observed it for generations and indeed much of it is passed along though Hawaiian legends and stories. When a

[5] 'Red Tides' occur when there red algae in the water grows very fast, giving the ocean water a reddish color. In Hawai'i they are associated with Ciguatera, a toxic version of this algae. This neurotoxin is stored in the fish, becoming concentrated the farther up the food chain the animal is and can create serious illness for humans.

developer comes in and claims that they have scientific studies that prove that their projects will not harm the environment, but is contrary to what is 'known' locally, people will fight back, creating a controversy of ways of knowing.

From my interviews, transcripts of public meetings and newspaper editorials, it became clear that many residents place a high value on local knowledge. Most feel the local knowledge of residents and fishermen of the local environment is superior to 'outside' science. In the case of open-ocean aquaculture in Kohala, one of the strongest arguments put forth by local residents was that Ahi Nui had misjudged, or ignored, the data concerning the current flow in the area where the cages were proposed. Repeatedly at the public hearing and in newspaper articles, people complained that Ahi Nui's data was flawed and instead of pushing the fish waste out to sea, the fish waste would be pushed right into Kawaihae Harbor. Sometimes what is being presented as science is contradictory to everyday experience and local knowledge, further validating the communities concerns.

"I've spent a lot of hours fishing in front of Kawaihae Harbor in the last 30 years and I've spent countless nights out there... the currents there are not dependable by any stretch of the imagination. It's not uncommon that you get in a peck of trouble because the current takes you straight into Kawaihae Harbor, and you have to tow to try and get around the harbor." (Public hearing testimony 10/06/03)

For the movie *Water World* (1995), which was filmed off the coast of North Kohala, ocean current studies were done by the film makers to understand how the currents work

in the area, ostensibly so as not to cause too much impact to the nearby shoreline. Ahi Nui used this study to back up its argument that currents would not bring waste into Kawaihae Harbor. Unfortunately for Ahi Nui, some residents had experienced debris from *Water World.* In addition, many fishermen claimed that Ahi Nui was not considering how dramatically currents in Kawaihae can change. Most fishermen felt that the data was also seriously flawed because ocean currents will vary dramatically (Oiye and Harp 2005).

Hawaiians and locals certainly have motives for arguing for their local knowledge. Many people still supplement their diet with animals and plants they personally gather, such as fishing, hunting pigs and gathering fruit from trees. To them, protecting the environment is not necessarily for the common good of the planet, but for themselves as a source of life. Hawaiian views of the environment illustrate the need to treat the land with the same respect as your family so that it will keep providing nourishment and sustenance. Locals, while not necessarily adopting Hawaiian legends, talk about the need to treat the land in a similar spirit. If a diesel generator comes in and pollutes the local environment, it could harm the growth of plants on land and in the ocean, harming the animals that are sources of food. Fish cages could not only cause drastic changes in the ocean environment, the *ahi* resource could be depleted and fish cages may attract sharks, endangering fishermen and divers and their catches.

Many newer residents cannot claim to have local knowledge about the environment, but they are ready to back up the knowledge of local and Hawaiians and use it in their arguments.

"Ahi Nui states that their divers observed "one unidentified sand worm" in the area, however, most local fishermen will agree that opelu, akule, Kona crab, ta'ape, uku, weke-ula, ulua, omilu, malolo, and other species migrate through the area" (Oiye and Harp).

Coming more from a system of scientific values, many newer residents will back up claims of local knowledge by doing their own experiments. The first time was during the controversy over the diesel generators.

"We did a health survey out at Laina Kea [the development nearest to the proposed generator site] and we found that there were a ton of people with asthma, which gets worse when the Kona winds blow vog up here"

This survey was presented as evidence that diesel generators would be more detrimental to public health than the state acknowledged.

During the controversy over the water pipeline, one community group protested the results of a study by the United States Geological Survey (USGS) so strongly that USGS was compelled to perform a second study measuring the amount of water available to be shipped to Kona.

"One of our guys put a rain meter out and checked USGS's statistics and found they were wrong. So USGS had to do another study, which took another year, almost two

years actually, and it came back that the amount of available water that came from that could be safely transported to Kona was reduced from about 20 millions gallons a day to about 14. But those things are guesses, so do you err on the side of more or do you err on the side of less with things like water?"

The cost and results of this second study have tied up money and regulations enough that the project was delayed. The Environmental Impact Statement that was performed expires in 2005. If the company cannot begin the construction of the pipeline before that expires, it is doubtful that the water pipeline will be constructed.

From past experience of people in Kohala (like the Kohala Task Force) and people from the mainland, there is an inherent distrust of government science and policy. Many residents who moved to Kohala from the mainland have stories of how they feel some project was pushed through at the expense of people and despite their protests. There is a general feeling that the government's first priority is to make money, not protect people, not the other way around like it should be. When 'scientific' evidence is presented, many haoles analyze the methodology, and dispute the findings based on possibly substandard methods. This group can operate in the scientific knowledge framework easier, as all the people I talked to were educated with a minimum of a bachelor's degree, and could meet the developers on 'neutral ground.' In addition, disparities in findings have been found, leading to more distrust of results that the state presents to the community.

"A lot of my information came from this book, put out DLNR. It talks about fisheries in Hawaii, and it's full of contradictions....says one thing, something else, one thing, back and forth, kind of like a magician....' (Public hearing, 6 Oct 2002)

If the state cannot get its information straight, why should the public believe and trust them?

3.5 Development Reframed

Interestingly, many locals and Hawaiians sanction development down the coast as many people still depend on the jobs that development projects provide. As we have seen, many people accept that they have to drive an hour to work each way, but they know they are dependant on some type of development. They not only recognize it as necessary for their economic well-being, but as "inevitable", so they feel it might as well happen in Kona rather than Kohala.

"You could never be in control of development as long as the big money is coming in. But we might as well try and keep it out of here"

But they also see ways in which development projects or patterns could be improved. The following comment reflects the value of open space, even if the open space is old lava fields and not agriculture. This interviewee has been able to reconcile the need for development with his desire to keep open spaces:

"I feel that development should be in clusters like the Mauna Lani and Mauna Kea [two high end resorts just south of Kawaihae] in one cluster: development here, open space here, development, open space. But soon you're going to see the whole thing crawling across the coastal area."

Many locals and Hawaiians also suggested some alternative types of development that could provide jobs, give the community what it needs and be able to maintain their 'small town atmosphere.'

The Mormon Church and a local guy are talking about doing a chocolate factory and that would be an industry that employs some guys. There are ecotourism opportunities in Kohala, and that's actually nice, because they employ a small number of people and it doesn't turn into a big booming thing or create extra traffic. One guy started the flume ride and you have a horseback riding operation.

So there are acceptable ways to provide jobs to people. One Hawaiian I talked to wants to start growing taro again. Specialty agriculture products are being considered and a few residents are interested in being involved in these types of projects as it is considered one of the best ways to secure Kohala's resources for the people who live there.

"We would much rather have a lot of little farms. We need to do small businesses on a larger scale. Then we can lock in our water rights we can lock in our land use, not be able to move it. Keeping it in agriculture is the best way to keep it undeveloped."

Many *haole* residents also see a way to save Kohala in the adoption of alternative technologies and industries. Kohala, rich in resources such as rain, sun and wind has a great deal of potential for these alternative development technologies like solar power, windmills, irrigation and water power. These conditions also create a fertile growing environment in which many people have started small scale organic gardens; the products of which they eat and sell at local farmer's markets. I visited two people who are part of a group of people who are trying to live 'organically' with nature. They have small tent houses built on a small concrete base, they are generating electricity from a small stream nearby and they have a communal organic garden that they use to grow most of what they eat. Most of these people admit to having the advantage of living this kind of life from

money they saved up during their careers and have the luxury of living how they do. But they push for more adoption of these alternative technologies in the area, hoping to keep Kohala as unpolluted as possible.

One of the big obstacles to large development projects again comes back to the idea of a 'Kohala' community. These big projects are not seen to give anything back to the community. They feel like people are coming in and using them for their resources, but not participating in the reciprocal relationships that are necessary in a real community.

"You improve that road, you put in another lane, and you put a couple of streetlights in here. You want to do business in Hawai'i, you can build a nice park for all these people and put some bathrooms over there in the park as well."

Many local and Hawaiian people in Kohala feel that if developers want some high end development to come along to Kona, then they should help the people who will be their future employees. The paucity of affordable housing makes it very difficult for people to live any closer to their jobs. While there have been attempts to build affordable housing closer to the major resorts along the Kona Coast, these areas are eventually bought up by wealthier people who find the more remote locations ideal places to live.

"When you come here and you want to live here with us, with this nice beautiful climate that's here, you have to pay for it. You help the community. You want to build a high-end hotel? You're going to have to build 500 apartments over here for free for all the workers so we can have the cheapest rent."

An interesting reframing occurs when comparing housing and commercial development. While much of the new housing development that is occurring represents an economic threat to the livelihoods of many locals and Hawaiians, it is not as vociferously fought against as the bigger commercial and industrial projects. I propose two reasons for this: one is the importance that locals and Hawaiians place on their culture and way of life, and the other is the advantage of having large land owners.

Hawaiians and locals emphasize values of community, family and kinship, reciprocity and conflict avoidance. While some people come in and buy large tracts of land and build large and unattainable houses, they are still an individual, or an individual family, who has a family and a life; not a faceless corporate entity who has no stake in keeping Kohala 'special'. People will eventually run into these new residents on the street and your children may even go to school together.

"It's small community. I'll never forget it when I took my boy into kindergarten and the lady did an orientation. [The teacher] says 'look around the room. There's a good chance you're looking at your future in-laws'! Wow! It's true, but that's what it means to be in the community."

Being in a small community means that you will eventually run into almost everyone, and it is not worth it to have that sort of discomfort when socializing or running to the hardware store. This values of community and conflict avoidance seems to have resulted in more acceptance of housing development.

The major exception to this is gated communities. North Kohala seems to be an area that many wealthier people want to live, but they still want the perceived security of living inside gates, away from the 'dangers' of the outside world. Locals were rather emphatic on making the distinction between newer landowners and residents of gated communities. People who "lock themselves inside" are insulting to locals and Hawaiians. "You know what an insult that is? What, from us? You think you need to be *protected* from us? Fine, don't come to our big luaus then!" Residents in gated communities prove to locals that they do not want to be a part of the community by putting up that physical barrier. One man who runs a landscaping business, and who often works in these high end development claims:

"Thing about those people, we're not supposed to talk to the owners. We're not supposed to talk to anyone. I guess it's security We're just little slaves down there until the project is done, and then what do you think is going to happen? They build a wall around this thing. And to me it's good. Lock them in there in their gate and rock wall so we don't see them."

Fig 3.2. A Gated Community in Kohala

The second reason why it seems that housing development has continued relatively unopposed by locals is that large landowners have been reframed. This may be part of the justification for accepting them based on the desire for conflict avoidance, but quite a few people have accepted this reframing of accepting large landowners because they keep the land open and free of development projects and help to maintain the open and rural quality that all people of Kohala (Hawaiian, local or *haole*) value.

"It seems land owners are our friends because they're keeping the large land open. There might still be a fence, you might still have to ask to go in, but usually they say yeah. We all come from this idea that you have to fight the big corporate monster, these are not corporate monsters. It's guys with tons of cash that want to keep the land open."

This reframing of large landowners seems to be another key issue in why commercial and industrial development has been so strongly argued against, and yet most of the new residential development has been, if not fully welcome, then not fully unaccepted. While there still is a separation between the people who have been in the area for generations and the recent migrants, all still seem to value the idea that Kohala is a special community, influencing their interactions with each other. Their perception of their place influences how they act towards each other.

Many haoles represent those very people who are coming in a buying up land and building houses. It would be difficult for them to justify opposition to housing

development when they symbolize the same problem. That did not stop people from trying however:

"And I would love to see the population here be stable. Now that I am here, I am cool with nobody else moving here... I don't know if that's fair, but that's how I feel"

People recognize their role in the rapid increase in housing development and rising land values, but because they moved to Kohala for 'way of life' they feel that they are justified in their positions.

It seems that many of the newcomers to the area try to realign themselves as part of the 'local' community of Kohala. It is an interesting sight to see many expensive cars parked around Kohala and the people that get in and out of them are the same people that I sit and talk to in the coffee shops and cafes. Many obviously come from well-off backgrounds, but they try and downplay the appearance of this as they move about Kohala. Most also recognize the economic positions of many of the people from the area:

"I think rich white guys from the mainland are buying up the land. I am one of them. I know how it's going to be for the local people here, local folks leaving the island because there are not economic opportunities and they can't afford to stay."

It seems this repositioning of themselves, empathizing with 'locals' allows them to feel justified in arguing against further housing development, despite their role in it.

Many of them also feel that gated communities are counterproductive to the 'community' and disapprove of them on the grounds that it hurts the locals.

"I do not want to live in a gated community, trapped with everybody everyday, living above the people around me."

Because of the contradictions of newer residents arguing against new housing development, they have a more difficult time stopping it. However, those that do not live in a gated community can find a common enemy with the locals in the gated communities, allowing them to be 'on the side' of the locals. This, in addition to the positions of the locals and Hawaiians, seems to provide an understanding of why housing development in the area has continued relatively unabated.

3.6 Strategies

No official group exists that includes members from all different aspects of the community. Some groups have tried, but most have simply ceased to exist. Most people in the community feel that residents are reactive, rather than proactive because people seem to adjust to the status quo, until there is a threat... and then they rush to get organized. However, one event organized in 2000 was an attempt by the local and Hawaiian community to be more proactive and decide what they want for the community rather than simply reacting when an outside threat occurs. In addition, there is a strong *haole* group that has been very involved in development in North Kohala; from contesting new projects to proposing alternative development. I will discuss each of these community strategies in turn.

3.6.1 A Collaborative Effort

The Millennium Reunion, which took place in June of 2000, was an effort on the part of the local and Hawaiian communities to form a coalition to determine the appropriate

future for Kohala. According people I interviewed, this huge event originated when some of the old sugar plantation camps and the high school were each planning respective reunions. In Kohala, there are not too many places to have such large gatherings, so it was proposed to have all the reunions at the same time. Two years in the planning, this event was a five day celebration of the past, present and future. People who grew up in Kohala came back from all over the world. Each day had a different theme: day one was pre-contact Hawai'i; day two was transition, the missionary period; day three was the first part of the plantation period, up until 1920; day four was the second part of the plantation period 1920 until the present; and day five was looking ahead to the future. The reunion was an effort to remember the past, see how Kohala was shaped and then plan for the future.

In light of the increasing pressures of development, especially housing, in Kohala prior to 2000, it is little wonder that there was an emphasis on planning for the future. It was a chance for the people of Kohala to create their own priorities and look at where they wanted to future to go[6]. Indeed, in the spirit of the reunion, numerous committees were formed. There was a natural resource and historic preservation committee, one that looked at housing, one at commercial development and a variety of other issues. The event seems to be considered a great success by all who attended. People were able to reacquaint themselves with each other and those coming back could see the changes in Kohala.

[6] The event was supposed to create and publish the priorities for Kohala. However, that part of the project apparently did not get completed.

Few of the committees formed at the Millennium Reunion continue today. In the spirit of the moment, people were ready to plan, but it seems that over time, the groups have simply fallen apart due to lack of participation and attendance. There was some speculation as to why this had happened. A couple people felt that during the gathering, many people were ready to collaborate and define their future. But as people left town or got back to their normal lives, the enthusiasm faded and without an immediate threat, it was difficult to keep people who were busy with jobs and kids involved in the groups, much to the disappointment of many people.

Another reason that was commonly given for the demise of the groups was their structure and operation. Many committee formed at the reunion were set up in similar ways, each with a facilitator and a board responsible for planning and running the meetings. However, some of these groups were eventually taken over by people not involved in their creation and people resented the new directions the groups were taking and the people who were leading them there. Some directly blamed the facilitators and board members because meetings seemed to simply deteriorate into arguments over bylaws and no progress or productive discussions were happening. In addition, many people were annoyed about one facilitator from the mainland because rather than facilitating, she was simply telling the community was they needed to do instead of helping them figure it out for themselves. A group of people I talked to called this type of meeting *haole* style and chose not to participate in something that would eventually undermine their interests[7].

[7] Some of the authentic Hawaiian movement has moved to the Hawaiian Civic Club which has seen more success in recent years. This group "welcomes everyone who will participate in the promotion, perpetuation and the preservation of traditional Kanaka Maoli values that dignify, honor, and respect all life, in support of the Native Hawaiian" (kohala96755.tripod.com/khcclub).

The Millennium Reunion, even though it formed little lasting effect, was the first attempt by the local and Hawaiian community to be proactive about the future of their place since the Kohala Community Development Plan and the rapid changes that had occurred since then. They tried to incorporate all aspects of the place into their plans: cultural, environmental, and economic. The event reflected the widely disparate interests of the community, but possibly the lack of real community cohesion prevented continuing in this way when people seemed to fall back into old relationships. There are tentative plans to hold another one, possibly this year in 2005 and it is hoped that lessons learned from the first one will make the second version have more fruitful and long-lasting effects.

3.6.2 Working within the Regulatory Framework

Many of the people from the mainland know how to work in the legal and political framework of the state. Some of the more active people formed a group called Ka Makani O' Kohala Ohana, also know as Kako'o, which "... traces its origins to a small group of community advocates successfully contesting the imposition of a polluting power plant in October 1995, [and] now acts primarily as a community watchdog and information broker for North Kohala" (www.kamakani.org). On its website, Kako'o states they represent 300 families in the community and looks out for their interests by promoting 'smart growth' and self-determination[8]. They have been very active and opposed many projects considered harmful to the environment and have been very supportive of initiatives to protect the natural environment and promote alternative energy. This group

[8] While the term 'smart growth' was used by various people within the community, there was never any common definition as to what it was

maintains a website with links to information all over the world; indeed the links to information on ocean aquaculture are very thorough

Kako'o is the reason I originally chose Kohala as a study site. I chose them because they are a visible voice outside Kohala; actively writing in newspapers and testifying at public hearings. However, only one person I contacted was willing to meet with me as a representative of the group. Another resident suggested that Kako'o might have been concerned about my motives as an academic; thinking I intended to portray them as a selfish NIMBY-style group. As a result, most of my information is from other members of the community, the group's website and numerous articles and letters to the editor that they have had printed in local papers.

Kako'o may be one of the few proactive groups in North Kohala. North Kohala's isolation seems to lull many people into a sense of security, but this group prides itself on doing the research and finding out about issues before they are too big to handle. Their goal is to empower residents of the area with knowledge and to provide information to state and county officials to "base wise planning decisions" (www.kamakani.org). They have also written numerous letters and petitions to various state agencies and presented forceful and successful testimony at public hearings. When writing state and county officials has not worked, Kako'o has gone to court. This happened in the diesel generator project and again with the water pipeline. Indeed, in suing to have a Federal Environmental Impact Statement (FEIS) done, they were successful in getting the water pipeline stalled long enough that the project has been indefinitely postponed.

Most of the arguments Kako'o presents revolve around saving the environment and protecting the resources. They question methodology of the science they receive and in their arguments seem determined to bog down the discussion with other cases that have failed around the world. This form of working within the system is one strategy that many people use to block unwanted development. The members of Kako'o generally seem to have the advantage of knowing how to work within 'the system' better than their local counterparts.

However, many in the community reject the idea that Kako'o represents them. They are thought to represent a certain set of limited interests, and they especially lack a cultural Hawaiian element to their mission. Preserving natural areas is specifically for intrinsic beauty and a clean environment, not to preserve a Hawaiian sense of place. This is not to dispute that there is validity to their purpose, only whether it represents the entire community of Kohala. Some feel that the group was "hijacked" for specific interests and is now promoted as representing the community, when the people they are supposed to represent are not asked their opinion on issues. Despite the issues surrounding the origins and representation of this group, they have no doubt been successful at collecting information and having an impact on decisions.

Kako'o has also founded the Na Makani Energy Initiative that "promoted community input toward a 'soft energy', future, and assists Kohala residents in obtaining alternative energy systems" receiving funding to facilitate alternative energy in Kohala

(www.kamakani.org). Like many progressive people in the United States, many of these newcomers actually welcome various types of alternative development. Kako'o has been active in promoting the rich resources in Kohala and providing avenues for adopting of alternative energy sources.

3.7 Summary of the Chapter

Hawaiians and locals have different histories, but they have each had distinct role in shaping what Kohala has become. They both have a strong attachment to place, and though manifested in different ways, both feel a strong connection that helps to frame their perceptions of the proper use of the land. They have negotiated acceptable levels of development that are in their best social and economic interests by accepting development in Kona so they can have jobs. They are willing to do this in order to maintain that connection to Kohala that they cherish. Many haoles, interestingly, have been able to reframe the tourists to Hawai'i in a way that allows them to justify saving the environment for the larger investment of tourism.

While housing development represents a certain economic threat, locals and Hawaiians are less likely to vocal in arguing against it. The value systems in place, which help create part of local and Hawaiian identity, make it difficult for them to confront an individual person, who is a part of the Kohala community. This has led to more acceptance of this type of development. Haoles also do not dispute housing development as aggressively as they do commercial and industrial. Many haoles are part of the movement that is causing these housing developments to spring up around Kohala, so to argue against them seems hypocritical. However, all these groups are united against gated communities, which

represent an insult to many locals and Hawaiians and social disparities for everyone. They are not really accepted as part of the community because of the physical boundary they put up around them.

Finally, some strategies have been to form community coalitions that can help promote a certain group's interests. The Millennium Reunion and Kako'o are two different examples that show the efforts placed to further these anti-development efforts in Kohala. While the Millennium Reunion had little lasting impact, many prominent members of that community are trying to get people involved again, so that in the future, local and Hawaiian values and arguments can be articulated. Both groups are interested in adopting alternative development projects on a small scale. The key, however, will be the economic sustainability in a state where land values, and therefore taxes, are high and large-scale tourism projects bring in more money than small scale agriculture. Hopefully for this community, they can use the momentum they have to be more proactive about having what they want for Kohala.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

4.1 My Experiences

I sat one clear night in Mahukona, next to the ocean, millions of stars out, watching many of the people I had met around town relaxing in the warm evening. People from the community had gathered, as they do every Wednesday night, to share food and beer and listen to their friends play anything from bluegrass and jazz to rock on a variety of instruments. Others might sing along on the sides or dance with a hula hoop on the floor. I watched one of my more personable contacts play the electric drums while another closed his eyes and danced. Another man pulled out a trombone and played quietly along on the sides. I chatted with a lady I had seen around town, drinking a beer with her and laughing at the children running and playing around. A couple of men I had met tried to convince me to play as well, after I had unwittingly told them I used to play music. After I begged off, I was able to sit back and observe everyone around me. I knew that this would be one of the most poignant experiences of my time in Kohala.

The people of Kohala were more than kind and patient with me. They bought me coffee and showed me around. They were ready and willing to share their experiences, but mostly, I think they just wanted a chance to show off Kohala. They have a real pride of living in place that is so beautiful, isolated and where everybody knows everybody. To some, it is all they know, and to others, they come to Kohala for that feeling. Whatever the reason, what they do share is that pride in the place they live.

There has been a wide diversity of ways that the pride in Kohala is expressed. This diversity helps to construct a very complete defense against development. Their perspectives become entrenched in people's core identity. So when they feel threatened, they will react from their gut. Arguments will become heated very quickly and most have very passionate responses. What I have tried to show by illustrating the various frames within a community is not how to dissect their arguments and therefore fight against them, but how they can help us understand different perspectives in a conflict. Understanding why people are so entrenched in certain views and why they respond so passionately.

4.2 The Future?

Residents in Kohala range from cautiously pessimistic to cautiously optimistic about their future. When I asked many of them how they envisioned Kohala in twenty years, many said the area would be in the hands of rich yuppies, but that there would still be a strong local presence. People who see themselves as part of that yuppie movement even admit that they may be part of that problem. Some worry about the increased presence of the hotels as the Kona coast continues to be developed and that it would continue to create resentment between pro- and anti-development efforts in the community.

There has been talk about alternative forms of development, such as small-scale agriculture and developing more alternative energy. Kohala's past as an agricultural center makes it an ideal place to continue to grow crops. Taro, macadamia nuts and specialty organic produce are currently being grown. Hawai'i is an expensive place to

perform agriculture, therefore, these high-value, specialty crops would be important for any agriculture in the area.

Many *haole* residents discussed methods of alternative energy as a way to reduce reliance on the state. This movement in Kohala seemed to get started around the time of the proposed diesel generators. Providing alternative energy could reduce the reliance on the state, and prevent those generators from being built in the future. Kako'o has a grant to fund research into alternative energy sources in Kohala. The increasing numbers of people who are looking for alternative lifestyles, and who are already pursuing different forms of energy, make this a possibility.

4.3 Understanding the Perspectives

Through this study, I articulated some of the individual frames of reference through which the Kohala community perceives themselves and development. In such an ethnically and economically diverse area, this is difficult at best, not the least because of the very different ways that people identify with Kohala as a place. Hawaiians, as do many indigenous people, value the environment as a part of the community of people and places. To them, harming the environment through invasive development disrespects the land that provides for us. Many locals trace their ancestry in Hawai'i through working the land on sugar plantations, and they feel a pride in having had that kind of connection with the land, and now strive only to maintain the way of life they have had in the area. For them, development upsets that way of life and they are willing to sacrifice (in driving long distances for work) in order to maintain that. And finally, the haoles come to Kohala

for a clean paradise, often to retire. They do not want any 'dirty' industry to pollute what they have worked so hard to attain.

Through their frames, they have articulated arguments against development based on harm to the environment, but in different ways, which makes discussion between the groups difficult. This has the potential to eventually weaken the position of the community as a developer may be able to pit one group against another. In the meantime, the environmental arguments are strong enough to tie up permitting processes and pressure the state to deny permits.

4.4 Understanding the Strategies

Understanding the frames of people helped to understand the different types of strategies that different segments of the community take. Kako'o is a group represented mostly by *haole* newcomers, and who adopt strategies that represent their values and perspectives. They argue based on environmental regulations and their right to defend their property rights. They write articles, protest vociferously at public meetings and generally work within the legal system by presenting lawsuits and writing to government representative and departments.

Conversely, much of the local and Hawaiian populations operate in a more communal fashion. While they too have been seen at public hearings, they do not usually argue based on government regulations like Kako'o. Instead they argue for the value of local knowledge. They also argue for the importance of respecting the community of land and people., which many developers neglect. This respect for history and each other came

together in the Millennium Reunion, where the local and Hawaiian community gathered to discuss what they have learned from the past and where they want to go in the future. Unfortunately, this has not had the lasting effects of community cohesion that were intended. Hopefully for them, another attempt in the next couple years can generate a more progressive stance, instead of a defensive one.

The research reveals the strategy of reframing that is commonly deployed by residents who opposed some projects, but then slightly changed their position in order to ward off an even greater 'evil'. One example was the reframing of large landowners. These people are felt to be the cause of many problems in the area, from raising property values to eroding the sense of community. But many of them also buy large pieces of land and keep them open, maintaining the open quality that so many people in Kohala value. This phenomenon could be explored further in other places to understand seemingly contradictory positions that people, or communities, may take. I believe this occurs more often than is acknowledged in many disputes, and could provide an area that fosters community cohesion and agreements. However, more research would be needed at a level below the 'community' as perceived from the outside.

Only one person who discussed this point with me acknowledged the seemingly contradictory nature of this type of argument, and he found it nearly as incongruous as I did. We went on to discuss how the same thing is done with tourists, who are usually made fun of, but turn into heroes to save Kohala from 'dirty' development projects that would run off the most consistent source of economic livelihood around. He was

fascinated, but found it to be a valid argument, as did apparently most others who subscribed to this view.

4.4.1 Where Frames Overlap

Often people take positions that are polarized from the 'opposite' side, creating a presumably win-lose situation. It would seem in the case of Kohala that the positions people took created a barrier to finding a mutually satisfactory solution. However, using this framing concept, we can better understand the underlying interests of the stakeholders and we may begin to see where frames overlap. This is essential to creating a mutually productive agreement between interest groups. In Kohala, we can see an example of this in the economic framing of the Hawaiian and local community and the developers. Interestingly, the environmental frames of many of the haoles overlap as well.

Developers usually have their own economic interests at heart. They want to be able to invest in the area and create a profit to maintain a viable business. While many in the community do not want big, 'dirty' development projects in the area, they also have an interest in economic viability. They need to be able to support themselves and their families. Further, even people have retired, such as people from the mainland who come to Kohala to retire, desire no development, but usually add the exception for alternative development, such as 'sustainable' and 'environmentally friendly' projects. Many small businesses seem to be more acceptable than one large business. High value agriculture, including products important in Hawaiian culture, seems to be one avenue that could be further explored. Many people, from all groups, mentioned this type of project as being

more acceptable to them. Finding these types of areas where frames and interests overlap is essential to envisioning alternatives to projects that the community is unwilling to accept.

Finding the area where frames overlap is crucial to finding a mutually compatible agreement. In my study, I was able to see a few areas where different segments of the community have overlapping frames, as described above. However, I did not have a chance to interview developers, so the area where those overlap is less apparent here, though I have tried to highlight an area where they possibly could.

4.5 Implications

My original purpose in conducting this research was to delve deeper into community resistance to development to better understand why and how they fight against projects. I used the concept of frames to outline the ways that people see themselves, their environment and their community in order to understand the actions they have taken in response to proposed projects. While much of the literature on framing discusses a community's frame of development, I have tried to expand on what a community *is* and how there are different frames even *within* a community. The term 'community' is difficult to use in academic parlance because it is an acknowledged homogenizing term, one used by developers as well as academics and it marginalizes important differences within the group. Recognizing this, I have broken down the community of North Kohala into three groups (along the lines of concepts of place), though the case can obviously be made that the problem of homogenization still exists, I feel that it is a possible step in the right direction. These identity boundaries were the ones most salient while I was

conducting my research. Boundaries between people are not static, and alliances could change depending on the nature of a conflict. Therefore care should be taken to assume that all conflict falls along racial identity lines.

The goal of looking at the deeper questions behind the term community should be to learn from what we discuss and come up with new alternatives to respect the diversity within community. We can see how far we have come in the way we approach them; we can learn from mistakes, and then we can look ahead to find alternatives. Once we can do this, and our approaches to community reflect it, we may be able to have more productive conversations and implement projects that can be acceptable to communities. This is not meant to be seen as a way to get around community resistance, but as a way to create respect on all sides and be able to move forward rather than be caught in a stagnant battle between ideologies.

This study has explored the diverse perspectives within the community, how they articulate their arguments, and how development is ultimately accepted or rejected. A closer inspection on their ideas about certain kinds of development revealed that residential development may be more acceptable than more intrusive commercial and industrial projects. It has been reframed for many in the community as a way to keep Kohala rural, but it may undermine what makes Kohala special.

In the next few years, the districts of North and South Kohala will be experiencing dramatic changes. Kawaihae Harbor will be modified to accept the new inter-island super

ferry, and Kawaihae will be the drop-off point on the West side of the Big Island. With the addition of the super ferry, there will be in increase in accessibility to Kohala, potentially changing the region as more tourists come in and more people decide to move there. The US Army is also bringing in a STRYKER brigade, bringing hundreds of new families to the area. The community will have to find a way to overcome its communication failures to plan ahead and decide what is acceptable to them and what is not.

Understanding frames that people use is the first step facilitators should take. When frames compete, especially over a long period of time, there is a risk of people becoming further and further entrenched in positions. People with different frames should be shown that they can achieve a better outcome by sitting down and reflecting on their own and each other's frames. While this is not necessarily an easy process, it can be a step towards creating mutual respect for different people and groups, which can then lead to more productive discussions about how to reach agreements. Once people can begin to see how frames are constructed, they may begin to develop an appreciation for other people's ways of seeing the world. This can be done a variety of ways during the facilitation of an agreement: small groups can be formed so more interpersonal contact allows people to get to know each other on a more personal level; create exercises where people talk about aspects of their lives they do have in common, such as children; and break down a larger conflict into more manageable discussions so people can learn and understand other people's real interests on parts of the issue, which may not be all that different.

I hope this study provides some insight into the diversity of voices within a community in response to development. In contrast to many developer's perceptions, communities are not completely in opposition to development. They want to maintain their sense of community and quality of life. Respect must be given to the voices of the community both within and outside of it to ensure that their goals are met and that a peaceful coexistence can be found.

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APPENDIX A

KEYWORDS USED FOR ORGANIZATION OF ISSUES RAISED

Development Issues in Kohala
-water pipeline
-HELCO generators
-aquaculture
-housing development
    -gated communities
-zoning
-access issues
    -private property rights
-other projects
-good development
    -small development
    -affordable housing
    -alternative energy
    -need for economic development
    -properly approaching a community
-advantages fro development

Community Dynamics
-plantation mentality
-sense of urgency
-key individuals
-dynamics of Hawaiian community
    -connection with the 'aina
-Hawaiian history
    -Hawaiian worldview
    -cultural knowledge
-landowning history
-economics of the region
    -methods of coping with inequity
-race issues
    -attitudes towards haoles
    -*haole* attitudes towards locals and Hawaiians
    -working together

Arguments Against Development

-health
-infrastructure
-attributes towards/of developers and government
-scientific arguments
    -debunking 'others' science
    -local knowledge
-cultural/historical preservation
-NIMBY
-can't stop development
-pollution
-value-based
    -quality of life
-tourism
-rights to resources
-economics
-humans interfering with nature
-Hawaiian rights
-community not asked

Status of Kohala Now & Future

-current status of Kohala
-future
-why Kohala is great
    -sense of place oppose to others