City University of New York (CUNY)
CUNY Academic Works

School of Arts & Sciences Theses | Hunter College

Summer 8-1-2016

Voices of Kakaʻako: A Narrative Atlas of Participatory Placemaking in Urban Honolulu

Adele Balderston
CUNY Hunter College

How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!

More information about this work at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/hc_sas_etds/99
Discover additional works at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu

This work is made publicly available by the City University of New York (CUNY).
Contact: AcademicWorks@cuny.edu

المنارة للاستشارات

www.manaraa.com

Voices of Kaka‘ako: A Narrative Atlas of Participatory Placemaking in Urban Honolulu

by

Adele Balderston

Submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts, Geography, Hunter College
The City University of New York

2016

Thesis Sponsor:

8/1/2016	Marianna Pavlovskaya
Date	First reader
8/1/2016	Mohamed Ibrahim
Date	Second Reader

المنارة للاستشارات

www.manaraa.com

Acknowledgements

This thesis would not have been possible without the encouragement, support and patience of my advisor and thesis sponsor, Dr. Marianna Pavlovskaya. I would also like to thank Dr. Mohamed Ibrahim, Dr. Hongmian Gong, Dr. Carson Farmer and all of my colleagues, classmates and friends from the Geography Department at Hunter College who kept me inspired and motivated as I chipped away at this degree.

Mahalo to my colleagues at the University of Hawai‘i Economic Research Organization and the Department of Urban and Regional Planning for sharing so many resources and ideas during the course of this research. Mahalo nui loa to Genevieve Balderston, Nick Ayakawa, Arlan Brucal, Annie Koh, Cody Carlos Rodriguez and Daniel Kelin II for your invaluable feedback during the writing and editing of this thesis.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Table of Contents

Voices of Kakaʻako: A Narrative Atlas of Participatory Placemaking in Urban Honolulu i

Acknowledgements ii

Table of Contents iii

List of Figures iv

Chapter 1: Introduction 1

Chapter 2: A Cultural and Community History of Kakaʻako 6

The Great Māhele 8
Squattersville and Kakaʻako's Legacy of Homelessness 9
A Working-Class Community 11
Post-Statehood Development and the HCDA 11
Today 13

Chapter 3: Land and Power in Kakaʻako 14

Who owns Kakaʻako? 15
Kamehameha Schools and OHA: The Legacy of Crown Lands in Kakaʻako 16
Howard Hughes and the Legacy of Victoria Ward 18
Culture as Capital 19
The Right to Habitat: Who Can Afford Kakaʻako? 22

Chapter 4: Conflict and Coexistence 27

Whose Kakaʻako? 27
From Squattersville to Kakaʻako Makai: Appropriating the Right to Inhabit 28
Public Participation 31

Chapter 5: Participatory Placemaking 36

Kakaʻako Our Kuleana: A Free Public Planning Academy for Everyone 38
88 Block Walks 43
PARK(ing) Day 50

Chapter 6: Conclusion 55

References 58

Glossary 64

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

List of Figures

Figure 1: Kakaʻako Neighborhood Map Showing New Developments……4

Figure 2: Oʻahu Land Divisions (Connelly, 2015)…….……6

Figure 3: Hawaiʻi Home Prices and Income Levels (Burnett & Jones, 2013)…..22

Figure 4: Income limits based on 2015 AMI (HCDA, 2015)……....……23

Figure 5: Photograph of Kakaʻako Our Kuleana Workshop #1 by Jeffrey Warner……..41

Figure 6: Official Tour Map……46

Figure 7: Photographs of Walk #2: Voices by Michael Keany……...……47

Figure 8: Kakaʻako Official PARK(ing) Day Map……...52

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Chapter 1: Introduction

Kaka‘ako is a 600-acre neighborhood located on O’ahu’s south shore, between downtown Honolulu and Waikiki. It is home to roughly 12,000 residents and 1,260 businesses in a wide range of sectors. Over the next 15-20 years the population is projected to double following the construction of close to 30 new residential towers, increasing the housing stock from around 5,000 units to over 11,000 (HCDA, 2015).

Here, construction barriers on Auahi Street surrounding what will soon be a brand new luxury condo tower feature nostalgic, black and white images of 19th century Honolulu. A few blocks away, freshly painted murals color the otherwise industrial landscape with evidence of a thriving creative class. On a chain link fence surrounding an empty parking lot, an advertisement for another new condo project reads, “Don’t just sleep here. Live here.” Across the street from this sign over 300 houseless residents, the majority of whom identify as Native Hawaiian or Polynesian, many with low-paying jobs and children to feed, live in tents and makeshift structures on sidewalks at the edge of the waterfront park. Welcome to Kaka‘ako. This rapidly changing community development district is the new face of urban Honolulu.

The massive public relations failure of the condo advertisement’s wording and location brutally illustrates the disconnect between developers’ vision for the future and the very real, immediate needs of the city. The incongruity of the cultural narratives being used to sell expensive dwellings and the proximity of a staggering number of kanaka maoli without permanent housing raise additional questions about Honolulu’s urban process. Whose needs are being served by the redevelopment and

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

who is excluded? What part of the process incorporates the voices of those whose right to the city is defined not by capital but by citizenship, culture and social practice? Can creative placemaking strategies provide opportunities for marginalized groups to shape the future of this community?

This study is an exploration of the power structures governing Kaka‘ako’s current redevelopment in an effort to answer these questions and mitigate conflicts between Hawai‘i’s traditional, settler colonial and Marxist narratives. In Hawai‘i, any new development is a site of conflict, a new manifestation of deep-seated hostility between settler and native, commoner and elite, haole and Hawaiian, kama’aina and malihini. As a non-native local I am not immune to these conflicts, thus my own positionality has motivated me to actively engage in creative placemaking activities in Kaka‘ako. A neighborhood’s sense of place is not contained in or dictated by the built environment but rather, it is a fluid concept--created, perceived and recreated by all those who experience that place at a given time. As such, I argue that initiatives which empower the community to take back their own narrative of place can be tools for resisting the forces of neoliberal development and asserting collective and individual rights to the city.

Introduced in 1968, Levebvre’s seminal notion of “the right to the city” (Lefebvre, 1996, p.173) has now become a common modality for articulating processes of gentrification, globalization and neoliberal development at the urban scale (Gordon, 1978; Harvey, 2012; Mitchell, 2003; Purcell, 2002; Zukin, 2010). According to Lefebvre, “The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

The right to oeuvre, to participation and appropriation (clearly distinct from the right to property), are implied in the right to the city, "(1996, p. 173). In Hawai'i, emerging lines of inquiry have placed this scholarship in conversation with settler colonialism and its ongoing manifestations in urban Honolulu (Grandinetti, 2015; Darrah, 2010). In his discussion of the right to the city, Purcell suggests that a politics of identity and of difference are key factors in determining and articulating the needs of urban inhabitants (2002). Because Hawai'i is fundamentally an indigenous place, discussions of identity and difference, even at the urban scale, are firmly rooted in the settler-native binary.

While previous discussions of the right to the city stress "the need to restructure the power relations that underlie the production of urban space," (Purcell 2002, p.101), none has offered a strategy for action. In Rebel Cities, Harvey situates culture and its role in the production of urban space within the commons and suggests that "The space of that commons deserves intense exploration and cultivation by oppositional movements that embrace cultural producers and cultural production as a key element in their political strategy," (2012, p.112). This thesis attempts just that, employing Kaka'ako's collective cultural narratives as political strategy. Through participant observation of three initiatives (including one of my own design) that use creative placemaking as a tool for asserting the right to the city, this thesis offers active strategies of opposition to the commodification of culture.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

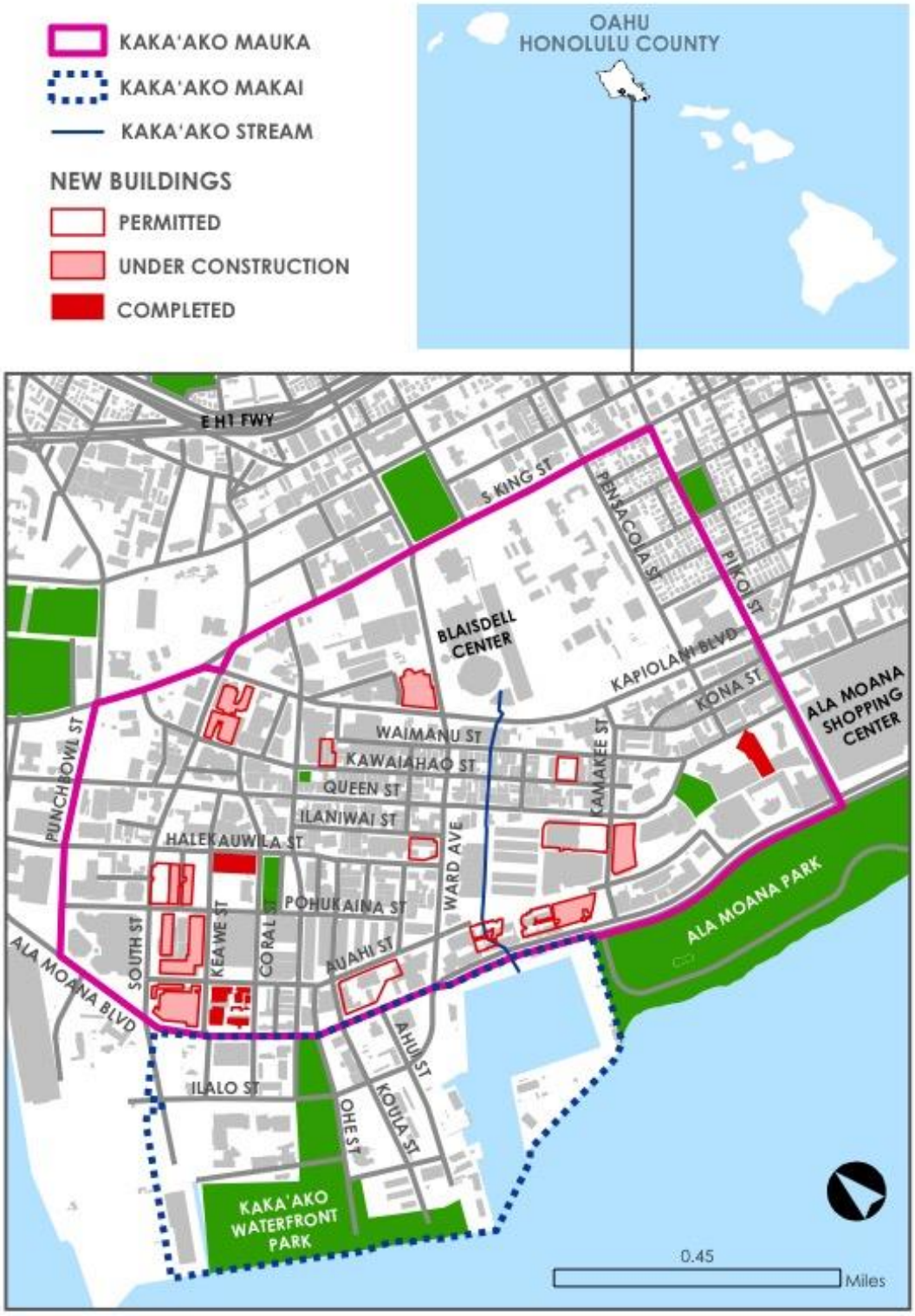

Figure 1: Kaka'ako neighborhood map showing new developments

New building data courtesy of the HCDA.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Figure 1 shows the location of the Kaka‘ako neighborhood and permitted developments as of May 2016. Additional developments that have not yet received permits are detailed in the neighborhood master plans of Howard Hughes Corporation and Kamehameha Schools, the largest landowners in the area. Two distinct sets of rules currently govern Kaka‘ako’s development, one for the Mauka area (toward the mountains) and another for the Makai area (toward the ocean), shown on either side of Ala Moana Boulevard. The Kaka‘ako stream, which will be discussed in Chapter 3, is shown in its current underground location as part of Honolulu’s sewer and stormwater network.

Though both “homeless” and “houseless” are used similarly in this thesis, it is worth noting that the term “houseless” acknowledges a temporary shelter as a person’s home. Both “Native Hawaiian” and “Kanaka Maoli” are used interchangeably in reference to the indigenous people of Hawai‘i. Additional Hawaiian words and phrases used in this thesis can be found in the glossary.

Chapter 2 provides an overview of Kaka‘ako’s cultural and community history, followed by an examination of the area’s political economy in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 is a discussion of conflicts that have arisen during development to challenge the power structures outlined in the previous section and shaped the role of public participation in the process. In Chapter 5 I present case studies of three creative placemaking initiatives I have been involved in. Chapter 6 is a discussion of my findings with recommendations for the future.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Chapter 2: A Cultural and Community History of Kaka‘ako

What follows is a timeline of Kaka‘ako’s development, presented in order to situate today’s political economy within Hawai‘i’s settler-colonial dialectic and establish reference points for sites of conflict and controversy that will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Described using traditional Hawaiian geography, the area we now call Kaka‘ako lies in the Kona *moku* (large land division or district) within the *ahupua’a* (land tract within a *moku* running from the mountain to the coast) of Honolulu and is comprised primarily of three *‘ili* (land unit within an *ahupua’a)* known as Ka‘ākaukukui, Kukuluāe‘o, and Kewalo (Tulchin et al., 2009). Figure 2 below illustrates the relationships between these land divisions.

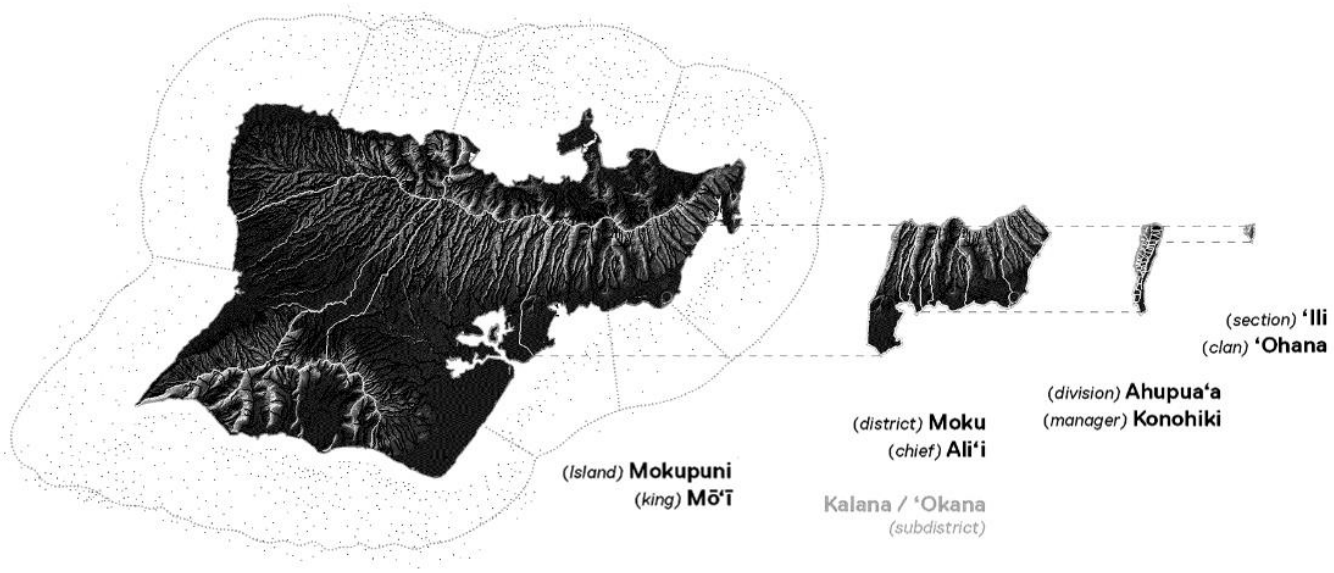

Figure 2: O‘ahu Land Divisions (Connelly, 2015)

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Early accounts from missionaries and other westerners describe the area as a "wasteland" of swamps and marshes (Tulchin et al., 2009, p.14), flanked by the more populous *ahupua'a* of Kou (modern-day downtown Honolulu) to the west and Waikiki to the east. Kaka'ako is traditionally known for fishing and salt production and 19th century maps show many fishponds, salt ponds, and lo'i (taro patches) (Tulchin et al., 2009, p.26). Rituals and religious activities took place in Kaka'ako due to the area's proximity to several *heiau* (temples) in the adjacent Kou *ahupua'a*, and the area was also an important site for gathering *limu* and other marine subsistence agriculture--a practice still popular in Kaka'ako today (Group 70 International, 2013; Tulchin et al., 2009, p.23). Recent archaeological surveys related to construction have also documented a number of large burial sites in the area, both from pre- and post-contact times.

Soon after the first foreign settlers arrived, the population became more concentrated around Honolulu Harbor. As more foreigners arrived and trade in the area increased, King Kamehameha I moved to Honolulu from Waikiki (Tulchin et al., 2009, p.28). When the first missionaries arrived in 1820, they settled at the edge of the Kawaiaha'o *'ili* in what is now the northeasternmost corner of Kaka'ako. There they established the mission houses and Kawaiaha'o Church--the first Christian church on O'ahu. A few years later, Kamehameha's wife, Queen Ka'ahumanu, made her home at Kawaiaha'o as well in order to be closer to the missionaries (Tulchin et al., 2009, p.23). The close relationship between the Hawaiian monarchy and the missionaries formed the basis of a powerful elite class of individuals, institutions and corporations that remain prominent in Hawai'i's political economy today.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

The Great Māhele

In 1848 the Great Māhele--a historic land division carried out by Kamehameha III under pressure/advice from powerful foreign settlers wanting to protect their business investments in the islands through land ownership--overhauled Hawai‘i’s traditional land management system and introduced private property. The Great Māhele in 1848 was one of the most profound events of Hawai‘i’s history, with social, economic and cultural repercussions that continue to be felt today. The introduction of private property fundamentally changed the relationship between Kanaka Maoli and the land, and facilitated the rapid accumulation of large amounts of land by foreigners via the dispossession of Hawaiians, especially the *maka’ainana* or commoners. A century after the Māhele it is estimated that more than half of Hawai‘i was the property of 80 individuals, with the rest under various forms of government control (Cooper & Daws, 1985). The holdings of two of Kaka‘ako’s three major land owning entities, the Howard Hughes Corporation (HHC) and Kamehameha Schools (KS), can be traced directly back to the Māhele.

Between 1850 and 1900, the foreign elites turned their new landholdings into vast plantations, growing sugar cane and pineapple which formed the basis of Hawai‘i’s economy for the next century. This new industry also initiated a major demographic shift as waves of immigrants arrived from Portugal, Japan, China, and the Philippines to work in the fields. During this time, the majority of salt and fishponds in Kaka‘ako were drained, filled in, and replaced by factories, warehouses and residences. The Honolulu Ironworks was established, transforming Kaka‘ako into an industrial hub and by 1878, upwards of 120 employees manufactured sugar mills and

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

other equipment used in plantation operations. In 1893, the foreign, land owning elites came together to overthrow the Hawaiian monarchy. Five years later the territory was annexed by the United States.

Squattersville and Kaka‘ako’s Legacy of Homelessness

At the turn of the 20th century, many Hawaiians were still reeling from the changes wrought by the Great Māhele. The provisions made during and after the Māhele for commoners to obtain land rights were inadequate. Those who did secure land were faced with a loss of resources as plantation owners diverted streams away from small farms in order to feed their cash crops (Levy, 1975). These were farmers who had only ever operated on a subsistence basis prior to Western contact. Now, unfamiliar with the workings of private property and forced into a money economy, they lacked the means to participate. To make matters worse, the Kuleana Act took away the traditional rights of Hawaiians to cultivate unoccupied lands in their ahupua’a, or as Levy put it, “the foreigners heightened the hierarchical structure of Hawaiian society by removing its ameliorative qualities,” (Levy, 1975, p.857). Their only recourse was to head to the developing urban centers and find a way to participate in the capitalist system. At the time Kaka‘ako was considered a wasteland but it was close to Waikiki, Honolulu Harbor and the developing downtown area. Thus, without any land or money for housing, they formed their own makeshift community on a strip of unused, undesirable land which became known as Squattersville.

This settlement consisted of over 700 Hawaiians and hapa-Hawaiians living in shacks in the makai area of Kaka‘ako near Olomehani Street during the construction

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

of the adjacent Fort Armstrong (Tulchin et al., 2009, p.55). Today, Kamehameha Schools incorrectly states in their Kaka‘ako master plan that Squattersville was home to a mix of non-Hawaiian immigrant workers, perhaps in attempt to distance themselves from current politics surrounding homeless Kanaka Maoli in the same location (Kamehameha Schools, 2008, p.13).

In a 1978 interview, former resident David Tai Loy Ho described Squattersville in the 1920s as “a grand place where they had a wonderful, merry time, all the time...And there's lot of fish, lot of limu and people lived there,” (Center for Oral History, 1978, p.432). As tensions mounted between the squatters and the territorial government who owned the land, the squatters organized and appointed a spokesperson for the community (Johnson, 1991, p.111). From 1923 to 1926 they attempted to negotiate with the territorial government to obtain water pipes, roads and other infrastructural improvements for their settlement, without success (Johnson, 1991, p.112).

Ultimately the construction of what is now Fisherman’s Wharf and the completion of Fort Armstrong trumped the squatters’ needs and by the end of 1926 the territorial government had evicted everyone and destroyed the structures. Ten years later, a municipal incinerator was constructed on the site (Johnson, 1991). Today, the area that once housed Squattersville is known as Kaka‘ako Makai, the landfill-turned-park is owned in part by the State, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, and Kamehameha Schools, and once again home to a diverse community of houseless individuals and families.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

A Working-Class Community

By 1927 Kaka‘ako was a hub of industrial activity, with a brewery, lumberyard, working harbor and shipyard, canneries and dozens of small manufacturing operations. The area was also home to a working-class residential community with schools, churches, temples, parks, movie theaters, markets and shops. Roughly 2,640 residents lived primarily in plantation worker style cabins, arranged in “camps” of different ethnic groups: Hawaiian, Portuguese, Japanese, Chinese and some Filipino (Center for Oral History, 1978). Today the blue-collar lifestyle of this community is frequently referenced in marketing materials for Kamehameha Schools’ “Our Kaka‘ako” urban village development.

In the 1940s Kaka‘ako was rezoned for strictly industrial use as part of a larger movement to eliminate slums and urban blight from Honolulu (Johnson 1991). Over the next 15 years the residential community was forced to move as the rental units they lived in were razed to make way for new warehouses. The onus of evicting the tenants fell largely on landowners like KS, while the territorial government attempted to rehouse displaced individuals in other parts of Honolulu. A few holdout houses on small, fee-simple lots remain, along with many small businesses that continued to provide services to workers in the area.

Post-Statehood Development and the HCDA

By the end of the 1960s virtually all of the camps had been replaced by warehouses, automotive repair shops and light industrial operations, and the larger industrial complexes including the brewery and ironworks were no longer in operation.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

As the population dwindled to 837 residents and urban decay set in, talk of revitalization began. The **Hawai‘i Community Development Authority** (HCDA), a state agency, was created by Act 153 of the 1976 legislature to facilitate public and private sector development of **Community Development Districts** (CDD). These Districts are defined by policymakers as “underutilized areas with the potential to provide great economic opportunities to the state once they are redeveloped” (HCDA n.d.). Kaka‘ako was the first area to receive this designation.

As a state agency, the HCDA operates outside the purview of the City Council and the City’s **Department of Planning and Permitting** (DPP), as well as the State Land Use Commission, which administers statewide zoning. Senator Patsy Young, who originally drafted Act 153, has said the main reason for establishing Community Development Districts and a separate agency to oversee them was to create affordable housing in Honolulu’s urban core (Steele, 1990). Proposed projects in HCDA districts are reviewed by staff and approved via vote by a governor-appointed board, with minimal involvement of other agencies. This streamlined process is meant to facilitate timely/cohesive community development, but close relationships between politicians and developers have made it easy for this system to be exploited[1].

In the first 10 years of the HCDA, only 4 projects were approved, contributing 1,430 housing units to Honolulu’s urban core. Of these, only 28 units--two percent--were considered affordable by HCDA standards (Steele, 1990). Over the next decade, two additional market rate residential developments were approved, along with five affordable projects developed by the state, three

[1] For a recent example, see Perez, 2014.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

of which were senior housing. In the 1990s, the landfill at the former site of Squattersville, which by this time had produced an additional 28 acres of waterfront land (Center for Oral History,1978), was landscaped and converted to what is now Kaka‘ako Waterfront Park. Construction slowed, with the HCDA permitting roughly one project per year (mostly market rate housing), until the 2010s.

Today

Under Governor Abercrombie’s administration from 2010 to 2014, the swift approval process facilitated by the HCDA led to an unprecedented number of new building permits in the area. The result was massive public outcry, protests, litigation and ultimately an overhaul of the agency. The main complaints about the development were a lack of public involvement and insufficient affordable housing. Several initiatives implemented in the wake of major public conflicts in 2006 and 2014 have led to much greater transparency and opportunities for public participation in the planning process, but a great deal of community opposition remains.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Chapter 3: Land and Power in Kaka‘ako

This chapter establishes a framework for interpreting development in Kaka‘ako as neoliberal project. By elaborating upon the timeline outlined in the previous chapter, it explains how each stakeholder came to power and defines their specific purview and interests. In addition to outlining the roles of specific entities, the historical and present context of local power structures are critically examined within Marxist and colonial frameworks in order to indicate areas of conflict to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

In the political hierarchy of Kaka‘ako, the HCDA is the agent of mobilization of the “property wealth” of major landowners (Lefebvre, 1996), the majority of whom acquired their landholdings through colonial dispossession. Through the mechanisms of **Inclusionary Zoning** (IZ), the HCDA aims to facilitate the creation and distribution of equitable housing in Honolulu’s urban core. However, Lefebvre asserts that “Construction taken in charge by the State does not change the orientations and conceptions adopted by the market economy,” (Lefebvre, 1996, p.77). IZ inherently privileges the landowner/developer’s pursuit of capital over the needs of society, and in this chapter I will show how Kaka‘ako’s development thus far actually exacerbates Hawai‘i’s present housing crisis thereby increasing social inequality.

Hawai‘i’s long history of concentrated land-ownership (dating back to the Māhele) has maintained a limited supply of available land in the islands and resulted in an equally long history of some of the highest land and housing prices in the nation. Until the mid-20th century, land and politics in Hawai‘i were controlled almost exclusively by the Big Five (Castle & Cooke, Alexander & Baldwin, American Factors,

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Theo H. Davies, and C. Brewer) a *hui* of *haole* businesses founded on plantation agriculture and largely run by missionary descendents. The Big Five governed Hawai‘i via the Republican Party for almost a century, until the “Democratic Revolution” of the 1950s, when the Hawai‘i-born descendants of immigrant plantation workers rose to power and vowed to break up the large estates of their predecessors (Cooper & Daws, 1985). Unfortunately for the working class, the consolidated landholdings of the Big Five largely survived the land reforms of the Democratic Party, which resulted primarily in land development, rather than land redistribution. The ensuing building boom of the 1960s and 70s was made possible by an influx of capital from Hawai‘i’s new tourism-based economy and military spending, as well as partnerships between ruling democrats and the Big Five.

The democrats, despite their working-class backgrounds, opted to participate in the existing power structure in pursuit of profit rather than remake it in a more equitable form. The landowners have largely retained their power by leasing rather than selling lands for development, thus the mechanism of urbanization and development in Hawai‘i since the 20th century is the product of a neoliberal system of land use policies, implemented by the state in partnership with a network of large landowners, developers, local and foreign investors.

Who owns Kaka‘ako?

Today, the three largest private landowners in Kaka‘ako are Kamehameha Schools (KS) - 51.5 acres (only 29 of which are currently slated for development under their master plan), Howard Hughes Corporation (HHC) - 60 acres, and The Office of

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) - 30 acres. The planning, permitting, zoning and all development oversight of the 600 acres -- including 200 acres of State-owned land -- is carried out by the HCDA. KS lands were once Crown Lands, they belonged to *ali'i* following the great Māhele in 1848 and now comprise part of the largest land trust in the State. HHC lands also belonged to an *ali'i,* but they were purchased by her *haole* husband at the end of the 19th century and have been held privately ever since. State land holdings consist of Government Lands and Crown Lands that were ceded during the Annexation in 1893. The majority of Kaka‘ako Makai--which now belongs to OHA and KS--was made by landfill in the 20th century and later awarded to the agency as part of a settlement regarding those same ceded Crown Lands.

Kamehameha Schools and OHA: The Legacy of Crown Lands in Kaka‘ako

Kamehameha Schools and OHA are both Native Hawaiian institutions, committed to rebalancing the socio-economic inequality experienced by Kanaka Maoli as a result of dispossession, and both are pursuing this goal in Kaka‘ako through urbanization of their lands as a means of capital accumulation. Whether this mode of operation ultimately benefits the most marginalized members of the Native Hawaiian community will be discussed in the following chapter. In this section analysis is limited to KS and OHA's role in Kaka‘ako's economic power structure, beginning with how their lands were acquired.

During the Great Māhele, Crown Lands were set aside as private property of the king, which he in turn portioned off to various *ali‘i* and their descendants. As the highest chiefs or *ali‘i nui* succumbed, one by one, to illnesses brought by foreigners,

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

the ownership of these landholdings became more and more concentrated until Bernice Pauahi Bishop--the last surviving direct descendant of Kamehameha--had amassed over 375,000 acres of land (King & Roth, 2006). When she died in 1884, Pauahi left the bulk of her estate in a trust to establish the Kamehameha Schools, a charitable institution dedicated to the education of Hawaiian children. Though her will indicates that she wanted Native Hawaiians to benefit from her estate, years of greed and mismanagement have clouded her mission and contributed to social and economic issues that continue to plague the Native Hawaiian population (King & Roth, 2006).

Today Kamehameha Schools (sometimes referred to as the Bishop Estate) is the largest private landowner in Hawaiʻi, comprising roughly 9 percent of the islands. Approximately 99 percent of these lands are devoted to conservation and agricultural uses, with the remaining 1 percent for commercial development (Kamehameha Schools, 2015). According to their 2015 annual report, the endowment was valued at $11.1 billion as of June 30, 2015 (Kamehameha Schools, 2015).

The Office of Hawaiian Affairs grew out of the “Native Hawaiian Renaissance” of the 1960s and 70s, motivated by a resurgence of Hawaiian cultural practices, political organization around the eviction of Kanaka Maoli from small landholdings and leased lands, and in part by the success of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (Levy, 1975; King & Roth 2006). In the case of both Alaska and Hawaiʻi, the United States acquired what would later become state land without compensating the indigenous population, and both groups sought some form of reparations. At a state constitutional convention in 1978, OHA was established as a “semi-autonomous

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

statewide political entity, its leaders elected by Hawaiian voters only" (King & Roth 2006, p.77). Like KS, OHA is a public trust, committed to improving the conditions of Native Hawaiians.

The amendment that created OHA also stipulated that funding would come from revenues from state lands designated as "ceded," however the state failed to make good on this promise until 2011, when the agency was offered 30 acres of Kakaʻako makai, valued at $200 million, as a settlement for past due payments (Blair, 2011). Recouping the value of the land in revenue in order to fund OHA's mission has proven difficult, as OHA's own value assessments have indicated that the highest and best use for their parcels would be residential high-rises, which, due to a 2006 law are prohibited from development in Kakaʻako Makai at present. For over two years OHA fought for an exemption to this rule that would allow them to maximize their new landholdings, but were met with resistance, both from legislators and Kakaʻako community organizations--including some of the same groups involved in the 2006 ruling which was ultimately upheld. The legal battles surrounding this parcel and the community's involvement will be discussed in Chapter 4.

Howard Hughes and the Legacy of Victoria Ward

Though Victoria Ward (nee Robinson) was descended from *aliʻi*, her 100-acre estate was purchased by her husband Curtis Perry Ward, a business owner from Kentucky, via multiple transactions at the end of the 19th century. The family home "Old Plantation" and a massive fish pond fed from an artesian spring bubbling up from the ground once sat on the present site of the Blaisdell Arena and Concert Hall, on

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

parcels sold to the city by the Ward family in 1958. After the death of her husband, Victoria continued to buy and sell real estate for commercial development, establishing Victoria Ward Ltd in 1930. Her descendants maintained the family business for over 70 years until the last 65 acres of the property were sold to General Growth for $250 million in 2002 (Ruel, 2002). The Dallas-based Howard Hughes Corporation was spun off from General Growth in 2010, thereby acquiring their landholdings (Palafax, 2014). HHC is a national corporation, specializing in mixed-use, master-planned, homogenous communities throughout the United States, making them the most visible purveyor of globalization in Kaka‘ako.

Culture as Capital

Thus far this chapter has detailed the role of landowners and the state in Kaka‘ako’s redevelopment, but it is also important to recognize the exchange value of culture in the production of urban space. Harvey (2012) and Zukin (2010) observe that unique cultural claims and distinctive cultural identities are required in order to market places as authentic, but the commodification of culture ultimately undermines its authenticity-- “the more marketable such items become, the less unique and special they appear” (Harvey, 2012, p. 11). In the context of settler colonialism, this practice is part of the “logic of elimination” which seeks to eliminate the native in order to secure access to native territory (Wolfe, 2006). Here, the commodification of Hawaiian culture is a means of colonizing indigenous space/place. Discussions of this practice in Hawai‘i tend to focus on Waikiki and the “master narrative of nostalgia” used to sell an

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

utterly inauthentic experience of Hawai‘i to tourists (Wood, 1999)[2]. In Kaka‘ako specifically, traditional Hawaiian culture, local creative practices, and collective history provide the requisite element of authenticity in the branding of these new developments and are thus reduced to products for consumption. HHC and KS have mobilized cultural capital to promote their respective developments in two ways: “historical invention” (Said, 2000) or manipulation of collective history and memory to serve development agendas, and the creation of a "creative city" (Kratke, 2011; Smith 2002; Zukin 2011) or the promotion of creative industries in economically depressed urban areas in order to incite gentrification.

Edward Said contends that collective memory can be used selectively by manipulating or suppressing parts of a shared past, and when combined with geography, historical invention can be used to create a new sense of place (Said, 2000). HHC and KS selectively engage with two distinct periods of Kaka‘ako’s history, reducing them to nostalgic, de-politicized narratives that sell the sense of place they are trying to create. Branding for Howard Hughes Corporation’s Ward Village development employs the motto “Looking Back, Looking Forward” and features 19th century images of Kaka‘ako’s pre-industrial landscape. Their narrative of “a storied place, home to a wealth of natural resources and cultural significance” (Ward Village, n.d.) and vague reference to Kamehameha I using Kaka‘ako for “recreation” in their master plan (General Growth Properties, 2008) bear striking resemblance to Houston

[2] In Honolulu, Waikiki epitomizes what critical urban theorists call ‘Disneyfication’ in other cities, to the extent that critiques of Kaka‘ako’s development (both in academic circles and local media) frequently express fear that the neighborhood will become “another Waikiki.”

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Wood's definition of echo tourism in Waikiki[3] . KS refers to the working class community of Kaka'ako's industrial era in the 1920s to promote their new urban village "Our Kaka'ako":

> *"On the streets of Auahi, Keawe and Coral a dynamic community is flourishing, built on the hardworking, entrepreneurial spirit of the past. The businesses, restaurants, incubators and gathering places of Our Kakaako are providing a catalyst for exciting new ideas and innovations, rooted in historical values but interpreted in a progressive way.* ***Our Kakaako continues to honor the spirit of the past while looking forward to the future."*** *(Our Kaka'ako, 2015)*

This fetishization of the working class reframes gentrification as a lineage of cultural practice instead of an urban strategy, (Smith, 2002) while simultaneously obscuring the role of KS in the displacement of the previous community.

In Kratke's creative city, creative industries are supported in order to attract "pioneers" of gentrification who will ultimately be displaced by a wealthier class of residents (2011). Toward this end, KS has funded all the staples of a hip, gentrifying neighborhood: a warehouse converted to artist studios, an annual street art festival featuring local and international artists, a local artisan flea market, food trucks, tech incubators, galleries, cafes, bars, boutiques, coworking spaces--all with a distinctly local flavor. In support of their developments, HHC created the Ward Village Foundation, a permanent non-profit "dedicated to supporting forward-thinking initiatives that honor Hawai'i's rich history by fostering the community" and has donated over $700,000 to various cultural and educational initiatives around the island (Ward Village Foundation, 2014).

[3] "This tourism fetishizes echoes of a supposed authenticity now available mostly to those with the ability to pay."(Wood 1999, p. 95).

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

The Right to Habitat: Who Can Afford Kaka‘ako?

It seems that Hawai‘i’s housing market has been in a perpetual state of crisis, perhaps since before statehood the housing stock has not kept pace with demand. Research by the University of Hawai‘i Economic Research Organization (UHERO) indicates that a household earning the median income in Hawai‘i cannot afford the median home price (see Figure 3 below), and as a result the majority of housing demand is for rental units (Bonham et al., 2010).

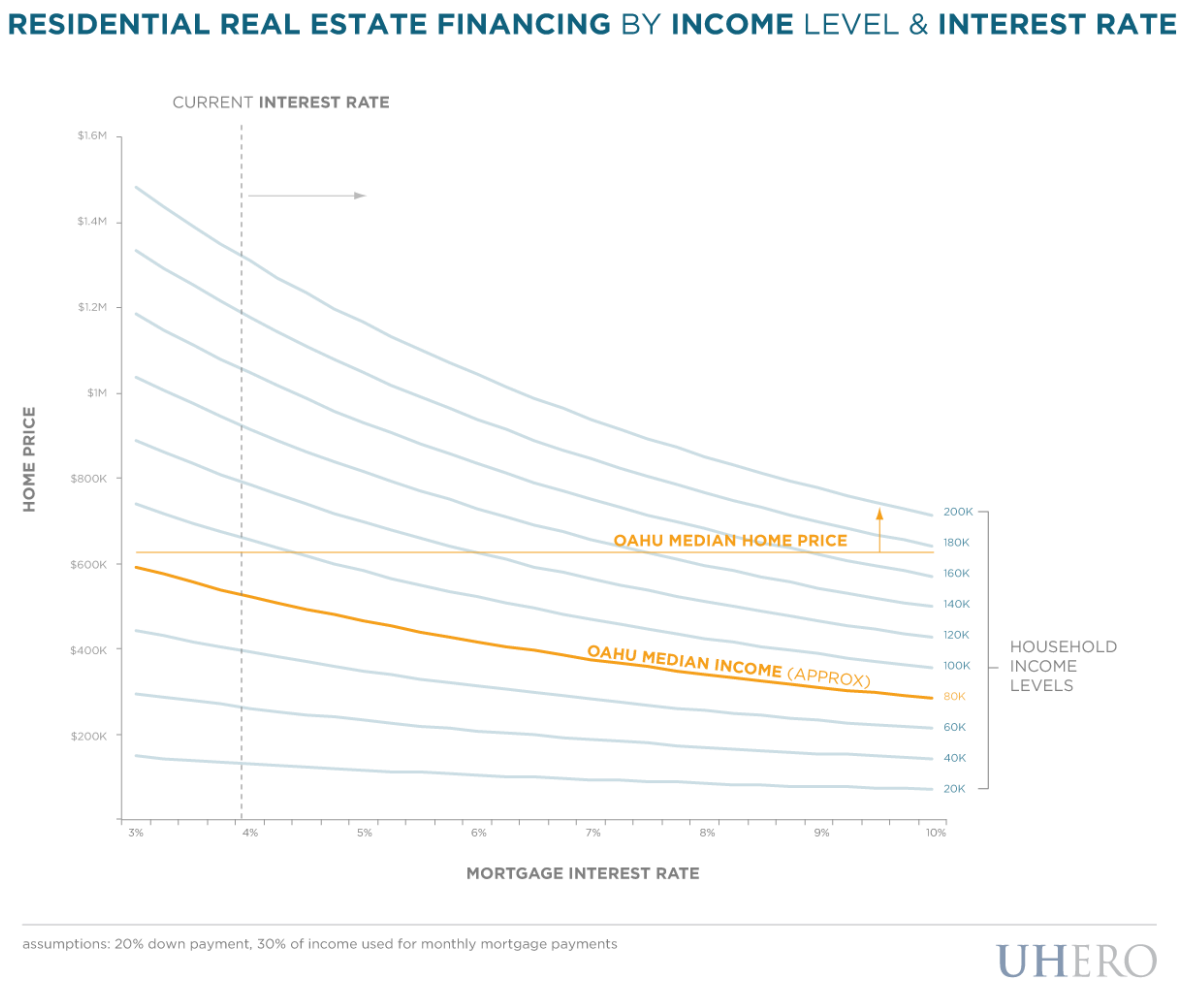

Figure 3: Hawaii Home Prices and Income Levels (Burnett & Jones,

www.manaraa.com

Hawai‘i currently has the highest rate of homelessness in the nation, with 49.3 people per 10,000 experiencing a lack of shelter--that’s 2.5 times the national average (Dunson-Strane & Soakai, 2015). Hawai‘i’s high cost of living, depressed wages, and a lack of affordable housing have led to severely cost-burdened middle and lower classes, to the point where 1 in 4 households report being three paychecks away from homelessness (Appleseed, 2014, p.12). The Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism (DBEDT) estimates that Honolulu will need about 25,847 housing units by 2025 to keep with demand (DBEDT 2015), over 75% of these units are needed for households earning less than 80% of area median income[4] (AMI), or $76,650[5] (City and County of Honolulu, 2014). In addition to the lack of new affordable

2015 Reserved Housing Income Limits - Honolulu County									
		1 person	**2 person**	**3 person**	**4 person**	**5 person**	**6 person**	**7 person**	**8 person**
Extremely Low Income	**30%**	20,150	23,000	25,900	28,750	31,050	33,350	35,650	37,950
	40%	26,850	30,700	34,550	38,350	41,400	44,500	47,550	50,600
Very Low Income	**50%**	33,550	38,350	43,150	47,900	51,750	55,600	59,400	63,250
	60%	40,300	46,050	51,800	57,500	62,100	66,750	71,300	75,900
	75%	47,200	53,950	60,700	67,400	72,800	78,200	83,600	89,000
Low Income	**80%**	53,700	61,350	69,000	76,650	82,800	88,950	95,050	101,200
Area Median Income	**100%**	60,850	69,500	78,200	86,900	93,850	100,800	107,750	114,700
	110%	66,900	76,500	86,050	95,600	103,250	110,900	118,550	126,200
Gap Income	**120%**	73,000	83,450	93,850	104,300	112,650	121,000	129,350	137,700
	130%	79,050	90,350	101,650	112,950	122,000	131,000	140,050	149,100
	140%	85,150	97,300	109,500	121,650	131,400	141,100	150,850	160,600

Adjustment for Unit Type						
Unit Type	**Studio**	**One Bedroom**	**Two Bedroom**	**Three Bedroom**	**Four Bedroom**	**Five Bedroom**
Adjustment	**70%**	**80%**	**Base**	**108%**	**116%**	**124%**

**For each person in excess of eight, the four-person income limit should be multiplied by an additional 8 percent.*
(For example, the nine-person limit equals 140 percent [132 + 8] of the relevant four-person income limit.)
**Income limits are rounded to the nearest $50.*
**HUD base gures (underlined) were interpolated by HCDA. This chart is provided as a guide only.*

Figure 4: Income limits based on 2015 AMI (HCDA, 2015)

[4] AMI is calculated annually at the county level by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), a Federal agency. See Figure 4 for 2015 definitions.

[5] Based on 2014 HUD definitions

www.manaraa.com

units being constructed, market rents in Hawai‘i have outpaced both median wages and inflation by a wide margin for the better part of the last century. Today, a worker earning the mean hourly wage in Hawai‘i would need to work 91 hours per week in order to afford fair market rent for a two bedroom apartment (Appleseed, 2014). Despite all of this, the HCDA has set reserved housing limits at 100-140% AMI.

Since its creation in 1976, the HCDA has facilitated the construction of 7,074 housing units in Kaka‘ako, with an additional 4,225 units currently permitted or under construction (Hawai‘i Community Development Authority, 2015). Of these, only 1,687 (14 percent) are considered affordable for a household earning 80 percent AMI. Though it would be impossible for the HCDA to single-handedly solve Hawai‘i’s housing crisis via Kaka‘ako, the creation of more affordable housing in the urban core was one of the major tenets on which the organization was founded, and these numbers illustrate a failure to adequately do so.

Housing is considered affordable when housing costs consume 30 percent or less of a household’s income. The HCDA facilitates construction of affordable housing primarily through IZ in two forms, a **reserved housing requirement** and a **workforce housing requirement.** The reserved housing rule requires that developments of 20,000 square feet or more reserve at least 20 percent of the total residential floor area (15 percent for rental housing) for households earning no more than 140 percent AMI (HCDA, 2011).

Developers also have the option of building reserved housing off-site (still in or near Kaka‘ako) or paying in-lieu fees for exemption from this requirement. The workforce housing rule offers density bonuses and regulatory exemptions for

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

developments with at least 75 percent of total units priced for buyers (or renters) ` earning 100-140 percent AMI (HCDA, 2011). The rationale offered by HCDA for setting affordability brackets at 80-140 percent AMI is that this represents a “gap group” in terms of housing availability and eligibility, meaning those who earn less than 80 percent AMI are eligible for housing subsidies from other sources, including the Federal government, and those who earn over 140 percent can afford market or luxury housing (HCDA, 2015). Unfortunately, as I already indicated, very few housing units in Kaka‘ako are available to those earning 80-100 percent AMI, and the alternative sources they identify have been backlogged with applicants for years (Appleseed, 2014).

UHERO research indicates, not only that there is no housing crisis among the gap income group targeted by HCDA (80-140 percent AMI), meaning that there is sufficient housing stock available to meet demand at this income level, but also that IZ policies have actually reduced both the number of affordable and market housing units being built, while raising overall housing prices (Bonham et al., 2010). Hawai‘i already has one of the most regulated housing markets in the country, and these regulations have the effect of slowing production in general, hence why the HCDA was conceived as a streamlined system with comparatively less regulations than the rest of the state. By slowing the production of market units as well as affordable units, IZ allows developers to charge more for the market units due to increased demand. As a result, the median condo price in Kaka‘ako rose by a staggering 75 percent between 2013 and 2014, raising the state’s median condo price by about 10 percent (Hofschneider, 2014).

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Under the HCDA's current regulations, the majority of Kaka'ako's new housing will not be affordable to those who need it most. The current income limits are out of reach for most essential workers--teachers, police officers, fire fighters, and those employed in the service, transportation or retail industries. The creative industries funded by HHC and KS have created valuable opportunities for Hawai'i's creative class and for native cultural practitioners all of whom have transformed Kaka'ako into a hub of creative activities, but what will happen to these communities once the construction ends?

Based on current housing regulations, most of the artists won't be able to live in Kaka'ako, and the majority of the cultural groups who received funding from the Ward Foundation base their activities in other parts of the island. Can Kaka'ako continue to be a site of cultural practice if the community enlisted in its developer-funded creative makeover is ultimately denied the right to inhabit?

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Chapter 4: Conflict and Coexistence

Kaka‘ako has been a site of controversy throughout its urbanization, with many of the same critiques and issues resurfacing every decade are so, not unlike the conflicts of other American cities wherein different ethnic and socio-economic groups struggle to protect their right to the city. In Kaka‘ako, these conflicts occupy three categories: **Public Space, Affordable Housing**, and **Cultural Identity.** Unlike most other cities, Honolulu is defined by its original inhabitants and is still very much an indigenous place. Because Honolulu’s urban tradition is the product of settler-colonialism, the mechanisms of urbanization marginalize the Native Hawaiian population to a much greater extent than the non-native working class. Compounding that is the conflict inherent in the primacy of Hawai‘i as indigenous space. The cultural identity of Hawai‘i, its very sense of place, is in constant conflict with the western geography that has been imposed upon it and in which all indigenous institutions are compelled to operate. This chapter explores the nature of these conflicts at the urban scale in the context of Lefebvre’s notion of the right to the city.

Whose Kaka‘ako?

As expressed in the previous chapter, the right to oeuvre[6] seems to be held exclusively by the HCDA, the landowners, and developers--Kaka‘ako’s urban growth machine (Molotch, 1976)--who are remaking the area not only through the built environment, but by molding Kaka‘ako’s prospective population via access to housing,

[6] “The city as oeuvre refers to the city and urban space as a creative product of and context for the everyday life of its inhabitants.” (Purcell 2003, p. 578)

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

public spaces, and participation in the urban process. In their respective master plans, HHC and KS describe their development projects as “urban villages,” where residents can “live, work, and play.” In part this reflects the language of the HCDA’s own master plan which uses the same phrases and a host of other urban planning buzzwords (TOD, smart growth, complete streets, etc.) to describe a high-density, mixed-use neighborhood. All three master plans emphasize public spaces, alternative modes of transportation and connectivity to Honolulu’s rail transit system, (slated for completion in 2020). They also speak a great deal about the Kakaʻako community, but to whom are they referring?

In 2010, Kakaʻako was home to about 10,673 residents, but that figure doesn’t account for the numerous small-business owners, workers, park users, and houseless individuals who have a vested interest in the future of the area (DBEDT 2014). The houseless are the most obvious sign of Hawai’i’s housing crisis. Kakaʻako has a very long history of hosting squatters, and at the primary site of Honolulu’s current building boom, their presence is a constant reminder of what is at stake if the housing crisis is not addressed with this new construction.

From Squattersville to Kakaʻako Makai: Appropriating the Right to Inhabit

Until October of 2015, Kakaʻako Makai was home to one of the state’s largest homeless encampments--an estimated 300 residents at its peak (Associated Press, 2015). Why Kakaʻako? For many of the same reasons displaced Kanaka Maoli set up shacks on the same spot 100 years earlier: it is vacant, public land, close to the centers of commerce and industry in downtown Honolulu and Waikiki.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

In a 2015 houseless survey conducted by urban planning students at the University of Hawai‘i, over a third of respondents were employed or earning income, though not enough to afford housing or transportation costs from provisional or low-income housing further from Honolulu’s urban core (Dunston-Strane & Soakai, 2015). In addition to its proximity to downtown and Waikiki, many find Kaka‘ako’s streets preferable to shelters which charge entry fees and enforce curfews, and are generally regarded as unsafe and unsanitary (Dunston-Strane & Soakai, 2015). Hawai‘i also has a policy of criminalizing homelessness with “sit-lie” bans that basically fine individuals caught living in public spaces. Worse than that, the police regularly conduct “sweeps” through homeless encampments, destroying structures and confiscating property, including medication, identification and other important documents which can lead to a loss of livelihood for anyone who doesn’t receive advance notice of the sweep. This practice is currently at the center of a lawsuit filed by the ACLU against the City and County (Nakaso, 2015). At the neighborhood level, these policies are enforced by the HCDA. After a series of high-profile sweeps, the remaining houseless have taken up residence in other parts of Kaka‘ako’s waterfront, leading the HCDA to call on the private sector for help removing them, to no avail (Nakaso, 2015). Lawmakers and state agencies clearly regard homelessness as a problem to be swept from one side of the island to the other whenever it interferes with an area’s tourism or developer-branded aesthetic, but what about the land trusts who actually own the land? KS and OHA have kept largely mum on the subject of the people living on their land, though the majority are members of the population both organizations were created to serve.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

The ranks of the disenfranchised have swelled to include a range of ethnic groups (reflective of the state's diverse population), but Kanaka Maoli are disproportionately affected by homelessness and remain the largest group. Surveys conducted in the summer of 2015 indicate that roughly two thirds of Hawai'i's houseless population identifies as Native Hawaiian or Polynesian (City and County of Honolulu and State of Hawai'i, 2015). To date no law, initiative, public or private organization has been able to correct or alleviate the colonial dispossession of Kanaka Maoli that began with the Māhele. Numerous entities have been established (KS and OHA included) to support Native Hawaiian people and culture and all have failed to provide an adequate land base for Hawai'i's original inhabitants. KS, more than any other entity, has the resources to turn the tide of dispossession and displacement that has led to a century of homeless kanaka, but other than donations to shelters and other organizations that help the houseless, their support of houseless Hawaiians (and their entire interpretation of Pauahi's will and the trust's mission) has been limited to educational initiatives, the majority of which are unavailable to severely cost-burdened households.

A few months before the sweeps in October 2015, OHA proposed expanding the Next Step shelter, currently located on their Kaka'ako Makai property, and converting additional warehouse space to temporary shelters for individuals and families living in the park (Lee, 2015). After the sweeps a number of houseless Kaka'ako residents did relocate to the Next Step shelter, but others simply moved to other parts of the park.

Despite their mission to serve only Native Hawaiians, OHA has expressed a

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

commitment to helping Hawai‘i’s houseless, regardless of race or ethnicity (Lee, 2015). However, unlike KS, OHA is both land and cash poor, thus their ability to assist beyond the temporary use of their undeveloped parcels is largely contingent upon revenue generated by development of these same parcels.

Public Participation

In 2006, a coalition of grassroots community organization called Save our Kaka‘ako (SOK) successfully thwarted the sale and rezoning of 36.5 acres of public land on Kaka‘ako’s waterfront to Alexander & Baldwin (A&B), one of the original Big Five companies from the heyday of Hawai‘i’s sugar industry. The deal had been done behind closed doors and would have set a dangerous precedent for the sale of public land in Honolulu. The apex of their fight was a march of 400 SOK members to the state capitol on January 23, 2006, led by Ron Iwami, a Honolulu Fire Department captain and daily “dawn patrol” surfer at Kewalo Basin. The efforts of SOK led to the passing of House Bill 2555 which prohibits both the sale of public land and residential development in Kaka‘ako Makai. In addition to this bill, a resolution was passed mandating the formation of the Kaka‘ako Makai Community Planning Advisory Council (CPAC), a volunteer community group whose members are elected by the community, and with whom the HCDA is legally required to consult for input during the planning process. This group participated in the drafting of the HCDA’s current Kaka‘ako Makai Conceptual Master Plan, released in 2011. In 2013 Iwami self-published *Save Our Kaka‘ako* which serves as both a primer on grassroots mobilization in Hawai‘i and a chronicle of the coalition’s battle for urban Honolulu’s last public waterfront,

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

highlighting both the lack of transparency and other shortcomings in the public planning process in Kaka‘ako.

In 2012, roughly the same area of land originally slated for sale to A&B became the ceded lands settlement offered to OHA, as discussed in Chapter 3. When the state gave this parcel to OHA by way of settlement, the passing of HB 2555 had already made it impossible for the land to be sold and for any private development to be profitable. When the state unloads a toxic asset[7] on a Native Hawaiian organization and calls it reparations, it is actually an act of colonial oppression. OHA's bid to overturn HB 2555 in order to develop the parcel as residential was met with the same resistance as A&B's 2006 attempt, mobilizing many of the same groups in defense of public space.

The community's desire to preserve waterfront green space stood in direct opposition to a state-provided vehicle for generating capital for Native Hawaiian activities. As of now, residential development is still prohibited in Kaka‘ako Makai and OHA has yet to release a development plan for these parcels but has been collecting public input since 2015. With HB 2555 firmly in place and OHA, the community and the HCDA working together to draft a plan for this land, despite everything that led up to this point there is tremendous potential for the creation of public space that is both indigenous and urban.

In 2013, while the fight for Kaka‘ako Makai waged on, a new battle began on the Mauka side when condo owners in the Royal Capitol Plaza tower on Curtis Street filed a lawsuit challenging the building permit of a neighboring tower under

[7] Toxic in the financial sense because the state cannot legally sell it and the potential for development to be profitable has been significantly reduced

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

construction at 801 South Street. The condo owners alleged that the HCDA Board decided to approve the permit prior to the public hearing, citing board members' failure to hold any discussion prior to voting, even after four hours of public testimony and weeks of public protests (Gomes, 2014). Additionally, the lawsuit referenced the HCDA's failure to follow state historic preservation law, which requires an archaeological survey of the property to be completed prior to permit approval. Other complaints reflected general public concerns about the development including inadequate infrastructure, potential traffic congestion and housing affordability (Gomes, 2015).

After over a year of litigation, during which construction of the tower at 801 South Street was halted for six months, the lawsuit was settled out of court. Though construction resumed, media coverage of the conflict got the attention of state legislators. 2014 saw the passing of House Bill 1866 which increased both transparency and legislative oversight of the HCDA, replaced the HCDA board, and overhauled the board member appointment process (Hofschneider, 2014). The condo owners at Royal Capitol Plaza and their supporters viewed this as a victory.

Since the new HCDA board was installed in 2015, board president John Whalen has expressed a commitment to lowering the AMI for the agency's reserved and workforce housing requirements from 100-140 percent to 80-120 percent, extending the limits on these requirements from 15 to 30 years, and permitting more rental units. In 2015, the HCDA permitted a project known as the Ola Ka 'Ilima Artspace Lofts which will consist of 84 rental units, reserved for artists earning 60 percent AMI or less. The agency is also currently accepting proposals for a microunit

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

project, which will consist of at least 100 additional units marketed to renters earning 60 and 30 percent AMI (HCDA 2015). Two additional affordable housing projects have also been mentioned by HCDA officials at various community meetings, but as yet no further information has been released.

While these conflicts ultimately led to positive outcomes, the fact that massive protests and litigation were necessary before community concerns were addressed indicates deficiencies in the HCDA's public outreach process. If the HCDA had more effectively identified and engaged with the stakeholders affected by these projects, the planning process could have been a more inclusive endeavor from the beginning.

Strategies for disrupting inequitable development that involve halting or delaying construction can inadvertently exacerbate existing problems because despite its inherent inequality, the market still governs production. Delaying production reinforces the power of the market by limiting the amount of housing stock produced and driving costs up. The city has needs that persist regardless if the market is favorable for them to happen or not, so in order to facilitate true smart growth, the HCDA needs to improve their process of identifying and working with stakeholders during these viable windows for market-driven construction.

This chapter has shown how protest and mobilization can disrupt development that doesn't serve the community, but how can community members express their needs and become engaged in the process before it becomes a conflict, which could be costly for all parties involved? Citizenship, culture, history, and social practice are assets that belong inherently to the community, though

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

developers need to engage with all of these forms of cultural capital in their pursuit of monetary capital. How can the public wield their own cultural capital as a tool for asserting their right to the city?

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

A city's design must be a collective construct, a shared dream, so that a feeling of co-responsibility informs our efforts. That does not mean that consensus must be reached every step of the way: The search for absolute consensus can lead to a state of paralysis. Democracy is not consensus but a permanent conflict that society must arbitrate with great sensitivity. Long-term policies should be adjusted through constant feedback from the people.

Jaime Lerner (2015)

Chapter 5: Participatory Placemaking

This chapter focuses completely on participation in Kaka'ako's urban process, outside the neoliberal mechanisms of urban production already discussed. Chapter 4 indicated ways that public interventions have altered aspects of Kaka'ako's planning and development -- changing rules, halting production. Some of these are still currently in litigation. Manifestations of public participation and protest have democratized planning in Hawai'i to the extent we see today, but as Darrah observes, this type of mobilization also runs the risk of creating new types of exclusion or worse yet, the narratives of communities united in protest can be co-opted by developers in pursuit of their own agendas (Darrah, 2010, p.335). Are there additional avenues for participation in this process? How can communities protect their cultural capital from abuse by neoliberal growth regimes?

In this section I present case studies of emerging forms of activism and community organization in Kaka'ako that increase access to the right to *oeuvre* by taking back the narrative of place. This is accomplished through the exchange of knowledge, the creation of alternative public spaces, tactical urbanism, and engagement with the physical environment. I argue that these activities are

www.manaraa.com

indispensable to the future of the community because they are not dependent upon current power structures or the configuration of the built environment and they facilitate collaboration between diverse groups.

Tactical urbanism is an emerging movement characterized by low-cost, temporary interventions and placemaking activities designed to improve local neighborhoods. In “The Planner’s Guide to Tactical Urbanism,” Laura Pfeifer identifies five characteristics of this approach to city-building:

> - *A deliberate, phased approach to instigating change;*
> - *An offering of local ideas for local planning challenges;*
> - *Short-term commitment and realistic expectations;*
> - *Low-risks, with possibly a high reward; and;*
> - *The development of social capital between citizens, and the building of organizational capacity between public/private institutions, non-profit/ NGOs, and their constituents.*
>
> (Pfiefer 2013, p.4*)*

In 2014 and 2015 I became involved in three Kakaʻako-based community initiatives designed to foster community activism through the exchange of knowledge: Kakaʻako Our Kuleana, 88 Block Walks, and PARK(ing) Day. All three are grassroots events run by volunteers, students, and community members committed to the equitable future of Kakaʻako and increased public participation in Honolulu’s planning process. Kakaʻako Our Kuleana was a workshop series, organized by students and faculty of the Department of Urban Planning (DURP) at the University of Hawaiʻi--in partnership with the Hawaiʻi Chapter of the American Planning Association (APA)--and held in the community room at the HCDA offices. 88 Block Walks is my personal project, an ongoing series of walking tours exploring different aspects of Kakaʻako’s cultural, historical, physical and emotional features. PARK(ing) Day is an annual

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

international event where for one day in September, parking spaces all over the world are transformed into temporary parklets, or miniature parks, in order to reclaim public space from automobiles and promote more pedestrian-friendly, livable cities. Each of these three events addresses gaps in Kakaʻako's public planning initiatives, utilizing tactical urbanism to extend the right to oeuvre to groups who have been excluded in the past.

Kakaʻako Our Kuleana: A Free Public Planning Academy for Everyone

On October 13, 2015, Dr. Manulani Meyer, a Native Hawaiian activist and professor of education offered an opening *pule* (prayer) before leading a group of over 150 attendees in a discussion of ʻ*auamo kuleana,* a guiding principle for the Kakaʻako Our Kuleana workshops and a phrase which *"*describes both the carrying of one's responsibility" and the "amplification of its potential when the carrying occurs joyfully," (Kakaʻako Our Kuleana, 2015). Over the next six weeks, participants and organizers carried this notion of *kuleana* with them as each two-hour workshop took on a different topic related to the current development including affordable housing, infrastructure and climate change, rail and TOD, and civic engagement. Each workshop featured guest speakers from the community, the University of Hawaiʻi, city and state planning and infrastructure agencies (including HCDA), and planning activities facilitated by graduate students in the DURP community planning and social policy seminar, PLAN 610. As a student in PLAN 610, I served as one of the organizers and facilitators of the series, and on the seventh week, in lieu of a workshop, I led three trolley tours of the neighborhood, offering a connection between the workshop discussions and the

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

physical landscape. What follows are observations from my personal experience of this series.

Rather than simply sharing timelines for development or accepting public testimony on specific projects as in a formalized hearing, these workshops were held in the format of a “citizen’s planning academy” designed to provide access to the planning process itself by sharing information and tools for civic engagement. In an interview with MetroHNL, DURP chair Karen Umemoto and PhD candidate Annie Koh--who organized the series and co-taught the PLAN 610 course--articulated that public perception of Kakaʻako’s development tends to be very negative, with many feeling their needs are unmet and their voices are not heard (O’Connor, 2015b). In Umemoto’s words, “Kakaʻako could be very exclusionary — it could feel like a place that doesn’t belong to any of us, or belongs to the privileged few. Or it could be a place where everybody feels at home,” (O’Connor, 2015b). By providing information about the planning process and specific issues affecting the neighborhood and creating a forum for stakeholders to engage in informal discussions about these issues, Kakaʻako Our Kuleana attempts to address the gaps between the built environment and the social fabric, the relationships that will lead to a healthy community (O’Connor, 2015b).

Each workshop began with an overview of the week’s topic provided by one of the organizers, followed by a presentation from an official, community advocate or researcher offering further insight into the topic, then presenters and attendees would break into groups for smaller discussions or activities. Highlights from each breakout session were shared with the larger group and additional feedback was collected and shared at the following workshop or via the Kakaʻako Our Kuleana website. Participant

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

surveys were conducted at every workshop and additional resources--both on the topic itself and resources for getting involved or submitting testimony for relevant initiatives--were provided both at the workshops and online. As the weeks went on, attendees began to congregate in the foyer outside to exchange contact information and continue the conversation. Officials including HCDA Planning Director Deepak Neupane attended every workshop, and frequently joined these informal groups outside the meeting room, offering a unique opportunity for community members to engage with them on a more personal level.

Though representatives of the HCDA, KS, OHA and various city and state agencies were present and many gave presentations and answered questions*, they did not direct the discussion*. Presenters and attendees alike were politely guided away from lengthy, overly impassioned or adversarial commentary by facilitators, establishing an environment wherein members of the public, planners and developers found themselves on equal footing. Presenters also included artists, researchers, community activists and small business owners, thus offering an array of viewpoints for every issue affecting the neighborhood.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Figure 5: Photograph of Kaka‘ako Our Kuleana Workshop #1 by Jeffrey Warner

In addition to the dozens of DURP students in attendance, participants included a cross-section of residents--from low-income seniors to luxury condo owners, local business owners and employees, planners, city officials, realtors, journalists, and general fans of Kaka‘ako. Attendees found out about the workshops through the HCDA newsletter, social media or the Honolulu Star-Advertiser. It is unclear if any houseless residents were in attendance but homeless advocates, low-income housing developers, workers and volunteers from Kaka‘ako’s food bank were present. During most of the workshops the room was filled to capacity, with rows of participants standing in the back.

The 6th workshop, “Civic Engagement in Kaka‘ako: Where do we go from here?” was led by the Islander Institute, “a social enterprise on a mission to bring about significant social, economic, and political change in Hawai'i by working with

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

individuals and organizations committed to island values" (Kaka‘ako Our Kuleana, 2015). This final workshop explored potential avenues for the knowledge, momentum and relationships formed during Kaka‘ako Our Kuleana to be continued into the future. Armed with a more complete picture of all that is happening in Kaka‘ako--aspects of the development that cannot be changed, plans that can be improved, and issues which urgently require community action--participants have gained tools for asserting ownership of their neighborhood. Since the series concluded, some participants have continued to meet monthly and are currently in the process of forming a new community organization in Kaka‘ako.

Kaka‘ako Our Kuleana was well-attended and generated many creative solutions from the community, but more time could have been spent transitioning from knowledge to action. Though members of the community are still meeting regularly, they have no clear goal or agenda at the moment and it is unclear what needs existing community groups in Kaka‘ako are not addressing, thus why another group would be required. Though a great deal of feedback was collected during each workshop, with the intention of releasing a public FAQ about Kaka‘ako's development, no one was formally assigned this task and as yet it has not been released. At a recent meeting of the Kaka‘ako Our Kuleana community group an HCDA employee asked to see the feedback and it was unclear who to contact for access to it.

The citizen planning academy could be a great model for empowering citizens to become more involved in the planning process, and the service learning component was invaluable experience for students of PLAN 610, but in the future there needs to be a more formal plan for what happens after the academy ends, both in terms of

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

activities and leadership if the group wishes to continue meeting. Additionally, a citizen planning toolkit or handbook would be a more useful reference than the myriad of handouts distributed every session.

88 Block Walks

Named for the 88 blocks that comprise Kaka‘ako, I created 88 Block Walks in 2014 as a means of connecting the social, historical, cultural, and physical narratives of Kaka‘ako to its current geography. By sharing these narratives in the format of free, public walking tours, I offer knowledge as a lived experience which becomes deeply personal for the participant and informs their perception of the environment. To date I have offered three tours, each focusing on a different aspect of Kaka‘ako’s geography, and in each instance, the knowledge shared has taken on a life of its own, manifesting in other artistic, physical and conversational forms--without my involvement--once the tours were complete. My goal for this project is to remove the lens through which landowners and developers present Kaka‘ako’s narrative to the public and invite the community to create their own.

My first tour, Walk #1: Streams, took place as a virtual exploration of Honolulu’s network of channelized freshwater ‘auwai (streams) led by local artist, designer and architect Sean Connelly in August 2014. Connelly spent years studying historical maps of O’ahu’s waterways, comparing them to maps of Honolulu’s stormwater network to discover access points and then donning rubber boots and gaitors to explore these forgotten resources. Through this research he found that in Kaka‘ako, an artesian spring bubbles up beneath the Blaisdell center and travels half a mile to

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

the ocean, obscured by pavement. In addition to the virtual tour of this and other streams, a panel of experts and activists concerned with local water issues joined Connelly in a discussion of the value of Honolulu's underutilized waterways and their potential uses in the urban environment. Roughly 60 people listened intently to this conversation.

A few months after this tour, HHC announced that they would be daylighting the stream as a central feature of the one-acre park planned between their Gateway Towers development, not yet under construction. The decision to daylight the stream had been made prior to the tour, but the timing of the announcement was fortuitous. Then, in June of 2015, choreographer and recent Taiwan transplant SheenRu Yong chose the still-buried Kaka'ako stream for the site of her first installation of FLOOD / turn the tide, a "community choreographic project, that addressed the issues of water ownership through movement," (Glamb, 2015). The performance consisted of a dozen or so dancers, dressed in blue, traveling in languid, flowing movements from the aquifer-fed ponds of the Blaisdell Center down to the ocean. Spectators followed and joined in as the dancers mimicked the movement of the water below. The 'auwai won't see daylight until 2017, at which point it will be reintroduced as the central feature of a pseudo public park--an accent to high-end condos, but through these events the stream has already seeped into community consciousness as a shared cultural resource.

Walk #2: Voices was a multimedia experience featuring audio recordings from the University of Hawai'i Center for Oral History (COH) and images culled from the photo collection of the Hawai'i State Archives, depicting life in Kaka'ako during the

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

early twentieth century. In their marketing materials for Our Kakaako, KS frequently utilizes historic images of industrial-era Kaka‘ako while citing their development’s connection to the “hard-working entrepreneurial spirit of the past” (Our Kakaako, 2015). Because the majority of the housing KS is building in Kaka‘ako is not affordable for the working class, I wanted to know more about the individuals whose likenesses are now being used to sell this development; this led me to the COH. Beginning in 1977--a year after the HCDA was created--COH researchers recorded interviews with 26 longtime residents of various ethnicities who described coming of age in pre-statehood Kaka‘ako. In the spring of 2015, Interisland Terminal--a Kaka‘ako-based arts nonprofit--invited me to adapt this research into a walking tour for their June Kaboom event series. I conceived of this tour as a way to let members of Kaka‘ako’s first urban community speak for themselves and join the larger conversation about the area’s current redevelopment.

Taking cues from Sinclair and Reeder’s 2011 site-specific audio application, created using the oral history archives of St. Ives in the UK (Sinclair & Reeder, 2012), I edited the interviews into short clips of compelling narratives (either in terms of content or audio quality) that referenced specific locations. “Memories of place are highly subjective, yet when examined together, collective myths can be found within communities of place” (Sinclair & Reeder, 2012, p.2), thus locations were selected based on their significance to the community (determined via the number of interviewees who mentioned each location) and their proximity to Interisland Terminal’s indoor park, Kaka‘ako Agora, where the tour would begin.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

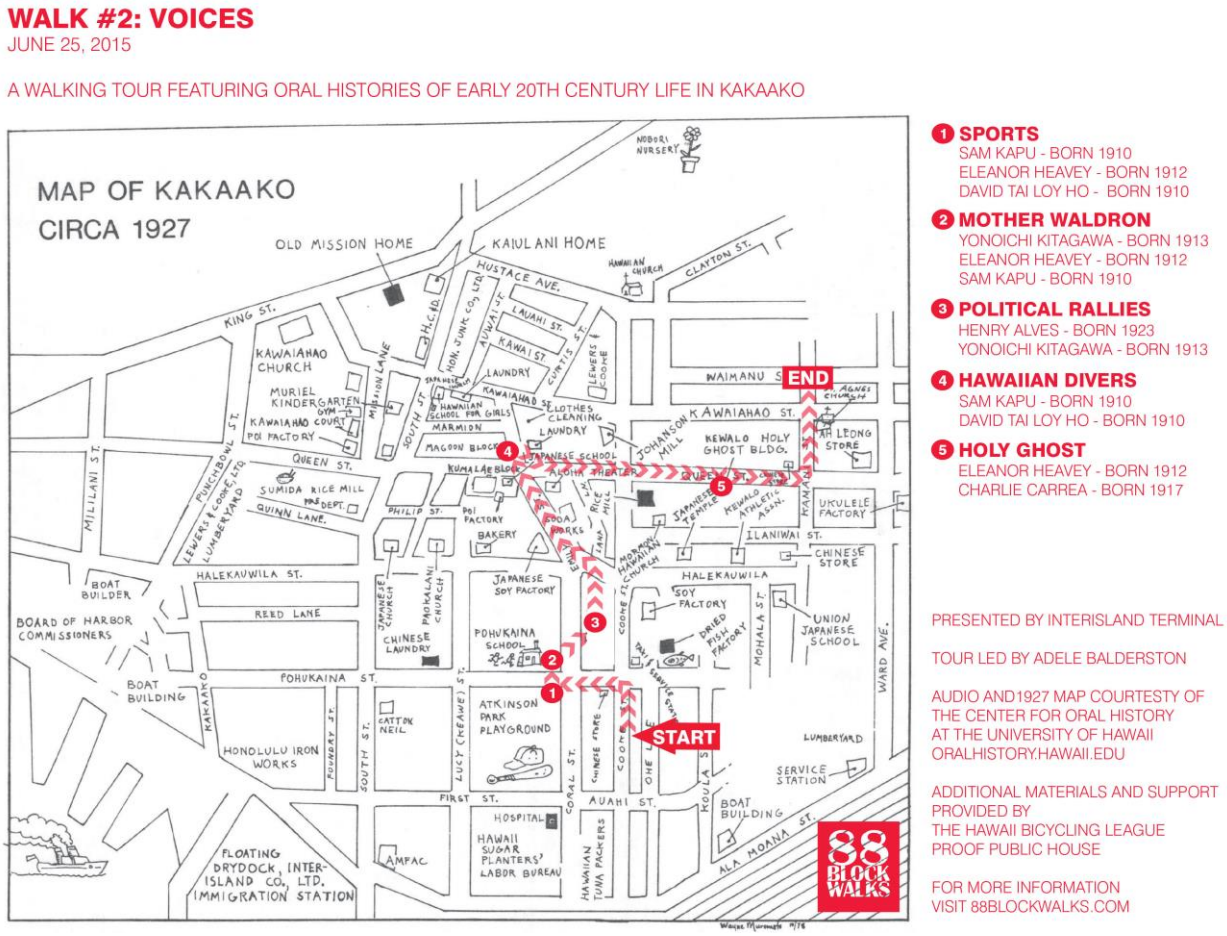

Figure 6: Official tour map

Unlike the St. Ives project which employed locative technology to automatically play audio clips based on the listener's location, creating a series of unique, non-linear soundwalks, my tour was executed as a shared, public experience wherein each listener heard the same voices at the same time. To accomplish this I used a mobile PA system, playing the recordings through a massive speaker at each location. Because Kaka'ako's industrial appearance today is a far cry from the churches, plantation cottages and open fields described in the interviews, I added a visual element to help listeners experience significant locations from the past. Using a bicycle outfitted with a generator and a small projector, I superimposed photographs from the archives onto the walls of warehouses, construction sites and high rises as we walked (Figure 7).

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

A

Figure 7: Photographs of Walk #2: Voices by Michael Keany

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

bout 30 people joined me on the 50 minute tour, including a few houseless individuals and passersby who hadn't heard about the event but saw the projections and joined in. Back at the starting point, I also set up a stationary projection and two audio installations with paper maps and the url of an ESRI Storymap[8] I created as a self-guided version of the tour.

Archives can be difficult for many people to access and navigate, and just as Sinclair and Reeder sought a new user experience model for oral history archives, I tried to provide an alternative way to interact with Kaka'ako's history--outside the library and independent of the convenient, abbreviated narratives disseminated by developers.

> *The past is not simply there in memory, but must be articulated to become memory. The fissure that opens up between experiencing an event and remembering it in representation is unavoidable. Rather than lamenting or ignoring it, this split should be understood as a powerful stimulant for cultural and artistic creativity. The temporal status of any act of memory is always the present and not, as some naïve epistemology would have it, the past itself, even though all memory in some ineradicable sense is dependent on some past event or experience. It is this tenuous fissure between past and present that constitutes memory, making it powerfully alive and distinct from the archive or any other mere system of storage and retrieval. (Huyssen, 1995, quoted in Reeder & Sinclair, 2012, p.1)*

Oral history is an especially subjective and unreliable source of history, and the oral histories used in this tour were further edited based on my aesthetic choices and logistical limitations. By offering an ephemeral shared experience, rather than an authoritative presentation based on my interpretation of the material, my hope was that the memories of the past would gain new life as participants internalized and later

[8] Online here: http://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapTour/index.html?appid=47cde5c93f30478bbcd6df453e5f65c8

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

shared their memories of this tour with others who were not present. The act of describing the event and relaying the stories they heard (as they remember them) challenges the ‘grand narrative’ heretofore possessed solely by diligent researchers and manipulators of cultural capital.

Walk #2 was so well-received that it was featured on Hawai‘i Public Radio a month after the tour ended and I was frankly not equipped to handle the volume of requests for another tour. The main problems I encountered during the planning and execution of this tour were technical and financial--of course, with more financial resources the technical problems would likely be solved. In September of 2015 I offered tours of the parklets created during PARK(ing) Day but it was far less popular than the first two tours, likely because the event took place on a very hot weekday afternoon. Multimedia-enhanced evening tours seem to generate the most interest.

My long-term goal is for this to be a monthly series, with different experts leading each tour and I would like future tours to incorporate more Native Hawaiian culture and pre-contact history. I am researching grants and other funding sources in order to make this possible. Though my original intention was to offer each tour as a gift to the community, both the financial burden and the demand for me to offer tours more than once are so great that I am currently considering pricing models for future tours.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

PARK(ing) Day

Launched in 2005 by San Francisco-based architecture and design studio ReBar, PARK(ing) Day has grown into a global movement, taking place annually in hundreds of cities around the world. This brand of temporary placemaking involves repurposing metered parking stalls as tiny public parks and is now one of the most well-known forms of tactical urbanism. The mission of PARK(ing) Day is to "call attention to the need for more urban open space, to generate critical debate around how public space is created and allocated, and to improve the quality of urban human habitat." (ReBar Group Inc., 2012)

A year after ReBar created their first parklet--a roll of sod adorned with a tree and bench that occupied a parking stall in San Francisco for two hours--Hawai'i's Trust for Public Land (TPL) followed suit in Honolulu (O'Connor, 2015a). As the movement slowly gained momentum in cities around the world, more groups in Honolulu also tried their hand at constructing temporary parklets. Though ReBar offers a guide to PARK(ing) Day, including general rules and signage, they clearly state that every municipality has their own rules and recommend everyone do their research ahead of time. Many who experimented with PARK(ing) Day during its early years were unaware of the rules governing metered parking stalls and unfamiliar with Honolulu's permitting process in general so several parklets were shut down by police, leaving organizers discouraged and wary of future participation.

The city's attitude toward parklets began to change in 2014 when KS received a permit to construct a semi-permanent parklet in front of Hank's Haute Dogs restaurant in Kaka'ako (Pang, 2016). The parklet, consisting of shaded wooden

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

benches, tables, a planter and a picnic table on a low, artificial turf platform, instantly became a popular lunch spot and formed the basis of a pilot program (formally drafted as City Council Bill 59) initiated by the Department of Planning and Permitting to streamline permitting of parklets.

In the summer of 2015, a group of independent planners known as Better Block Hawai‘i who organize creative placemaking initiatives in Honolulu, joined forces with TPL and reached out to other groups, friends and colleagues who had previously participated or expressed interest in PARK(ing) Day and started planning for the event. After many email exchanges, representatives from Better Block Hawai‘i, TPL, Greener Reader, HHCF Planners, Bikeshare Hawai‘i, Blue Planet Foundation, 88 Block Walks (myself) and others came together for a formal meeting with officials at DPP who briefed us on the new permitting process. Though many of these organizations had participated in PARK(ing) Day in the past, this was the first time everyone was involved in the planning process together and with full support from DPP, who utilized press from the event to facilitate the passing of Bill 59 in City Council. TPL also generously supported the other groups by covering the cost of each $12 permit.

PARK(ing) Day took place on Friday, September 18, 2015, with 6 parklets in Kaka‘ako (in addition to the Hank’s Haute Dogs parklet) and 2 in downtown Honolulu. Organizers partnered with local businesses who “hosted” parklets in stalls fronting their establishments, Hawai‘i Bicycling League offered bike tours of the parklet neighborhoods, I provided paper umbrellas for shade and offered parklet walking tours on the hour, and DPP held a group parklet ride for employees during

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

their lunch break. Parklets in Kaka‘ako included an art installation consisting of an orange net cocoon around stools and cafe tables on Auahi Street, Greener Reader created an outdoor living room with pallets, a rug, armchairs and a bookshelf on Cooke Street, TPL and Kupu played Hawaiian music in front of Box Jelly, accompanied by hula dancers and a demonstration of pa’i’ai-making (pounding taro root into a thick, delicious paste). Downtown, Miller Royer of Wing Ice Cream turned a truck into a public pool in front of his shop and invited local bands to play while he scooped ice cream.

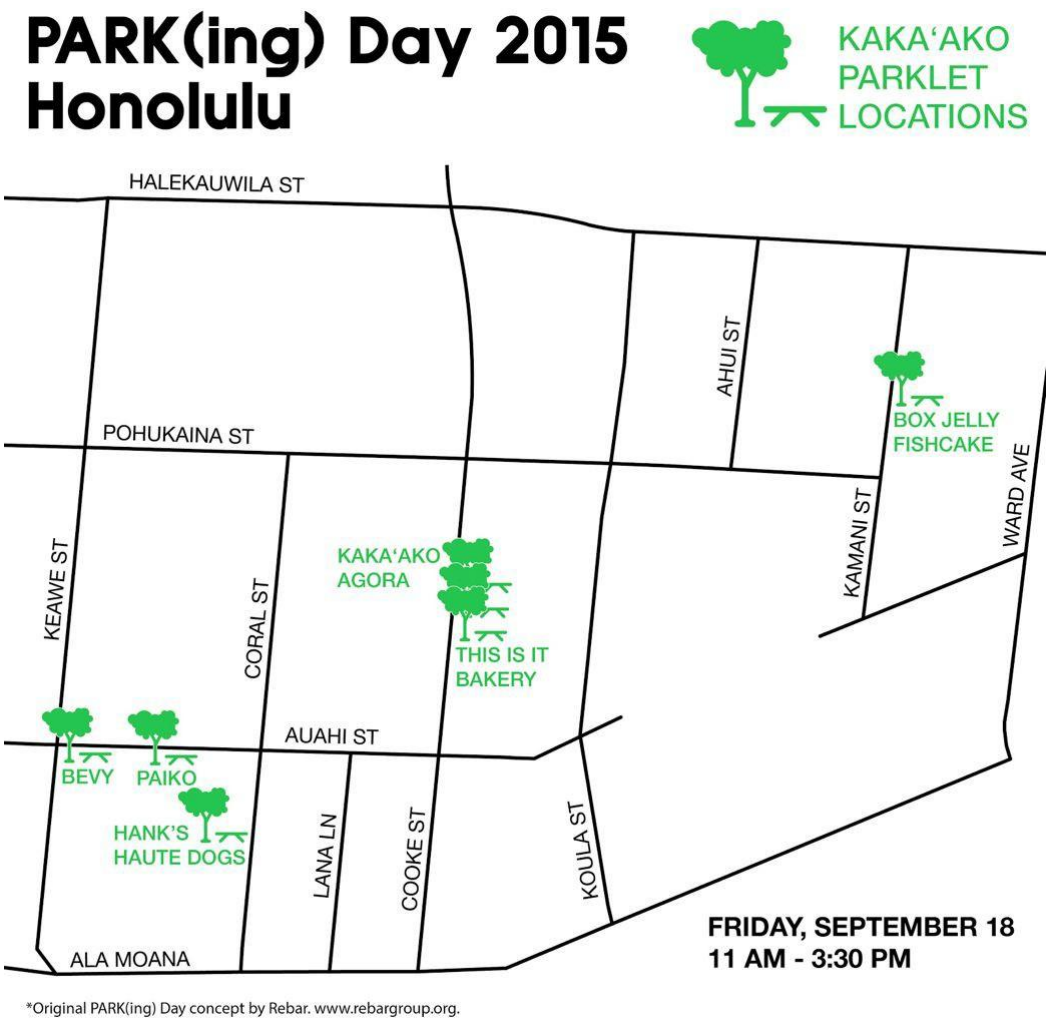

Figure 8: Kaka‘ako Official PARK(ing) Day Map

www.manaraa.com

After the parklets were deconstructed, participants and the public convened at Fish Cake for an informal pau hana (happy hour) and talk-story (storytelling) to go over the events of the day and introduce the city's new parklet program. Four months later the city council voted on Bill 59, and DPP reached out to Honolulu's PARK(ing) Day network for testimony at the public hearing. Virtually every group managed to attend or submit written testimony and in February 2016 the bill was passed. In her testimony before the City Council in support of Bill 59, Annie Koh stated that "the parklet concept offers the means for a community to collectively shape segments of their neighborhoods according to their unique needs," but prior to the passing of the bill this was not the case in Honolulu. Only planners and those connected to the city were able to "get away with" parklets. With a local network now formally established and a streamlined permitting process, PARK(ing) Day has already become more accessible and will likely continue to grow.

PARK(ing) Day in Honolulu is a great example of a successful collaboration between the community and the city. One of the major challenges, and perhaps what deterred most people from joining my tours was how little shade is available in Kakaʻako. Because most surfaces are concrete, the midday sun made parklets without awnings unbearable. This is both good to know for future parklet design and general walkability in urban Honolulu. Events like these which get planners and officials to walk around neighborhoods during the day and experience first-hand how unfriendly urban Honolulu can be for pedestrians have the potential to generate solutions.

The involvement of TPL and organizations like Kupu Hawaiʻi also provided a glimpse of what true Hawaiian urbanism could look like. While groups like Better Block

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Hawai‘i do great work, all of its members are *malihini* (from the mainland, non-local) and the majority are white men. Kanaka Maoli and non-Hawaiian locals alike tend to be incredibly suspicious of outsiders, and as a result they are rarely involved in the creative placemaking initiatives spearheaded by Better Block and groups like it. A question for further research is how to overcome this. Where do the goals of tactical urbanism overlap with the needs of the local community and Native Hawaiian values in a way that would prompt them to lead these types of initiatives?

This chapter has identified three potential applications of creative placemaking that use place narratives to disrupt cycles of accumulation by dispossession. Just as developers engage in historical intervention to cloak their profit motives in a “hero narrative” (Wood, 1999) that reframes their actions as a benevolent service to the community, the community can avail themselves of their own collective history in order to assert the right to the city. By recognizing the fluid borders of *place* in relation to the hard boundaries of *property*, communities can realize the power of their own inherent cultural capital to devalue the symbolic capital used by developers to conquer territory that persists independently of the built environment. Though none of the initiatives discussed here presents a definitive solution to the disenfranchisement produced by processes of gentrification and neoliberal development, each is a powerful jumping-off point for future investigations into the role of place narratives in negotiations of urban space.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Chapter 6: Conclusion

At the start of every tour I have led or facilitated in Kaka‘ako, I remind participants that a place’s identity is not dependent on the built environment, rather, it is a collection of ideas and experiences, a totality of “lived space” that gives meaning to a geographic area (Lefebvre, 1974). In *Rebel Cities,* David Harvey writes of this space:

> *Here lies one of the key spaces of hope for the construction of an alternative kind of globalization and a vibrant anti-commodification politics: one in which the progressive forces of cultural production and transformation can seek to appropriate and undermine the forces of capital rather than the other way round. (2012, p.112).*

Harvey has said that the alternatives to globalization must come from within multiple local urban spaces and join to form a broader movement (2012). This thesis has examined multiple struggles for the right to the city in Kaka‘ako as they relate to public space, affordable housing, and cultural identity. Harvey’s “anti-commodification politics” is at the heart of the initiatives explored in Chapter 5, which utilize narrative as a means of community enfranchisement and urban intervention. What is still missing in Kaka‘ako however, is the unification of these disparate forms of resistance into a larger oppositional movement.

Though the initiatives discussed in chapters 4 and 5 have yielded positive results, their shortcomings are largely the product of inadequate engagement with Hawai‘i’s unique spectrum of identity and difference. The protests in Kaka‘ako Makai in 2006 and 2012 centered on access to public space, but access for whom? The groups that came together under the umbrella of the Save Our Kaka‘ako Coalition predominantly reflected the interests of recreational users of the park and waterfront

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

area, interests that are frequently expressed in opposition to the homeless population.

Discussions of public space in Kakaʻako, even among participants in Kakaʻako Our Kuleana, frequently mention a need to "take back the park from the homeless," an argument that reflects a societal divide between the "deserving and undeserving poor" (Mitchell, 2011). Neil Smith categorizes homeless encampments as an anti-gentrification movement (2002), and while it is unlikely that the community living in Kakaʻako's waterfront park had political motivations for erecting dwellings in this particular location, their interests overlap significantly with those of "housed" park users. Both the protesters and the houseless present obstacles to development that doesn't serve the needs of the community, and both champion the right to practice activities that have taken place in the area for generations.[9] Unfortunately, the protesters fail to recognize the homeless as part of the community, thus the needs of the latter go unaddressed in oppositional movements that otherwise have the potential to benefit both groups.

Similar to the park users' exclusion of the houseless from their resistance movement, the absence of Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners and indigenous perspectives from many of Honolulu's creative placemaking initiatives limits their potential to affect meaningful change in the urban environment. Determining the reason(s) for the lack of Kanaka Maoli participation in these initiatives is beyond the scope of this research, but Grandinetti has suggested that indigenous activities in Hawaiʻi are often characterized as exclusive to rural areas--spaces

[9] See discussion of Squattersville in Chapter 2.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

that are not yet “settled” (2015). Native Hawaiian activists also tend to view their community’s quest for sovereignty as wholly separate from and incompatible with local, class-based oppositional movements (Grandinetti, 2015; Wood, 1996), but I disagree.

Indigenous Urbanism is an emerging field of inquiry that situates indigenous expressions of place within larger discourses of urbanization. In order to build sustainable cities that meet the needs of Honolulu’s urban inhabitants without discounting the values and experiences of its original inhabitants, urban planners and Native Hawaiian cultural practitioners need to come together to develop new solutions. Traditional knowledge of native plants, ecology, navigation, and medicine is already broadening human understanding of the natural sciences, its applications for the social sciences should not be overlooked. The University of Hawai‘i is home to a thriving Native Hawaiian Studies program, and the University’s Department of Urban and Regional Planning supplies a steady stream of talent to Hawai‘i’s public and private planning organizations. A collaboration between these two departments could be the gateway to a uniquely Hawaiian urbanism, and introduce new strategies for reclaiming the right to the city.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

References

Appleseed. (2014). *Policy report: The high cost of our affordable housing shortfall*. Retrieved from http://www.hiappleseed.org/affordablehousingcrisis

Associated Press. (2015, October 17). Hawai‘i declares state of emergency for homelessness. *AlJazeera America*. Retrieved January 12, 2016, from http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/10/17/Hawai‘ideclareshomeless stateofemergency.Html

Blair, C. (2011, November 17). State offers OHA $200M Kakaako land settlement. *Honolulu Civil Beat*. Retrieved from http://www.civilbeat.com/2011/11/13915stateoffersoha200mkakaakaolandsettlement/

Bonham, C., Burnett, K., & Kato, A. (2010). *Inclusionary zoning: Implications for Oahu' s housing market*. Retrieved from http://www.uhero.Hawai‘i.edu/assets/UHEROProjectReport20101.pdf

Burnett, K., & Jones, J. (2013). UHERO 101.3: Can the Median Household afford the Median Home on Oahu. Retrieved from http://uhero.hawaii.edu/news/view/238

Center for Oral History, S. S. R. I. (Ed.). (1978). *Remembering Kaka‘ako: 19101950* (Vol. I). Honolulu: University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

City and County of Honolulu. (2014, September 12). *Housing Oahu: Islandwide housing strategy, draft for review and discussion*. State of Hawai‘i.

City and County of Honolulu, State of Hawaii. (2015). *City and county of Honolulu homeless pointintime count 2015*.

Connelly, S. (2015). Hawai'i Futures. Retrieved from hawaii-futures.com

Cooper, G., & Daws, G. (1985). *Land and power in Hawaii: The democratic years*. Honolulu, HI: Benchmark Books.

Darrah, J. R. (2010). Contested land development in Hawai'i: Regime change in a tourism economy. *ProQuest Dissertations and Theses*, (May), 391.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

DBEDT (Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism). (2014). *Kaka'ako, urban core living*. State of Hawai'i.

DBEDT (Department of Business, Economic Development and Tourism). (2015). *Measuring housing demand in Hawai'i, 20152025*. State of Hawai'i.

Dunson-Strane, T., & Soakai, S. (2015). The effects of city sweeps and sit lie policies on Honolulu's houseless. University of Hawai'i at Mānoa: Department of Urban and Regional Planning.

General Growth Properties, Inc. (2008). Ward Neighborhood Master Plan, (c).

Glamb, A. (2015, June 29). A "Flood" through town. *Metro HNL*. Retrieved from http://www.metrohnl.com/glamborous40/

Gomes, A. (2014, March 29). State agency wrongly approved Kakaako tower, lawsuit alleges. *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*. Honolulu. Retrieved from http://www.staradvertiser.com/business/state-agency-wrongly-approved-kakaako-tower-lawsuit-alleges/

Gomes, A. (2015, July 23). Legal battle over Kakaako condo tower concludes. *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*. Honolulu. Retrieved from http://www.staradvertiser.com/business/legal-battle-over-kakaako-condo-tower-concludes/

Gordon, D. (1978). Capitalist development and the history of American cities. In *Marxism and the Metropolis*, 1, 25–63.

Grandinetti, T. (2015). *Whose Kaka'ako: Capitalism, Settler Colonialism, and Urban Development in Honolulu*. University of Hawaii.

Group 70 International. (2013). Strategic Management Framework for Kaka'ako Makai. Honolulu. Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Retrieved from http://www.oha.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/OHA_CulturalLandscapeAnalysis_final_103013.pdf

Harvey, D. (2012). *Rebel cities: From the right to the city to the urban revolution*. London / Brooklyn: Verso. http://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781107415324.004

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Hawai‘i Community Development Authority (HCDA). (2011). *Mauka area plan*. State of Hawai’i.

Hawai‘i Community Development Authority (HCDA). (2015). *Let’s all be a part of the solution (POTS)*.State of Hawai’i.

Hawai‘i Community Development Authority. (2015). *Project housing summary*. State of Hawai’i.

Hofschneider, A. (2014, July 17). Kakaako condo prices jumped 75 percent since last year, report finds. *Honolulu Civil Beat* Retrieved from http://www.civilbeat.com/2014/07/kakaakocondopricesjumped75percentsincelastyearr epo rtfinds/

Hofschneider, A. (2013, November 27). Kakaako rising: Is this community development? *Honolulu Civil Beat.* Honolulu Retrieved December 15, 2015, from http://www.civilbeat.com/2013/11/20526kakaakorising isthiscommunitydevelopment/

Iwami, R. (2013). *Save our Kaka‘ako: A story of the power of the people*. Honolulu: Author.

Johnson, D. (1991). *The city and county of Honolulu: A governmental chronicle*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Kaka’ako Our Kuleana: Planning & Development in Kaka'ako. (2015). Kaka’ako Our Kuleana. University of Hawaii at Manoa, Department of Urban and Regional Planning. Retrieved from http://manoa.hawaii.edu/durp/event/kakaako-our-kuleana-planning-development-in-kakaako/

Kamehameha Schools. (2008). *Kaiaulu ‘O Kaka‘ako master plan*. Hawai’i Community Development Authority.

Kamehameha Schools (2015). *Kamehameha schools annual report July 1, 2014 June 30, 2015*.

King, S. P., & Roth, R. W. (2006). *Broken trust: Greed, mismanagement & political manipulation at America's largest charitable trust*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Kratke, S. (2012). The new urban growth ideology of “creative cities.” In N. Brenner, P. Marcuse, & M. Mayer (Eds.), *Cities for People, Not for Profit* (pp. 138–149). New York: Routledge. http://doi.org/10.1080/13604810903020548

Lee, G. F. (2015, August 23). OHA in “very exploratory” talks to create short-term housing for homeless in Kakaako. *Honolulu Star Advertiser*. Retrieved from https://www.staradvertiser.com/Hawai‘inews/ohainveryexploratorytalkstocreateshorttermh ousingforhomelessinkakaako2/

Lefebvre, H. (1974). The Production of Space. *Urban Studies* (Vol. 29). Blackwell. http://doi.org/10.1080/00420989220081001

Lefebvre, H. (1996). Writings on cities (E. Kofman & E. Lebas, Eds.). Cambridge, Mass, USA: Blackwell. Retrieved from http://www.amazon.com/WritingsCitiesHenriLefebvre/dp/0631191887\nhttp://jftnewspaper.au b.edu.lb/reserve/data/s09290/s09290.pdf

Lerner, J. (2015, December 7). How to build a sustainable city. *The New York Times.* Retrieved December 12, 2015, from http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/07/opinion/howtobuildasustainablecity.html?_r=0

Levy, N. M. (1975). Hawaiian Rights. *California Law Review*, *63*(4), 848–885. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3479836

Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Mitchell, D. (2011). Homelessness, American style. *Urban Geography*, *32*(7), 933–956. http://doi.org/10.2747/02723638.32.7.933

Molotch, H. (1976). The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(2), 309–332.

Nakaso, D. (2015). 8 private firms decline to bid on clearing 2 new homeless camps – *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*. Retrieved January 13, 2016, from http://www.staradvertiser.com/hawaii-news/8-private-firms-decline-to-bid-on-clearing-2-new-homeless-camps-2/

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

O'Connor, C. (2015a, September 14). Park here. *Metro HNL*. Retrieved from http://www.metrohnl.com/parkhere/

O'Connor, C. (2015b, November 3). Workshop Encourages Civic Engagement in Kakaʻako Development. *Metro HNL*. Retrieved from http://www.metrohnl.com/workshopencouragescivicengagementinkakaakodevelopment/

Our Kakaʻako (2015). Our history. *Our Kakaʻako: A new neighborhood by Kamehameha Schools.* Retrieved from http://www.ourkakaako.com/about/our_history.html

Palafax, C. J. (2014, May/June). It makes a village. *Green Building & Design*. Retrieved from http://gbdmagazine.com/2014/27howardhughescorporation/

Pang, G. Y. K. (2016, February 1). Small oases may be popping up soon in busy neighborhoods on Oahu. *Honolulu StarAdvertiser*. Retrieved from http://www.staradvertiser.com/Hawaiʻinews/smalloasesmaybepoppingup sooninbusyneighborhoodsonoahu/

Perez, R. (2014, March 30). Donors with Kakaako ties spending big on elections. *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*. Honolulu. Retrieved from http://www.staradvertiser.com/hawaii-news/donors-with-kakaako-ties-spending-big-on-elections/

Pfeifer, L. (2013). *The planner's guide to tactical urbanism*. Montreal, Canada. Retrieved from https://reginaurbanecology.files.wordpress.com/2013/10/tuguide1.pdf

Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal*, *58*(2/3), 99–108. http://doi.org/10.1023/B:GEJO.0000010829.62237.8f

Purcell, M. (2003). Citizenship and the Right to the Global City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, *27*(3), 564–590.

ReBar Group Inc. (2012). About PARK(ING) Day. Retrieved from http://parkingday.org/about-parking-day/

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Ruel, T. (2002, July 7). A Link Lost to Hawaii: Victoria Ward Sale Cuts Main Remaining Hawaii Tie to the Hustace Family. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*. Honolulu. Retrieved from http://archives.starbulletin.com/2002/07/07/business/story2.html

Said, E. W. (2000). Invention, Memory, and Place. *Critical Inquiry*, 26(2), 175–192.

Sinclair, J., & Reeder, P. (2012). Sounds of the sea: Making a mixed reality oral history application for the St. Ives archive. In *Museums and the eb 2012: The international conference for culture and heritage online (April 1114, 2012)*.

Smith, N. (2002). New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*, *34*(3), 427–450.

Steele, J. (1990, November). Kaka'ako: Urban Renewal or Kama'aina Removal. *Honolulu Weekly*, pp. 6–17. Honolulu.

Tulchin, T., Altizer, K., Borthwick, D. K., & Hammatt, H. H. (2009). *Final archaeological assessment of the proposed Halekauwila Place project, Kaka'ako, Honolulu district, O'ahu island, TMK: [1] 21051:009 por*. Kailua, Hawai'i.

Ward Village (n.d) Our History. *Ward Village.* Retrieved from http://www.wardvillage.com/articles/looking-forward-a-ward-village-publicationå

Ward Village Foundation (n.d.). *Ward Village Foundation.* Retrieved from http://www.wardvillagefoundation.org/

Wolfe, P. (2006). Settler colonialism and the elimination of the native. *Journal of Genocide Research*, 8(4), 387–409. http://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240

Wood, Houston. 1999. *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai'i*. KDenn edition. Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Zukin, S. (2011). Reconstructing the authenticity of place. *Theory and Society*, *40*(2), 161–165. http://doi.org/10.1007/s1118601091331

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

Glossary

Source: "Nā Puke Wehewehe ‘Ōlelo Hawai’i” Kuleana kope © 2003, retrieved 1/11/16 from http://wehewehe.org.

ahupua’a – Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (pua‘a), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as tax to the chief.

ali’i – Chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch, peer, headman, noble, aristocrat, king, queen, commander.

ali’i nui – The highest chiefs.

‘auwai -- Canal, stream.

‘ewa – Place name west of Honolulu, used as a direction term.

haole – White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin, as plants, pigs, chickens.

hapa – A person of mixed blood; part Hawaiian.

heiau – PreChristian place of worship, shrine; some heiau were elaborately constructed stone platforms, others simple earth terraces. Many are preserved today.

hui – Club, association, society, corporation, company, institution, organization, band, league, firm, joint ownership, partnership, union, alliance, troupe, team.

‘ili – Land section, next in importance to ahupua‘a and usually a subdivision of an ahupua‘a.

kanaka – Human being, man, person, individual, party, mankind, population; subject, as of a chief; laborer, servant, helper; private individual or party, as distinguished from the government.

kanaka maoli – Fullblooded Hawaiian person.

kou – Old name for Honolulu harbor and vicinity.

kuleana – Right, privilege, concern, responsibility, title, business, property, estate, portion, jurisdiction, authority, liability, interest, claim, ownership, tenure, affair, province; reason, cause, function, justification; small piece of property, as within an ahupua‘a.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com

limu – A general name for all kinds of plants living under water, both fresh and salt.

lo'i – Irrigated terrace, especially for taro, but also for rice; paddy.

māhele – Division, piece, portion, department, category, part, land division; to divide, apportion.

maka'āinana – Commoner, populace, people in general; citizen, subject.

makai – On the seaside, toward the sea, in the direction of the sea.

malihini – Stranger, foreigner, newcomer, tourist, guest; one who is unfamiliar with a place or custom; from the mainland, nonlocal.

mauka – Inland, upland, towards the mountain, shoreward (if at sea); shore, uplands

mele – Song, anthem, or chant of any kind; poem, poetry; to sing, chant.

moku – Land division, district, section, forest, grove.

mo'olelo – Story, tale, myth, legend.

oli – Chant that was not danced to, especially with prolonged phrases chanted in one breath, often with a trill ('i'i) at the end of each phrase.

pau hana – Finished working; happy hour.

المنارة للاستشارات
www.manaraa.com