A PACIFIC ISLAND DIASPORA:

A CASE STUDY OF CHUUKESE WOMEN MIGRATION AND

ADAPTATION STRATEGIES IN URBAN HONOLULU

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family, who have given me unwavering support throughout the process. You are all so loving, I'm blessed to have been born to you, especially Dre and Maday. I'm also indebted to the unknown. In the void, as frightening as it is, some of the most amazing and inspiring things can be found.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

There is a long history in Oceania of communities voluntarily, and strategically migrating between islands. More recently the Compact of Free Association (COFA)[1], which allows for open migration between the COFA nations and the US, offers a unique lens into issues around movement and the concept of displacement, relocation and adaptation to a new place. Understanding the dynamics around the COFA migrants can inform future migrations.

The world is currently witnessing the highest levels of human displacement on record. Local governments are at the forefront of the response to migration, providing essential services and developing innovative solutions to complex and rapidly changing circumstances. This is particularly salient as islands in Oceania are already being impacted by climate change and will be among the most vulnerable to its continuing effects. The challenges this presents to policies around migration are evident and the United States should prepare for greater numbers of Pacific Island migrants (Barnett, 2003).

This case study allows for an exploration of the complexities of migration for both the sending and receiving communities as well as the outcomes for the migrants themselves. Topics covered include the politics of reception between the settler and host communities, Federal and State policies, organizations that are involved in the migrant's resettlement, as well as more specific cultural aspects.

This research reflects on the situation for COFA migrants in their receiving community through the analysis of media, community planning efforts and in-depth interviews with experts and the migrants themselves. Important questions are raised about citizenship, the meaning of land and space, and how a more informed and inclusive approach to migration might result in more equitable, prosperous outcomes for receiving communities as a whole.

To avoid forced migration in the future, international polices between countries (similar to the Compact) will need to be negotiated. These policies will allow for migrants to be more empowered about their movement and resettlement options.

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[1] Compact of Free Association, Micronesia, Chuuk and other geo-political and cultural delineations will be discussed at length later in this chapter.

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CHAPTER 1:

INTRODUCTION

This research sought to understand how migrants, specifically women from Chuuk adapt and are accommodated by relevant agencies, organizations and policies. This research may lead to a greater awareness of the experiences of Pacific Diaspora in communities receiving migrants, and improve efforts for building cohesive communities that support each other in the face of changing demographics that result from migration. This research is most salient in Oceania, where COFA migrants may be the best proxy for future immigration policies that address climate change and the migrations to come. There is a need for decision makers who create policies related to migrant's access to services to have a better understanding about how the movement impacts migrants and the communities that they choose to resettle in.

The 2010 census data indicates that the Chuukese population in Hawai'i increased from 700 in 2000 to 4,000 in 2010.[2] While the population is numerically small, it represents the changing racial and ethnic diversity and is indicative of larger population trends.

To understand how migrants are currently planned for and also experience their environments, I conducted interviews.[3] Interview respondents were divided into two groups. One was comprised of women whom are part of the Chuukese diaspora and who have migrated to Hawai'i and reside in the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood, and the other was comprised of actors who worked for local community-based organizations, nonprofits, religious institutions, or those who were employed by relevant institutions.

I chose this approach over comparative studies to allow for a deeper exploration and more detailed information about the migrants and the places they resettle. The findings from the inquiry have limitations because the research is only looking at one population of women in the

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[2] These numbers are from the Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islander Population report published by the Bureau of Census (Hixson, Hepler, Kim, & United States. Bureau of the Census, 2012).

[3] I had planned on conducting 35 interviews after considering the qualitative methods of other dissertations whose inquiry centered on process for community making and migration. However I continued the interview process until theoretical saturation was reached (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 192)

Chuukese diaspora who are located in an urban setting. To increase the construct validity of this study, multiple sources of evidence were sought, and drafts of the data, along with the findings have been reviewed by key informants (Yin, 2014).

This research utilized a case study approach to understand the situation in which Chuukese migrants, under COFA move to Hawai'i, how they are received when they arrive, the significance of their presence in land use planning processes and the strategies they use to make a home in a new place. Through this understanding, and a greater awareness of the issues migrants face when they cannot necessarily "go home", receiving countries should be better equipped to engage and make more mutually beneficial arrangements for migrants. In the face of increasing sea-level rise, and given the migrants important cultural connection to Micronesian's homeland, climate change has pushed the urgency to better understand and accommodate migrants to the forefront of policy decisions and local governance.
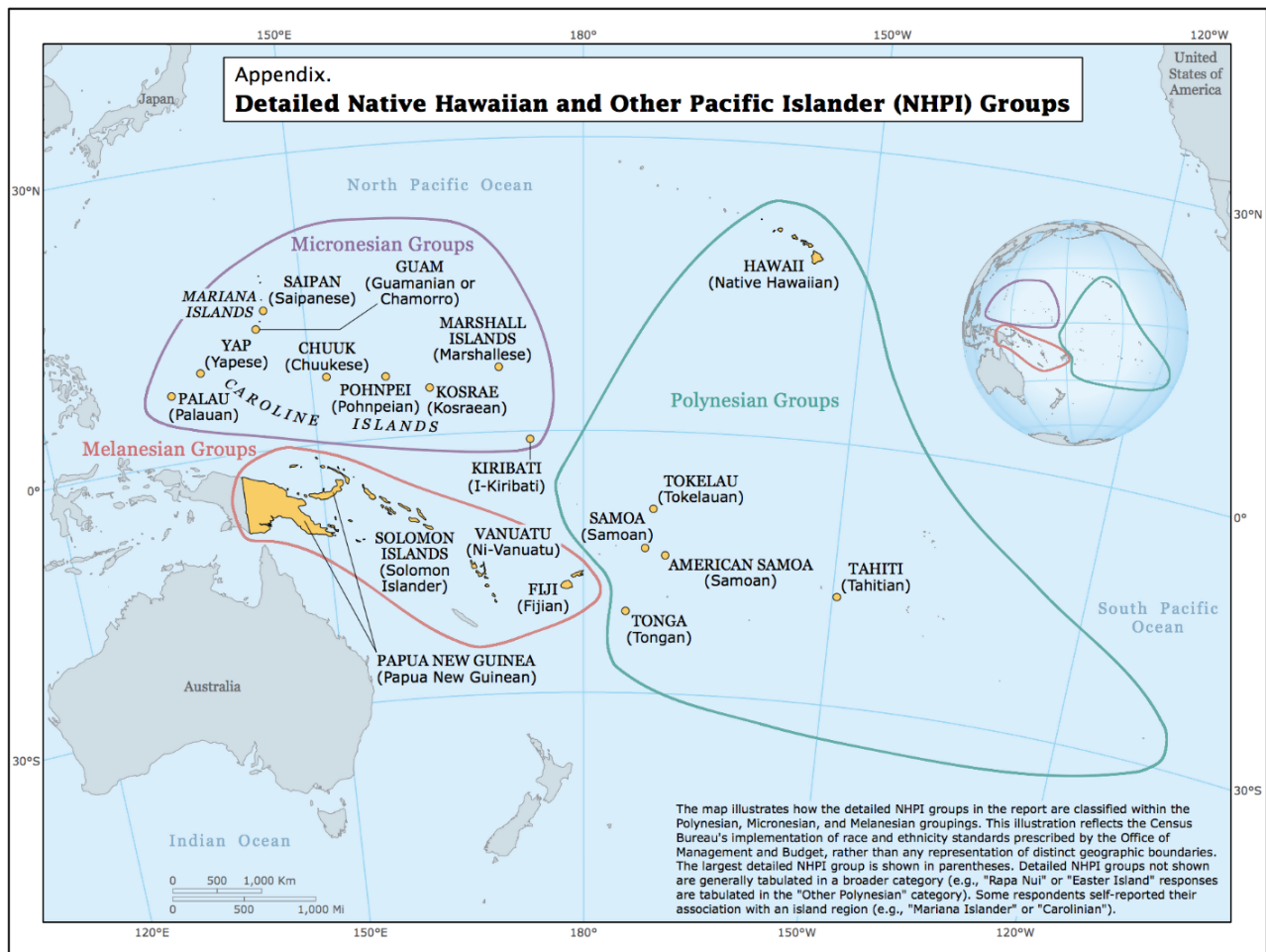
Figure 1. Map of Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

Rapoport (1977) suggested that for research about place-making to be "fruitful for planning and policy analysis, the conceptualization of activity systems, though requiring a sensitivity to the micro level world of the individual person, must be designed primarily around life ways… at the level at which political constituencies or publics form and assert themselves" (Rapoport, 1977, p. 21). Essentially, dismantling of the social phenomena must occur at a detailed level, and then be reconstructed at the highest levels of abstraction to approach some form of understanding the complicated whole.

The social and environmental situation for migrants in Hawai'i is studied using multiple layers of data. The most significant layer of data are the voices of the migrant Chuukese women who speak to the experience of migration, diaspora, the departure from home and the place-making that goes on in their new home, often without realistic access to land ownership. Aside from this data, I have analyzed how "Micronesians" are treated in the local media, to what extent these new migrants are included and planned for in local governance and land-use, and how organizations and agencies accommodate them. This introduction will give a brief history of migration for Micronesians and COFA, and the neighborhood of Kalihi, which is home to a high density of Micronesian migrants. I also discuss some of the larger trends around the issue of migration in Oceania generally, and Hawai'i specifically.

This research should contribute to the ways in which resilience, in relation to migration and climate change in the Pacific, is conceptualized and understood. It may also help clarify theories concerned with the right to the city, and how place making is undertaken by migrants in urban centers and where planners might improve their practices to be more inclusive.

Overview of the Chapters

Chapter 1 provides general information on the situation of Pacific Island diaspora on O'ahu. A foundation of who the migrants are, why they migrate and the challenges they face will be provided.

Chapter 2 utilizes newspaper articles to concretely explore the portrayal of Micronesians in the receiving community of O'ahu. This data helps us see how ideologies about race and the rights of migrants are influenced by newspaper reporting. These articles were published in the

local paper (the Honolulu Star-Advertiser) between the years 2010-2015. The article dataset was based on the search criteria keywords "Micronesia," "Micronesian," or "COFA." This analysis reveals representations in the media and the most common issues the media has associated with the terms "Micronesia," "Micronesian," or "COFA."

Chapter 3 moves into land use planning. Planning documents were chosen from Kalihi-Palama as it has traditionally been a community in which immigrants first settle when they move to the islands, and currently has the highest population of Micronesian migrants in Hawaiʻi. These documents explain the current spatial backdrop for the place and people that make up the Kalihi-Palama community. I theorized that these planning documents would further explicate how land use contributes to the contestation of Pacific Island diaspora space and place in Hawaiʻi. A close reading of how spaces are officially created is appropriate for understanding how participatory and inclusive the official planning processes in Hawaiʻi are. The documents were published by the Planning Department of the City and County of Honolulu. Data for the study consists of neighborhood board meeting minutes that were created from the years 2011-2015, which is the same time frame as the newspaper analysis for Ch. 2. Through a multimodal approach, analysis of texts and images was conducted to see how Kalihi-Palama has been officially storied[4], and to look at the grassroots neighborhood-level planning process. These data were analyzed for information regarding who participates in this forum of place-making and governance, how space is used in the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood, where conflicts arise, and how the larger themes identified in the newspaper analysis play out at the land-use planning and neighborhood levels.

In Chapter 4, the data utilized are in-depth interviews with migrant Chuukese women. Each interview is coded for themes and dominant ideas. Some of the specific topics were education, employment, expense of living in Hawaiʻi, housing, and healthcare.

Chapter 5 analyzes the structured interviews which were conducted with organizations and agencies that work with migrants in the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood. Collectively, these interviews give detailed information on how service providers and advocates interact with migrants and understand the struggles that migrants face.

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[4] Represented in official government documents or record or plans.

Lastly, Chapter 6 brings the various layers of data together to conclude how place making is happening in the complex receiving community of Hawaiʻi. In this case, each layer of data has dissected an aspect of the situation of Pacific Island diaspora. This chapter reassembles the social phenomena and data that has been collected at very detailed levels, and reconstructs them to the for a more comprehensive understanding of the complicated whole. In conclusion, this chapter situates the current migrant experience in light of climate change and increased movement in the Pacific. It suggests tools and processes for migrants and the receiving communities to create more just and socially inclusive places in the multiplicity of urban social worlds.

Climate Change and Adaptation in the Pacific

The situation of migration for Micronesian migrants can be considered a foreshadowing of what the situation may look like for migrations from small island nations whose fundamental ability to exist in their homeland is no longer viable due to climate change. The parallels between COFA migrants and climate change are robust with opportunities to learn about legal and logistical issues for migrants of the future.

During the interviews for this research, and during my travels in the South Pacific over the past three years the impacts of climate change are visible, and often discussed. Coastal erosion and inundation during high water events and storms is one of the most apparent effects. Islanders also notice the implications on their reef ecosystems as many of their livelihoods depend on fishing and collecting resources there. Another obvious shift is the loss of farmable land due to salt water intrusion. This change was noted especially by those who live on atolls where the water tables are already very low. In the worst cases, freshwater drinking supplies were noted to be salty after big storm surges or very high tides.

Currently climate change does not rank as a top motivation for movement from smaller islands to higher ground. But in Oceania there are specific indicators we can look towards that tell of quickly approaching environmental shifts that will most likely increase human movement in this region. The science of climate change and a better understanding of migration can be leveraged to better equip receiving communities for greater human mobility in the Pacific.

One of the most telling indicators for climate change is the global mean sea level (GMSL). Since the 1990s it has been rising at a rate of about 3.3 mm (0.13 in) per year. Sea level has also been rising across Oceania, from as low as 1.1 mm (0.043 in) per year at the Honolulu

tide gauge to as high as 5.4 mm (0.21 in) per year at the Kwajalein tide gauge over the last 30 years (Marra & Kruk, 2017). Figure 2 shows where the localized data for Oceania came from, as these tide gauges are spread across 5 nations.
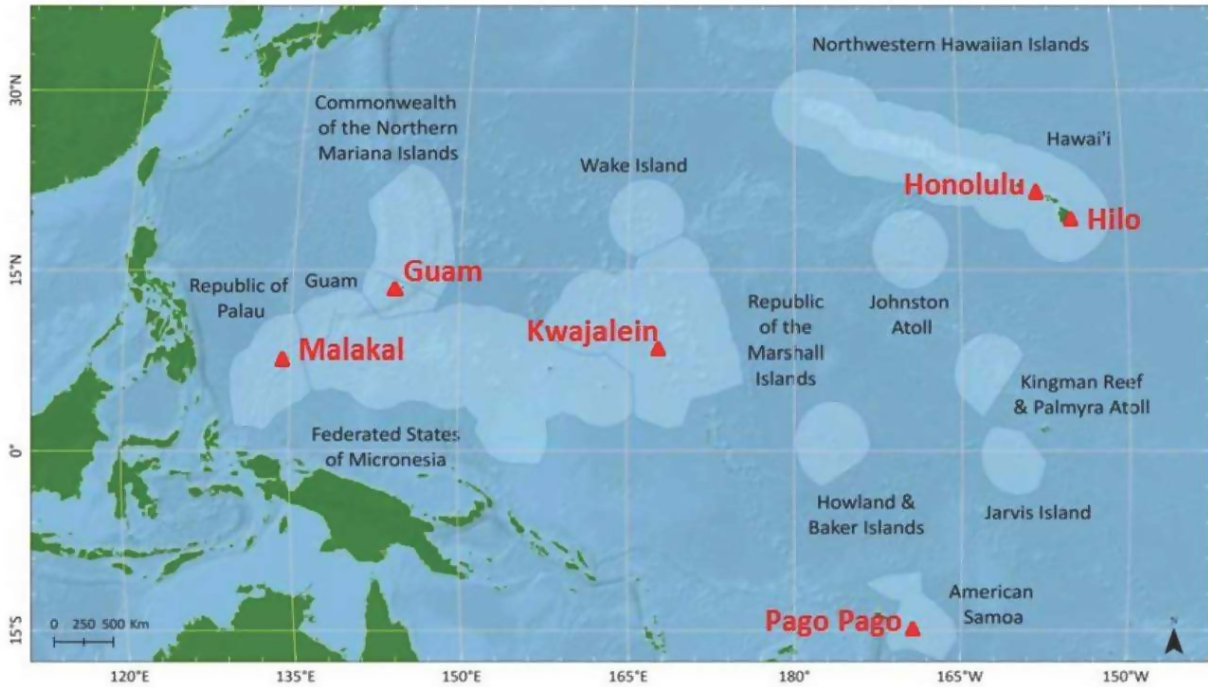
Figure 2. Map of tide gauges. From (Lindsey, 2006).

Figure 3 below shows below the most modest and conservative projections for sea level rise. Despite the conservative nature of the projections, they still suggest global warming will raise global sea level significantly over the course of this century. However, models with higher projections of GMSL predict a rise in 30 years that is almost double the current. And in the highest projections a 2 meter (6.6 feet) rise in GMSL is possible (Marra & Kruk, 2017). These rises, while alarming, are very much emblematic of the challenges Oceania faces, and are only one metric to understanding climate change impacts in the region.
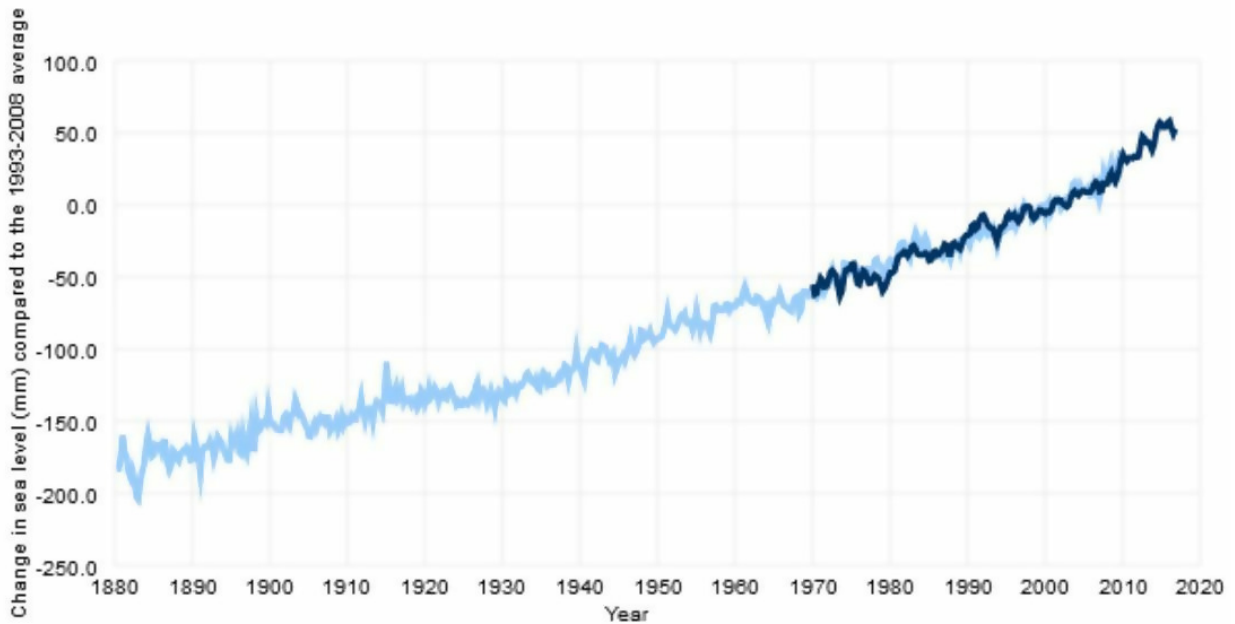
Figure 3. Global Mean Sea Level since 1880. The light blue line shows seasonal (3-month) sea level estimates from (Church & White, 2011). The darker line is from UH sea level data (Lindsey, 2006).

Another important indicator is the sea surface temperature (SST). Globally it has increased by about 1.0°C (1.8°F) during the past century (Marra & Kruk, 2017). The most telling part about this temperature change is that half of it has occurred during the past 30 years. In Oceania, especially along the equator, temperatures have been warmer than the average over the last 30 years. The quickening pace of change can be seen in these trends and very likely to continue.

Though these numerically small temperature changes may seem benign, all subtropical gyres have shown low chlorophyll concentrations which means they have low biological productivity (Feng, McPhaden, & Lee, 2010). This is an important indicator for marine ecosystems overall. Variations in temperature influence effect all aspects of species life spans and reproductive outcomes. SST also impacts sensitive ecosystems such as coral reefs (NOAA, 2018). The trickle-down effects of changing climate and altered ecosystems eventually impacts livelihoods for people in these regions. Reef bleaching (see Figure 4), for example can decimate fish populations, making substance lifestyles difficult, if not impossible to continue.

Figure 4. Reef bleaching in American Samoa. This is an effect of changes in temperature, light, or nutrients.

Collectively, these changes in the magnitude of particular indicators may be small, however over the long term they result in impactful changes in agriculture, fisheries, erosion, and ultimately the livability of an island.

In addition to these incremental changes and the slow-moving disaster of micro-measurements, there is an increased frequency of major weather events impacting communities in Oceania. In Kwajalein, for example, high water events that occurred less than once a year on average in the 1960s occurred 22 times a year on average during the decade staring in 2005 (Marra & Kruk, 2017). There have also been droughts in FSM, curbing agricultural productivity and creating food shortages.

The environmental factors mentioned above are meant to establish that there is robust data on climactic changes happening in the Pacific and that the data is indicative of what the future holds for human populations living in the region. The immediate impact on humans and the eventual pressures on human movement are not as easy to detect or directly identify. The physical changes are already considerable and discussed by many migrants, but decisions around migration are multi-causal. The narrative is more complex than climate change forces migration.

This research seeks to explore the complex policies and decisions made around migration as related to environmental changes as sweeping as climate change and is not focused on explaining in depth the science behind the environmental shifts. There is a massive amount of research on the environmental changes that will impact island communities in the Pacific.

However, much of the existing research on climate change and migration in the Pacific looks at specific geographies', usually of the location experiencing the impacts of climate change, for instance in the Carteret Islands or the Maldives. This research will contribute by considering the impacts in the receiving country and community.

Politically, it is interesting as previous research shows that fundamentally, Pacific Islanders do not want to be portrayed as refugees. While the term "environmental refugees"[5] has been used in global discussions, and sometimes to describe migrants in Oceania, it is not representative of their status. The term removes any agentive characteristics from the islanders. Usually people referred to as refugees have experienced some type of environmental or political disaster that has had a dramatic impact and created forced migration. This element of forced migration associated with refugee status is problematic and considered undesirable. Unlike the experience for the Carteret Islands, this research locates migration as an agentive choice for those who move in Oceania. As one author observes, "for centuries atoll islanders have diversified livelihoods by migration. Islanders themselves and colonial and post-colonial authorities recognized migration and resettlement elsewhere as a means of alleviating poverty and food insecurity, and formal resettlement schemes were sometimes put in place." (Connell, 2018)

Despite migration being considered as a choice, any island nation government will explain, it is not their first choice for a population. People do not want to leave their homes. Part of the explanation lies in that customary land is inseparable from those who care for it. In Oceania, people's very identity, their ancestral connection, their livelihood and their community is founded in their land. As Josie Howard, Program Director for We are Oceania told me while discussing climate change "I am concerned all the time about how it affects us, and what will happen in the future…our culture is in the land."

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[5] This term is widely used to describe climate mobility, but the characterization of 'refugees' often discounts long histories of ordinary mobility among affected populations especially in Oceania (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012).

Previous Research of Pacific Island Diaspora

Dr Robert Kiste (1977) was an anthropologist who researched the forced relocation of the people of the Bikini (Pikinni) atolls, before movement was seen in an agentive[6] light. Despite the seemingly bleak situation, he concluded that "relocation was just another set of circumstances, albeit unique and extraordinary, that could be employed in the pursuit of traditional ends" for the migrants (Kiste, 1977, p. 116). This is an interesting case of diaspora, because while they have a homeland, it is not one that they can ever return to due to the radioactive soil and other impacts from the nuclear testing.

Lieber (1977) explored the intersection of migration and colonial powers, also discussing how the maintenance of ethnic identity is effected by the absence of land rights for resettled people. His research considered the role of the church in resettlement and interethnic interactions. There was also discussion of terminology associated with moving. 'Resettlement' refers to a process by which a number of culturally homogeneous people from one locale come to live together in a different locale, within this category, there are two types of communities, those whose destinations and movement has been determined by them 'migration', and those whose destinations and movements have been decided by an outside agency 'relocation' (Liebner, 1977, p. 342).

Asang (2000) described the sociocultural processes that influence the success of Palauan migrants in Hawai'i. The research was instigated because the Palau National Committee on Population and Children made a policy recommendation that 150-200 Palauans should be brought home annually from Guan, Saipan, Hawai'i and the continental US. The author believed that unless motivations of Palauan's were understood, this policy would not work. So in response the author talks to 17 Palauans in Hawai'i about their omerolek (my trip) and weaves his own narrative with that of his interviewees. His findings suggest that "for the most part, Palauan migrants in Hawai'i succeed in establishing themselves because of friends, families and personal wealth" (Asang, 2000, p. 378).

Falgout (2012) focused on the struggles Pohnpeians face in maintaining positive identities while resettling in a place (Hawai'i) that is not welcoming to Micronesian migrants.

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[6] Contemporary research in Oceanic studies sees human movement as a choice that empowers those moving, rather than always a forced outcome, affected from the outside.

Using qualitative methods, Falgout assessed the sentiments in the receiving community and conducted interviews to understand how Pohnpeians were adapting.

Falgout (Robie, 1989, p. 142) highlighted the challenges of being "Micronesian" in Hawai'i and traces the stereotype back to an article that ran in the Honolulu Weekly in 2002 titled "Invisible Malihini" (invisible newcomer). Falgout pointed out that "much of the local understating about Micronesians comes from media coverage" (2012, p. 193). Among the negative media associated with Micronesians, she found topics ranged from head lice in school children, to rape and murder. The majority of information about Micronesians in the media were spreading stereotypes about violence, personal hygiene, and disease. Disturbingly, the Honolulu City Council couldn't leave the mudslinging to the papers and in 2010 they proposed a bill that would jail or fine 'smelly' riders. The author says that people suspected the bill was targeted at Micronesians. It is not clear in her article how the analysis was completed, but her interest in receiving social politics is clearly relevant to understanding the politics of reception.

Morton (1998) researched the production of cultural identity of diasporic Tongans, especially youth in the church setting. The author uses mixed methods and looks at the processes of identity creation on a micro-level. The paper reminds us that construction involves multiples places, histories and social dimensions that 'produce' identity, which is not fixed, but always in flux. Morton explained the incongruence in the experience of migration and maintenance of one's identity (and presumably culture):

> the subjective experience of identity, both personal and cultural, is challenged by confrontation with a different culture. Often the very fact of embodiment, particularly in relation to physical appearance can become a source of confusion and anxiety about identity: the historical continuity of the subject is challenged by the discontinuities of space, culture, climate and so on, experience through migration. (p. 6)

Rynkiewich (2012) pushed the concept home that diaspora studies are new, but the communities they research are not. He offered insight into how Pacific Island diasporas are different, and contribute to the field of study in unique ways.

Anthropologists tend to assume that identity is linked to place, especially in the Pacific (Kuchling, 2012). The practice of "emplacement" is significant in the construction of identity….and a variety of practices and rituals may serve to transform the new place: gardening, house building, dress, cooking, producing crafts, and the activities of singing, dancing, and other

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types of performance. All of these may transform space, beginning with the air itself, which can be transformed by scents, sound, and movement (Kuchling, 2012).

Rauchholz (2012) researched Chuukese customary adoption practices and found that "people (attempt to) continue a cultural practice with the mindset of traditional adoption, whereas the physical setting and the legal economic social and political parameters within which adoption was formerly embedded and practiced have changed dramatically" (p. 123). This conclusion could be meaningful in the assessment of so many adaptations that diasporic communities undergo. The author also speaks to the communal and relational patterns "that place the highest value on communal rather than individual rights," and where "the needs of the individual… often may be perceived as contradicting, even endangering, the health of the community, and particularly the community's cohesion, the very life blood of the Chuukese society" (Rauchholz, 2012, p. 133).

Research surrounding the topic of space and spatial cognition has been highly instructive in considering the cultural consumption and production of place. Planning tends to have western dominated perceptions and language around space and place. Anthropologist share a similar "colonized" perspective of space. Shore (2012) examined the difference between allocentric (birds eye, observer looking down view) and egocentric (perspective of a person moving on the ground). Preferences for these different perspectives are often latent, and need to be made visible. Shore expands on these two perspectives and suggests a multitude of conceptualizations of space. Importantly, stepping out of one's own conceptualization of space can open opportunities to understand other's perspectives. Within the research on space studies, one might consider:

> The relationship between linguistic representation of space and spatial cognition, both culturally bound and potentially universal cognitive implication for navigational techniques; nonverbal embodied cognition; and the role of spatial perception in strategies for environmental or cultural preservation. This research will be focusing on the spatial perception in strategies for environmental and cultural reservation. In order to accomplish this focus, general spatial cognition is needed to understand the "intimate experiences of real people. (Shore, 2012)

Carucci's research is interesting in light of spatial cognition and planning concepts. He is an anthropologist who has been working with the Marshallese community, both at home and in their diasporic iterations since the 1970's. This particular research was carried out in the Marshall

Islands and on Hawaiʻi Island with people from the Marshallese atolls of Enewetak. At the center of his inquiry is the problem of ethnic and racial stereotyping and the challenges created for the Marshallese community in Hawaiʻi.

Many Marshallese have purchased property and have adapted their environments after their own desires. Carucci's describes the Enewetak custom of individual and family identity being grounded in relationships with the land. In the Marshall Islands, this connection was inalienable. In Hawaiʻi however, because of the way the migrants are treated, there is a constant fear that that they might be forced from the land. The issue of land, heritage, and ancestors makes migration a more complex topic. Land is much more to people than a monetary asset, land connections permeate family ties, and offer, as is the case for the Marshallese on Hawaiʻi Island, a refuge.

Marshallese diaspora live in a more rural area (and not a city), their location was decided on because of the social climate towards them in the urban center of Kona. The author notes that local people on Hawaiʻi Island have enlisted law enforcement, planning offices and department of health in an attempt to force Marshallese into conforming to Hawaiian-American ways of being (Carucci, 2012, p. 207). While Carucci constructs this as an identity issue, it can also be perceived as a land use conflict as explained below.

Carucci spoke informally with a planning consultant. The consultant told him about a meeting held in 2006 that addressed the issue of excessive storage of old vehicles. The police had warned only Marshallese landowners about the issue despite the fact that other parcels owned by Caucasians and Hawaiians often had more cars (one parcel having as many as forty-four junk cars) (Carucci, 2012). Carucci also did an informal survey of land use in the area of Ocean View noting that Marshallese landowner use of their property was not outside the norm or what he observed on other parcels (like old car storage). The politics of place are constructed at the local level because the relevant policy instruments, such as zoning are there, thus the contestations in this area can be insightful (Friedmann, 2011, p. 78).

While this may seem like an insignificant land use issue, it is a kaleidoscope into the larger realm of diasporic communities in Hawaiʻi. Clearly the Marshallese have been driven to physically retreat from interacting with the receiving community on Hawaiʻi Island. Carucci documents the insecurity created in the Marshallese diaspora, and how being constructed as the "Other" had deeply affected them. Carucci says that it is analogous to how "Honolulu residents have now

fashioned Marshallese into the newest "most hated" group of Pacific others" (Carucci, 2012, p. 227) and recalls his friend who works at Kapiolani Park telling him that they are scorned by other park users. Carucci's research was insightful in the parameters that could be used in my own fieldwork in Kalihi.

Background Information

This section explores the geographical, cultural and historical aspects of Micronesia and its people. Looking at how migration has historically happend, the influence of policies like COFA are concidered. This is done through the lens of outcomes in the reciving community of Hawai'i.

Micronesia

While many are familiar with this term, it is problematic because of its colonial roots and the way it is often used in Hawai'i, requiring some attention before moving on. The term Micronesia was created by a French scholar in 1831 (Meller & Meller, 1969). The initial use of the term "Micronesia," loosely referred to the islands and atolls of the western Pacific region. The region has an estimated 105,000 people living there, who are scattered on 65 of the nation's 607 islands (Paul, 2019).

This term "Micronesia" despite its lack of specificity, or logical delineation of place continued to be used by explorers, missionaries, scientist and officials (Hanlon, 1989). While the term remains problematic, after World War II it was used by political leaders in Micronesia that wanted to have a united front in the fight for independence. To represent the people of the region that had been named the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (TTPI), the term "Micronesia" was operationalized (Lyons & Tengan, 2015), generalizing people from many different nations under one category (see Figure 5). Some Micronesians continue to see the term as a useful identity in certain situations, similar to "Polynesians" or "Melanesians" but are quick to point out that the context in which it is used matters. Often in Hawai'i, the word "Micronesian" is a derogatory slur (by some people) that carries negative stereotypes that erase the rich diversity of the peoples and places of many independent nations that make up the geographical region known as Micronesia. For the reasons cited above, I will use the term "Micronesia," but not in all contexts, and not without the colonial inferences that it carries.
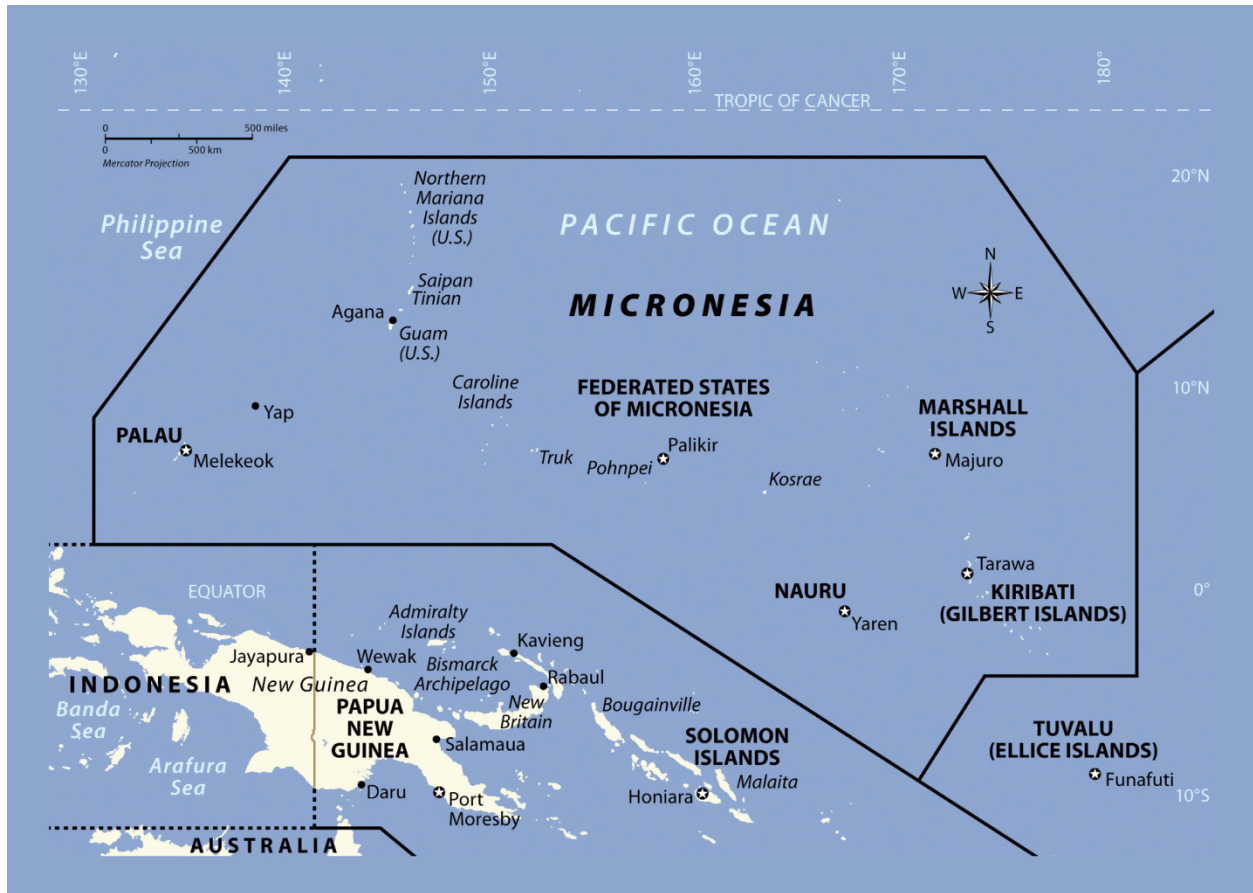
Figure 5. Map of Micronesia.

Similarly, it cannot be assumed that people from the geographical region of Micronesia identify with this "given" term. As stated above, there are other identifiers that are more specific, and often more meaningful, such as island nation, specific island and even clan. All of these associations are significant and layered identities that are sometimes used together, used individually in different situations or not identified with at all. Some of the research interviewees noted that they disliked being called Micronesian because people who use the term didn't know anything about Micronesia, and inferred it as an ethnic marker rather than a geo-political region. In my research with Pacific Islander diaspora I almost never used the word unless it was introduced into the conversation by my informant, and then I would use it in the same context they had used the term.

Political history of Micronesia and its colonizers. This region was called "Micronesia" and arguably even before, experienced exploitation under each colonial regime from the Spanish

to the Germans, then the Japanese and finally, the Americans. In 1947, under a United Nations Trusteeship Agreement, the US took over the administration of Micronesia.

Under the American administration and the United Nations Trusteeship agreement, Micronesia was a strategic military holding. Because of its proximity to Asia, and safe distance from the shores of America, the region was important to maintaining control of the Pacific. In addition during the post-WWII era, there was extensive nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands which led to fallout across Micronesia and as far as Australia and the United States. To say that Micronesia suffered the most egregiously inhumane treatment during this time is an understatement. Many documents from this era remain sealed. To understand how unprecedented the amount of testing was in Micronesia, consider the total yield of all nuclear tests conducted at the notorious Nevada Test Site was only one megaton and there was a total of 152 megatons detonated in Micronesia from 1946 to 1958 (Simon & Robison, 1997). Along with the testing, the US intentionally exposed islanders to nuclear experiments and studied the impact of radiation on the human body. In the Bikini Atolls, the nuclear fallout rained down, burning skin and contaminating the land, food, and water so completely that areas remain uninhabitable today.

Figure 6. Nuclear testing image of Operations Crossroads.

Many documents are classified about the testing that was conducted in Micronesia, including documents detailing the extent and direction of the fallout clouds (Kunkel, Ristvert

2013). Because of this, we cannot say with certainty but, the sheer amount of radiation released from the Pacific tests makes it highly probable that the islands of Micronesia to the west of the Marshall Islands also received radioactive fallout (Yamada & Akiyama, 2013). Testing was scaled back after 1962, but remains an activity of the US military in Micronesia today, mostly at the Ronald Reagan Ballistic Missile Defense Test Site on Kwajalein Atoll.

In *Blood on their Banner: Nationalist Struggles in the South Pacific*, David Robie, a journalist that specializes in Pacific Islands stated the following:

> the more than 2000 islands of Micronesia have played a vital role in modern strategic history. Japanese aircraft launched their attack on Pearl Harbor from Micronesia, plunging the United States into the Second World War. And it was from Tinian Island in western Micronesia that the Enola Gay took off with its deadly weapons for the attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki which ended the war and ushered in the nuclear age. The islands of Micronesia have been used by Washington ever since as pawns to enhance its strategic posture. (Robie, 1989, p. 142)

In all, between 1946 and 1958, the U.S. conducted 67 nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands resulting in environmental destruction and serious health effects that continue to plague the population (Compact of Free Association, 1982).

In addition to this testing, rather than promote the islands' self-sufficiency, the U.S. government deliberately nurtured economic dependency in the Trust Territory to capture control over this geographic region. The Solomon Committee recommended to destroy the local economy of Micronesia to create a welfare dependent state. To give government jobs and funding and then threaten to pull the support if Micronesia should want to be independent (Solomon, 1963). This political maneuvering by the U.S. tried to ensure the island nations would remain bound under American hegemony in perpetuity. The report from Solomon has been cited as a demonstration of America's strategic colonialism in the Pacific (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2011). Along with this economic arrangement, imports started to flow into Micronesia of canned meats, alcohol, sugar, trucks, and other consumer goods. Fundamentally, this changed everything in the Islands, from peoples health, to the local economy in Micronesia.

Given the military history, it is clear the relationship with Micronesia was strategically beneficial for the US. However, aside from the military presence, the TPPI was largely forgotten until a UN mission to the area uncovered deep failures on behalf of the US to deliver promised

resources and support. These deficiencies included a complete failure to make reparations for land taken for military purposes and war damages, poor living conditions at the American missile range, and lack of sufficient medical care (Ballendorf, 2002). The substandard living conditions, especially when considering all of the testing that had been carried out, became an embarrassment to the US government which in return doubled the appropriations for Micronesia from $6.8 million in 1962 to $15 million in 1963 (Ballendorf, 2002). The increase in funds built medical capacity, created a Western-style, English dominated education system and developed some basic infrastructure. For education, a significant portion of the funding was allocated for scholarships for Micronesian youth to attend American universities (Ballendorf, 2002). This policy had the unintended consequence of educating people for jobs that did not exist in Micronesia, which created underemployment in the islands, further motivating individuals to seek employment elsewhere.

The political status of the islands was discussed with the Nixon administration and it quickly became clear that the Northern Mariana Islands did not want to negotiate as part of the other TTPI and they eventually became a common wealth of the US. Further into the negotiations, the Carter administration recognized the right of Palau and the Marshall Islands to determine their future when they rejected the proposed Federated States of Micronesia Constitution on July 12, 1978 (Ballendorf, 2002). Despite the rejection by Palau and the Marshall Islands, the constitution was ratified in the four central districts of Yap, Pohnpei, Chuuk and Kosrae. These four districts represented the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), which was officially recognized as an independent country in 1986. The other Freely Associated States (FAS) that were created through constitutional conventions were the Republic of Palau (ROP), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI).

History of migration in Micronesia. The first people to arrive in the islands are thought to have come from Southeast Asia around 2000 years ago. There are many different accounts of this early history, but a general consensus agrees that the early settlers were voyagers on an epic scale. For these Oceanic people, colonizing new territories across vast distances was common, and mobility was a foundational aspect of their society.

While people may associate non-instrument wayfinding with Hawaiians and today the Hokulea, navigational skills, and the expertise craft of creating sailing vessels were prevalent

across Oceania. It was Mau Piailug, a navigator from the Carolinian island of Satawal, who mentored Nainoa Thompson and the rebirth of Polynesian navigation. Mau successfully navigated the first voyage of the Hokulea between Hawai'i and Tahiti in 1976. This inaugural trip proved that intentional two-way voyaging was possible and that it was the likely explanation of migration and settlement in Oceania.

Figure 7. The Hokulea underway, photo courtesy of OWI TV.

Movement in Oceania in more recent history has taken many forms and been practiced under varying circumstances. Liebner referred to 'Resettlement' as a process by which a number of culturally homogeneous people move from one region to another. Within this category, if movement has been determined by the group making the move, it is 'migration.' When those whose destinations and movements have been decided by an outside agency is referred to as 'relocation' (Lindsey, 2006). The people of the Bikini atolls were the first to experience resettlement through relocation in Micronesia under the TTPI. Atomic testing carried out by the US government exposed Bikinians and their islands to extremely high levels of cesium-137

(Yamada & Akiyama, 2013) rendering their "home" uninhabitable. This curated disaster forced the entire population to relocate repeatedly to other, non-toxic islands. This case blurs the line between forced and free will migration because many people pushed from the atoll are scattered from Kili, one of the original settlements to other Marshall Islands and the US. The original relocation also resulted in later migrations and further resettlements. Bikinians have suffered countless hardships during their repeated relocations and have serious health problems related to nuclear testing (Rynkiewich, 2012). This case of forced migration was predatory and almost entirely unprecedented. Though other targets have been destroyed through nuclear means and are still grappling with the long-term effects of atomic testing, none have been so during a time of peace, perpetrated by the protectorate.

Oceanic people continue to resettle into "new resource areas, securing employment and overseas family property, expanding kinship networks through which they circulate themselves, their relatives, their material goods and their stories" (Hauofa, 1993, p. 10). The size and scope of migration that was not possible before has been accelerating since the 1960s. The first migrants were welcomed to the US when, under the TTPI, the number of scholarships offered for Micronesians to attend universities in the US was increased (Knudsen, 1985). This encouraged young students to seek out higher education in the US. While the premise of higher education for all seems benign, "migration like relocation, is geared to the need of higher orders of the colonial system such as administrative agencies, commercial organizations and missions" (Liebner, 1977, p. 347). A secondary impact of this migration was that upon return to Micronesia, many new graduates were unable to find work in their fields, leading to unemployment, and often a circular migration back to the states where jobs they were qualified for were available (Chapman, 1981).

Compact of Free Association

The end of the TTPI was the beginning of the COFA. These agreements were between the US and the Freely Associates States (FAS) of the Republic of Palau (ROP), the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM), and the Republic of the Marshall Islands (RMI). The Compact allowed for the FSM to have a degree of autonomy as well as receive subsidies from the US. These agreements also make it possible for people from these island nations to migrate to the US (with non-immigrant status). The COFAs allow "free entry into the US without involvement of the Immigration and Naturalization Service;" thus, the term "migrant" is used instead of

"immigrant." Migrants are able to work, attend school and legally function, in many ways, as citizens of the US, including paying taxes. In exchange for this access and some economic and development support in the islands, the agreement gives the US exclusive military rights within the Compact areas.

COFA Military Provisions	COFA Economic Provisions
• U.S. armed forces may operate and control Compact areas significantly greater in size than the continental U.S. • U.S. can demand land for operating bases, subject to negotiation • Other nations' militaries are excluded from COFA areas • U.S. bears responsibility for COFA nations' security • U.S. administers all international defense treaties and affairs, except declaring war • Nuclear, chemical or biological weapons are allowed (except in Palau, where they are only allowed in an emergency)	• Assistance in the form of grants in 6 sectors, education, health care, infrastructure, public sector capacity building, private sector development and environment. • Contributions by the United States to trust funds for each government. • Since 2003, impact funds to A. Samoa, Guam, Hawai'i and the Northern Mariana Islands • Technical assistance from U.S. Office of Insular Affairs • U.S. Federal Emergency Management Agency provides disaster response and recovery as well as hazard mitigation. • U.S. provides weather, postal and aviation and communication services. • Duty-free imports • COFA citizens may live and work in the U.S. and vice versa • Congress revoked Medicaid benefits for COFA residents in the U.S. in 1996 (other resident aliens are eligible after a 5-year waiting period)

Figure 8. The "costs" and "benefits" of COFA.

It is a common misconception that migrants from the FAS are eligible for all federal benefits. While this was once largely true, it is no longer the case. Prior to 1996, FAS citizens in the US were able to secure federal assistance because they were classified as "permanently

residing under the color of law" (PRUCOL). This eligibility standard has historically provided benefits to certain foreign nationals that the government knows are in the US, yet has no plans to disrupt their residency or deport them (Wasem, 2014). During the Clinton administration, comprehensive limitations on the eligibility of all noncitizens effectively ended access to federal benefits for those who had previously received them under PRUCOL. It was 1996, and the act was the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) which eliminated the access of COFA migrants to most federal benefit programs (see Table 1), including Medicaid and food stamps.

Table 1.

Eligibility Status of Compact Migrants for Selected Federal Benefit

Program	Federal Eligibility Status
Social Security Old Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance	Eligible
Social Security Supplemental Security Insurance (SSI)	Generally Eligible
Medicaid	Generally Eligible
Emergency Medicaid	Eligible
Medicare	Eligible
Children's Health Insurance Policy (CHIP)	Generally Eligible
Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)	Ineligible
Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP)	Ineligible
School Lunch Programs	Eligible
Section 8 Housing Federal Rent Subsidies for Eligible Families	Eligible

Note. From *Compacts of Free Association: Issues Associated with Implementation in Palau, Micronesia and the Marshall Islands*, by Government Accountability Office, 2016. Reprinted with permission.

Initially, Hawai'i chose to open Med-QUEST, Hawai'i's Medicaid program to COFA migrants but in an attempt to cut back the state budget, Governor Linda Lingle reassigned Micronesians to a new health plan. From July to December of 2010, COFA migrants experienced

substandard care under the insurance plan called Basic Health Hawai'i (Yamada & Akiyama, 2013). The Micronesian community 'retained lawyers and collaborated with experts in the legal field to see their rights to medical care returned. When the case went to court, the judge decided in favor of the COFA migrants. Then, Governor Abercrombie appealed to the Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. At this time an *amicus curiae* brief was filed in the Ninth Circuit supporting the Micronesian Community. It reframed the issue as one of redress for the harm caused by the US and directly linked to the health complications experienced by COFA residents to the actions carried out by the US government. Further, it argued that the US bore a moral and legal responsibility to help repair the damage that had been done (Serrano, 2014). Despite these efforts, the Ninth Circuit decided in favor of the state, meaning that if Hawai'i chose to discriminate against Micronesians, they were legally entitled to do so. The judge found that it was not in violation of the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment of the US Constitution.

To this day, heath care, which is a fundamental right, remains a challenge for COFA migrants. Since most COFA migrants are statutorily excluded from Medicaid, subsidies are available for Obama care, however the plans remain too expensive for many. Figure 9 shows the complicated nature of healthcare in Hawai'i for COFA migrants (Appel et al., 2017).
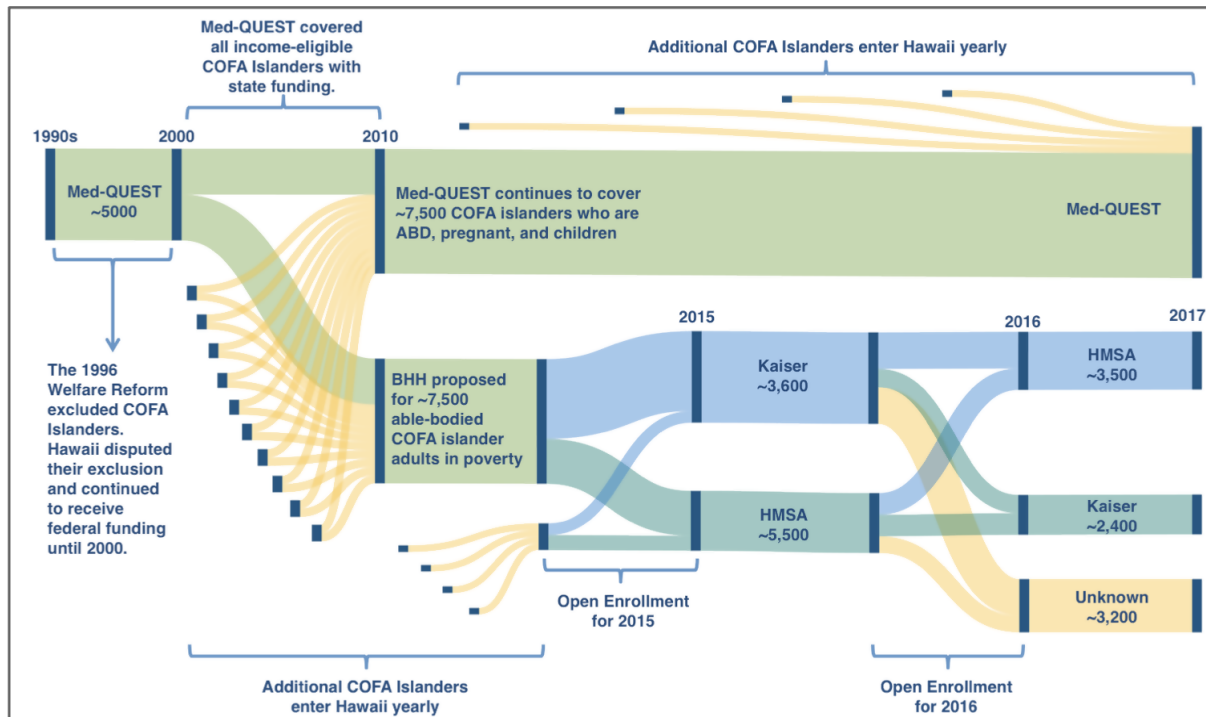
Figure 9. Flow of COFA islander population between insurance coverage categories. Population estimates are based on a combination of GAO reports and interviews with the Med-QUEST director, HMSA staff, and Kaiser staff (Appel et al., 2017)

There are also many cultural, linguistic and administrative barriers to access for healthcare. The situation continues to evolve, and congressional efforts are still seeking to reinstate COFA eligibility for Medicaid. However, the availability of healthcare is so lacking in Micronesia, with only basic diagnostic and treatment services available, many people still migrate to Hawaiʻi seeking out the healthcare that is available, despite the difficulties.

COFA impact. This often cited, negatively associated term refers to the economic drag Micronesians have in Hawaiʻi yet has only loosely been accounted for. It is repeated in the media, and in conversations. The term seems to be universally accepted, however there is no concrete definition. The Government Accountability Office (GAO) stated that in Guam, Hawaiʻi, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (areas Congress has deemed affected jurisdictions) compact migrants increased from about 21,000 in 2003 to about 35,000 in 2013 (Government Accountability Office, 2016). There was approximately $409 million allocated to affected jurisdictions to aid in defraying costs, such as for education and health services, attributable to compact migrants. In contrast, affected jurisdictions estimated costs of $2.1 billion

for these services in 2003 through 2014. However, GAO has noted that these estimates have limitations related to accuracy, documentation, and comprehensiveness (Government Accountability Office, 2016). There is $30 million annually allotted and Congress had directed the Interior to divide the $30 million compact impact grants among the affected jurisdictions in proportion to the most recent enumeration of those compact migrants residing in each jurisdiction (Government Accountability Office, 2016). To that end, the federal government gives Hawai'i $11 million a year and Guam $16 million a year in what's known as "Compact-Impact Aid." Although Micronesians are relocating to communities throughout the mainland — in some places by the thousands — no other states are recipients of Compact impact money.

Despite this infusion of aid, political leaders in Hawai'i and Guam say the amount is not enough. The Department of Human Services in Hawai'i claims that COFA cost the state $163 million in 2014 for social services, education and health care (Blair, 2015b).

Number of migrants

25,000

20,000

15,000

10,000

5,000

0

18,305

17,170

14,700

12,215

9,831

7,297

6,550

5,509

5,160

3,570

1,755

2,100

2,660

751

1993ᵃ 1998ᵇ 2003ᶜ 2008ᵈ 2013ᵉ

Year of enumeration

- Guam
- Hawaii
- CNMI
- 90 percent confidence interval
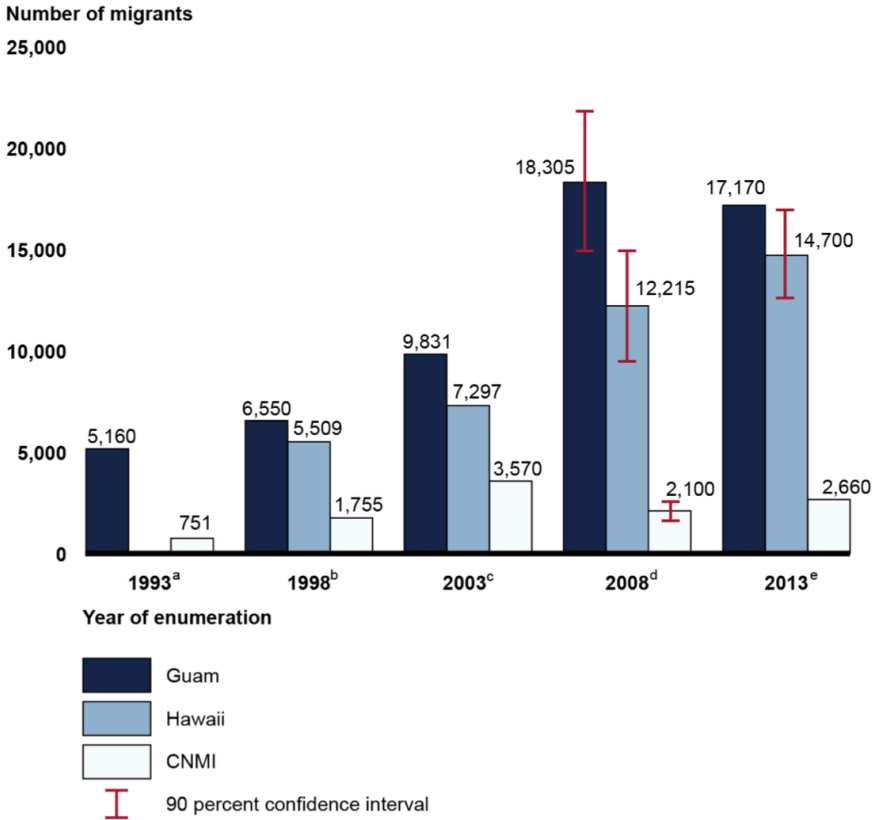
Figure 10. Compact migrant population estimated by 1993-2013 Census enumerations in Guam, Hawai'i and the Commonwealth of the Norther Mariana Islands (CNMI) (GAO, 2013)

Table 2.

Compact Impact Grants to Guam, Hawai'i, and CNMI, Fiscal Years 2004-2016

Dollars in millions

	Guam	Hawaii	CNMI	Total
Grants authorized and appropriated by amended compacts' enabling legislation	$199.5	$145.0	$45.2	$389.8
Additional grants, as authorized by amended compacts' enabling legislation	$10.3	$7.4	$1.3	$19.0
Total	**$209.8**	**$152.4**	**$46.5**	**$408.7**

Source: GAO analysis of data from the U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Insular Affairs. | GAO-16-550T

Legend: CNMI = Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands

Note: Numbers in columns may not sum to totals because of rounding.

Note. From *Compacts of Free Association: Issues Associated with Implementation in Palau, Micronesia and the Marshall Islands*, by Government Accountability Office, 2016. Reprinted with permission.

GAO found that the three affected jurisdictions' cost estimates contained a number of limitations with regard to accuracy, adequate documentation, and comprehensiveness. Some jurisdictions did not accurately define compact migrants according to the criteria in the amended compacts' enabling legislation, account for federal funding that supplemented local expenditures, or include revenue received from compact migrants (Government Accountability Office, 2016).

Dollars in millions
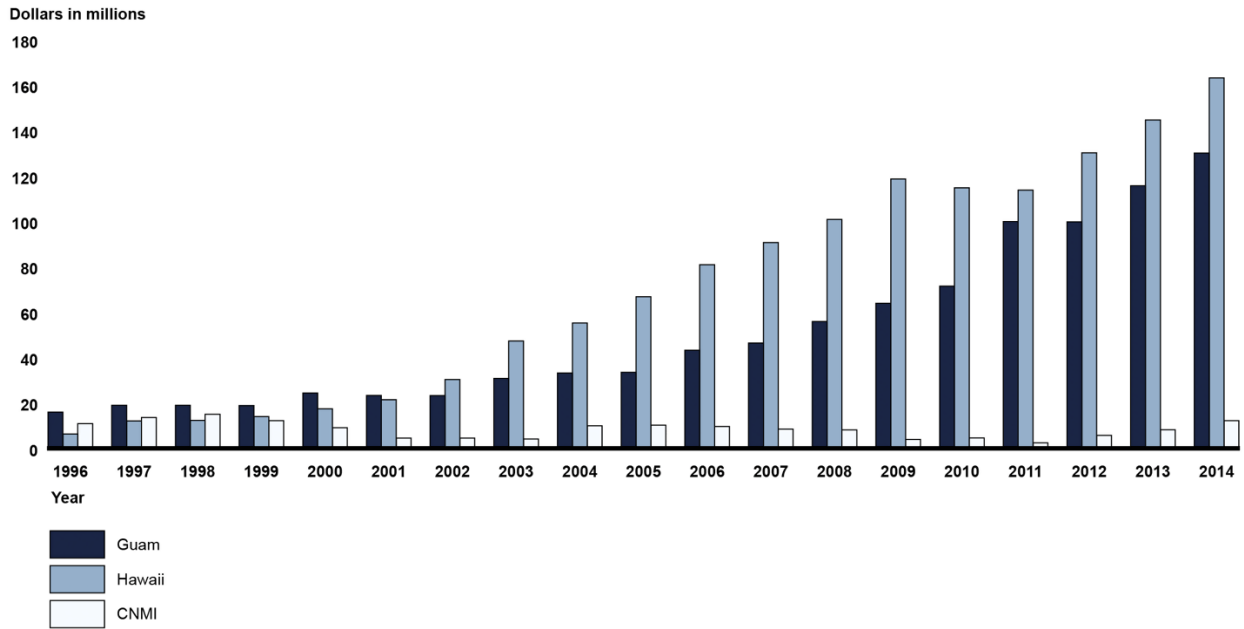
Figure 11. Compact migrant cost impacts reported by three affected jurisdictions, 1996-2014 (Government Accountability Office, 2016).

However, the Hawaiʻi Advisory Committee cautions that these reports uniformly fail to account for financial and economic benefits by Micronesian immigrants from tax revenues paid directly and indirectly by Micronesians to additional funding by the U.S. Department of Education low-income children (Government Accountability Office, 2016).

Despite the gap in knowledge about COFAs costs to the state, politicians routinely reference the expense of COFA migrants. 2010, Charles Djou, a former GOP congressman from Hawaiʻi said in a press release, "For too long, the taxpayers of Hawaiʻi have had to bear a disproportionate burden in providing social services for Micronesian citizens who travel to the United States visa-free thanks to the Compact of Free Association. It is estimated that while Micronesian citizens make up less than one percent of Hawaiʻi's population, they consume over 20 percent of our social services. This cost is simply too high and unfair when Hawaiʻi, like any

other state, is making tough choices to survive these difficult times" (Blair, 2015a). Of course, this statement is untrue, but also a very common sentiment.

　　COFA population. Precise demographic information about COFA islanders in the United States is difficult to obtain because much of this population is transient. Population estimates for COFA migrants and more specifically Chuukese are numerous, but no definitive numbers on population exist. In 2015, the Honolulu Civil Beat cited that Hawaiʻi has was home to an estimated 15,000 people from the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the Republic of Palau, which together make up what we commonly call the COFA nations (Blair, 2015a). Hezel, a Jesuit Priest who has living in Micronesia since 1964 is also an author who published a study in which the estimates for FSM population in Hawaiʻi, based on data collected in the survey, was 7,948 in 2012 (p. 18). Table 3 below is from Hazel's report and shows the various data points for population estimates with their respective sources.

Table 3.

Migrant Population on Guam, CNMI and Hawai'i: 1980-2008

Year	Guam	Source	CNMI	Source	Hawaii	Source
1980	410	Guam Census 1980 (a)	552	CNMI Census 1980 (j)		
1988	c1,700	Household Survey by Tom McGrath (b)	c1,400	Estimate based on no. of school kids (b)	405	Estimate from US Census 1990 (n)
1990	2,944	Guam Census 1990 (c)	1,817	CNMI Census 1990 (j)	951	US Census 1990 (n)
1992	4,954	UOG Micronesian Census (d)				
1993			2,261	CNMI Survey of Migrants (k)		
1995			1,961	CNMI Census 1995 (j)		
1997	5,789	Levin, Survey of Migrants (e)			3,786	Levin, Survey of Migrants (o)
1998			2,199	Levin, Survey of Migrants (l)		
2000	8,573	Guam Census 2000 (f)				
2003	9,098	Levin, Survey of Guam Migrants (g)	3,097	Levin, Survey of Migrants (l)	5,091	Levin, Survey of Migrants (p)
2008	16,358	Census Bureau Statistical Survey (h)	1,560	Estimate based on Census Bureau Survey (m)	8,320	Estimate based on Census Bureau Survey (m)
2012	13,558	Present survey	4,286	Present survey	7,948	Present survey

References:

a: US Census Bureau 1980: Table 26
b: Hezel & McGrath 1989
c: US Census Bureau 1990
d: Rubinstein & Levin 1992; Rubinstein   1993
e: Levin 1998: Table 2
f: GovGuam 2004: 30
g: Levin 2003: Table 3-3

h: US Census Bureau 2009
j: CNMI 2000: Table 2
k: Levin 1998: 3
l: Levin 2003: Table 3-11
m: US GAO 2011: 63
n: Levin 2003: Table 15-4
o: Levin 1998: Table 1
p: Levin 2003: Table 3-4

Note. From (Hezel & Levin, 2012).

The Hawai'i census combines all "islanders" together so the number of Chuukese is not be easily visible. Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander is most prominent designation pro forma for the census data collection. In the 2010 Census counting Native Hawaiian and Other

Pacific Islander Population, the Marshallese population is counted at 6,316.

For this research, many experts on COFA and FSM were consulted, ultimately, no one has precise numbers, of either of the population in Micronesia, or the Micronesian population in the US, let alone the number of people that are moving. While it is difficult to get a clear number, most people estimated that there are 15,000-18,000 Micronesians in Hawaiʻi (Blair 2019). Additionally, Hezel had made the estimate that 75,000 people have out-migrated from Micronesia and are living in Guam, CNMI, Hawaiʻi and the continental US. The numbers are so poorly tracked that the US Department of Defense is unable to give a tally of exactly how many Micronesians are even serving in the US military.

It is known that within the Micronesian community, Chuukese are the fastest growing migrant group (US Census Bureau, 2010). Census data shows that the migrant Chuukese population was six times larger in 2010 than it was in 2000 (US Census Bureau, 2000). The 2010 census data indicates that the Chuukese population increased from 700 in 2000 to 4,000 in 2010.[1] The number of migrants may seem numerically small in comparison to other patterns of human movement. For instance more than 11.3 million immigrants who were born in Mexico resided in the U.S. in 2017 (Zong & Batalova, 2018). However, in the Pacific, the COFA population is significant, and noticed.

Historically, migration by males counted as the majority of migrants, and women and families would not move until the male was established. However, in the 2010 Census, the FSM Statistics Office reported that population across FSM was declining due to the mass migration of its citizens, especially young women (FSM Division of Statistics, 2010). In 2000 the FSM division of Statistics counted the male population to be 54,191 and in 2010 it was 52,193 meaning a 3.7% decline and for females the 2000 estimate was 52,817 and the 2010 estimate was 50,650 meaning a 4.1% decrease in population. Thus, focusing on women migrants is appropriate as they represent an ever-growing portion of the Pacific Diaspora. For this reason, Chuukese migrant women were chosen as the central informants for this research.

Chuuk

Chuuk is the most populated of all the states in Micronesia despite a population decline over the past 10 years. The population of Chuuk fell 9.2% from 53,595 in 2000 to 48,654 in 2010, as reported by the Office of Statistics, Budget and Economic Management, Overseas Development Assistance and Compact Management (SBOC) in FSM (Office of SBOC, 2010). The main population center in Chuuk State is the Chuuk Lagoon. The lagoon is an archipelago with mountainous islands ringed by mangrove forests. Beyond is a barrier reef with smaller islands and atolls. In all, there are 290 islands (Kostka, Gavitt, & Bruckner, 2006). The main geographical divisions of the lagoon are Faichuuk (the western islands) and Namoneas (the islands to the east), and beyond these there are several outer island groups including the Mortlock Islands, Hall Islands (Pafeng), Namonuito Atoll, and the Pattiw Region (Fletcher & Richmond, 2010). These outer islands are predominantly low lying with few inhabitants.
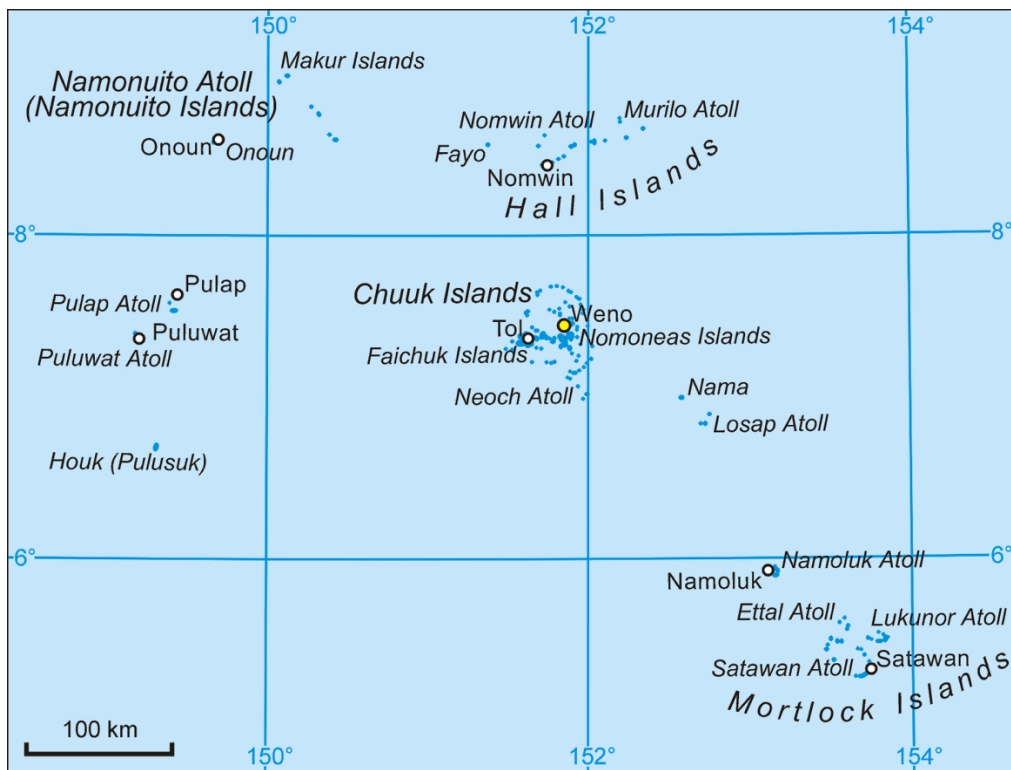
Figure 12. Map of Chuuk State.

Weno (or Moen) is the capital of Chuuk State. It is the only island with significant infrastructure including a sewage system, paved roads, an island-wide electric grid and running water. It has the international airport as well as a commercial shipping port. It is also home to all

the government offices, and most of the schools as well as the majority of the colleges in Chuuk. Often migration trends show that people will move from more rural home islands, to Weno, and then finally to Guam or Hawai'i (Zhou & Lee, 2013).

Chuukese Culture

Though Chuuk is now politically united, this was not historically so. A vestige of the fractions and independence of islands or smaller island groups is that the lineage group, not nationality remains the main social unit. Lineage follows women, and the land holdings of the family are central to their identity. Often a lineage is made up of more than one household that share a utt (meeting house) that is significant for holding family events, e.g., funerals, and is also where unmarried men, and extended family stay (Hezel et al., 1997). These specific spatial traits of the culture have significance for understanding adaptation strategies in the migrants settled home.

<div align="center">

Research Site

</div>

Hawai'i welcomes more migrants than Guam and CNMI despite being slightly further away from FSM (Hezel & Levin, 2012). Culturally speaking, Hawai'i is more similar to the FAS than the Continental US. The tropical climate offers similar food choices such as taro and breadfruit. The flowers that are found along the roadsides and in yards are many of the same that grow in Micronesia. The have access to the ocean, and an opportunity to fish is important, as is the geographical proximity to the home islands. These factors have drawn people from other parts of the Pacific, past and present to Hawai'i's shores. Because every Island Nation in Micronesia is so unique, and the largest group of migrants come from Chuuk, this was the specific community identified to carry out this research with. The urban neighborhood of Kalihi-Palama (see Figure 13) happens to have one of the largest populations of Chuukese on O'ahu.

Figure 13. Map of Kalihi-Palama with research site marked.

Kalihi-Palama

  Invariably described as a "ghetto," the "bad part of town," "industrial" or a "working class neighborhood," Kalihi-Palama has long been a place in Hawai'i that new residents settle. The valley is an important place for Hawaiians, with many 'olelo (Hawaiian language, speech, and words) that describe its landscape and the important people and events that happened there. When development began to intensify on the outskirts of Honolulu, many middle-class families choose to live there. Beginning in the 1950's public housing was predominantly located in this region. Currently there are 11 public housing projects in the neighborhood. There is a mix of high-rise and medium-density developments, and the lower regions of the valley are dominated by light industrial zoning. The O'ahu Community Correctional Facility, Honolulu Community College, and many public schools are also located here. It is a fairly dense urban area with the highest public transportation ridership on the island despite the lack of sidewalks. As seen in Figure 14, 29% of Kalihi-Palama residents took public transit to work, versus an average of 18% citywide (City and County of Honolulu, Department of Planning and Permitting, 2012).
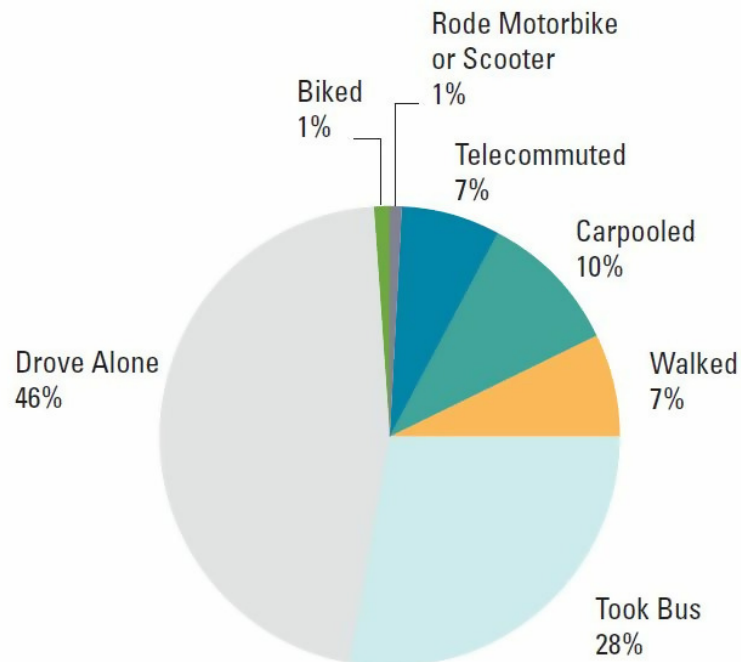
Figure 14. Overall commute mode share in 2011 (City and County of Honolulu, Department of Planning and Permitting, 2012).

The Kalihi-Palama neighborhood has more recently become a focus for revitalization as the Honolulu rail transit project is planned to pass through the center of this community (see Figure 15). It will be home to three Transit Oriented Development (TOD) stations (Kapalama Canal, Kalihi Street and Middle Street) and is a candidate for massive redevelopment (City and County of Honolulu, Department of Planning and Permitting, 2012).
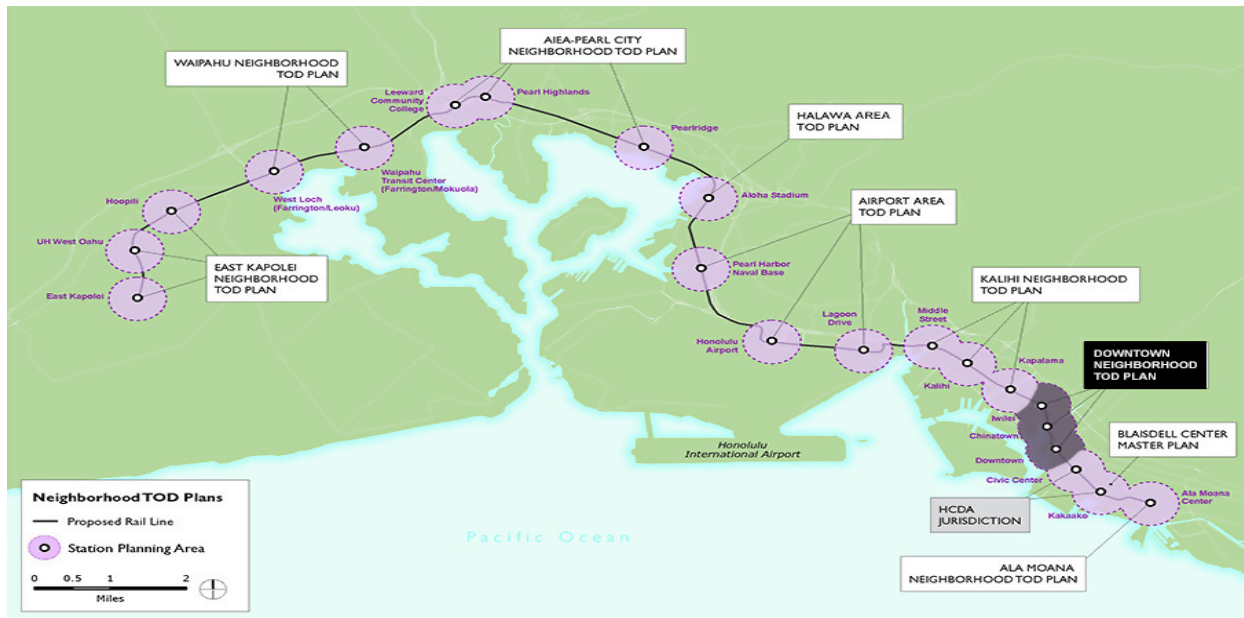
Figure 15. TOD plan showing the Kalihi-Palama stations adjacent to downtown (City and County of Honolulu, Department of Planning and Permitting, 2012).

It is coveted land, not because it is a great neighborhood, but rather due to its proximity to the city. It is considered part of the greater Honolulu area, and thus does not require far commutes for people who are working in the city or Waikiki. It is also more affordable than either of those places making it an economically and geographically attractive location to those who live there now, new migrants, developers and future condominium dwellers alike.

For many generations, immigrants have made this neighborhood home, welcoming their family and friends and creating communities that are more culturally homogeneous. These communities are significant for migration patterns as they seem less foreign. Okamura (2013) has written about these virtues of Kalihi but disputes them being the main reason that immigrants (particularly Filipino) choose Kalihi as a place of residence. The author stated that "the view of Kalihi as a transitional zone of adaptation for immigrants is not in accord with Filipino immigrants' perception of the area. Their substantial investments in the renovation, construction

and ownership of homes and in small scale businesses clearly demonstrate their commitment to the stability and further development of the community in Kalihi" (2013, p. 13). While he has specifically researched the Filipino experience, his claims could be generalized to the wider Kalihi community.

> In general, the settlement and aggregation of immigrant Filipinos in Kalihi is best understood in terms of their perception of their situation rather than from an adaptionist perspectives. The latter approach would place emphasis on the low socioeconomic status of Filipino immigrants and assume that this condition alone accounts for their presence in Kalihi. However, sufficient analysis of the development of the community would have to include consideration of the preference of immigrants for living with or near their relatives, their kinship norm of support for extended family member and their perception and appreciation of Kalihi as a Filipino community. (2013, p. 40)

This draws an important distinction between the values that are held within the community, and those that are ascribed from the outside. From a normalized western perspective, the living conditions, streetscape and neighborhood amenities, as noted above, are considered poor. But for other cultures, such as Filipinos as Okumura points out, the evaluation criteria uses different data points, and Kalihi is for some, and may be for others (e.g., Micronesians) the preferred place to live.

Despite people's preference for living in Kalihi, residents there are often negatively stereotyped. As prominent political figure Ben Cayetano told about the neighborhood in his book "Ben, a memoir from a street kid to a governor," he had a "hardscrabble childhood in the rough Honolulu neighborhood of Kalihi" (2009a, p. 3). Given the reputation Kalihi has, migrants living there have more than one stereotype that they are facing when they settle.

Cost of Living in Hawai'i

Despite there being a strong pull for migrants to move to Hawai'i. There are also large challenges to relocation and living in the islands. One of the most pressing factors that impacts residents new and old is the cost of living. The state is one of most expensive place to live in the United States and shelter is the single biggest household expenditure (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2014)

Table 4.

Key Cost of Living Figures in Hawaiʻi

Item	Figure
Percentage of households that are renters	43%
Percentage of renters that are extremely low-income (two-person household earning less than $23,00 a year)	18%
The hourly wage needed to afford a two bedroom market rental at fair market rent	$31.61
Average hourly wage for a renter in Hawaiʻi	$14.49
Percentage of children living in housing cost burdened families in 2013	43%
Shortfall of units that are both affordable and available for extremely low-income renters.	22,005

Note. Adapted from *The State of Poverty Report*, Hawaiʻi Appleseed Center, 2016.

Table 4 above shows the disparity between average hourly pay ($14.49) and what would be the minimum hourly pay ($31.61) to afford fair market rent. It also points out the steep shortfall of units that are classified as affordable, and available. Collectively the above numbers demonstrate how expensive it is to rent in Hawaiʻi. For migrants, the situation becomes even more dismal as they represent a higher number of renters, and also have lower average salaries. Figure 16 below shows that Chuukese have the lowest rates of homeownership at 9%. This number includes census data from the entire US, so we can assume homeownership in Hawaiʻi to be slightly lower.

Chuukese	9%	91%
Marshallese	10%	90%
Kosraean	13%	87%
Carolinian	14%	86%
Pohnpeian	16%	84%
Saipanese	25%	75%
Palauan	27%	73%
Mariana Islander	27%	73%
Yapese	28%	72%
Samoan	34%	66%
Tongan	41%	59%
Tokelauan	42%	58%
Guamanian or Chamorro	43%	57%
Black or African American	44%	56%
NHPI	47%	53%
Latino	47%	53%
Tahitian	48%	52%
Native Hawaiian	51%	49%
AIAN	53%	47%
Fijian	55%	45%
Asian American	57%	43%
Total Population	65%	35%
White	72%	28%

Figure 16. Homeowners and renters by ethnic group in United States in 2010. Expressed as percentages (homeowner/renter) from Communities of Contrast Report, which includes numbers for the entirety of the US, not just Hawai'i (Communities & Justice, 2014).

When the data for wages is added into the cost of living considerations, it becomes even more strenuous. Hawai'i has the lowest wages in the nation after adjusting for our cost of living and to compound the issues, the lowest income household pay over 13% of their income in taxes (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2017).

Figure 17 below shows that 49% of Marshallese households are below the poverty level and 73% of households are low-income (Communities & Justice, 2014). Which such a small amount of income, the high cost of living becomes an even bigger burden.
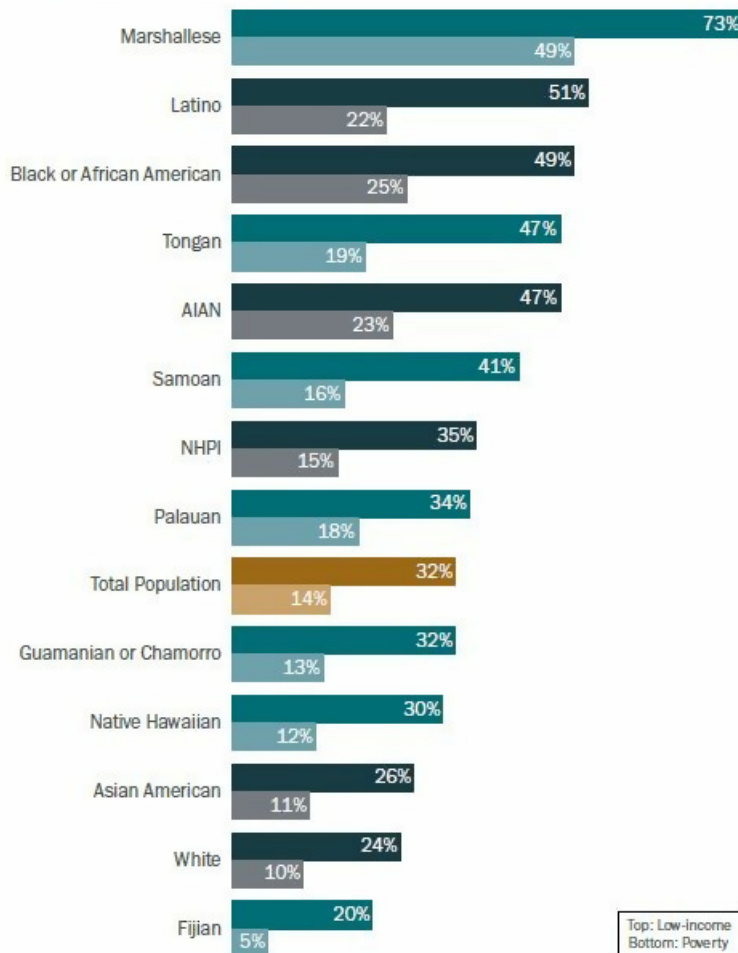
Figure 17. Poverty and low-income percentages for ethnic groups for 2006-2010. From Communities of Contrast Report which includes numbers for the entirety of the US, not just Hawai'i (Communities & Justice, 2014).

When families cannot keep up with housing costs, people face serious hardships and already complicated living situations can increase in complexity. Especially for children, doubling up and overcrowding means they cannot focus on schoolwork. The unstable living situations interrupt their school, sometimes forcing changing school districts, and in the worst case, homelessness has a predictable amplifying impact (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2017).

The issues related to spending an excess of income on housing goes beyond housing insecurity, and its impact on education. It often trickles down and means cutting back on food budgets and medical care, and the stress associated with substandard or unaffordable housing has a negative impact on health and childhood development (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2016). Given the statistics from census data, COFA migrants are exposed in ways that make their

situation more severe.

In addition to high housing costs and low wages, Hawai'i has the highest cost of living among the states in all areas, at nearly 60 percent above the national average (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2017). Hawai'i's transportation costs are the highest in the country. Hawai'i's cost of electricity for the residential sector is the highest in the nation at 37 cents per kilowatt hour, the national average of 12 cents (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2014).

Honolulu and the greater urban area of Kalihi-Palama have added complexities with more homelessness and palpable affordable housing shortfalls make the stakes particularly high for migrants who resettle there.

Theory

While across the world, city populations are bolstered through migration, it has not been avidly researched by those in the planning field. This research is interdisciplinary, and uses several strands of thought from many silos to inform its approach and not just ideas from planning. The topic of migration has often fallen solidly within the discipline of sociology, but also more recently within the field of economics with theories such as migration, remittance, foreign aid and the public bureaucracy (MIRAB) (Bertram, 2006).

Movement in Oceania

Historically, migration theories were concerned with two main questions "Why do people migrate?" and "Where do they go?" Many theories have been created around migration, and its implications for development. These were dominated by political economic concepts, and focused on the push-pull dynamics of human movement. More recent shifts have reflected larger trends in social theory from structuralist and functionalist theories that focused on the interconnectedness of systems, toward approaches that are more pluralist and hybrid, or at least that integrate structure and actor perspectives (De Haas, 2010). Despite the shift toward more agentive theories, they still do not easily describe or explain the movement in Pacific diaspora. However, migration systems theory offers some insight into diaspora creation, and movement.

Closely related to network theory, migration systems theory assumes that migration alters the social, cultural, economic and institutional conditions of both sending and receiving

locations. This theory was based on empirical evidence from Africa for rural to urban migrations. It discusses the basic change of nodal structure of a society that is smaller and generally agricultural to a larger non-agricultural based community (Mabogunje, 1970). In addressing the spatial dimension (which Mabogunje describes as horizontal) of movement, this theory bridges the interdisciplinary gap. It describes the socioeconomic (vertical) dimension, which involves a "permanent transformation of skills, attitudes, motivations and behavioral patterns such that a migrant is enabled to break completely with his rural background and become entirely committed to urban existence." (Mabogunje, 1970, p. 2). The theoretical concept that a break from home is complete and total is not applicable to Pacific Islanders because of circular migration patterns. The questions Mabogunje asks include, "How do essentially rural "island" communities become networked in cities?" and "What changes does the person have to undergo and what effect does this person have on the city to which he moves?" (1970, p. 4). Ultimately, this theory is concerned with not only the people who migrate, but the ramifications of the process for sending and receiving countries. In a systems theory framework, movement is seen as cyclical with feedback loops. Interestingly, the theory stipulates that if information from a particular receiving place "dwells on not finding a place to live, or difficulties finding a job and on general hostilities of the people, the effect of the negative feedback will slow migration" (Mabogunje, 1970, p. 14). In 2007 there were an estimated 15,000 COFA migrants residing in Hawai'i, "where they face many barriers to achieving assimilation and economic security including language, social and cultural barriers, negative stereotyping and marginalization." (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2011, p. 3). So following the migration systems theory, their experiences are either not reported in these terms to people back home, or they are mitigated by more important drivers because migration to Hawai'i has not slowed.

Migration and movement have a robust scholarship often rooted in western thought. There are some scholars in Oceania who speak to the unique experience and phenomenon of migration in the Pacific. For example, Chapman (1976) introduced the idea of circular movement. This idea embodies how different migration can be, and is founded on the premise that migrants act in agentive ways to expand their access to resources both in settled places and back home to the benefit others, not just maximizing their own gain. Circular mobility names the nuances of culture, the environment, history, society and economy in the complex interwoven web of migration. It considers the circulation of not only people but also the flows of

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remittances, investments, food and ideas (Chapman & Prothero, 1983). This idea is strikingly different from what many migration scholars propose, and is a break from the economic and political motivations for mobility from neoclassical migration theories. Bautista (2011) activated the idea of circular mobility in her research on the experiences of Chuukese living in Satowan in the context of movement and familiar ties. Bautista summarized the concept of circular mobility as "people inhabiting conceptions of space and time; they invest meaning to a place or territory and they also attach meaning to their movements" (2011, p. 84)

In the social sciences, transnationalism has been an important analytical concept. It represents the globalization of flows, flows of ideas, technology, stories, people, services and capital around the world (Schiller, Darieva, & Gruner-Domic, 2011). Transnationalism tends to focus on the economic flows that this research does not address. However, some authors in the vein of transnationalism are more interested in diasporic citizenship, which embodies the characteristic dualities of their home and host cultures.

Other researchers in Oceania have contributed to localizing the ideas of migration to the Pacific. Hau'ofa abandons prevailing economic conceptualizations by exploring the economic reality that supersedes artificial (nation-state) boundaries, with movement as an empowering and agentive practice (1995). Along similar lines, Gershon added ideas of actor network theories in relation to family ties and transnationalism (2007).

Place-Making and Belonging

Community Planning

Community planning offers a way to shape places and spaces in full consideration of the local dynamics and cultural influences. There are multiple aspects to place and space, understanding the nature of change between and within them can be complicated. As a starting point, Rapoport suggests that "the rules which guide the organization of space, time, meaning and communication show regularity because they are linked systematically to culture" (Rapoport, 1977, p. 14). While there have been other lenses through which to construct community planning, this is the one which is most helpful because of its inclusion of physical space and cultural difference in the planning process, specifically when considering migrant communities resettling in urban places that already have settled residents.

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There is all but an orthodoxy in planning to promote diversity (Fainstein, 2005). However, some research indicates that citizenship and community in a multicultural society are defined by fitting in with dominant ideals (Staeheli, 2008b). This stance problematizes "community," and if the theory fits for planning, especially in a multicultural context, then the goal of diversity in planning has fallen short of the ideal of multiplicity. In line with the considerations of place-making and community, more research is needed to understand the mechanisms that create the spaces and social fabrics of diverse communities.

Place attachments have been correlated with supporting identity and other psychological benefits (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003) but there is not clear research on how place attachments are made. This inquiry was cognizant of the othering of difference and the impact that has on community formation and function.[7] This inquiry is interested to look at the concept of "community" and see where people, especially those that do not visually "fit in" find their attachments to place, and their power to change places.

Sanctuary Cities and Politics

With increasing migration and constantly changing demographics, policy and practice that may have been adequate at addressing the evolving human population no longer is. The changing landscape can partially account for what are now known as sanctuary cities.   The term finds its origin in 1980s when Salvadorans and Guatemalans fled their countries due to civil war and sought asylum in the U.S. When the U.S. government only granted a small portion of the immigrants asylum, churches started a movement to support the migrants through legal aid, medical care and employment opportunities (Morse, 2019). The churches provided the first sanctuary for migrants, and is why the term is still used to describe political efforts to make communities more hospitable for them.

City Ordinances

San Francisco was the first city to enact policies with "Ordinance No. 12-h." in 1989. The ordinance prohibited the "use of City funds or resources to assist in the enforcement of federal immigration law or to gather information regarding the immigration status of individuals in the

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[7] The term 'Othering' (Spivak, 1996) denotes a process through which Western knowledge creates differences between itself as the norm and other knowledge systems as inferior.

city and county of San Francisco, unless such assistance is required by federal or State statute, regulation or court decision." ("City and County of Refuge" Ordinance, 1989)

Chicago's "Welcoming City Ordinance," is a more modern example with a collection of laws similar to others around the country that make it clear that Chicago will not help investigate the citizenship status of individuals unless mandated by law or a court. Chicago also stipulates that it will not discriminate issuing city services depending on citizenship and will not cooperate with immigration detentions. In the purpose and intent of the law it states "The cooperation of the City's immigrant communities is essential to prevent and solve crimes and maintain public order, safety and security in the entire City" (WELCOMING CITY ORDINANCE, n.d.).

One of the Chicago's most important goals is to enhance the City's relationship with immigrant communities. This intention clearly speaks to broader goals of a better politics of reception and the wider community of Chicago and the relationship with immigrants as a whole, pushing forward an agenda of social equity and inclusion.

Immigration and Customs Enforcement

While there are various ways to classify "sanctuary" cities, a main tenant is that local government limits its cooperation with or involvement in federal immigration enforcement actions. Typically, if an illegal immigrant is arrested, they will be fingerprinted and booked into jail. All jurisdictions are required to send the fingerprints to federal law enforcement and prior to their release Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) will often request an additional hold of 48 hours so that ICE agents can pick the illegal immigrants up. In sanctuary cities however, local jurisdictions do not honor requests from ICE to detain individuals, setting them free when their jail time has been served. The city and county governments that disobey the federal requests have risked losing state funding. The legal and financial ramifications of ignoring ICE are still being fought out in courts across the country. While COFA migrants do not fall into the category of illegal immigrants, this topic is still salient.

Beyond the legal and financial ramifications is the question of public safety. Supporters of sanctuary cities claim that arresting immigrants and deporting them for small infractions creates fear in the community. ICE responds that without the local governments cooperation they are forced to conduct raids. Obviously, the wide net of raids in public places breeds fear, an unwillingness to participate in the civic sphere and a total lack of cooperation with law enforcement. In cities with substantial numbers of immigrants, police often see a drop in

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reporting of crimes from the immigrant community (Henderson, 2018). Such raids also result in the arrests of bystanders, called collateral arrests, if officers come across other unauthorized immigrants while looking for those targeted for crimes or immigration-related offenses. Not only are the raids a blunt instrument used by ICE, they are not an effective use of resources for the agency. Such arrests can spread fear but don't necessarily mean immediate deportation. An unauthorized immigrant without a deportation order is entitled to a court hearing which may take years as the court dockets are full.

Because this is a politically fraught topic, the research regarding the outcomes for sanctuary cities can be equally biased. However, the most recent studies seem to show that sanctuary cities get better marks in all measured metrics. Most recently, according to a study published by the Center for American Progress, a progressive think tank. They found that crime rates are significantly lower in sanctuary counties compared to non-sanctuary counties (Wong, 2017). They also found that economies are stronger in sanctuary counties, have higher median household incomes, less reliance on public assistance programs and lower unemployment (Wong, 2017).

Place or Space

Friedmann offers the concept of 'Politics of Place', "which sets out to defend people's life spaces against the rapaciousness of capital and bureaucratic fiat. Life space comprises the homes and neighborhoods and districts that sustain and support the self-production of life by individual households and communities" (Friedmann, 2011, p. 78). This concept includes all aspects of a lived experience, beyond a physical demarcation of place. Similar to this concept is Friedmann's 'defensible life space' that includes "the physical space in which household members cook, eat, sleep and secure their personal possessions. In a wider sense, it extends beyond the space called "home" to the immediate neighborhood where socializing and other life-supporting activities take place, chiefly in the context of the moral economy of nonmarket relations." (Friedmann, 2011, p. 100). Friedmann's definitions both relate to the power inherent in the control of space and place. Friedmann notes that the study of place is important because places "give meaning to our life and sometimes they are constitutive of our identity as well" (2007, p. 260). He also notes the temporal impermanence of place, that they change for a myriad of reasons. And despite their impermanence, he insists that places are a source of comfort for inhabitants, they make attachment to place possible.

Space for some is place made meaningful, "awakened by practices that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it (De Certeau, 1984)" (Hillier & Rooksby, 2005, p. 238).   While other planners have argued the opposite, that place is space made meaningful. When defining grounded territories, Massey uses the concept of 'places' as 'bundles' of space-time trajectories pulled together by individuals through cognitive and emotional process (Massey, 2005, p. 119). Harvey's (1996) notion of place-making is the carving out to temporary permanence's from spaces is an analogue. He describes place-making as an iterative, evolutionary process, "defining not just boundaries or territories, but the rules and norms against which socio-spatial practices are understood" (Harvey, 1996 p. 38).

The Maori words for time and space are the same, and Smith writes that "conceptions of space were articulated through the ways in which people arranged their homes and towns, collected and displayed objects of significance, organized warfare, set out agricultural fields and arranged gardens" (1999, p. 51).

The etymology of the terms and the concepts associated are clearly culturally grounded. For Solomon islanders for example, "place (*kula ni fuli,* literally translates to "place situated in source," that is, place of one's existential foundation)" representing family ties, genealogy, and connections to the land (Gegeo, 2001, p. 494). And space for Solomon Islanders is simply a location that can be occupied, more often than not, temporarily.

Looking to the literature for workable definition exposes the myriad of complexities to the concepts of place and space, it also clarifies what is contingent on place and space. The terms contain lived experience, history, genealogy, time, memory and 'home', they describe concepts that are both durable and ephemeral and are the vessel of power, and its boundaries. The scholarship does not always explicitly use the term place; at times these and other scholars characterize the concept and contestations as being about "urban space" or "local conflicts" or "the environment" (Pierce, Martin, & Murphy, 2011). Given the overlap, congruent, and conflicting definitions, I do not think that one can be held above all others as correct. I will use both of them in this text because the authors I cite use both terms. But they do not mean the same thing, for example, one could not do "place-making" in the Solomon Islands as the concept of place is inherent, and cannot be created.

History of Planning for People and Space

There are different ways to talk about planning. Marcus discussed three distinct strands that weave together to create our understanding of humans and the built environment. He describes them as being the deferential technicist approach, the social reform approach, and the social justice approach (Marcuse, 2011, p. 655). The technicist/rational planner of modern history was developed out of a concern with the physical and organizational consequences of the new industrial economy. Its purpose was to maintain existing institution relationships and to focus on the value of efficiency aided by science and technological advances (Marcuse, 2011). The social reform approach of planning is concerned with social issues, and moves from the technical expertise's to more inclusive practices such as participation and is found within bureaucratic and professional planning practices (Rapoport, 2000, p. 689). Social justice planning parallels social reform but is more grass roots and bottom up. Community-based planning finds itself in this stream and combines utopian ideals with the concern for what is possible (Rapoport, 2000, p. 650).

While plans were once essentially blue prints, these "comprehensive spatial visions for an area were largely displaced by broad and general statements of 'goals', following the influence of U.S. ideas about the so-called 'rational policy process" (Healey, 2003, p. 103). Healey, and others involved themselves in vigorous debate about the rational model, exploiting the socially constructed and embedded nature of concepts and rationales. From these debates and founded on Habermas communicative action and Giddens structuration theory (Healey, 2003, p. 106) communicative planning theory was developed. Healey describes collaborative planning as having the potential to be transformative through the attention to process design. And that such processes is "made more socially just and in the context of the multiplicity of urban social worlds, more socially inclusive (Healey, 2003, p. 108). While I find the strand of participatory planning informative to practice, it seems that focusing so intensively on the process and process outcomes can neglect attention paid to place and space. Ideally, the visions of planning can be melded in meaningful ways with outcomes that can be measured in social and physical transformations.

What people do in place or space. Depending on what historical trend in planning is discussed, the definition of the people's movement and relationships in space will differ. Based on the readings, I am drawn to concept of "place attachments as positive bonds to physical and

social settings that support identity and provide other psychological benefits." (Brown et al., 2003, p. 259). Place attachments are nurtured by daily encounters with neighbors and the environment as well as continued physical personalization of place and beliefs about home (Brown et al., 2003). In this vein of research, concepts of civic space, conviviality and human encounters of all types feature as important aspects of the equation. These ideas are founded on the possibility of urbanity, the mingling of people from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds, equal rights to city space, and the multiplicity of difference (Sandercock, 1997) (Harvey, 1989). While these are meanings of people in relation to space, there are other concepts that are methodologically more descriptive.

Chapin referred to peoples movement in the city as 'urban activity systems' and explicates the "patterned ways individuals, households, institutions and firms pursue their day-in and day-out affairs in their community and with one another in time and space" (1974, p. 23). The models foundationally provide insight to approaching the complex web of integration between time and space. Chapin general model for activity patterns use the concepts of "propensity to engage in the activity" and "opportunity to engage in the opportunity" (Chapin & Chapin, 1974, p. 33). This model includes the factors of people's motivations and characteristics that predispose action, as well as constraints and opportunities to accessing places and resources. Conceptually Chapin's models are important and could be implemented with geographic information system which would circumventing some of the data entry process that would be necessary via data collection with paper surveys.

Environment-behavior relations (EBR) (Rapoport, 2000) is helpful in creating more rigid conceptualizations of how people use space. This is a metho-theoretical approach which grounds itself in the positivist perspective that "science provides the only reliable way of acquiring knowledge" (Rapoport, 2000, p. 146). Underlying space creation are also perceptions of environmental elements. Rapoport (1977) suggested that there are two ways that people perceive the environment differently. The first are differences in use patterns, and the second is the value attached to that use. The implications of the differences in use patterns and values associated are far-reaching and critical for evaluating space. Additionally, and more importantly, planners should familiarize themselves more intimately with the places they plan for because physical spaces have implications for social networks, and outcomes in communities (Rapoport, 1977).

To exclude people's perceptions of their community is to essentially erase their imprint on it, which is why participation is important. Participation[8] in planning space and place-making will be at the center of this inquiry. Answers to questions of who participates, how they participate, and the organization of participants (to what degree are their actions communal or individualistic) will clarify the shape and nature of place-making practices in the community. Defining participation is pivotal in understanding the community, and in the future, understanding their preferences and advancing fairness and justice (Innes & Booher, 2004). Because there is limited research conducted in this area of study, it is entirely possible that a gulf of misunderstandings exists between how a community uses and experiences space, and how the value of that space is perceived by outsiders, and those not actively engaged in a specific environment.

There are various ways to explore the topic of belonging, or right to a place. In North American planning theory, the desire of established residents to control space dates back to Park et al. (1929) with the 'concentric zone' model. This theory states that new arrivals are only able to 'occupy' a residential area once the more established residents have moved on. In this model, the inclusion of immigrants in public life occurs when the new residents are no longer perceived as existing outside the norms of society. Inclusion, exclusion, citizenship and community membership are areas that directly relate to an immigrant's experience. Two such categories that have been previously studied are citizenship and community membership. The research in this area indicates that communities in host countries are less concerned with legal citizenship status and more focused on a migrant group's ability to fit in and normalize to the culture of the host country (Staeheli, 2008b). Based on this claim, there is a very limited "right to the city" for migrants who maintain their cultural identity, rather than assume that of the host culture.[9]

Taking it further is the "right to the multicultural city" which Amin argues can be found through "lived everyday experiences and local negotiations of difference, on microcultues of place through which abstract rights and obligations, together with local structures and resources, meaningfully interact with distinctive individual and interpersonal experiences" (2002, p. 967).

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[8] Participation is defined different by various planners but I prefer Harvey's (2012) concept for active democratic participation, which calls for a more inclusive, even if continuously fractious, city based not only upon a different ordering of rights, but upon different political-economic practices.
[9] David Harvey (1989, 1996, 2012) has written extensively on the concept of right to the city.

This idea looks at spaces in which intercultural[10] exchange occurs. Amin argues that purely mixing different ethnicities in cities is not enough. Amin makes the case that discourse, not just physical spaces, need to be changed. That "racial and ethnic coding of national belonging….needs to be revealed and publicly debated" (2002, p. 978) In place of national identity Amin asks for ideals of "citizenship, democracy and political community" (2002, p. 978). Ultimately, Amin arrives at the "planetary humanism" (Gilroy, 2002) which transcends boarders, and brings citizenship and social justice to the center of the debate.

Exclusion and inclusion[11] and retreat are also topics alive in the literature relating to migration and place-making are correlated to "politics of reception" (Kauanui, 1998). To a degree, these "politics" determine if migrants feel included in the community of the receiving country. This is a crucial aspect in discerning their motivations for changing space and how they choose to adapt. It is not only migrant's culturally latent ideas about space but also the preexisting conditions in a new place that forms their use habits. Understanding both concepts is important to see how people shape place. While politics of reception is an ideology, it is useful in understanding how people fit into their new communities. Through this research the framework of the politics of reception is fleshed out and a more robust description of what makes a policy of reception is detailed.

For the physical aspects of the city, Lefebvre's (1991) work on built and spatial forms as socially-produced sites of meaning and power is helpful in conceptualizing social dynamics that are born out of physical places. Massey notes that "localities are constructions out of the intersection and interactions of concrete social relations and social processes" (1994, p. 138). Creswell added to this concept with the idea that the uniqueness of place is not embedded in the local; instead it is shaped by the "ways the people in the place interact with places and social process beyond" (2004, p. 277). Considering the transnational nature of diaspora, this is an

[10] "Intercultural stresses cultural dialogue, to contrast with versions of multiculturalism that either stress cultural difference without resolving the problem of communication between cultures, or versions of cosmopolitanism that speculate on the gradual erosion of cultural difference through interethnic mixture and hybridization." (Amin, 2002,967)

[11] Staeheli's (2008) contribution is to center the argument on inclusion/exclusion processes. Staeheli argues that ''membership in the community is conferred on those individuals who share in or perhaps consent to the commonality.'' To the extent that citizenship and community in our multicultural societies are defined by ''fitting in'' with dominant cultural identities, citizenship itself is problematic." (2008a, p. 34)

important contribution to understanding how the 'local' is created and in what ways international connections impact space.

The concept of cultural consumption of space (Bautista, 2011) bridges the disciplinary gaps between physical planning and the social and cultural realms. This particular research raises questions about how culture informs individuals and communities' evaluation and use of place. This is relevant to planners because latent cultural values about space are not universal, thus work must be done to understand differing preferences.

Rynkiewich also contributed to the interdisciplinary nature of the inquiry by seeking to describe the "discourse that mediates between the memory and values of the home community and the challenges and opportunities of the new environment" (2012, p. 281). This research recognizes that experiences in a place are mitigated by memories, and ideas from other places, adding to the concept of cultural consumption of space. Attention to the discourse about things that are outside of the immediate geographic location can help uncover reasons, and motives for patterns in the use of space.

Coping and Resilience

The movement of people globally has brought opportunities and challenges. For those who migrate, acculturation can be a very stressful experience.[12] Theories of acculturation are grounded in the broader scholarship of stress and coping in the discipline of psychology (Berry, 1997). The classic definition of coping is described as "the constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and / or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of a person." (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984) In psychology, coping has been thoroughly studied, however, less has been researched on the specific role culture plays in the process (Heppner, 2008). Those who have researched the role of culture in the process of acculturation have noted that the stress and coping paradigm is an inevitable experience for those who migrate (Berry, 1997). Stressors vary but it could be argued that they

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[12] Defined as a phenomenon that occurs when groups of people from different cultures come into continuous contact, resulting in changes to the original patterns of culture in one, or both groups (Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, 1936).

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begin with the legal status of those who wish to migrate. There are four main types of migration status; legal, refugee, undocumented, and non-immigrant.[13]

The stressors associated with legal status extend beyond the entry into the receiving country and can be related to anxiety about documentation required to find employment, risk of deportation or their legal rights (Yakushko, Watson, & Thompson, 2008). In addition to the initial stressors when considering a move, migrants are faced with what are termed pre-migration and post-migration stressors (pre-migration refer to emotions in anticipation of the movement, and post-migration refers to feelings after the move has been completed) that can continue well into their establishment in the receiving countries. Table 5 below summarizes many of the stressors that they face and also indicates which stressors might be related to physical or geographical elements. These are included to help conceptualize what in the urban environment may trigger stress for migrants.

Carucci work is also informative here as he claims that Hawaiʻi residents have focused on constructing the diaspora as the "Other", rather than making efforts to welcome them (2012, p. 209). This lack of aloha on the part of receiving residents, limits bridging with other cultures and encourages only bonding within similar social and cultural groups (Putnam, 2000). In addition, it effects the psychological well-being and in ways leads to retreats that are physical (like the Marshallese on Hawaiʻi Island) but also emotional.

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[13] Legal immigration is the relocation of non-citizens who are granted legal permanent residency by the government. This provides the right to remain in the country indefinitely, to be gainfully employed and to seek the same benefits as a citizen. A refugee is a person outside of their country of nationality that is unable or unwilling to return for fear of persecution. An undocumented immigrant has sought a home in a new country without pursing the permitted. These migrants either enter the country without detection, or stay beyond the time their visas allow. And finally non-immigrant status refers to migrants from Federated States of Micronesia or the Republic of the Marshall Islands. They are not US citizens or nationals, but are granted an unlimited duration of stay in the US, during which time they can live, study and work. This is the status of COFA migrants (Mulder & Krahn, 2005).

Table 5.

Stressors Experienced by Migrants

Stressor Type	Pre-Migration Stressors	Post-Migration Stressors	Physical/Geographical Element
Economic hardship	x	x	
Violence/trauma	x	x	
Health problems	x		
Stressful environmental conditions	x	x	x
Political persecution	x		
Planning pressure	x		
Relocation		x	x
Mental and physical health		x	x
Acculturation stress		x	x
Relational stress		x	x
Social status and social contact		x	x
Oppression		x	

Note. Illustration created from findings in a paper titled "Stress and Coping in the Lives of Recent Immigrants and Refugees: Considerations for Counseling" (Yakushko et al., 2008, p. 170).

Environmental psychology offers its own set of more specific stressors. One formative theory of environmental systems was developed by Bronfenbrenner (1979) and while they predominantly apply to early childhood development, they are important to acknowledge. The

microsystem (immediate environments, neighborhood, family etc.) mesosystem (the interactions between two microsystems), exosystem (peripheral, but important influences like the planning process or school systems), macrosystems (cultural influences like political systems and religious beliefs) and finally chronosystem (much larger influences like wars, depressions and eras of thought) (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) Within the exosystem, stressors in an urban environment could include overcrowding, long distances to favored food sources (the ocean or types of forests) or noise levels. Mesosystems can also be a source of stress, particularly when microsystems such as family and rental housing are considered. That mesosystem would inherently have conflict and likely result in sources of stress. The 'environmental-stress model created by Baum et al. (1984) is particularly useful. This model defines stress as the appraisal of the environment as threatening based on personal psychological factors (e.g., experience and motivation) and aspects of the inciting stress (Baum et al., 1984).

In addition to naming and knowing potential stressors, the theories around coping are helpful in framing migrants' experiences. The seminal theory on acculturation, called 'acculturation strategies,' can be credited to Berry (1997). This framework includes four acculturation strategies, assimilation, separation, marginalization, and integration. These ideas are not as easily translated into a framework that is interested in physical space. However, I found the 'resilience based stress appraisal coping model' created by Castro and Murray (2010) interesting because it highlights the interaction among multiple individuals, familial and community factors in migrants' resilience. The model unfolds over eight phases: (a) condition in the homeland; (b) migration context; (c) new environment; (d) challenging events; (e) adaptation response; (f) return migration; (g) short-term outcomes; (h) sociocultural integration into the receiving country; and (i) long-term outcomes (Castro & Murray, 2010). While these theories were born in psychology, they offer a useful frame to begin to understand what the migration and adaptation process looks like for women migrants in dense urban environments. From the literature, it is clear that coping plays a critical role in the process of intercultural interactions and adaptation.

Women in Diaspora

Historically, migration was dominated by men, but today, more women migrate than men (Githens, 2013). In regards to research, immigrant Chuukese women are often cast as either

victims, or agents who are capable of conquering the challenges they face, while of course neither is entirely true (Githens, 2013). Women's agency must be thought of in the context of social structures and practices that exist in the receiving country and their home country. Women are often challenged to fulfill traditional roles while also taking on new ones. Women's experiences embody their transnational connections and the multi-locality of home, social networks and identity (Fortier, 1999). Women in diaspora root themselves in locally specific ways while articulating relationships among different places.

The focus on women is also related to their place in the household. Much of the research conducted in diasporas has focused on the household level of analysis (Bautista, 2011; De Haas, 2010) and women traditionally maintain the domestic realm. This may be even more relevant as Ravuvu (1992) noted that for some Pacific Island cultures men consume their time with trips deep into the forest, or out to the open sea, places further afield, and the women dominate the less dangerous domestic domain around the home and near shore reefs for fishing. This will translate differently for each different island's culture, and cannot be directly inferred on urban environments, but it speaks to the gendered use of space.

In addition to raising the children, and being their sole caretakers in their younger years, women in Chuuk were also responsible for farming the staple crops, the production of valuable goods and played important roles in the politics of their communities.

Traditionally, women wove fine mats and lavalavas, created ornaments, and also were the alchemists of medicines. The mats and medicines could be sold to purchase canoes and other necessities. While they were in control of the household, their influence extended beyond it with these economic contributions.

Women farmed the taro, breadfruit and bananas keeping their communities fed. The men would do the deep sea fishing, contributing larger catches to the diet. The modern food systems have had an impact on these traditional roles. Where women were once in the fields working to bring home dinner, they are much more often now working in the cash economy to pay for their meals but remain integral in providing for their families.

They were also looked upon as the protectors of their places and often initiated planning in the community and negotiated between families and clans and peacekeepers. Publicly men announced these decisions, but behind the scenes women's traditional roles had them controlling the household and heavily contributing to their families economically and their communities.

Approach and Method

The research reported here follows a grounded theory model of research (Strauss & Corbin, 1997) and is based on interviews with migrant Chuukese women and subject matter experts and organizations which will be referred to as key informants. I used qualitative techniques because of my desire for depth in addressing the question of how migrants are received upon arrival in Hawai'i. I also allowed for issues I may not have considered to emerge from the research and through discussion.

This study used qualitative methods to understand and explicate the ways women in Chuukese diaspora use and produce space. The research examines women's lived experiences with place and their narratives are crucial to perceiving how cultural consumption and production of the environment is occurring, and what factors most influence emergent spaces and uses. This approach helps to understand the social world by focusing on what individual actors say and do in a specific context (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research recognizes the complex web of meaning, interpretation and value present in the social world. Incorporating these complexities is crucial to understanding the dynamics of migrants on their urban environments. Most importantly, qualitative research is the site of multiple methodologies and practices, a feature it shares with feminist and postcolonial methodologies (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Thus, a purely qualitative approach was the best way to develop an in-depth understanding, and contribute to more inclusive planning practices through research.

Case Study Approach

To access how migrants experience their environments in their new homes, and how the receiving community welcome and plan for them, interviews were carried out with 19 stakeholders who work directly with the migrant population and 37 migrant Chuukese women who live in the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood. Newspaper articles as well as extensive planning documents were also analyzed for content as well as prevailing discourses about the migrants.

This approach was chosen over comparative studies to be able to explore in greater detail research questions of linking women's adaptive process to space and assessing the specifics around the receiving community in Hawai'i. The findings from the inquiry have limitations because the research is only looking at one population of women in the Chuukese diaspora who are located in an urban setting. To increase the construct validity of this study, multiple sources

of evidence were sought, and drafts of the data, along with the findings have been reviewed by key informants (Yin, 2014).

Discussion

The concept of diaspora appropriately considers physical and social space as well as relationships and influences from people and regions not territorially bound to the nation-state. Literature relating to diasporic people in the Pacific describes a more agentive process, one grounded in the history of circular migration, as much as in colonial and capital influences. This research seeks to understand diaspora through the lens of community planning and place-making. The tensions found at the intersections of place, home and culture are relevant to place-making and have required a multi-layered approach at understanding their complexities.

There are many significant concerns around migration, urbanization and climate change. This research only considers a handful of them with a relatively small study. However, as this case study unfolded, it has shown that there is an open window for intervention for planners and policy makers. Hopefully, how migrants make communities for themselves can be embraced by the establishment, and rational planning can reach beyond the status quo. This research reaches for a 'postcolonial' accountability to others, and a "commitment to recovering the perspectives and voices of marginalized, oppressed and dominated people" (Rankin, 2010, p. 182).

This research is particularly interesting in having a positive impact, present and future, on the quality of life, not only for the migrants that resettle but also for the people of the communities they settle into. Additionally, this research contributes to establishing a record about how migrants are being engaged in their settled receiving communities. It is the hope that this research can be practically applied as best practices from the collective experiences of the respondents. Ultimately, this information can be used to understand more about how planning might adequately respond to the reality of increased migration where people will not be able to return home due to climate change.

CHAPTER 2:
UNDERSTANDING THE POLITICS OF RECEPTION THROUGH AN ANALYSIS OF NEWS COVERAGE OF "MICRONESIAN" DIASPORA IN HAWAI'I

Introduction

The Hawaiian island of Oʻahu is a migrant destination for people from other island nations in Oceania, due in part to the Compacts of Free Association (COFA). These international agreements allow for free migration in and out of the United States (US) for people from the Federated States of Micronesia, The Republic of the Marshall Islands, and The Republic of Palau. Understanding the migration patterns resulting from these policies as well as the characteristics of these migrants may help the US prepare for a greater influx of climate change-related migration from the Pacific Islands in the near future (Barnett, 2003).

The Hawaiian demographic is incredibly diverse; over the years, indigenous Hawaiians have been joined by migrants from Europe, Japan, the Philippines, China, and, most recently, Micronesia. Despite this great diversity there are significant social, and sometimes legal, barriers to residency. Civic engagement for migrants has proven even more difficult, as racism remains problematic, especially for the newest members of society (Mayer, 2003).

This chapter examines the ways in which Micronesian migrants are viewed in the receiving community on the island of Oʻahu, based on their portrayal in the largest local newspaper. Collected data demonstrated how ideologies about race and the rights of migrants are presented in newspaper reporting. Research for this study was drawn from articles published in The Honolulu Star-Advertiser (HSA) between 2010 and 2015. In 2010 there was a merger of the two largest papers in Hawaiʻi (The Honolulu Advertiser and the Star Bulletin). This merger was made with the intention to combine stories, investigative reporting, and researching of issues that affect the people of Hawaiʻi.

HSA is the largest daily circulation newspaper in Hawaiʻi, with an average daily readership of 200,000 papers in 2013 (Alliance for Audited Media, 2013). To sort through the immense amount of starting data, articles used were limited to those matching the focal research terms "Micronesia," "Micronesian," "Compact of Free Association," and the associated acronym

"COFA." Articles containing any of these terms were analyzed to create a coherent understanding of the representation of this migrant group as narrated by the dominant media.

While the paper chosen to research is not the only news consumed on Oʻahu, it is the dominant news. Other publications, such as Honolulu Civil Beat offer a different voice and perspective but have a smaller readership, and less reach. However, the Honolulu Civil Beat is considered, but the data analysis is more intense for the Honolulu Star-Advertiser as to achieve saturation with one publication, and because of its wide, mainstream readership.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was utilized to understand the dominant narratives and dialogue created around Micronesian migrants in Hawaiʻi. CDA has been previously employed to investigate social issues which require a complex framework and a multimodal lens approach (Wodak & Meyer, 2015a). CDA offers the ability to systematically deconstruct a text so that our understanding goes deeper than the unquestioned familiar that often creates and reinforces a dominant system. Working within that dominant system, critique of it is almost impossible, so this tool moves the research beyond that.

Falgout (2012) explored racism in Hawaiʻi through the lens of media content. She noted that "much of the local understanding about Micronesians comes from media coverage" (Falgout, 2012, p. 10). In her research, she found that negative media associated with Micronesians covered topics that ranged from head lice in school children to rape and murder. Building upon Falgout approach to exploring racism, this study used CDA to go beyond topical content and explore the discursive strategies *HSA* used when reporting on Micronesians.

As Falgout (2012) research explained, general attitudes toward Micronesians in Hawaiʻi tend to be negative, attributing certain undesirable characteristics to all people within the ethnic group. However, recognizing this anecdotal notion of racism is not sufficient to establish the wider reception that migrants face. To assess that, CDA provided the framework for a systematic analysis of everyday texts that enabled us to go beyond speculation and show how discourse can create and reinforce the dominant system of racial superiority and otherness between "locals" in Hawaiʻi and migrant Micronesian "others."

Theoretical CDA Background

CDA can be defined as being fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, and control as manifested in language and text (Wodak & Meyer, 2015b). As an analytic paradigm, its roots trace back to scholars such as Fowler, Kress, et.al (1979a)Van Dijk (1993) and Fairclough (1992). These scholars lay the foundation of CDA, but their approach is firmly grounded in linguistic analysis. As Kress argues, "ideological systems exist in and are articulated through language, the ideological system in itself can be reached via an analysis of language" (1983, p. 124). To Kress, Fairclough and other critically minded discourse analysts, discourse is not only a product or reflection of social process, but is itself "seen to contribute toward the production or reproduction of these processes"(Teo, 2000, p. 5). Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) demonstrated how CDA is a useful analytic framework for scrutinizing mass media as a site of power that mediates and constructs social discourse.

Van Dijk took CDA from the linguistic approach toward one that was more focused on 'the socio-cognitive aspects of analysis' and 'macro-structure of texts' (Young & Harrison, 2004, p. 4). This approach was further built on by Wodak, in which CDA emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary work in order to gain a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions and in exercising power (Wodak, 2004).

The power of CDA is in its ability to destabilize assumptions or ideas that have become so naturalized they are not even perceived. This is meaningful because it can capture ideologies and challenge "worldviews" that are dominant, and potentially destructive to civil society. It is apparent that there is not one single theory that represents CDA, instead it is an approach that is substantiated through a myriad of theories. Likewise, there is not one method which CDA puts forward. There are multiple, often overlapping methods from which to utilize for specific research purposes.

CDA of Media

Using multiple strands of CDA, the newspaper is an everyday text that is often assumed to be transparent, and taken at face value by its readers, to a data-based script. Media institutions popularly produce material in which they claim to unbiasedly report the happenings in the world.

They also provide a space for public discourse, and a venue for voices to be heard. In the comment section, the HAS specifically says that the space they provide is for "insightful discussion of ideas and viewpoints" that are "civil and in good taste" ("Honolulu Star-Advertiser," 2015). CDA helps reveal the fallacy of such assertions, and illustrates the mediating and constructing role of the media (Wodak & Meyer, 2015c).

Foundational work by Hartmann and Husband (1974) used a critical approach to understanding racism in the media and found that 'race' was frequently combined with 'conflict' or 'violent' words in the headlines of press reports. This association created and reinforced stereotypes and resulted in race being synonymous with Britain's black communities and violence.

More recent work by Teo (2000), which probed two Australian newspapers, found systematic "othering" and stereotyping of the ethnic community by the "white" majority. Teo concluded that "Racism in the news" both reflects and reinforces the marginalization of certain ethnic groups in Australia.

Richardson's research was founded on the concept that there is a general "under-theorization of class power and privilege in contemporary societies" (2004, p. 16). This research was driven by the fact that there has been very little work on the representations of Muslims in newspapers and claims that the work that has been done relies on non-systematic anecdotal evidence. To correct this, he looked at the factors that shaped British newspapers reporting of Muslims and Islam through combining qualitative, discursive readings of selected texts with quantitative findings. He used multiple CDA approaches but predominantly followed methods utilized by Van Dijk.

From Teo and Richardson, it is clear that racism involves "discriminatory practices, as well as a system of prejudiced ethnic attitudes and ideologies supporting and monitoring such discrimination" (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 165). Racist text is part of the discriminatory practices, which at the same time influence the acquisition and conformation of racist prejudices and ideologies. This is especially the case for white elite groups and institutions, such as the media, whose prestige, power, and influence have played a prominent role in the 'preformation' of racism at large (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 165).

CDA Analysis

Using CDA, an analysis of newspaper discourse was conducted in the attempt to empirically explore the politics of reception for Micronesians in Hawaiʻi. In this research the word 'discourse' is used for written and oral purposes (Gee, 2010). For analytic reasons, it is useful to introduce and discuss separately three "elements" of (racist) discourse: social practice, discursive practice and text (Richardson, 2004).

Social practice is the social dynamic which is present prior to, and thus shaping journalistic practice. This includes the social and economic disadvantage experienced by Micronesians in Hawaiʻi, the history of colonial domination, and the socio-political contexts.

Discursive practice for this research refers to the newsroom production of news. This practice must consider the assumption about reporting strategies and the text in Hawaiʻi in particular, and consider the previous research of representation of 'race', racism and 'othering' in the news.

The (critical) analysis of text studies the linguistic and discursive strategies and how they is influential in the reproduction of racism (Richardson, 2004). This is where the various CDA strategies will be used.

The three elements of racial discourse will be incorporated in the conclusions of the CDA based methods. In the theory section we followed the history of CDA and discussed research that is influential and has been conducted in the vein of media analysis. Guided by grounded theory, CDA will be utilized for qualitative analyses, as well as counts for qualitative assessment. Together they enable engagement in a circular research process: the iterative process incorporated literature review, collection of data, data analysis, re-collecting of more data and reviewing more literature, circling back to the gathering more data. I also re-analyzed my initial findings as my comprehension and foundation of the data grew.

The dataset for this research included 334 newspaper articles that were published in the Honolulu Star-Advertiser between 1/1/2010-12/31/2015 which contained the keywords "Micronesia," "Micronesian" or "compact of free association" and the acronym COFA" in the original text. Additionally, 44 articles were collected which contained the search terms in the newspaper comment section. Using the qualitative data software package NVivo was able to

organize and explore the data (QSR International, 2015). Through an NVivo structured process of creating nodes and coding the content, both quantitative and deep qualitative analysis was conducted. During the analysis, the original newspaper publications and their content were treated separately from the comment section text as they were created under different contexts so must be analyzed accordingly.

NVivo Analysis

NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package NVivo 11 (QSR International, 2015). It was designed for deep analysis of large volumes of text-based information. I was able to store, organize and explore the data using this software. Through an NVivo structured process of creating nodes and coding the content, both quantitative and deep qualitative analysis was conducted.

Counts

The analysis began with counts of words which can be viewed as reflecting the importance of various emergent themes (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003a), although it can be argued that frequency and importance are not synonymous. Counting helped to summarize patterns in data, allowing interrelationships to be more easily identified. The counts contribute to analytical integrity and can be used to verify the research hypothesis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In the simplest form, counting themes in this qualitative database is a form of conversion of dense word- based data to textual data and then to a numerical form. The specific count was limited to the selection of the most frequently used 20 words and set the sensitivity to "similar words." This resulted in root words with various suffix endings being counted together rather than as separate words. As illustrated in Table 6, an example is "navigator" which also counted the words "navigate" and "navigators." Another constraint placed on the text search was word length, making the minimum of five letters. This was a way to exclude more common words that had no thematic meaning, such as the word "and." To check that no important thematic words were being excluded, the analysis was also conducted with no letter limits, through the 5- letter minimum and found no relevant terms reoccurring in the list. This assured that no descriptive text was being lost.

Table 6.

NVivo Word Count Function (2010-2015)

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage (%)
homeless	21	2.66
Micronesians	15	1.90
Kakaako	10	1.27
Hawaiʻi	9	1.14
migrants	9	1.14
state	8	1.01
court	6	0.76
health	6	0.76
Honolulu	6	0.76
benefits	5	0.63
federal	5	0.63
officials	5	0.63
attack	4	0.51
camps	4	0.51
clearing	4	0.51
coverage	4	0.51
driver	4	0.51
families	4	0.51
navigator	4	0.51
shelters	4	0.51

Note: Indicates the key word related to search terms. This search was restricted to 20 words.

The results of the analysis indicated that the most frequently stated term in all the articles was the theme "homeless" with 2.66% coverage. This term was used more often than the control term "Micronesian" with a 1.90% coverage for which all the articles were searched and initially selected. The representation of this theme as correlated to Micronesians is not surprising. A casual read of the newspaper would have you believe that the "homeless problem" as it is often referred to, is almost entirely created by "Micronesians." Research on homelessness in Hawaiʻi however does not support this stance. In the Honolulu neighborhood of Kapalama for instance, recent homeless counts conducted by the University of Hawaiʻi, Manoa found that Micronesians made up only 17% of the population, with Hawaiians and Samoans each comprising 22% respectively (Blair, 2015b). The terms "Kakaako," "camps," "clearing," and "shelters" all relate to the discourse around homelessness. Another emergent theme seen in the count is healthcare with the following terms: "health," "court," "benefits," "federal," and "coverage." The issue of health insurance for Micronesian migrants has become a flashpoint for conflict and the terms representation on this list (see Table 6) show how it often was reported by the paper. This topic is so contentious in Hawaiʻi because the perception is that the state pays for the programs as they are underfunded by the Federal government (Blair, 2011).

As discussed above, counts are a simplified conversion of qualitative data to quantitative data. They in no way give a comprehensive view of the way the newspapers are representing Micronesian migrants, but they do open a window onto the most common themes that the paper addresses. To further understand how the newspaper discursively constructs Micronesians we need more exacting tools that go beyond content to textual construction. However, it is clear based on the above topics that the paper chooses to report on more problematic issues linked to Micronesians (e.g., homelessness and healthcare) as opposed to overwhelmingly positive topics like navigation, for which the father of pacific voyaging was Micronesian.

Findings

Newspaper Headlines

Newspaper readers encounter the headline first, and it orients the audience in a predetermined direction. It can portray the main point in a story through its bold print and precise language. This has been referred to as 'story in microcosm' (Bell, 1991, p. 174). This is part of the "inverted pyramid" where the most relevant and valuable information is at the top, and the

least important information at the bottom tip of the article. In the tight capsule of text that makes up the headline (see Table 7), words are carefully chosen to deliver the maximum message with the most minimum word count. Teo (2000, p. 13) argued that headlines are a window into a newspapers entire ideological values and that analysis of syntax structure and lexical choices can uncover the covert meanings being portrayed. Moving from general to specifics, we began with counts, and will move into headlines to understand the discourse the newspaper is constructing.

Table 7.

NVivo Analysis of Headlines Illustrating the Construction of Discourses in Honolulu Star-Advertiser (2010-2015)

Date	Headline (in bold)/Caption	Main Theme(s)
2/16/2010	**Shelters see jump in Pacific islanders** The growing number of Micronesians and Marshallese in Honolulu's homeless shelters is setting off some alarm bells because their needs are great and there is no limit on their migration here.	● Homelessness ● Need to restrict migration
6/3/2010	**The most expensive one-way tickets**	● COFA migrants burden on state shelters/services
11/03/2010	**Judge torn on fate of nuke victims' care** At issue is a request to end benefits to people affected by U.S. testing	● Benefit cuts for COFA migrants
1/28/2012	**At sentencing, lawyer slams Micronesians**	● Violent crimes committed by Micronesians when drunk
12/19/2012	**20 Kealakehe students punished for fights**	● Micronesians suspended for racially charged fight
5/15/2013	**Senate group restores Medicaid for Micronesian migrants**	● Medicaid eligibility restored to COFA migrants
6/22/2013	**Priest hopes to widen understanding of Micronesians**	● Misunderstanding Micronesian culture
9/08/2014	**Growing population of aged and sick among most vulnerable of homeless** Their resources limited, immigrants from Micronesia are especially at risk	● Micronesians have many housing and healthcare needs, with limited income ● They are a burden on the state system
11/04/2014	**High court allows state to cut health coverage for noncitizens**	● Reduction in healthcare coverage for Micronesians

11/07/2014	**Health coverage extended for noncitizens**	• Emergency rule extends state funded medical benefits for Micronesians
2/11/2015	**Bills would have state eat copays for Micronesians on Obamacare**	• Micronesian community wants state to pay out of pocket expenses for Micronesians
7/26/2015	**Courts face migrant translation challenge** In 2008,6,800 cases required interpreters; by 2013, that number had swelled to 8,100	• Growing need for translators in court • COFA migrants need more interpreters
8/17/2015	**Low-income families living in Honolulu homeless encampment**	• Large percentage of homeless people are families • COFA migrants are part of the population

The precision of message in a headline text can be easily seen in the above captions. They portray homelessness, legal issues, poverty, violence, financial burdens and the healthcare shortcomings. While the term "Micronesian" is not a marker in each article, other markers exist that are already strongly correlated with "Micronesian" such as "migrant" "homeless" "noncitizen" and "nuke victims." Using the above articles, we will further explore the text in the following section.

Constructing Identity

Looking into more specific and concrete examples of discourse, we can analyze the ways the newspaper constructs identity. In the data, a range of descriptions are assigned to the "Micronesian migrant community." What some migrants do is often used to generalize what all migrants do. The homogenization of Micronesians as 'homeless' is the type of generalization that is symptomatic of stereotyping and cognitive prejudice (Van Dijk, 1997)

One example is from an article published on February 2, 2010, titled "Shelters see jump in Pacific Islanders," beneath the title is an image with two dark skinned women that reads, "Micronesians and Marshallese such as these women identified only as Roselind, left, and Camila make up a disproportionate number of Oʻahu's homeless." (Honolulu Star-Advertiser, 2010) The image depicts a woman who appears not to want to be photographed. That aside, it

only depicts Micronesians, and the caption alludes to Marshallese not being Micronesian, which seems uninformed and would likely be confusing for a reader.

Figure 18. Image from Honolulu Star-Advertiser captioned " Micronesians and Marshallese such as these women identified only as Roselind, left, and Camila make up a disproportionate number of Oʻahu's homeless." Photo credit: George Lee

The title makes a strong claim on who the homeless on Oʻahu are in the opening words. Toward the end the article sums up its stance by stating "So far, US Immigration and Customs Enforcement has had more pressing priorities than pursuing homeless Micronesians and Marshallese." This association between Micronesian's and homelessness in the paper is supported by the initial analysis of all the articles in which "homeless" and related terms was the most common issue reported on. The sheer amount of reporting on the topic makes a causal link between Micronesians and homelessness but the adjective usage makes that link strong and intentional. Other terms in articles which are referential to the group include "Micronesian," "migrant," "homeless," "noncitizen," and "nuke victims. In my analysis, while all these terms register as slightly negative, the most offensive is "nuke victim." This term renders the very serious situation of exposure to nuclear weapons testing in a casual and colloquial shortened

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version of "nuke" and further patronizes the concept by adding on victim. Had the paper been interested in representing Micronesians in the true light they may have written "victims of nuclear testing," instead the publication illegitimated this fact.

The word "nuke" is slang for nuclear weapon, but also refers to quickly cooking something in the microwave, or as an aggressive suggestion meaning to completely destroy and is often used in war talk. Thus, the identification of Micronesian migrants as "nuke victims" is patronizing and threatening all at once. Because it is slang, it makes light of the very serious history Micronesia has with US military testing and moreover, the real issue of human rights and compensations for egregious wrongdoing is not addressed.

The treatment of stereotyping a group strips people of any individual identity and makes that group more difficult to identify with. It also changes the way others perceive what people in that group do. For instance, for readers of the HSA, Micronesians spending time in the park might be construed as homeless, where a white family in the park are clearly just having a picnic. Stereotyping is the cognitive culprit in prejudice and discrimination (Fiske & Taylor, 1993) and as such, the negative representations that the newspaper put forth have the capacity to impact the Micronesian community.

Representations of Legitimacy

The representation of the legitimacy of Micronesian migrants in Hawaiʻi is foundational to understanding how they are portrayed in media reports. The Compact of Free Association (COFA) is described to varying degrees in the local newspaper. The most complete descriptions include the name of the agreement, when the agreement was ratified and why it exists. To be effective and complete, this information needs to be given together as a cohesive explanation of the migration status for people from the Freely Associated States (FAS). Upon analysis of news articles it was discovered that articles vary wildly in the information they provide about the reasons for "Micronesian migrants" presence in Hawaiʻi. Per the parameters described above, the impact that this has is either legitimizing why these migrants are here, or conversely delegitimizing their presence.

The headline from 6/3/2010 titled: "The most expensive one-way tickets" exemplifies of how the paper delegitimizes the migrant's presence "Islanders covered by the so-called Compact of Free Association are free to travel to the U.S. under a 1986 federal agreement." (see Table 7).

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The term "so-called" has connotations of something that is falsely or improperly named. Because COFA is not only commonly called this but officially and legally named as such, this reference undermines the legality of the agreement. Furthermore, rather than describe why the agreement was made in 1986, the text moved directly to the cost "migrants have on schools, social services and health care." In the final sentence of the article, almost as a footnote, this description is given "The United States conducted atmospheric and underwater nuclear tests in the Marshall Islands and other Pacific sites from 1946 to 1962."

The paper delegitimizes migrants when the name of the agreement is decoupled from the history of the agreement. Some explanations only note the historical nuclear testing such as the article "Bills would Have State Eat Copays for Micronesians on Obamacare," published on November 11, 2015 that stated, "That pact, dating back decades, was forged to help people displaced by nuclear testing in the Pacific in the 1950s." Others cite only the military presence of the US in Micronesia. Either way, these incomplete truths about what COFA really is undermines its legitimacy, the complete reasons people are in Hawai'i, and the moral impetus to provide support and the legal obligations which COFA was founded on.

In many of the explanations, the word "freely" was strongly correlated with the ability of Federated States of Micronesia (FSM) migrants to "live," "work," and "move" to the US. Additionally, the word "allow" was the most common verb choice in describing what the rights associated with COFA. This implies that the US is "allowing" the FSM people to come to Hawai'i, rather than fulfilling the legal obligations the US has to support Micronesian migrants in return for the obligations and injustices people in Micronesia have endured at the hands of the US.

The most complete explanation offered in the news on 11/4/2014 "Compact of Free Association, which allows Micronesians to live and work in the United States. The compact was initiated in exchange for U.S. military rights, and to compensate islanders for the negative health and social impacts of nuclear testing after World War II." This explanation includes the military rights and the nuclear testing aspects, unlike every other explanation which either decoupled the history, or exclude part of it entirely. Interestingly, in all accounts of the compact, the US is strongly referenced sometimes more than thrice in two sentences. This is a nuanced argument which speaks to claims made by people in Hawai'i, that often share sentiments that issues related

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to COFA are the responsibility of the federal government, and should not be a burden of the state of Hawai'i. Unfortunately, the COFA migrants have upheld their part of the agreement, thus have zero culpability. Despite this, they end up wearing the blame, in large part because people are not educated about the Compacts, or what COFA nations have given up in return for their access to the US, much less the nuclear testing, or the US failure to help the contrived develop economically.

Comment Sections

The area of a digital publication that opens itself to public discourse has become known as the "comment section." This portion of the newspaper can be a rich source of data but also involves specific methodological dilemmas when using a CDA framework. The largest dilemma is that the sentiments and views in the comment sections are not directly representing those of the publication, however, this subset of data is included in the analysis as it is hosted on the newspaper site, and thus represents an implicit agreement to at the very least provide space for commentators. Clearly, this is a complex issue, and the nuances will be further discussed.

Initially, newspapers imagined online comment sections would be benign places for people to discuss the news, but it was quickly realized these virtual communities were exploding with vitriol and racist sentiments (Hughey & Daniels, 2013). In response, online newspapers had three strategies, the first was to abandon the comment section completely (Falkenthal, 2011). The second was to require commenters to register with their real information, including name and address, and the third was to enlist moderators that removed, or prescreened offensive content. Due to the above tactics, data obtained in the comment sections has gone through the screens and is somewhat scrubbed. The news publication, in our case Honolulu Star-Advertiser, sets out the guidelines for the comment section in. The rules for the Comment Section for the HAS state ("Honolulu Star-Advertiser," 2015):

> You must be logged in to post a comment. By participating in online discussions you acknowledge that you have agreed to the TERMS OF SERVICE. An insightful discussion of ideas and viewpoints is encouraged, but comments must be civil and in good taste, with no personal attacks. Because only subscribers are allowed to comment, we have your personal information and are able to contact you. If your comments are inappropriate, you may be banned from posting. To report comments that you believe do not follow our guidelines, email commentfeedback@staradvertiser.com.

Because there was so much data in the comment section that did not meet the above criteria, I contacted the digital editors for the HSA. They told me that there is not one moderator who is in charge of the comment sections, instead, they all take turns doing that job. They also have a list of words and phrases, (which they would not disclose) that are automatically flagged if they appear in a comment. They update this list regularly as commenters are constantly finding ways around the banded word list. This phenomenon has been thoroughly studied, and findings reveal that online communities engage in the use of coded language to evade detection by moderators (Hughey & Daniels, 2013).

Despite the rules for comment sections, and claims that the HSA monitors them, there were countless examples of hateful, vitriolic, racist speech toward migrants, specifically Micronesians. Table 8 represents a small selection of these. The comments were sometimes unrelated to the headline, or the content of the article, but usually would correlate and stereotype any negative attributes or claims the paper had made.

Table 8.

Selected Comments from the Honolulu Star-Advertiser (2011-2015)

Date	Headline	Total Number of Comments	Comment	Relation to Migration or Micronesia in the Original Article
12/19/2012	**20 Kealakehe students punished for fights**	16	**8082062424** wrote: There you go with your lies allie. so sad. First the term used here is locals that come in many races. then here we go again with your make believe Hawaiian friends. I have two uncles who are police officers and quite a few friends. all your statements are false the one problem police have in Waikiki is Micronesians. they have no respect for the rules or our laws they feel they above it. then when they are caught they play the victim and claim they do not understand. Cops in just about every neighbourhood no when they move into the area. the house they live in is marked because of the constant calls they get from those who live next to them.. that when a call comes in they send a few officers out. they do not work but seem to have enough money to stay drunk most of the time. they have no problem giving there 15 and 16 year old booze. do you ever think before you talk. you make yourself look bad. **8082062424** wrote: Just because this country did that horrid thing does not mean everyone in Hawaiʻi has to pay for it. I know folks from Tahiti and Samoa and none behave or act like this group dose. Nor are they disliked. so just maybe the problem lays with this races actions and behavioural habits	Article state Micronesian and Marshallese

			Bdpapa wrote:		
			Yes, they lack most social skills and refuse to adapt to this environment. The US government may owe them something but 5 generations later the debt has been paid. Cut their line and either they follow the rules of society or they go back to where they come from. Stop the moneys, they will leave, problem solved.		
4/20/2012	**Man charged with attempted murder in 'unprovoked' attack**	19		**laachang** wrote:	Mug shot, no identification of ethnicity or nationality
			See what happens when they are allowed to freely migrate here and live off our welfare system. Now he will get the added benefit of "living" in our prison system while we the taxpayers pay for that too!!		
			islandsun wrote:		
			Send him back and put him on the no fly list...		
			soundofreason wrote:		
			Send him up in a plane - toss him out - see if he can "no fly" now.		
10/29/2013	**Suspected burglar shot by police in Aiea**	11		**mcc** wrote: We should profile all Micronesians and Filipinos. They are bad.	No mention or image
8/3/2013	**Teenager stabbed in Kakaako**	12		**Aieagrl** wrote:	No mention or image
			This comment has been deleted.		
			stogie002 wrote:		

			do you know that for sure??? did you actually see the stabber? did you actually ask if he was Micronesian? **8082062424** wrote: it might not be a bad guess. that area is swamped with homeless Micronesians. Just go down Ahui St. the street is covered by them tents on the sidewalks and that just one street. they pack up and head to the park during the day and come back in the evening	
5/25/2014	**Spurned by a federal court, Pacific migrants seek justice through politics**	8	**Wahiawamauka** wrote: No mention of all the free public housing the Micronesians are using while some of our own citizens are told to get in line for an opening. Disgraceful. **st1d** wrote: cofa citizens should concentrate on the federal governments of the united states and cofa nations to provide welfare and cash relief. Hawai'i as a state has no responsibility for providing federal gifts of cash and services to cofa citizens. cofa citizens continue to hold Hawai'i citizens hostage in their demands for cofa benefits, ignoring the reality that as a single state, Hawai'i can not afford to provide cofa citizens with preferred gifts of cash and other generous benefits.	Mention of COFA and an image of a meeting with Micronesians
3/4/2015	**Dozens tested for TB at Waianae High after student falls ill**	7	**8082062424** wrote: I'm not trying to be racist .but my guess would be a Micronesian brought the infection. quite a few have moved to that area. they do not get screen for TB when they come here. they may get tested before they enter school but they have many family member who come	No mention, no image

			and go from Hawai'i to Micronesia. If not, it is another immigrant group. on March 4, 2015 | 12:17PM	
8/5/2015	**Actions against Honolulu homeless draw fire**	213	**squidbro** wrote: As drivers honked in support, 30 or so people lined King Street waving signs that read "Homelessness Is Not a Crime," "Where's Aloha for the Homeless?" and "Repeal Sit-Lie Now." Are these homeless supporters willing to actually PAY FOR MORE SERVICES ? And, why do they think others, who do not share their views, should pay ? Let's vote on it, as a democratic republic. Crazy aloha, the more you support homeless, the more you increase the number of people moving here to take advantage of the handouts. For example, the USA compact of free association with the Marshall Islands, Micronesia, and Palau is going to be an ongoing source or homeless who are impoverished, have immigrated to Hawai'i, need services, and cannot pay for anything. Why do the citizens of Hawai'i need to pay for this failure of USA immigration policies?	No mention, and no relevant image
11/16/2015	**Ige: Hawai'i would welcome Syrian refugees**	368	**Pocho** wrote: Hawai'i can't take care of its own Homeless or Micronesian population properly and now IGE wants to accept Syrians? Impeach IGE, is not protecting our Americans in Hawai'i! **Piikoi02** wrote: Maybe for every Syrian we take, we give back two Micronesians?	No mention or relevant images

> **Alohaguy96734** wrote:
>
> We have a lot of refugees already---from Chuuk.

In Table 8, the first group of comments references police, and how bad they know "the Micronesians" are. This use of authority that claims racist remarks is a way to reinforce and legitimize stereotypes and racist ideologies. The following comments come from a thread where some of the statements had been deleted by the HSA editors. In the thread, the first comment is deleted, the second references Marshallese and Micronesians, and the third celebrates the death with "Nice! 1 down and hopefully 1 goes to jail for an extended period of time. Two less trouble makers for the general public to deal with. Although I do feel bad that the victim died but it is not so nice having to live and deal with a person who drinks and yells at passerby's and could imagine the neighbors having to deal with all the noise." In this quote the commenter is justifying the death through the claim that they were a bad person who drinks and yells. These three above comments were followed by 20 others. The banter about bad migrants continued until the end with this remark "Our delusional Obama orders last year 64000 illegal invaders (called "undocumented" immigrants) with serious criminal records were released into our neighborhoods to prey on us. Do I hate this and its originator? You bet!" In this last statement the commenter relies on their political and legal appeal against illegal immigration to declare their unabashed hate for migrants. Like so much of the content in the HSA, there is no indication that this content has been censored though clearly the first comment was, as it was deleted. Despite that first deletion, the rest are hosted by the HSA for all to read, and ultimately reinforces their featured story.

Commentator's radicalized speech is often framed in "common sense" appeals to supposedly race neutral principles. These appeals often play into dominant and entrenched racial stereotypes that go largely unquestioned (Hughey & Daniels, 2013). From the 44 news articles with extensive comment sections mentioning "Micronesians" or associated terms, I found the most racist discourse in seemingly matter of fact statements. They were implicit racial stereotypes, written with the authority of absolute fact. One example was in response to an article titled "Man, 18, charged with manslaughter in Ewa Beach death," below the title is a picture of a young Pacific Islander mugshot (see Figure 19).

TOP NEWS

Man, 18, charged with manslaughter in Ewa Beach death

Star-Advertiser staff | March 31, 2014 _Updated March 31, 2014 10:25am_

SHARE

Gerime Bradley is charged with manslaughter in the death of Melvin Howard near his home on Komana St. at about 12:35 a.m.

Figure 19. Mugshot of Gerime Bradley in the Honolulu Star-Advertiser.

Exclusion of the migrant voice. The last notable trend in the dominant media is that the stories analyzed were continually about the migrants, but almost never by the migrants. I searched the articles for direct quotes, and there were very few directly quoted a person who had migrated. In the discussion of homelessness, a migrant was quoted, which only played into the host society's perception and collective ascription of migrants as homeless. One would expect to hear a Micronesian voice in the articles about navigation and Papa Mau Piailug, but a Hawaiian navigator usually conveys the narrative in those stories.

Counter Narrative to HSA

As noted earlier, the HSA is not the only newspaper, nor the only voice that impacts the politics of reception. Interestingly, in the past few years, the Honolulu Civil Beat has been

providing a strong counter narrative and telling the story of migration and the Compacts more cohesively. In addition to the Civil Beat's holistic reporting are community based organizations (CBO) that support the COFA community through thoughtful and organized efforts. The Civil Beat, along with the CBO voices shape the discussion of migration and negotiate the politics of reception for migrant in the Pacific and elsewhere.

Unlike the HSA, which problematizes migrants, the Honolulu Civil Beat has in-depth reporting about the issues that migrants face, the challenges of COFA, and even the openly discusses the politics of reception for Micronesian migrants in Hawai'i. I have been following all articles written about COFA and Micronesians for the past 7 years and anecdotally, it seems that the amount being published is increasing. In addition to there being more information available, there is an increase of neutral reporting on migrants. A recent article in the Honolulu Civil Beat is an excellent example of this trend and turns the dominant narrative upside down. It was titled "Why Talking About Anti-Micronesian Hate is Important: Shining a light on racial prejudice makes us all think more carefully about what we say — and can't help but make our community stronger." It was published on September 24, 2018 and details the authors (Anita Hofschneider, who was born and raised on Saipan) experience moving to Hawai'i. The author tells about the hate, the threats, the unabashed open racism towards "Micros"(Hofschneider, 2018b). It is undeniable that the issues of migration are layered, but the extreme racial practices that have been normalized in Hawai'i should be seen for what they are. Hofschneider lays bare the racism that is rampant on social media, such as the tweet depicted in Figure 20.

Kawohi Kekumu
July 16 at 10:09 AM · 🌐

Micronesians have no social structure. They have no family foundation. Show me marriage licenses there are none. They breed like rabbits and have zero parenting skills. AND THEY LACK A LEADER AND EDUCATION TO FIGHT THE USA.
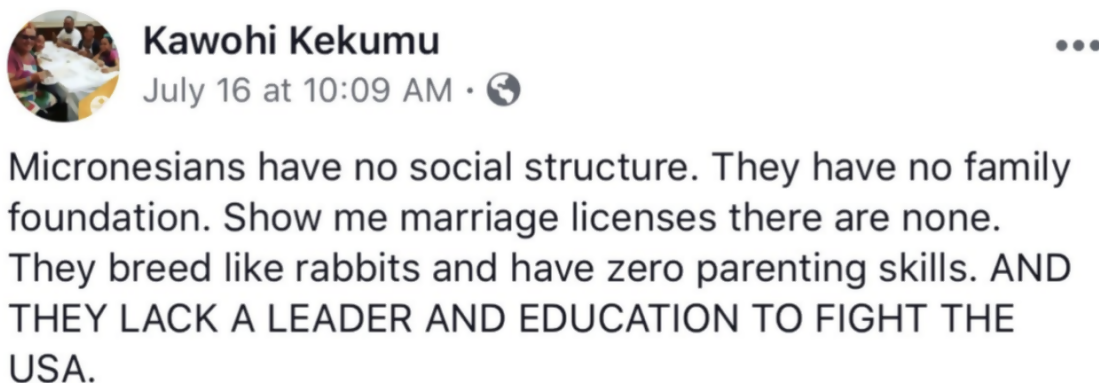
Figure 20. Tweet from July 16, 2018 included in a Honolulu Civil Beat article.

Just as we have seen in the comment sections of the HSA, people like Kekumu use the collective narrative about a stereotyped group to hang their prejudice on. The author of the article contacted Kekumu to discuss the racist tweet, and the below excerpt is how the Twitter user described her "beliefs" (Hofschneider, 2018b).

> She once saw boys who looked Micronesian get into a brutal physical fight at Ala Moana Park. She says her neighbors in Liliha are Micronesian and they smoke pakalolo and have too many people in their house.
>
> I asked if she'd ever met a Micronesian person she respected.
>
> "No," she said simply.
>
> She added she's talked to teachers at the public school that her kids attend and they agree that the Micronesian students are lazy.
>
> "My statement is not racist," she said. "I'm calling it like I see it."

This article calls out racist speech and holds people accountable for it. Unlike HSA, who routinely was found to host comments that were blatantly hateful and broke the rules for even their own comment section, Honolulu Civil Beat takes a long and uncomfortable look at the reality of race relations in Hawai'i. The comment sections for this article, as well as the responses in social media online were fascinating, and refreshing compared to the dominant media. There were six comments in total, all of which followed the Honolulu Civil Beat rules for participation, which read:

> Aloha, Honolulu Civil Beat readers. We appreciate your thoughtful comments. But in order to makes commenting an engaging experience for as many readers as possible, a few rules: Please limit the number of times you comment per story so everyone has a change to participate without feeling like they are in the middle of an argument between just a few people. Language and words are important so please avoid snark and put-downs. Not every comment may get posted. We may suspend commenters who overstep at our sole discretion.

The Honolulu Civil Beat recognizes the power of words, and explicitly warns commenters that "snark and put downs" will not be tolerated. They are so diligent with their curation of the comment section that the HSA, in comparison seems completely negligent.

The final comment to this article is by a user named Vid (Hofschneider, 2018b):

> Thank you, Anita, for your work in shedding light on this shameful side of the Aloha Spirit...the discrimination in Hawaiʻi. It's shameful that the native Hawaiian's who have benefited from Papa Mau Piailug's legacy have remained silent while their youth and parents continue to perpetuate anti-Micronesian sentiments based on ignorance. What good is the Mālama Honua's worldwide voyage to build world peace when they can't solve issues at home in Hawaiʻi with the neighboring Oceanic people like us, da Micros?

Vid is speaking to the paradox, and complexities that exist in Oceania. It's not reductive, or even necessarily right, but it exposes the raw, human crux at the center of the issue of migration, climate change, histories of people sharing one ocean, and how we progress together, or not at all. An image from the article perfectly portrays how hate is handed down. It depicts graffiti on a window at Micronesia Mart, scrawled in blue it says "return my tax dollars" (Figure 21). It is unlikely that the artist is personally paying taxes, but as we have established, these ideas get passed down.

Figure 21. Image from the Honolulu Civil Beat captioned "Graffiti sprayed on Micronesia Mart in May 2013 reflects ethnic tension in Hawaiʻi. The store is run by Micronesian business owners."

In its totality, this article published by Honolulu Civil Beat represents the collective power of giving voice to the minority, and standing in opposition to often accepted serotypes. In part, I think it has opened space for broader conversations to be had.

In addition to this newspaper are the CBO's that work in similar ways. We Are Oceania (WAO) is a strong proponent in the community that does extensive outreach for the COFA community and also participates in public facing events. For the COFA community they are located in St. Elizabeth Church and act as a "one stop shop" for a wide range of services. For the politics of reception we can look at the way WAO participates in public facing events like the Aloha Festival Floral Parade in Waikiki in September of 2018. This parade featured over 2000 participants and 40 vehicles with 10 bands.

The excitement in the air was palpable. Seeing the younger kids was the most impactful. The girls in the image below (Figure 22) were clearly excited, and happy to be part of the WAO float. At one point they heard the blowing of a conch shell, so I took them to find it. We came upon two little boys, similar to them in age, sitting on the back seat of a convertible for Kamehameha Schools. I asked them if they would blow the conch again, and the girls stood and listened. We thanked them, and as we walked away, the youngest told me, "back home, we blow on shells like that too." WAO representing their culture has a strong message for those who are part of WAO, and share positive attributes with the larger community, likely influencing the politics of reception in ways not yet studied.

Figure 22. Two younger WAO members at the Aloha Floral Parade 2018. Picture provided by author.

The float for WAO was an embodiment of cultural pride with shell lei, wave charts and woven crafts (see Figure 23). Everyone was helping to decorate and wearing WAO shirts, often with their traditional skirts. While waiting for the parade progression to begin, the women in attendance were dancing, music flowing from the truck. Men, who also were present but not as involved in the decorations or dancing sat on a low wall, talking among themselves.

Figure 23. The float for the Aloha Floral Parade in Waikiki 2018. Photo courtesy of Luciano Minerbi

Findings

Politics of Reception

The "politics of reception" refers to an active process of creating a story, sentiments and ideology around the issue of migration. It is not determined by one person, or one flow of information, rather it is actively being created through many avenues, and separate voices. For this chapter we focused on the dominant newspapers "politics of reception." It is a microcosm of how the larger "politics of reception" are established, and also plays a large role in informing its readers about migration.

The concept of "politics of reception" include economic, social and historical conditions in the receiving community. It is difficult to separate how the politics of reception also includes how Micronesians are subject to xenophobic racism in Hawai'i from some local residents. Racist slurs used against them, such as being leeches and joke telling about them that represent them as subhuman contribute to the overall politics they are met with in Hawai'i (J. Okamura, personal communication, 2018).

The politics of reception are also formed, and form by policies of state government, such as the unwillingness to provide COFA migrants with full health care services. Time and time again the designation of Honolulu as a sanctuary city have languished. A sanctuary city would not just help COFA migrants, it would change the politics of reception for all immigrants.

The economic factors are determined by the migrant's legal status as well as social dynamics that impact their employability. COFA migrants for instance are eligible for TANF (cash assistance for family with children under 19), General Assistance Cash (for individuals between the ages of 18 and 65 who are disabled and cannot work more than 30 hours a week), AABD (cash for individuals over 65 or the blind or disabled), and in addition to these programs COFA migrants have the right to work in the United States. They are ineligible for food assistance programs, Medicaid, QUEST (State healthcare, if they are over 19, not pregnant, or disabled) or Supplemental Security Income. Clearly, their status creates restrictions for COFA migrants economically.

It creates a scenario where the stereotypes prevent employers hiring migrants, meaningfully impeding their ability to find gainful employment.

Social and historical dynamics around migration are more varied. The newspaper is one aspect of the social world both created by and creating the politics of reception. Previous migration trends, the openness of people to other cultures, the degree to which the new migrants blend in, all influence the attitude toward migrants. Even individuals have the ability to shift ideas around the "politics of reception." The famed navigator, Papa Mau (from Micronesia) taught Hawaiian's how to sail vast distances without instruments. This feat, and sharing of his knowledge is hugely respected, if not often repeated in Hawai'i. It seems that stars like Mau can bring more awareness and positively influence the outcome for migrants.

One recent development was the creation of the hashtag #beingmicronesian by the Sha Ongelungel, a Palauan American activist (Lyons, 2018). This hashtag has given a live platform for people to share their experiences. It's a powerful collection of often painful encounters. It very much humanizes who is on the receiving end of racism.

Together, these "politics" do a lot to determine if migrants are rejected or welcomed in the receiving country. The politics of reception and have a large impact on the outcomes of the migrant's resettlement.

One can easily ascertain what seems to be the "politics of reception" through listening to people talk at the grocery store, or overhearing comments made on the street. In schools is an interesting place to hear how children refer to each other, however, their tactics do more to explain individual reception toward migrants than make clear what the larger "politics of reception" are. Though it is true that conversations contribute to larger attitudes in communities, I wanted a larger data set, and to understand the reception at a macro level.

This research found discriminatory discursive practices at work in the most read newspaper in Hawai'i. This is helpful in understanding the politics of reception for Micronesian migrants in the islands. It is one lens through which to see the migrant experience and how the migrants are viewed. However, it is difficult to articulate how the authoritative voice of the most circulated newspaper in Hawai'i shapes behavior toward or perceptions of migrants. We do know that news text can be considered a creator and mediator of discourse, as well as mirror of dominant ideas. The media plays a role in influencing and reinforcing the politics of reception for migrants and through this analysis it has been clear that the HSA presents news in a way that is advantageous to the dominant local groups in Hawai'i and further marginalizes Micronesians.

This analysis has shown there is a systematic exclusion of migrant voices and that the stories consistently sheds a negative light on their community in Hawai'i. Micronesians in Hawai'i are included in the newspaper because they are the story, not because they are able to tell any part of their story or influence the reporting in anyway. The reports that comprise this data rely largely on collective perspectives and implicit stereotypes to portray the ideology that Micronesians are a burden to the state and undeserving of their freely associated status.

This ideological stance surely creates an environment of hostility toward Micronesian migrants in Hawai'i. Stereotypes hinder the migrant's ability to secure good jobs, housing, and education.

Establishing this to be the politics of reception for people moving to Hawai'i from COFA nations is the first step in understanding how they create space and adapt to the culture in Hawai'i. The general discursive dominance over newer migrants impacts the outcomes of their ability to have fulfilling lives in Hawai'i, through access to education, employment, housing and healthcare.

Collectively, the injustices suffered by the Micronesian migrant's impact the entire community on multiple levels. The barriers that are built through racism are a matter of social justice for those that are discriminated against. They also impart inequalities that are taxing on the locality as a whole, such as discriminatory hiring and housing practices contributing to increased joblessness and homelessness.

Though it would be difficult to prove the direct correlation between the treatment of Micronesian migrants in the media and the outcomes they experience, racism relies on accepted stereotypes of the "other." The representations in the media reflect the negative views that many in the community hold. The general descriptions of Micronesians in the media are also reflective of the discriminatory policies of both the Linda Lingle administration (2002-20010) and Neil Abercrombie administration (2010-2014) that denied adequate health care services. Both the broader media representations, and the policies of the State of Hawai'i are hugely consequential for migrants. They lay the foundation for our understanding about the politics of reception in Hawai'i.

As planners, it is critical when looking forward to recognize these stereotypes, and rather than reinforce them, planners should actively seek to understand how they influence decision making processes, and ultimately policies and placemaking. Planning for dominant stereotypes of people will never allow for problem solving, or effective understanding of real issues in society, it can only further ingrain the complex problems that exist. For planners to be transformative, and positively impact the communities that they work in, they must rise above dominant discourses to see the reality of situations, and the challenges that actually need solutions.

Conclusions

The results of the analysis showed how covert representations and overt associations that the media makes in relation to the terms "Micronesia," "Micronesian," and "COFA." This study showed how the most influential newspaper in Hawai'i discursively constructs the "Micronesian

migrant" and influences their resettlement in Hawai'i.

As Hawai'i becomes a more important destination for climate change migration in Oceania (Holthaus, 2016) better tactics for accommodation and graceful incorporation of the newest arrivals into civil society must be made. It is necessary for urban planners to understand ambient attitudes toward migrants in receiving communities in order to address issues of fair representation of migrants as they integrate into society. Recognizing the increased number of migrants as an opportunity for growth rather than a threat can change the way migrants are interpreted in their new home. The risk in continued exclusion of migrants from economic and educational opportunities is that they are not able to be productive citizens incorporated into communities, but remain outsiders, unable to contribute economically or culturally.

CHAPTER 3:

KALIHI-PALAMA NEIGHBORHOOD BOARD MEETINGS: MIGRANTS AND THE IDEAL OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING

Participation in civic life, and particularly planning, has always been regarded as a benchmark for democracy. Planning and placemaking[14] happens on multiple levels, the highest of which is policy. While this is instigated in the legislature, the impact is felt in the planning field. Following this is regional planning, then city planning, and finally neighborhood planning. Plans and processes are created for each level of the planning hierarchy. Throughout this process, the most visible participation by the public in planning can be seen at neighborhood board meetings that are only advisory to the city and county government of Honolulu and their members are elected by the residents.

This research is specifically interested in how new migrants are participating in the semi-structured arena of neighborhood board meetings. Meeting minutes were collected and analyzed, for a deeper understanding about migrant interaction in their receiving community. Information was sought about their assimilation through placemaking in the formal arena of neighborhood board meetings. Through the gathering, ordering and evaluation of evidence this chapter hopes to contribute to our knowledge about neighborhood planning for new migrants and to provide suggestions of best practices for planners in multiethnic communities with migrants.

This research was carried out in the Kalihi-Palama district on Oʻahu, which is designated as neighborhood board #15 (See Figure 24). This research seeks to understand who the participants are at the meetings, what kinds of civic discourse are practiced there, who participates in the dialogue, and to what extent the forum is led by these participants. To assess the process and synthesize the discussion from neighborhood board #15, the meeting's minutes from 2011 to 2015 were analyzed using Critical Discourse Analysis to evaluate participation of

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[14] This refers to a collaborative process by which we can shape our public realm in order to maximize shared value.

Micronesian migrants who are coming to Hawai'i and making this urban neighborhood their home.
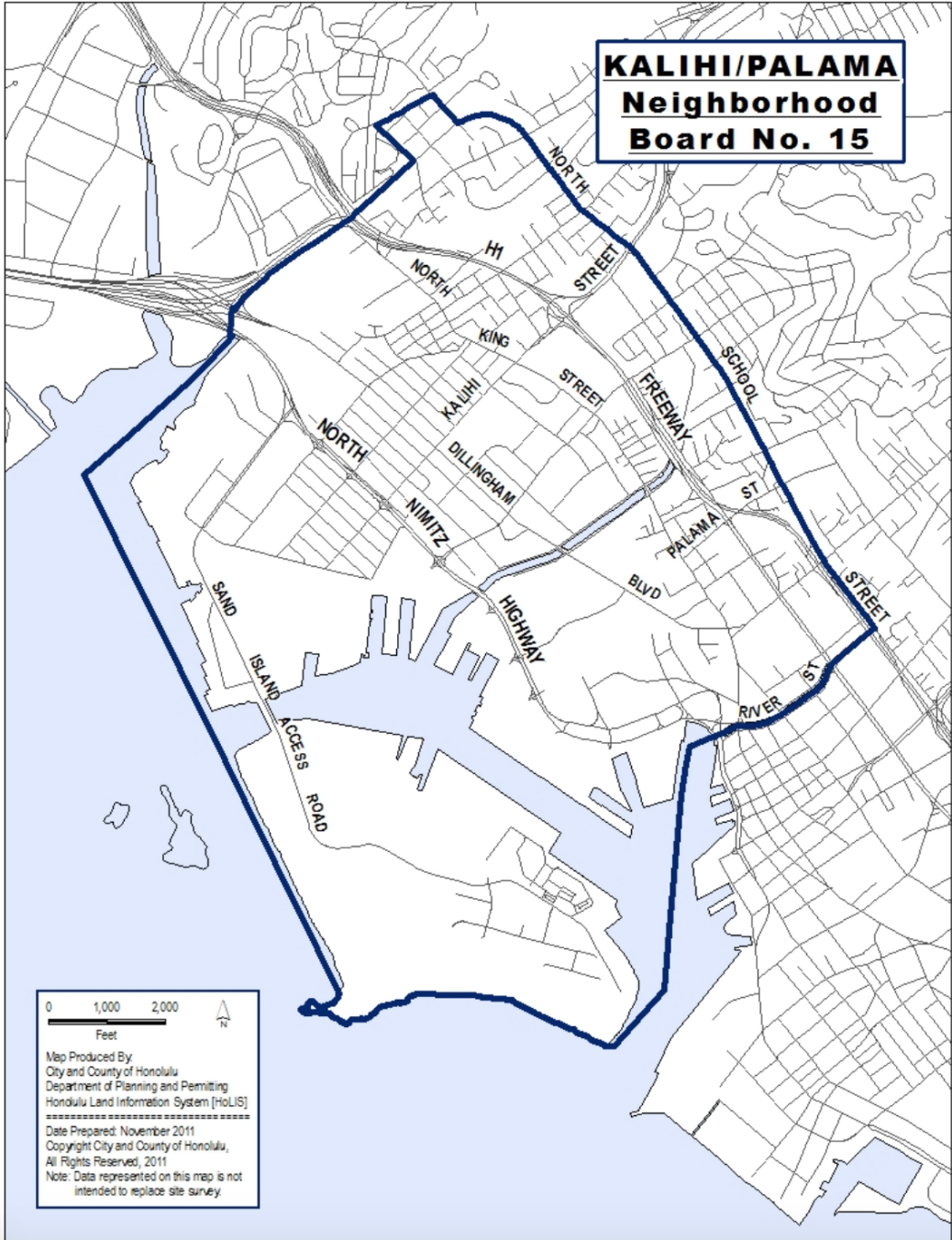
Figure 24. Map of Neighborhood Board #15 (Neighborhood Commission Office, 2015a).

This research explored how newer migrants are interacting in the urban environment. If they attend neighborhood board meetings and voice their concerns? If migrants are not participating, then who is planning for them, and to what end? Is the planning agenda just, does it value equality for all?

Research Site: Kalihi-Palama

The Kalihi-Palama neighborhood was chosen for having a higher density of Chuukese migrants. It is an interesting urban mix of housing, light industrial, old and new, churches, schools and retail. Depending on one's perspective, it can appear to be a "ghetto," or a "working class neighborhood," or if you read the planning documents for the raised rail, a major site of redevelopment and TOD. It is a particularly interesting place to consider planning and concepts of right to the city, given the development pressure that is creeping in with the rail.

Natural and Urban Landscapes

Natural landscape. The Kalihi-Palama neighborhood board is number 15 and represents an ethnically diverse and historic Ahupua'a. The valley is an important place for Hawaiians, with many oleo (chants and stories) that describe its landscape and the important people and events that happened there.

Urban landscape. When development began to intensify on the outskirts of Honolulu, many middle-class families choose to relocate to the Kalihi-Palama area. Beginning in the 1950's public housing was predominantly located in this region. Currently there are 11 public housing projects in the neighborhood, which makes it the highest density of public housing in Hawai'i. There is a mix of high-rise and medium density development and the lower regions of the valley is dominated by light industrial zoning. The O'ahu Community Correctional Facility, Honolulu Community College, and many high school and elementary school are also located there. It is a fairly dense urban area with the highest public transportation ridership on the island despite the lack of sidewalks.

Kalihi-Palama has long been a place that new residents settle, but more recently has become a focus for revitalization as the Honolulu rail transit project is planned to pass through the center of this community. It will be home to three Transit Oriented Development (TOD) stations (Kapalama Canal, Kalihi Street and Middle Street) and is subsequently a candidate for massive redevelopment.

Kalihi is considered part of the greater Honolulu area, and thus does not require far commutes for people who are working in the city or Waikiki. It is also more affordable than the

surrounding neighborhoods making it economically and geographically attractive location to those who live there now, new migrants, developers and future condominium dwellers alike.

Generations of Immigrants

Hawai'i has a long history of migration. Long after Polynesian voyagers arrived there were waves of other immigrants, like Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Germans, Koreans and Filipinos. Many of Hawai'i's locals are decedents of these immigrants who came during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and continue to immigrate today. The first sugar plantation in 1835 was an important marker in the history of immigration as it accelerated the pull factors for human movement of labor to the islands.

Interestingly, immigration in Hawai'i used to have more favorable political backing, at the opening of the Legislative Assembly on April 30, 1874 King Kalakaua said: "The subject, however, that awakens my greatest solicitude is to increase my people, and to this point I desire to direct your earnest attention. . . . The immigration of free labor will undoubtedly enrich and strengthen our country, and to this end I propose that a liberal appropriation be made." (Kuykendall, 1967, p. 117). While the current political climate would never accommodate this approach, Kalakaua's intentions may partially explain why nearly one in five Hawai'i residents is an immigrant, while more than one in seven is a native-born U.S. citizen with at least one immigrant parent (American Immigration Council, 2017).

Historically, many generations of immigrants have made this neighborhood home, welcoming their family and friends upon arrival in Hawai'i and creating communities within the bounds of the neighborhood. These communities are significant for migration patterns as they make arrival to Hawai'i seem less foreign. Okamura (2013) has written about these virtues of Kalihi but disputes them being the main reason that immigrants (particularly Filipino) choose Kalihi as a place of residence. He writes that "the view of Kalihi as a transitional zone of adaptation for immigrants is not in accord with Filipino immigrants' perception of the area. Their substantial investments in the renovation, construction and ownership of homes and in small scale businesses clearly demonstrate their commitment to the stability and further development of the community in Kalihi" (Okamura, 2013, p. 13).

Although Okamura was focusing of Filipinos in 2013, some of his findings appear to resonate with how Micronesians have characterized Kalihi.

> In general, the settlement and aggregation of immigrant Filipinos in Kalihi is best understood in terms of their perception of their situation rather than from an adaptionalist perspectives. The latter approach would place emphasis on the low socioeconomic status of Filipino immigrants and assume that this condition alone accounts for their presence in Kalihi. However, sufficient analysis of the development of the community would have to include consideration of the preference of immigrants for living with or near their relatives, their kinship norm of support for extended family members and their perception and appreciation of Kalihi as a Filipino community. (Okamura, 2013, p. 40)

This draws an important distinction on the values which are held within the community, and those that are ascribed from the outside. From a traditional western perspective, the living conditions, streetscape and neighborhood amenities, as noted above, are considered poor. But for other cultures, such as the Filipinos, as Okumura points out, the evaluation criteria uses different data points, and Kalihi is for some, and may be for others (e.g., Micronesians), is the preferred place to live.

The Perceptions of Kalihi-Palama

Despite people's preference for living in Kalihi (Okamura, 2013), residents there are often negatively stereotyped. In popular culture and the media, the neighborhood is described invariably as a "ghetto" (Cayetano, 2009b) "bad part of town," "industrial" or a "working class neighborhood."

As a prominent political figure, Ben Cayetano, storied the neighborhood in his book "Ben, a memoir from a street kid to a governor," he had a "hardscrabble childhood in the rough Honolulu neighborhood of Kalihi" (2009a, p. 3). Given the connotation Kalihi has, it is easy to ascertain that migrants living there have more than one stereotype that they are fighting against when they settle.

In popular media these same representation can be readily found. For instance, the popular group For Peace Band has a song called "Fly Up." The lyrics 30 minute into the song

say "I grew up in a ghetto man situation down in Kalihi where the ganstas post up on every corner, don't cross the border dem say" (For Peace Band, 2016).

Critical Models of Civil Discourse and Distinguishing Characteristics

The Habermasian model of public discourse as accessible, equal, dialogic, and participatory and the critical models of civic discourse accounting for power and access to discourse are important frameworks by which to evaluate civic discourse, and they were used to understand the kinds of participation that occurred and the extent of Micronesians participation in the NB #15 meetings.

Bohman on Government-Citizen Interaction

In his work, Bohman (2000) acknowledged that scholarly attention to studies of government–citizen interactions tend to be based on ideal rather than actual conditions. This is similar to other findings that suggest that citizen participation is more symbolic than real (Arnstein, 1969). Moreover, Simmons has argued that 'little work has been done to examine the institutional conditions that promote or prevent citizen participation in the decision making process' (2008, p. 3). There are a dearth of studies about citizen participation in practice. Investigations that have been carried out are concerned with public hearings (Katz & Miller, 1996); committee meetings (Simmons, 2008) and city council meetings (Farkas, 2013). Not surprisingly, many scholars have argued that more descriptive studies of civic discourse are needed, especially those that characterize and define contemporary government–citizen discourse (Weisser, 2002), and aspects of participatory planning.

The Habermasian Model

The issue of civic engagement and the function of civic discourse has been a major area of study. Habermas's (1984) methods of the public sphere has arguably been the most influential. In his theory, civic discourse occurs in a space where citizens stand on equal footing to discuss the public good. The distinguishing characteristics of civic discourse includes accessibility for all, transcendence of social inequalities, and consensus-building (Farkas, 2013). Scholars who hold Habermas's theory often go beyond his tenants and argue that in addition to accessibility there should be direct citizen participation in the decision making process (Katz & Miller, 1996).

Fairclough and Van Kijk on Power

This text is conceived as a semiotic entity, embedded in an immediate, text-internal, co-text as well as intertextuality and sociopolitical context (Wodak, 2002). It is conceptualized that language gains power through the people who have access to it in the public forum and the way that they use it. Fairclough (1992) and Van Dijk (1997) have argued that power is too central in public discourse to allow for the transcendence of social hierarchies and equally accessible discourse. This of course poses a problem when conceiving and practicing participatory planning methods.

Fairclough on Power and Language

Both Fairclough and Van Dijk see power as inherent in public discourse. They also perceive public discourse as being central to the exercise of power. In his seminal work on the relationship of language and power, Fairclough (1989) delineates two major dimensions of power and language. The first is power in discourse, which involves those in power controlling and constraining discourse of non-powerful participants. The second is the power behind discourse and is the effect of power on language and social practice. Van Dijk claims that power is associated with asymmetries between participants involved in discursive exchanges and with unequal access to discourse. Van Dijk suggests that privileged access is foundational to power, and more access corresponds to more social power. For Van Dijk, power is exhibited by those in authority who limit access and control discourse, and 'the less powerful people are, the less they have access to various forms of text or talk' (1997, p. 21).

Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis[15] was used and is rooted in critical theory and oriented toward critiquing, challenging and possibly changing faucets of our society. Critical Discourse Analysis provides a general framework for understanding "text" which in this case are the neighborhood board meeting minutes. This method of analysis takes nothing for granted and intends to open up all kinds of meanings. CDA asks how and why things happen as they do, but also questions how things might be done differently to produce a different outcome.

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[15] CDA can be defined as being fundamentally interested in analyzing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, and control as manifested in language and text (Wodak & Meyer, 2015a).

For this research, CDA is valuable because it focuses on gaining a proper understanding of how language functions in constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions and in exercising power in society (Wodak, 2002). Through a critical analysis of the discourse that occurs during NB meetings I attempt to make visible the interplay between language and social action. As a research paradigm, CDA can be characterized by its interest in making visible ideologies of power through systematic investigation of texts.

Using CDA both the text, including the context of the neighborhood board meetings, and the written record of what was said can be assessed. Using CDA also allowed me to examine power in discourse, where those in power control and constrain the discourse of non-powerful participants, and power behind discourse, where power affects social practices, language, setting, and access to discourse.

As an analytic paradigm, its roots trace back to scholars such as Fowler, Kress et al. (1979b), Van Dijk (1993), and Fairclough (1992). These scholars lay the foundation of CDA. As Kress argues, "ideological systems exist in and are articulated through language, the ideological system in itself can be reached via an analysis of language" (1983, p. 124). To Kress, Fairclough and other critically minded discourse analysts, discourse is not only a product or reflection of social process, but is itself seen to contribute toward the production or reproduction of these processes.

Neighborhood Board and Plans for Development

As mentioned earlier, the planned redevelopment opens up many uncertaintins and exciting oppotunities. If it is done well, delapitated housing will be replaced with mixed use developments. The busy streets with no sidewalks could transform into walkable streetscapes and more investment in the community could lead to greater social equality for those that live there. However, the risks of leaving people behind, or pushing lower income residents out is real.

Neighborhood Board

Given the loftily-held ideal that civic engagement is a marker of a healthy and robust democracy, it is interesting that neighborhood boards are the only government-supported civic engagement system in the City and County of Honolulu. Hawai'i. In 1973 the O'ahu's Neighborhood Board System was created to assure and increase community participation in the

decision-making process of government. The system applies the concept of participatory democracy and planning, involving communities in the decisions that affect them. An often stated critique of the planning process is that not all people in a community are included in the planning of that place (Simmons, 2008).

Currently, there is an island-wide network of elected neighborhood boards as communication channels that facilitate opportunities for community and government interaction. In the forum of Neighborhood Board Community Meetings, the basic ways that people in the community interact with planners are by voicing their concerns to the board representatives while attending the monthly meetings. Community members are also able to volunteer on a board committee or run to be a candidate or vote for a candidate in the board election. Moreover, elected representatives of the district in question attend and participate in the meetings as well as agency representatives such as police and fire departments.

Participants of Neighborhood Board meetings. The Honolulu City and County Neighborhood Commission Office has outreach programs that include booths at community events and posted fliers about the meetings. Another outreach tactic is leaving printed material about the meetings at local businesses. The board members have reported that the majority of outreach is done by word of mouth. Often someone with a concern will discuss it with a former or current board member or with a friend of a Board member (N. Baarde, personal communication, April 12, 2016).

The primary actors at the meetings are government officials (including elected board members, board chair, the mayor or their representatives, appointed officials and staff), police department members, fire department staff, Honolulu Rail Project representatives, and business owners, among others who attend in official capacities.

Each individual on the board has specific institutional roles they fill within the neighborhood board meeting and often others there in an official capacity are on the agenda. Aside from the above-mentioned individuals are citizens and community members, which are referred to as residents in the minutes.

In the role call section of the meeting, all "guests" are noted except for "residents" who were not included in the meeting minutes record until 2014 when a Neighborhood Assistant deemed this an important aspect of the meeting. In 2014 this Neighborhood Assistant

recommended residents always be included and the practice is now instituted for NB 15.

Rules for speaking, turn allocation, and turn sharing. The board meetings occur once a month and citizens are invited to participate in planning matters and discuss issues that are of public concern. The meetings take place at the Kalihi Union Church and follow the Roberts Rules of Order. A typical neighborhood board meeting lasts about 2 hours and is run according to an agenda. The agenda has 12 regular items of business as follows: Call to order, city monthly reports, residents' and community concerns, presentations, city elected officials, state elected officials, unfinished or on-going business, approval of the previous month's meeting minutes, other reports, announcements, adjournment (Appendix 4). The meetings during the period of research were all held at Kalihi Union Church, 2214 North King Street, Honolulu.

In Table 9, this trend is visible, and represents the recognized importance of the attendance of the residents at the meetings as the community members in attendance were not even recorded until 2014. Previous to 2014, the lists of guests who attended in official capacities was long, and the lack of reporting on residents seemed to reflect how their presence was perceived.

Table 9.

2011-2015 NB #15 Minutes and Records of Residents Present and Number of Residents'/Community Concerns Voiced

Year	# of Residents	# of Concerns Voiced
2011	n/a	20
2012	n/a	10
2013	n/a	25
2014	25	14
2015	74	16

Included in Table 9 are the number of comments received during the Residents' and Community Concern segment of the agenda. The numbers do not show any particular trend, but are interesting none the less because included in the "residents'/community concerns" are also comments made by NB board members. This section of the meeting is also referred to as a time

for discussion of "Anything not on the agenda" ("NB #15 Meeting Minutes: February," 2011). A board member is disallowed to move for action on any statements made during the resident/community concerns section of the meeting, but they are free to express issues or concerns that they have as residents. Thus, only some of these numbers represent comments made by the public versus the board members themselves.

Turn allocation and turn size. Turn allocation and turn size refer to the basic ways and rules for which a speaker can come to have a turn to talk at the NB meetings. There is only one opportunity for citizens to speak at the NB meetings about their concerns. During reports given by other officials they are able to ask questions in response to topics discussed. Citizens are instructed at the beginning of the meeting to adhere to the "rules of speaking" which are as follows, "Anyone wishing to speak is asked to raise his/her hand, and when recognized by the Chair, to address comments to the Chair. Speakers and those giving reports are encouraged to keep their comments to less than three (3) minutes" (Baarde, 2016).

Citizens have access to public discourse and are encouraged to participate, but the structure of their participation reveals inequities between the board members and citizens. These inequities further limit meaningful and robust participation. Turn allocation and turn size were strictly set for citizens while being entirely variable for board members. Citizens were given access to openly discuss a topic of their choosing at only one point in the meeting. They were able to respond to discussions at three other points during the meetings. These were the city monthly reports that allowed for everyone to speak directly with representatives of the Honolulu Fire Department, Honolulu Police Department, and the Board of Water Supply; the next were the representatives of the City Administration and City elected officials; and finally the State Administration and State elected officials. The format gave the officials time to discuss and present, and then they would respond to citizens following the "rules of speaking." Citizens were not allowed to speak during other portions of the meeting, and could be barred for not following the rules. Thus, the turn allocation limited citizen participation to four sections of the meeting and gave a fixed turn size of 3 minutes.

Participation by citizens could theoretically happen in four of the regularly scheduled 12 agenda items, however after looking at the data, participation was occurring far less, and in some meeting not at all. This is compared to the relatively unrestricted participation and access to

public discourse that board members and other officials enjoy. Further, board members and officials were not restricted to 3 minutes turn size, they were allowed time to clarify, or further discuss issues while citizens were not. These restrictions resulted in privileged access to public discourse for board members and officials, making them more powerful, and reducing citizens to listeners and observers of their official discourse.

Revitalization and the Honolulu Rail

There are multiple issues at play in Kalihi-Palama that make it an interesting neighborhood to study, but the one this research is most interested is the placemaking process for migrants. Throughout the history of the neighborhood, certain planning decision have shaped the place. This neighborhood used to be predominately residential, but has slowly transitioned to industrial. While this transition was happening, in the 1950-1960's the majority of public and low-income housing was built in Kalihi-Palama. This housing contributed to the idea that the neighborhood is rough and likely led to longtime residents seeking new housing outside of Kalihi. The housing is now aged, but still a good option for many new migrants, being close to the city center and less expensive than most housing on Oʻahu.

The landscape of this neighborhood is drastically changing. Since 2009, construction of a new elevated rail has been underway with vast implications for urban Honolulu. The policies and plans that are currently impacting the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood are the elevated rail currently under construction and the sit-lie bans (a sit-lie ordinance is a municipal ordinance which prohibits sitting and lying on the sidewalk or in other public spaces) across urban Honolulu.

The rail will run between Ewa Beach and Ala Moana Shopping Center passing directly through the neighborhood of Kalihi-Palama (see Figure 25) and establishing three transit oriented developments (TOD) around the train stations that are located there.

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Figure 25. Map of TOD redevelopment plans for Kalihi-Palama.

The planning document which directs this development is from the City and County of Honolulu, Department of Planning and Permitting. In the development plan it describes Kalihi.

> Kalihi is one of the most diverse communities in Honolulu. It hosts a range of small commercial and industrial businesses and serves as a home to long-time residents and new immigrants. With the introduction of rail transit, Kalihi has the opportunity to emerge as a vital mixed-use district, with a new neighborhood in Kapalama, more diverse housing and employment opportunities, reinvigorated educational centers, new open spaces, a promenade along Kapalama Canal, and a multi-modal circulation network connecting residents and workers to key destinations, homes, and jobs. (City and County of Honolulu, Department of Planning and Permitting, 2012, pp. 1–1)

The TOD plan recognizes the diversity of the community in the introduction, however does not assert that as an important value to maintain throughout the report. A quick word query found "diversity" only mentioned three times. In comparison, "economic" is used 17 times, "redevelopment" is used 34 times, and "commercial" 52 times. As will be discussed, word

counts cannot be conclusive, but they can indicate trends, and clearly in the TOD plan, it is not about maintaining diversity in an ethnic neighborhood, it is much more about redeveloping for commercial interests. The very real impacts of redevelopment and displacement of the current community and likely relocation of the low-income residents is not addressed and remains an outstanding issue for Kalihi. Many of the CBO's supported the TOD development, as they promised to replace older public housing with mixed use developments that would provide a better quality of life for low income subsidized housing residents. But as time has gone on, there had not been very much movement in this direction with ageing infrastructure in addition to a rail development that has been delayed with corruption and cost overages.

Sit-Lie Ban

The other ongoing issue that is pressing for Kalihi-Palama are the sit-lie bans which have been instituted across urban environment on Oʻahu, but not in the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood. For the past three years, Hawaiʻi has had the highest rate of homelessness in the US other than the District of Columbia. While the vast majority of states saw a decrease in overall homelessness between 2013 and 2014, Hawaiʻi had an increase of 9.2 percent, and overall homelessness continues to rise (Bussewitz, 2015). For every 100,000 people in Hawaiʻi, almost 500 of them are without shelter. While there have been increasing numbers of people without shelter on Oʻahu, the recent increases have drawn calls for action, with tourists complaining about too many homeless people around the beach has spurred sticker enforcement of the sit-lie ban laws which were first instituted in Waikiki in 2014. Since then, the Mayor of Honolulu extended this law in August of 2017 to include 15 zones on the island of Oʻahu when business owners and council members in neighboring districts complained that homeless people were moving into their neighborhoods.

Currently, there are sit-lie bans in Chinatown, Downtown, McCully-Moiliili, Kailua, Wahiawa, Ala Moana-Sheridan zones, Kaneohe, Waimanalo, Kapahulu, Kaimuki, Kahala, Aina Haina-Niu Valley, and Hawaiʻi Kai, Aala, and Kapalama. This expansion has sent a large amount of homeless into the Kalihi-Palama community because there are no sit lie bans there yet and the neighborhood is close to Downtown Honolulu and Waikiki (see Figure 26).

Figure 26. Kalihi-Palama homeless encampments behind St. Elizabeth Church in 2019. Photo courtesy of the author.

The result is an intensified homeless population that aggravates residents, and is often unfairly blamed on the migrant population that also resides in Kalihi-Palama. When the city council moved to expand the ban into the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood, Mayor Kirk Caldwell, vetoed the bill (Associated Press, 2015). The bill would have made it possible for police and city workers to remove people and their belongings from Kapalama Canal, which has a large homeless community. In discussions with people who work in Kalihi-Palama, antidotal evidence showed that the homeless population in the area now is larger, but comprised of fewer COFA migrants.

Looking at the Data: Neighborhood Board Minutes

The Sunshine laws have encouraged the government to be more accessible, accountable, and responsive to citizens. These efforts have helped to make the government more transparent and open for citizens and allow for increased participation in public issues. The participatory

planning model so often espoused is most visible at the neighborhood board level. In the Neighborhood Plan, it is stated that. Because of this, I used neighborhood board meeting minutes to analyze how placemaking was happening at the most grassroots level of planning. For CDA this is unique in that the data is layered. The meeting minutes are only one set of texts created about the meetings themselves, and are the result of authoring and editing. Rather than direct transcripts, the minutes are a newly layered frame on top of the actual meeting. The 5 years of the agenda in themselves also may be revealing of issues involuntarily impacting Micronesians.

Data for the study consists of neighborhood board meeting minutes that were created from the years 2011-2015 from the neighborhood of Kalihi-Palama. I chose to pull the same years as I had looked at for they discourse analysis of the newspapers. This determined the total size of my sample. Then the coding begins, which will be discussed at length later in this chapter. The codes were then identified under nodes and parent nodes which finally could be grouped into themes. Throughout the coding process, as a qualitative researcher one is interpreting and analyzing. Due to the iterative nature of analysis, often the first steps are repeated to analyze and understand the data in a new way.

This neighborhood board is #15 and there are 50 meetings that the data represents. There were a few caveats to this approach, one being that the minutes are not recorded verbatim. The meeting minutes recorded follow the Neighborhood Plan (Neighborhood Commission Office, 2015b), Roberts Rules of Order (Henry III, Honemann, & Balch, 2011), and Oʻahu's Neighborhood Board Members Guide Book (Neighborhood Commission Office, 2015a) the Sunshine Law (State of Hawaiʻi, 2015). Aside from these official documents, the Neighborhood Assistant Supervisor reported that there is also unofficial training for recording the meeting minutes. This training consists of going over examples of appropriate and inappropriate meeting minutes so that the new neighborhood assistants have a model of what to aspire to. As a researcher, I do not have access to a more complete style guide that neighborhood assistants are instructed to use so it is difficult to understand in what ways the data may be altered, intentionally or unintentionally. Despite not having a full transcript of the meetings, the absence of certain terms is analyzed to uncover how race and ethnicity are being discussed in the meetings.

NVivo Analysis

NVivo is a qualitative data analysis computer software package NVivo 11 (QSR International, 2015). It was designed for deep analysis of large volumes of text-based information. I was able to store, organize and explore the data using this software. Through an NVivo structured process of creating nodes and coding the content, both quantitative and deep qualitative analysis was conducted.

As mentioned above, this neighborhood case study is encountering layered issues and the community is undergoing significant transformations that are instigated by decisions made outside of the NB # 15 boundaries. The elevated rail line and the associated TOD will have an immense impact on the physical environment and the social fabric of the community. In addition, there has been an influx of houseless individuals and families to the neighborhood because of the sit-lie bans that are in effect across other parts of the Honolulu metropolitan area. This increased pressure in Kalihi-Palama has created conflict locally. Lastly, migration of people to the neighborhood from international locations such as Micronesia continues, and is sometimes perceived as contributing to existing conflicts. These topics are often discussed at the NB meetings, and is a large part of the content of the data. To access the social dimensions of the meetings, it is necessary to depart from topical aspects of the data and venture further into the participatory nature and discourse dynamics.

Word counts. Preliminarily word counts were used as they can be viewed as reflecting the importance of various emergent themes (Onwuegbuzie & Teddlie, 2003b). Counting summarizes patterns in data, and helps to maintain analytical integrity (as a counter to biased impressions) and can be used in verifying a hypothesis (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Foundationally, it is a conversion of data from qualitative to quantitative information but it is not able to tell the whole story, but is another way to explore the data.

Table 10.

Neighborhood Board #15 Meeting Minutes (2011-2015) NVivo Analysis of Words Recorded During the "Community Concerns" in Kalihi-Palama, Oʻahu

Word	Count	Percentage
Noted	109	2.54
Concerns	86	2.00
Residents'	76	1.77
School	58	1.35
Street	52	1.21
Community	46	1.07
Comments	35	.81
Reported	32	.74
People	24	.56
Issue	24	.56
Students	23	.54
Homeless	21	.49
Representative	20	.47
Projects	19	.44
Parks	18	.42
Public	16	.37
Regarding	16	.37
Responded	16	.37
Raised	16	.37

The words most represented were what we might expect in this section. One thing we had to remember is that often in the "resident/community concerns" section of the meeting board members also spoke. The initial words that come up, and lead to interesting insight is "homeless." We have established that this term is often used interchangeably with migrant, and is used very often.

Coding. In conjunction with word counts, coding is a critical way to understand the data. Coding is a way to categorize the data and group certain ideas or topics. The process of coding both familiarizes oneself in fine grain detail with the data set and also organizes the information, breaking large amounts of text into digestible groups. Coding lets you gather all the material about a topic in one place (for instance, how people talk about migrants) this makes it easier to see patterns, contradictions and to develop theories. Codes can then be collected into individual nodes. A node is a collection of references about a specific theme, collectively these themes are used to gain insight to the research questions.

Because the minutes are a representation of what happened, and not the verbatim exchanges, the data needed to be looked at as an artifact of the meetings. I generally followed Chi (1997) steps for coding and analyzing data. It began with choosing the data to use, which was the NB #15 meeting minutes. After identifying that data source, I had to constrain it within a number of years. To better understand the construction of the politics of reception the years of analysis match those years (2010-2015) that were used for the newspaper CDA in the previous chapter.

There was one reference to "Micronesia" no references to "Chuukese" in the entire data set. The absence of these words in a community with the highest density of Micronesian migrants was notable. Conversely, "Hawaiian" was referenced 29 times, "Filipino" 10 times, "Chinese" 8 times, and "haole" not at all. It is interesting to find so little in terms of the word Micronesian and it forced the question, when Micronesians are spoken about, how are they referred to? Based on this, terms directly associated with these demographics were checked. "Immigrant" is used 7 times, "Migrant" which is a COFA's legal designation is not used at all, neither is "Pacific Islander."

It is most likely that all negative references to Micronesians were removed before the minutes were approved less the board be recorded officially as making racist comments or carrying on with a racist agenda. Interestingly, this absence allowed us to look at other ways Micronesians were being referenced it the text.

The terms Micronesian, COFA, FSM, Chuukese are rarely recorded in the NB# 15 minutes. Their absence is interesting as having been present in the meetings I know that people say these words. As discussed, the data is an artifact, and not a verbatim recorded so we needed to look for the code terms that are used to identify Micronesians. To do this I coded the major topics that we know affect the migrant community. These were healthcare, education and housing. Using these codes I did matrixes, which show relationships between nodes. Topics of COFA migrants were correlated strongly with Homelessness. Often the issues that migrants face were the best way to identify when they were being spoken about during the meetings.

Table 11.

Discussion of Neighborhood Board #15 Meeting Minutes from 10/19/2011 About Homelessness and Migration

Reference 1	Bill 54 – Roland Louie (Board Member) introduced Bill 54 relating to storage of private possessions on public property. It was noted that the bill was introduced by Councilmember Tulsi Gabbard. It passed first reading with a vote of seven (7) ayes and two (2) nays. Councilmembers Romy Cachola and Garcia voted against the bill. If adopted, the bill would authorize the City to confiscate personal items stored on public property. Before any personal items can be confiscated, the City will be required to provide a notice 24 hours in advance. The bill is intended to free up sidewalk space for pedestrians. It was noted the City could be held liable if a person in a wheel chair is injured due to lack of sidewalk space. Louie moved, and Young seconded to send a letter in support to Councilmember Gabbard, and other City Councilmembers. Discussion followed: 1. Councilmember Cachola: It was asked and clarified that Councilmember Cachola voted against the bill. It was noted that Councilmember Cachola is an immigrant to Hawaiʻi and had nearly faced homelessness in the past. It was noted that Councilmember Cachola urged community members need to extend aloha when dealing with the homeless.
Reference 2	Services: The Chair noted he was homeless for a while but took the initiative to better his life. It was noted that homeless individuals have many services available to them; however, they choose to not take advantage of them. 3. Housing: A Board member noted many homeless individuals choose not to enter housing because they don't want to abide by the rules set there. 4. Urination: A Board member noted homeless individuals frequently urinate on the street and make it unsanitary for others. 5. Constitutional Rights: A Board member urged community members to exercise compassion and respect the constitutional rights of others.
Reference 3	No Identification - There was a concern that many of the homeless do not have ID cards. Yang is working with Department of Customer Services (CSD) to get IDs. The Veterans Administration is looking at this issue, too. The programs have no ethnic bias. Department of Hawaiian Homes Lands (DHHL) requires 50% Native Hawaiian. One needs an ID to participate in government programs. Many people from the Federal States of Micronesia may lack the documents to get an ID.
Reference 4	Homelessness Population: Bob Erb (Board Member) commented that the realistic homeless population in Kakaako should be over 600 individuals. Senator Mercado Kim clarified that the count in the survey only includes those surveyed by the consultant who surveyed each individual. 2. COFA (Compact of Free Association): Guerrero commented about the Micronesians that are residing in Hawaiʻi due to the COFA agreement.

Note. Above are references of individuals (some councilperson and some community members) discussing various issues around homelessness and migration.

Table 11 above illustrates how the word "homeless" is often correlated with other "migrant issues." Reference 1 is the discussion of a law that would allow confiscation of people belongings. The council member Cachola voted against it, and when asked to clarify reminded the board that he was an immigrant and "urged community members need to extend aloha when dealing with the homeless." This is a rare recorded glimpse into what is discussed regarding morals, and how "homeless" and "migrants" are positioned in the meetings. While we do not have the full context, we can infer that the other council members were not being compassionate about the situation. Reference 2 is similar only that the Chair positions themselves as similar to the homeless and notes that they better their lives, unlike the other homeless who are choosing their situation. This discussion too, ended with another board member asking for compassion. Both these examples show the way the issues of "homeless" and "immigrants" are being co-mingled, and inciting enough judgment and open negativity in the meetings to require other members to step in and ask for more humane treatment of the issues.

Reference 3 and 4 each show how issues specific to migrants, specifically COFA migrants are correlated to homelessness. Reference 3 discusses FSM and identification cards. The comments begin with concerns about the lack of identification cards for homeless. Then moves on to note that "One needs an ID to participate in government programs. Many people from the Federal States of Micronesia may lack the documents to get an ID." While identification cards are an issue for COFA migrants (because they are only eligible to get temporary cards), the correlation between homeless needing IDs and Micronesians demonstrates that this council relates Micronesians to homelessness.

Reference 4 is an example of the council discussing homelessness, and the number of homeless in a recent survey. The discussion must have turned to questions about why Micronesians are in Hawai'i because Guerreo, who continually stands up for the COFA migrants civil rights, has to remind the council why COFA migrants are here. With this example, as with the others, it's clear that the council fixates on Micronesians being homeless, yet there are very few examples from the meetings where they address other both positive and negatives aspects of the COFA migrants situations in Hawai'i.

While these 4 correlated instances are good examples, there were many more where the

board was using the term "homeless" when speaking about migrants. This is problematic in many ways, but most obviously in that the "homeless" issue is not just specifically a migrant one. For NB #15 to appropriately address an urban problem, that issue needs to be understood and described. When words and ideas are mingled together, that represent separate issues but are spoken about as one in the same, no good solution can be offered.

While the Neighborhood Board system is set up to encourage citizen participation on public issues, these findings demonstrate that the role citizens played, specifically migrants, was limited. To delve deeper into this issue, we were still asking to what extent are migrants participating in the planning process, and how are they being planned for? To access this information, it was critical to look at the concerns that were voiced by them. To do this, I coded comments that were made during the "residents'/community concerns" and then coded these comments for emergent themes over the 5 years.

Findings: Asymmetrical Discourse Exchanges

There is an almost complete lack of direct discussions about migrants, and almost no words that identify the COFA population in NB #15. Having attended many meetings, I know that issues around migration are discussed. Using this knowledge and the analysis of the meeting minutes for identification of these discussions it became clear that code words were being used. Most interestingly, the "homeless" issues is discussed and used almost interchangeably with issues around "migrants." Not surprisingly, homeless discussions dominate many of the recorded minutes from the meetings. This is true for the agenda that is set by the council, as well as the "community/resident concerns" that are more free form and unpredictable from meeting to meeting.

Turn Taking Structure

For a resident to speak, it requires them to be desiring to participate in the appropriate section of the agenda. Following their interest in one of the four sections of the agenda, they must raise their hand and be recognized by the Chair. Once the chair gives the citizen permission to speak, their question has to be addressed to the Chair. After the citizen made their comment, there was often not continued discussion, but rather a statement of recognition that the comment was heard. This turn structure makes citizen's participation highly scripted, and forced to fit the formula laid out by the board members. This type of turn structure fits what Markee and Kasper

(2004) referred to as tripartite adjacency pairs, when interactions are made up of three pair parts with the first speaker opening the discussion, the second speaker responding and the first speaker closing. As their research has shown, this type of interaction produces asymmetrical discourse exchanges where the judge/teacher holds the power and is the initiator and evaluator of the exchange, and students or the second speaker represents a powerless responder (Markee & Kasper, 2004). This highly scripted model does not allow for any give and take, negotiation or consensus-building because there is no dialogic communication that fosters deliberation and cooperation. It seems that citizens have no prospect of being participants of consequences who contribute equally and productively to the discourse and decision making process. In the continuum of participation proposed by Creighton (2005), often in public discourse citizens serve at a more passive level of participation and are not involved in the problem-solving or decision making process for their community. This seems to be apparent in the NB #15 meetings.

Below in Table 12 is an excerpt from the NB meeting minutes from November 2013. In attendance were 7 board members, 2 whom left before the meeting had been complete. There were 5 attendees from the Honolulu Police Department and one representative from the Honolulu Rail Project among others.

Table 12.

Residents' Concerns (as Recorded in the NB # 15 Meeting Minutes: November 2013)

Concern

Without objection, the agenda was taken out of order to 4. A, B, D Residents' Concerns to discuss concerns with HPD.

Questions, comments and concerns:

1. Resident Bitten by Dog – Board member Louie reported that per a resident of 215 North King Street, she was walking by the bus stop across from A`ala Park and was attacked and bitten by a homeless person's dog. However, the resident did not call 911 to make a report. Louie stated that the City should enforce the clean-up law of parks as was done at Thomas Square to prevent future lawsuits. Arakaki noted that Councilmember Manahan has been making regular patrols in problem areas.

2. Personal Property Blocking Sidewalks – Kolio asked and Sergeant Bonnell clarified that HPD cannot just take and remove personal property from people.

3. Harassment – Arakaki reported small businesses on Mokauea and Ahuula Streets being harassed by people drinking in the area and asking for money.

4. Gang Activity – Arakaki noted possible gang activity near Bishop Museum. Sergeant. Bonnell replied that residents are encouraged to call 911 while the activity is in progress. Beat officers do check the areas between their case loads. However, HPD cannot do much if things are happening on private property.

5. Illegally Parked Cars – Arakaki reported cars and vans illegally parking on sidewalks on Old Palama Road and Iao Lane after 6:00 p.m.; and at 1200 North School Street.

6. Factory Street – Arakaki reported, per Major Hite an establishment on Factory Street is being monitored for illegal activity. Sergeant Bonnell noted that officers check the area daily and arrests have been made. One of the problems is trying to address the issue. Legislators and prosecutors must deal with the problem and pass new laws. It was noted that gaming rooms are island wide.

7. Fun Zone – A resident raised concern about possible illegal activity at this game room and people loitering in the neighborhood at all hours day and night. The resident pointed out how a game room can operate when there are three (3) schools within two (2) blocks of the establishment. Sergeant Bonnell replied that HPD was told that there is no gambling. The resident noted witnessing increased car traffic activity at night. According to Sergeant Bonnell, an officer must see the violation. The resident was encouraged to call and report the activity to the HPD Drug/Narcotics Division. Sgt. Bonnell stated that HPD can only enforce the law.

8. Permits – Kolio inquired as to how permits for businesses, such as game rooms are issued and by which department. Kolio asked if a Department of Planning and Permitting (DPP) could attend the November Board meeting to explain the permit issuing process. Mayor's representative Kajiwara will do follow-up.

This example shows how the chair wields their power during the resident/community concerns section of the meeting. Without hesitation, the board changes the format of the meeting and then the members continue to voice their personal concerns ahead of community members voicing of their concerns. The last individual to voice a concern was an actual resident. This type of control shows the lack of participatory nature of the procedures and the aloof nature through which the board "involves" residents. The turn taking structure does not work for the residents and favors others. The structure of their participation reveals inequities between board members and citizens.

Of the eight points brought up during the "community/resident concern" section of the meeting, only one of them is voiced by an actual resident that is not a board member. The turn taking during this discourse is clearly skewed toward the board members who voice multiple concerns. For instance, Louie begins the discussion with a comment about a homeless persons' dog biting someone. This concern, incidentally is discussed by Louie in 2 more future meetings. His comment during this meeting is answered by another board member, Arakaki. The next concern is from Kolio, another board member, and is directed at the HPD about removing personal property from homeless people. After this, the third to sixth comment are made by Arakaki in this order: harassment, gang activity, and illegally parked cars and Factory Street (illegal activity). The first concern by Arakaki about harassment was that people were drinking and asking for money on the street. The next concern was that there was gang activity around the Bishop Museum, to which HPD responded about proper protocol. The third concern Arakaki mentioned was illegally parked cars and the fourth was regarding illegal activity to which HPD again responded with a comment about the protocol for dealing with the issue. HPD also reported to the board member that arrests have been made.

After the discussions above concluded, the seventh comment is given finally by a resident who does not serve on the board. The comment concerned the Fun Factory and illegal activity like gambling and an increase traffic at all hours of the day and night. The resident speaks to the land use issue of having "three (3) schools within two (2) blocks of the establishment" (*NB 15 Meeting Minutes: November*, 2013). Rather than a board member responding to the concern about incongruent uses, the HPD responds that Sergeant Bonnell "replied that HPD was told that there is no gambling." To this claim the resident makes clear that they have witnessed car traffic activity at night. The sergeant then tells the resident that the HPD must witness the violation.

Following this the resident is told to call in the activity when witnessed, but reminded that "that HPD can only enforce the law." In this back and forth, it is clear the resident does his best to make a point about the seriousness of the activity he is witnessing in the neighborhood. However the Sargent seems to dismiss the resident at each speech turn, and the board follows up with a request for someone from the Department of Planning and Permitting to attend the next meeting to explain how permitting works for game rooms. This last request is hopeful, but the resident wasn't consulted about solutions, nor were any offered by the board. During this exchange there was no dialogue or interactive discourse. The citizen clearly attempted to participate in a conversation, but was discouraged from further engagement when not allowed to elaborate on their concerns. Each response given to them seemed to be an attempt at ending the conversation rather than encouraging a thoughtful description of the issue or perceived solutions. The very fact that no decisions can be made during this portion of the meeting seems to solidify citizens' roles as relegated to passive, and not active participants in the board meetings.

HPD's nonresponse to the resident is stark in comparison to their responsiveness to much more minor seeming issues that the board members bring up. One example is from August of 2013:

> Old Palama Street – Chair Guerrero asked and it was clarified that Iao Street is part of District 5, Sector 4. Chair Guerrero reported a white truck illegally parked on the sidewalk at the corner of Iao Street. An HPD unit would be sent to check on the matter. (City and County of Honolulu, personal communication, 2013)

In this scenario, the Chair simply reported an illegally parked car, there were no suspicions of gambling, or improper land use. But despite the minor nature of the complaint HPD was responding immediately. This example shows the disparity between citizen complaints and participation, and that of the more privileged participation of the chair and board members.

Nomenclature

Within every community, there are certain ways names are assigned meaning. The neighborhood board does this and it can be seen in the way residents and other participants are noted in the minutes. The nomenclature lays clear the power differentials that are taking place. In the examples above, HPD personnel are noted by their titles, such as "Sergeant Bonnell" while residents are not named at all. Board members are often referred to as only by their first name, showing a familiar preferential treatment while all other presenters and participants are

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referenced by their full first and last names indicating a separating distance.

Conclusion

While all citizens in Kalihi-Palama have access to the NB 15 meetings, Habermas's ideal is not met, as roles for board members and citizens are so prescribed that citizens are really reduced to audiences more than equally footed participants. The inequality and asymmetrical power is clear from the structure of the agenda and citizens allocated turns. A meeting designed by Habermas would allow for deliberation. The power would be in the process, and the time and space allowed for discussion, and not necessarily the outcome.

We can recognize the disparity between the participation of the council member and that of the residents. Beyond this disparity, is the complete non-existence of the involvement of migrants in participatory planning. It is disappointing to not see input in the meetings from the migrants themselves, while they were physically present at some meetings, their absence from the record is a statement about how planning works at the grassroots level. We have an indication that migrants are not in the formal, civic engagement forum that planning so mightily hopes they could be. At this point in the research the lack of visibility of migrants in the council meetings made it clear that if migrants were imprinting space, and making places meaningful, it was out in the parks and on the streets, not in the government sanctioned meeting halls

Addressing the limitations of current participatory efforts requires that public administrators become less concerned with their own ideas and opinions, and more willing to act as a conduit for community members to interact in the forum of the meeting. Structural changes to the agenda would go a long way in affording opportunities for participation by all attending. But beyond that, the discourse around issues would have to shift so that it is not "us" against "them" but rather a collaborative approach to making ones community stronger and better, collectively. This would mean more engagement and authentic deliberation, rather than the current status quo of 3-minute comments, and board members "noting" what is said.

Without the participation of migrants the council member are left to plan for them. Clearly, given the interchangeable nature of the "homeless issue" and the "migrant issues" in the meeting minutes, there is no equity in this arrangement.

Planning, it its most noble form should help to eradicate injustices and create more equitable futures for people, especially in urban environments. Migration is a complex issue, but no one expects it to lessen in the coming years. It represents part of an ever changing landscape, where being adaptable and dynamic will be the only way to prosper. Cities, and those that plan for them have a great deal to learn from migrants, and hopefully can share many opportunities in the years ahead.

CHAPTER 4:

THE MIGRANT EXPERIENCE: INTERVIEWS WITH MIGRANT WOMEN FROM CHUUK

Introduction

This portion of the research sought to understand how women in the Chuukese diaspora who have migrated to urban Honolulu build community and create a home in Hawai'i through their networks and knowledge from home. As part of their adaptation process, there is an opportunity to learn about the mechanisms of coping and community resilience in their new urban built environments and social networks.

This study focused on a single population of women migrants who live in the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood. I choose this approach over comparative studies so that I was able to explore in greater detail my research questions of linking women's adaptive process to space. The findings from the inquiry will have limitations because the research is only looking at one population of women in the Chuukese diaspora who are located in an urban setting. To increase the construct validity of this study, multiple sources of evidence were sought, and drafts of the data, along with the findings have been reviewed by key informants (Yin, 2014).

Entry into the Community: The Na Hokulele Project (NHP) Housing and Development Grant

The NHP Grant

For 3 years (2012 to 2015), I worked on a Housing and Urban Development grant called the Na Hokulele Project (NHP) in the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood on the island of O'ahu. The program was a partnership between Hawai'i Pacific University (HPU) and a local nonprofit, the Krause Family Foundation (KFF). It was designed to impact residents of all ages in the Kalihi-Palama region.
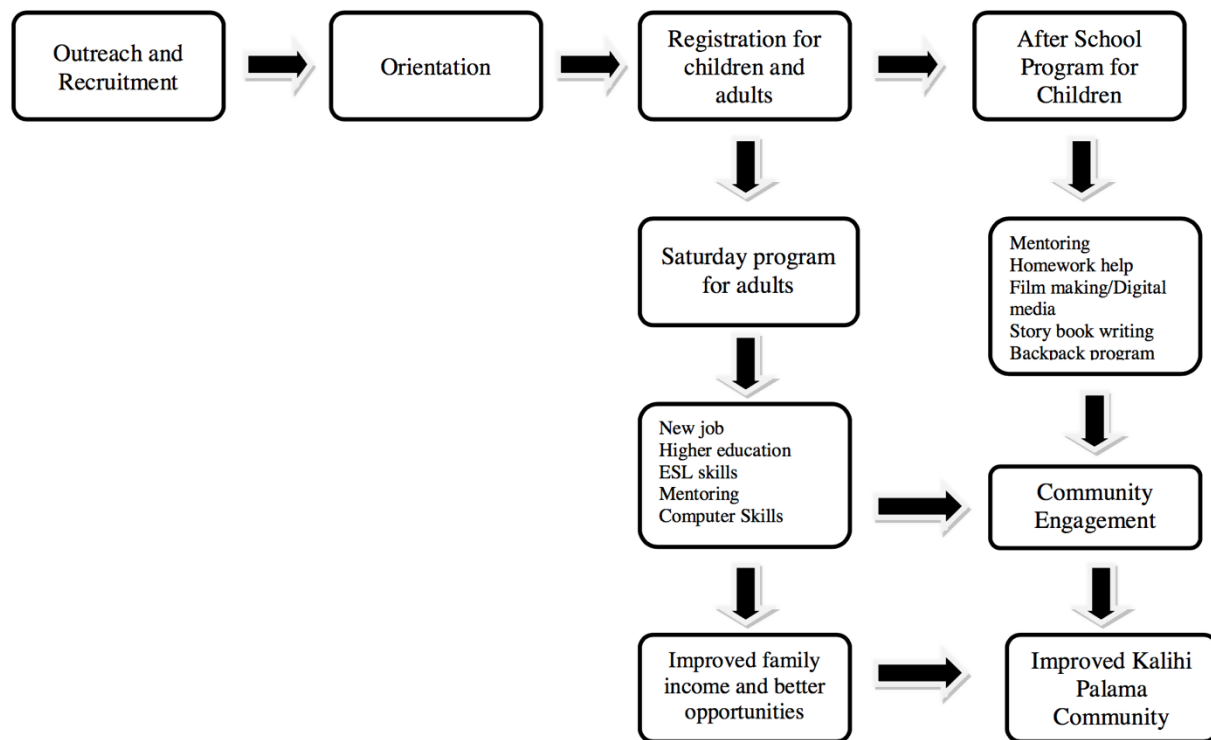
Figure 27. Na Hokulele project program design.

NHP location. NHP was located at St. Elizabeth's Church in Kalihi-Palama, a well-established community resource that serves many needs beyond the spiritual. While some residents in the community are members of the church, even those who are not members consider it a comfortable place to spend time that is safe for their children. A hall at the church served as a community center with community events, free legal advice, women sewing groups and other denominational congregations (e.g., a Protestant Chuukese sermon on Sundays).

Youth after-school. Youth in the region attended an after-school/day care at St. Elizabeth's church where they learned about Science Technology Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) education and digital media, and received literacy tutoring and mentoring from HPU students.

Adult weekend workshops. The adult participants attended evening and weekend job and soft skills development workshops. The workshops were focused on providing information to residents so they would be able to make the connection between (a) community, (b) economic, and (c) workforce development. The workshops were centered around topics such as, job training opportunities, sustainable agriculture and healthy living, small-business development,

and home healthcare certification. Very few men came to the workshops, while the majority of women came every weekend. The topics for the workshops followed their interests helping to sustain attendance.

Despite having kids at home, and no doubt other obligations, they faithfully gathered on Saturday mornings and would stay until noon. In this time, I learned about their experiences as women migrants in Hawaiʻi. They had to face down cultural divides that spanned from their wardrobes to employment expectations and new economic pressures.

NHP as a network. The NHP was an important door for me into the community. Through my involvement with both the youth and adults I was able to learn about people in the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood, and became particularly close to migrant Chuukese women. While I worked with the youth during the week, I volunteered on Saturdays during the adult workshops, assisting in resume building, CPR classes, online applications, tracking down documents from state offices, setting up appointments and working on interviewing skills. It was during this time that women shared their stories with me and I began to see the shape of the Pacific Diaspora, and more specifically, the Chuukese Diaspora.

Place of Women in Chuukese Culture

As I came to learn, women are central in the Chuukese society. They are literally the center of their lineage in their clan. In this matrilineal society, women inherit land rights and are responsible for its management. Women in Chuuk are also fisherwomen, and unlike in other Pacific cultures, the men tend the taro and the women walk the reef and net fish. There are also many responsibilities beyond land management that fall to women in Chuuk. These include being the predominant caregivers of both young and elderly, and taking care of the household and all that it entails. Decision-making is often communal, and led by the elder women in the family. These traits are unique, and attention should be paid to how they play out in the migrant community.

Recruitment

Having spent a significant amount of time in the community, the most effective recruitment of participants were the relationships I built there. The trust that had been established was important. I was given more access because of my familiarity with the community.

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Informed Consent

Informed consent was secured in writing and also verbally with the participants to assure they knew and understood their rights, and what their involvement in the research would entail. In addition to participants receiving a written informed consent form, I read the informed consent aloud with participants. This was also an opportunity for them to ask questions, and further clarify the intent of the research.

Respect

This ethos of researcher ethics extends beyond the IRB, and insists on far more sensitivity than a signed consent form. For the academic, the work of research with human subjects is more than a search for knowledge and understanding of the dynamics of an outside world. If one were to really embrace the ideas and concepts above, research would also be a journey to a better self, more whole and accepting of what is, and less willing to impose ones wants and needs on others. It requires constant "consideration of historical conditions and persisting forms of inequality and oppression while acknowledging the limits of knowledge" (Koro-Ljungberg, 2010, p. 605). For a new researcher such as myself, the complexities and possibilities are both terrifying and exciting, but give hope for a transformed way of understanding each other, and ourselves.

Reciprocity

I was cognizant of the busy lives of the women I researched with. They were often the primary caretaker of children, the family chef and homemaker. In addition to their duties to their family, many of them had jobs outside the home. Their participation made this research possible, without them there would be no voice of the migrant. There was a moral imperative to try to ensure that the knowledge generated through this research would benefit the participants (Bennett et al., 2013), however these benefits are not guaranteed. As part of the research process, and in an effort to assist the women I helped write job applications, set up meetings and appointments, offered rides, brought breadfruit and other food to the research site and did all varieties on online research.

Methods

This study used qualitative methods to understand and explicate the ways women in Chuukese diaspora use and produce space. The research examined women's lived experiences

with place, and their narratives were crucial to understanding how cultural consumption and production of the environment was occurring and what factors most influenced emergent spaces and uses. This approach helped to understand the social world by focusing on what individual actors said and did in a specific context (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Qualitative research recognizes the complex web of meaning, interpretation and value present in the social world. Incorporating these complexities was crucial to understanding the dynamics of migrants and their urban environments. Most importantly, qualitative research is the site of multiple methodologies and practices, a feature it shares with feminist and postcolonial methodologies (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Thus, a purely qualitative approach was the best way to develop an in-depth understanding and contribute to more inclusive planning practices, through research.

The research reported here follows a grounded theory model (Strauss & Corbin, 1997) and is based on interviews with subject matter experts and organizations which will be referred to as key informants. Qualitative techniques were used for increased depth in addressing the question of how migrants adjust and adapt when they move to urban Honolulu.

In-Depth Interviews

Migration studies often use census data or large-scale surveys to collect information, but these snapshots, massive and impressive as they are, cannot provide the detailed information necessary to the understanding of migrants' experiences in Hawai'i. Instead of large quantitative data sets, *in situ* in-depth interviews with Chuukese migrants were conducted access the minutia of place-making for Pacific Island diaspora and understand how they attempt to shape and adapt to their new home.

Ethnographic Observation

An important aspect of the research was being able to observe the dynamics of spaces and how they were used, thus observation added a layer of text to the other methods (see Table 13). My observation in public space (the park and the street) during different times of day allowed me to observe daily activities, spatial utilization patterns, social interactions, group dynamics, as well as the use-composition of different public areas. These observations were used to discuss places with research participants and assist in creating the most closely aligned interpretations of the neighborhood and their experiences there. Through being familiar with

Kalihi-Palama, I was able to discuss various places in the Chuukese migrants women's community.

Table 13.

Learning in the Field from January 2012-March 2019

Date	Location	Instrument	Source	Outcome
January 2012-May 2015	Kalihi-Palama	Observations Informal interviews	Non-profit organizations and migrants	Familiarity with the community and the socioeconomic challenges they face
March-July 2014	Kalihi-Palama	Ethnographic Observations	Life in the neighborhood and surrounding parks and churches	A deeper understanding of how migrants use space The liminality of their spaces
July-September 2014	Kalihi-Palama	Exploratory Unstructured interviews	5 Chuukese Women (ages 28-63)	Experiences of migration Challenges and Successes
October 2014-March 2015	Kalihi-Palama	Semi-structured Interviews	16 Chuukese Women	Identification of broader issues. Deeper discussion of Challenges and Successes
April-June 2015	Kalihi-Palama	Structured Interviews	10 Chuukese Women (ages 31-58)	Accounts of Social and Physical worlds back home and in Hawai'i. Adaptation strategies' Struggles and Success of Migration
August 2017-March 2019	Kalihi-Palama	Exploratory Unstructured interviews and Sharing of Findings	6 Chuukese Women who had previously been interviewed	Discussion of the findings from the research

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| December 2018 & March 2019 | Kalihi-Palama | Ethnographic Observations | Life in the neighborhood and surrounding parks and churches | A deeper understanding of how migrants use space

The liminality of their spaces |

Interviews

Exploratory Unstructured Interviews

I initially began the interview process by working with a small group of women and doing completely unstructured exploratory interviews. During these interviews, no time limits were put on our conversations. I gave them the open-ended cue: "Tell me about what it has been like coming to Hawai'i from Chuuk?" This question opened many different areas of their experience, and resulted in many issues surfacing. This was the intended outcome as I knew the issues from the outside that they face, but wanted the interviews to be structured by questions about how they have experienced migration, and what they perceive to be their largest challenges and best successes. The first unstructured interviews were with 5 women who were all from Chuuk and between the ages of 28 and 63. They lived in Kalihi-Palama where the interviews were conducted and which lasted between 40 minutes and 2 hours. All interviews were recorded to assure validity and create transcriptions for analysis.

Semi-Structured Interviews

In the final months of the program, I interviewed 16 migrant Chuukese women about their experiences with the program and their lives since they completed the trainings. What I heard were stories about job searches, their families, their housing situations, their feelings about going home, and living in Hawai'i. These interviews encouraged long discussions though they followed a loosely structured interview instrument. They revealed the woman's resilience, not only individually, but as part of a larger community. Storytelling during the semi-structured interviews was encouraged and is a methodological approach more in-line with post-colonial and indigenous ways of knowing and telling (Chilisa, 2011).

These interviews and stories were published in the fall of 2015 as part of the grant deliverables. Using NVivo, the interviews were coded for the dominant themes and from this process the interview instrument for the next set of structured interviews was created.

Structured Interviews

After the initial semi- structured interviews, through snowball sampling, I conducted 10 structured in-depth interviews. These interview respondents were made up of women whom are part of the Chuukese diaspora and who have migrated to Hawai'i and reside in the Kalihi-Palama

neighborhood. These qualitative interviews were guided by questionnaires created after the semi-structured interviews.

The women interviewed were between the ages of 31 and 58 and had migrated from Chuuk and currently lived in Kalihi-Palama. These interviews lasted no longer than 60 minutes, and the shortest was 50 minutes. The questionnaires created a more predictable timeline, so all the interviews were more similar in length. These interviews were conducted at various locations in Kalihi-Palama.

The interviews centered on the women's experience adjusting to life in the city, and their perceptions of place and space. The results included detailed accounts of their social and physical worlds, as well as the stories of their migration to Hawaiʻi and self-assessments of the challenges they have faced. It was crucial to see how they perceived their new urban environment and community, and how they had changed or tried to adapt to it.

Analysis

NVivo Analysis

Using the qualitative data software package NVivo 11 (QSR International, 2015), I was able to organize and explore the data. Through an NVivo structured process of creating nodes and coding the content, both quantitative and deep qualitative analysis was conducted.

For this analysis, I relied mainly on the my field notes, and interviews. Using NVivo software to get deeper into ideas discussed, codes were made, then nodes, which were then organized under themes.

Coding

Coding is a critical way to understand the data. Coding is a way to categorize the data and group certain ideas or topics. The process of coding both familiarized me with the data set and also organized the information, breaking large amounts of text into digestible groups. Coding gathers similar material about a topic and organizes it into one place (for instance, how migrants travel in the city) which makes it easier to see patterns, contradictions and to develop theories. Lastly, breaking data into smaller segments makes drawing connections between themes possible, which is important for understanding the larger dynamic of what is happening. Codes

can then be collected into individual nodes. A node is a collection of references about a specific theme, collectively these themes are used to gain insight to the research questions.

I followed a process of data coding rather than directly coding through theory. Codes are defined as ''tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study'' (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56). After reading the initial unstructured interviews, codes were identified that immediately resonated. Through an iterative process, more codes were created under themes.

The first step in developing these data-driven codes was to identify the themes in the interviews. After going through the interviews a few times, I decided to code on the sentence level. There was so much information packed into a paragraph. One paragraph often had 4 or 5 different themes happening, so analysis at the sentence level allowed for a clearer understanding of those ideas. These codes were "Self-Reflection of Migration," "Education," "Employment," "Expense of Living," "Health," "Housing Movement," "Physical Environment," and "Social Aspects of Migration."
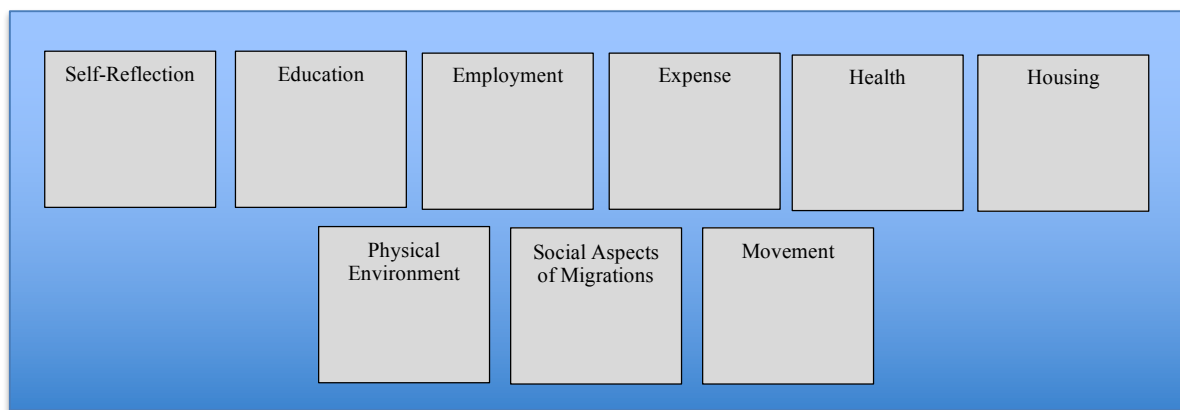
Figure 28. Initial codes from interviews.

As the coding continued through the interviews, it was clear that some of the codes needed sub codes for themes that were similar, but differed in small ways. Such was the case with employment where three sub codes were added (see Figure 29).
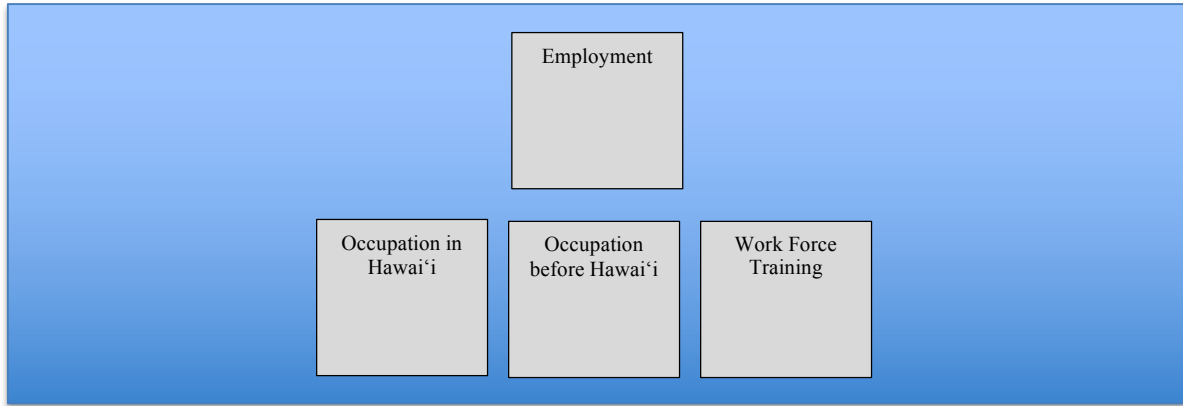
Figure 29. Differentiations in the types of employment discussed.

To "Physical Environment" the sub-nodes "Back Home," "Environmental Change," and "Here in Hawai'i" were added.
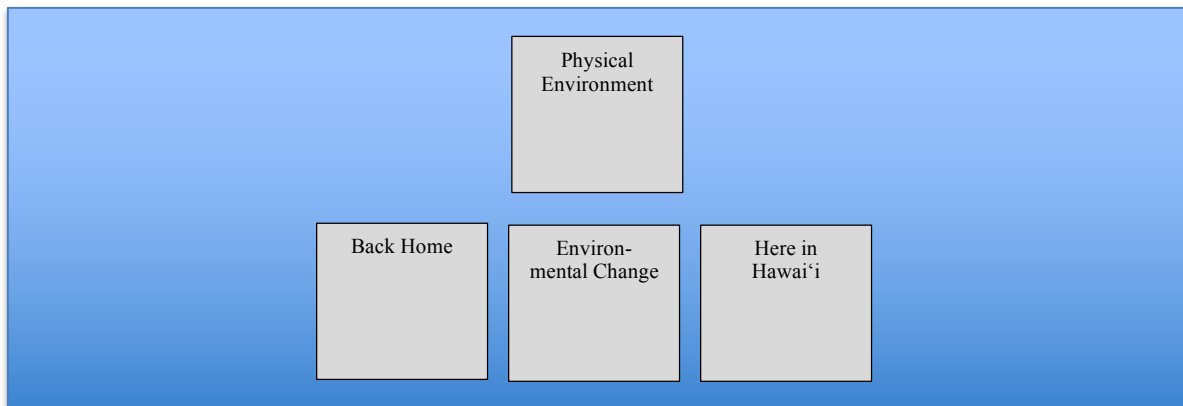
Figure 30. Sub-coding continued with physical environment and carried on through each code until saturation was reached.

I followed this process for each additional code. "Social Aspects of Migration," "Behavioral Adaptation," "Cultural Conflict," "Family Network," "Strain on Family," and "Traditions" were all added.

Movement was also added, and then sub coded, "back and forth", and "purpose of the move." The idea for this code came directly out of the circular migration theory but also presented itself in the data through the constant references to trips from Hawai'i to Chuuk and back.

An example of this is from a woman who was telling a story about after her mother died. She had to go back to Chuuk to accompany her mother body. She is also telling about moving back for the short term with her daughter:

> So I come back (to Chuuk) with my daughter and my family and we take her body back home and I stayed for 2 months with two of my other daughters. 06

The code for movement was important because the data wasn't specifically about just moving to Hawai'i, but for a wide variety of reasons, including the above example of the funeral, the experiences were about going back to Chuuk. I thought that this distinction was important to make because it speaks to the experience and research regarding circular migration in the Pacific. The idea of movement is not linear, but often involves many trips away from home, and also many returns to the homeland.

The coding helped to identify shared themes across all the interviews as the interviewees almost all discussed the pressure of being in a new place as well as the drivers that made them move. Housing, Education and Health were consistent themes across the preliminary migrant interviews which are also identified as reasons for migrating in other research. The other, most common discussion revolved around Employment. Several women made comments, such as:

> I like to clean, and cook in my home. When I stay in my island I am not working only my husband (worked) and I took care of the house, but when I came here with my daughter when she was 7 years old, I work and I take care of her. (04)

The Chuukese women's ability to provide, and their skills associated with employment were important in the migration discussion. One woman gave her history of employment in the paragraph below, and the skills that were useful at home and in Hawai'i came out.

> My experience is in cooking in the kitchen, I clean I don't mess around all my bosses I work with they really like me. Some of my boss they give me a gift, because they like me. I am thinking, if those people hire me and look how I work they really know how I do my job, clean, they would know. I had my own place in Chuuk they really like me to work, then I worked in Guam, also in the kitchen, they really liked me, many workers came she fired so many people, but me she wanted me to stay, they all say that I was the only one to stay the other workers said "wow, you keep your job. (07)

The description for the codes helped to clarify how they differed and what exact information from the interviews would be coded with them. The definitions of the codes also allowed for deeper reflection about what the women were talking about and the most salient themes.

Collectively, the coding of the first unstructured interviews were foundational in developing my understanding and the interviews to come.

Results

Unstructured Interviews

The first round of interviews were completely unstructured and exploratory. These interviews were meant to give a deeper understanding about what topics were most important to the group of women. Having already spent time with them, I already had an idea of what they might talk about, but having transcripts from the specific conversations was important for the validity of research and analysis. There were no time constraints on the conversations. They were all conducted at the community center at St. Elizabeth Church. The majority of the interviews were in Chuukese, and were translated by an interpreter. Two of the interviews were in English. After these interviews were completed they were transcribed and coding and analysis was begun.

Detailed below is an excerpt from a 34 year old woman who had 3 children. Her story captured most succinctly what all of the other unstructured interviewees discussed. It was also explanatory of what the experience was like between the rural places most people move from, and the very urban environment of Honolulu. This interview (Table 14) touched on the concepts of the physical and social environment, and how vastly different it is in Honolulu from home.

Table 14.

Interview Excerpt from Unstructured Initial Round of Interviews

Interview Excerpt
In Paata, I go around my island with my kids, but here, it is different from my island because we, we catch the bus, but in Chuuk only walk, only the center of Chuuk has bus where the plane lands, where we have big stores where the ships come in. In Fenfen the Air Force, they came to our place and fixed the road, we also have cars, now I went back and the road is not so good, because of the water coming in. There used to be plenty people, beautiful things in the store, in Chuuk no more.
For light we have flashlight, and coconut leaves tied together that we burn. If I stay in my island I feel good, but here I am not feel good, when I am in Paata I feel good because when I sleep, I sleep good, and what I want to do, I do. There I never think of paying rent and paying electric bill. When I am back home, I didn't feel like hurt because I didn't have to do other

things with money, other things with the police, other things like appointment. Back home, when we feel sick we go to see the Dr. and if we have money we pay our medicine, but if we don't have money they can just give us the medicine, and when we are here, only the people who have medical insurance they can see a doctor. So when we are sick sometimes we cannot go see Dr. because we are scared, if we don't know how to speak English we are worried to go, we don't have medical, we don't. Back home, we don't have to spend money for everything we need only some, but here, we spend money for everything. At home, I buy rice, chicken or canned meat, soap, kerosene (for the lamp, and stove). Even though I don't sleep at night because I worry, I am also happy because of the changes, because of the modern things, and my kids in school. I am hoping that maybe I can be part of it, change for the better so we look good and feel good. I think I need to blend in too, but I didn't realize before that there are so many hard things before I can be like other Americans. To get to that goal, I have to get through many things, challenges. But in Hawai'i, the beaches are nice where people come they are clean, and that gives me happiness to see.

Note. The above excerpt shows the flowing nature of conversation and the topics covered.

Structured Interviews with Migrant Chuukese Women

Using the insights from the unstructured interview, such as the one above, the instrument for the structured interviews was created. They began with the necessary demographic information show in Figure 31.

Demographics:

Age: ___

Residence (area, not exact address) _____

Size of family: _____

Place of birth: _____

Employment (full-time, part-time): _____

Type of employment: _____

How many years have you lived in Hawai'i: _____

Where do you call home: _____

Figure 31. Initial questions on the semi-structured interview instrument.

Circular Migration

The theoretical concept that a break from home is complete and total is not applicable to Pacific Islanders because of circular migration patterns. The questions Mabogunje asks include, "How do essentially rural "island" communities become networked in cities?" and "What changes does the person have to undergo and what effect does this person have on the city to which he moves?" (1970, p. 4). Ultimately, this theory is concerned with not only the people who migrate, but the ramifications of the process for sending and receiving countries. In a systems theory framework, movement is seen as cyclical with feedback loops.

Chapman (1976) introduced the idea of circular movement. This idea embodies how different migration can be, and is founded on the premise that migrants act in agentive ways to expand their access to resources both in settled places and back home to the benefit others, not just maximizing their own gain. Circular mobility names the nuances of culture, the environment, history, society and economy in a complex interwoven web of migration. It considers the circulation of not only people but also the flows of remittances, investments, food and ideas (Chapman & Prothero, 1986). These flows are in comparison to the traditional theories around economic and political motivations for mobility from neoclassical migration theories which often stipulate flows moving in one direction.

Most of the migrants located their motivation for moving to Hawai'i as health related, either for themselves or their families. Here, we can see that the theory of circular migration is applicable.

> (I) moved to Hawai'i in 2002 so last time I went home in 2006 because my sister passed away in that year from disease and I traveled to bring her body home, to me I can't travel back and forth because the fare for the plane is expensive. To me, the reason I would go back home would be family problems, or somebody die. But not like vacation, I would rather save that money and not spend it on the plane. (07)

While movement was once done in a canoe, over exceptionally long spans of space, it is now a quick but expensive airline flight that connects migrants to their homeland. Though this route is no doubt easier, the cost of travel influences the number of trips people are able to take and means that travel home is often reserved for emergencies or other pressing matters. The respondent above was clear about her intentions and the motivators for going home.

Only my brother lives in Chuuk, but my oldest brother lives in Guam, my 3 sisters and 2 brothers live on the mainland, me and my two sister and mom and dad live here. (05)

The distant nature of the relationships is exemplified here. Her family is separated by the Pacific, and national borders. This also shows the trend toward migration, and that having fewer people in Chuuk than living in the United States is more the norm than the exception.

Imagined Receiving Community

Prior to ever getting on a plane, each migrant had ideas about what their new home would be like. It is an interesting perspective, and they all remembered vividly the specific details of what they knew before they moved, and who had told them about Hawai'i.

I heard from my uncles that Hawai'i is a peaceful beautiful place and that people that live here in Hawai'i are very nice there are not troubles that different countries have. And they also said the school and jobs are plenty, that you can find as much as I want. I have a lot of choices to go to school and what kind of job I would like to get. (07)

This respondent imagined Hawai'i as a paradise. There are no negative things in what she imagined. Hawai'i was described to her as a type of "world is your oyster" place. None of the harsh realities, like high rents or discrimination were described as concerns of hers. This was actually a very common type of story about the imagined Hawai'i.

From my friend, I heard that Hawai'i is a very good place like a paradise. (02)

The imagined paradise, in the respondent's reflection also came along with the practical realities of living in Hawai'i. Some were positive, like the health benefits of Hawai'i. Others, such as the response below referenced that the paradise they came to see was more expensive than the one they had imagined.

It is a beautiful place and it is helping save people when they get sick they come to Hawai'i to get cured they cure people that came here. (04)

Honolulu is paradise and I like to come and check it out, the first time I came of course there are differences – more expensive. (03)

Other respondents compared their options when deciding to move. The below quote captures this process. When given the option of Hawai'i or Oregon, Hawai'i was chosen for its proximity to home.

> When I was in Pompeii I had a first cousin who lived in UH Hilo at that time, she would send letters one times she put a little black sand in the envelope. I was like what they have black sand, on our island we have white sand, much whiter than the sand in Hawai'i. I heard that she went to school and she would associate with friends. I applied to college and the package came in the mail and it looked nice. I heard it was small and I liked that it was, I felt like it was better to go to a smaller college for me. Walking distance was better coming from my island. I did apply to a University in Oregon, and I got an acceptance letter from there first. My uncle who I call my dad too, that I lived with helped me and supported me along the way, he told me better to go to Hilo instead of Portland, he is more familiar with Hawai'i and he said it is closer to home if there is an emergency going on, then it is easier for him to get to me. So last minute I decided to go to Hilo. (09)

The imagined community is significant for the role it plays in migration and perceptions of possible migration strategies. For instance in the above quotes, we see that the cost of living in Hawai'i was considered after the fact. What is interesting is the missing information, such as the cost of living being so much less in Oregon than Hawai'i. With circular migration, these narratives change over time. This research found that the dominant narrative was about Hawai'i as a paradise, which is likely influenced by self-selection as these women chose to migrate, and those who would report otherwise may have chosen not to move.

Motivation for Moving

While underlying reasons for moving were different, a large factor was healthcare. Women moved for their children and parents, and less often, themselves. This is in line with the commonly held ideas about COFA migrants and reflects the need for healthcare. There is a significant amount of research that has focused on health care patterns of migrants in Hawai'i. Choi (2008) researched how specific characteristics and circumstances of migrants affect their behaviors. Hagiwara (2016) compared health outcomes for Micronesians migrants to health outcomes of other ethnicities in Hawai'i. And Cassels (2006) researched obesity in the FSM and found that a combination of dependence on foreign aid and dietary change influenced by foreigners, and the ease of the global food trade have contributed to the startlingly high rates of the obesity epidemic in Micronesia.

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Their explanations also further explored the fundamental nature of family ties in Chuukese culture. The responses also showed that women often migrated to caretake their relatives. This supports the theory that women are at the core of their families and communities.

> The reason why I move to Hawai'i my mother had medical problems so I moved her here, then my daughter also had medical issues and I move her here too. I decided to stay so that I could help my mom and my older daughter and also to look for a job because back home it is not easy to get a job. (01)

The imagination of what Hawai'i was going to be like is different than what actually motivated people to move. There are many different pressures which influence a decision to migrate; though it is very rare for people to note climate change as a reason for moving despite its influence. The quote above describes the multiple reasons for moving. She moved for her family, for health reasons, for work, and these are just what she reported. It is likely there were other considerations that influenced her. One of the respondents (below) discussed this directly in terms of why islanders have always moved.

> Now moving for education is common, people would move to find like food, new life, new settlement, but part of it in the process is learning, we may not really consider it education. Learning is part of moving around because when our ancestors traveled around and they may have some of their own knowledge but as they move around in traveling or journeys they learn on their way. We may not really consider it we move from place to place because we went to college ah, but uh our ancestors moved around in finding resources, wealth, like especially food, new homes where learning is also part of it. For me I may consider education, but I learn all the time learning about new places, learning about new people, learning about survival. All of these were also part of movement of our ancestors. (06)

Her motivations are normalized within the overarching theme of movement. She notes that moving is about adapting and surviving, which sums up how migrants perceive their option to migrate as an agentive choice.

Other migrants discussed their home having water washing up to them, and the roads getting taken out to sea with the storms. They noticed that on their trips back home things looked different. One told the story of all the taro she used to grow and now "nothing grows anymore there, no more taro at all." (5) While these stories are antidotal, they are as valid as scientific measurements. None of the respondents said that climate change had pushed them from their home islands completely, but with the discussions of fewer fish, less food being grown and

infrastructure collapsing under the pressure of a rising sea, one day climate change will be on the list of motivations for moving.

First Encounters in Hawai'i

There are vast differences between the culture and landscape of United States and Chuuk. Their first encounters are significant in our understanding of how migrants experience the urban environment. While many of the women's descriptions dealt with their travel, all of them spoke to how truly foreign Hawai'i was when they arrived. The excerpt below encapsulates this perfectly.

> Hawai'i was totally different, totally different. When I flew Chuuk to Ponepai-Kosare-Marjaro-Marshal-to here. When I was almost to here, I saw a lot of lights, I thought wow, is this how it is. My sister-in-law picked me up, the land and different smelling, when I walked out from the plane I thought I would walk on the ground, but I was inside, I though ah, I am inside, am I still in the plane. Then I walked to the escalator, what can I do…. Oh my god, oh my god, so I watched, and there were plenty people behind and I thought I have to go so I stepped on it and almost fell, so embarrassing. So then I lined up, and they checked my passport, and then I thought okay I need to make it, so I just saw where people were going, and made my way. The Chuuk airport is small, it is pretty small, it has been renovated but still small, we don't need to take escalator up and down. (07)

Each migrant carries with them the imagined landscape of their new home. They are propelled by a collection of reasons to move, and when they arrive, their old and new worlds collide. The description above captures this drama perfectly. The most mundane detail clinches around the extraordinary situation of moving from a sparsely populated island to a major city.

Rural to Urban Migration

That all the migrant Chuukese women were born on more remote islands in Chuuk and often lived in Weno or Guam in their movement to Hawai'i supports the theory of rural to urban migration. So many elements of their experience in the city are told in comparison to what it was like back home. From the expert below we can see that the women experience space through their memories of home.

> I miss the water ah, our water in Chuuk is fresh it is coming out from the ground, and like coconut is fresh and the boy climbs up and get the coconut, and the fresh fish. Our food, like the tapioca, it is frozen, in Chuuk it is fresh. If I want tapioca I would go pick it up from the ground, the food. Like tapioca and potatoes you go pick it like taro bread fruit,

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fish. Here, buy, but fish it I like to eat fish I go to get my fishing line and fishing net, my husband. I don't go fishing here my husband he go caught plenty fish, he went to Waianae and Kaneohe. (02)

There is nothing free. Back home, we can live together and our family cousins come over, we don't worry. We can buy kerosene for the lamp, but other ladies they are smart they make candle out of coconut oil. So resourceful, to make the candle when the kerosene runs out. When I was little I didn't eat rice. My diet was breadfruit, taro, banana, sugar cane, orange trees, limes from my yard. I say yard but really there is no fence. (09)

I see breadfruit, banana coconut tree, remind me of home. (03)

Both excerpts above speak to memories of home and the importance of the environment and the women's experience of space. Their reminiscing is insightful as they are describing their favorite parts of Chuuk, which we know are not as present in the Kalihi neighborhood. It is also interesting to note the memories smell, as this was one of the ways Carucci (2012) noted Micronesians experience space. There is so much to learn from the way migrant Chuukese women perceive space in Kalihi-Palama and value its various aspects. A breadfruit tree may mean nothing to someone from Ohio, but for migrants from more rural islands in Oceania, it is a cord that connects them back to their home. These connections might be key in creating spaces that are more supportive of migrants and their new lives in Hawai'i.

Adaptive Use of Space

Migration patterns continually reshape the physical environment through people bringing different ideas, style of architecture and uses of space. For Micronesians, who often live in rental properties, seeing the way they use and shape space happens best through observations in the community and also in their descriptions of spaces. This research uses a comparative approach of the descriptions of their origin home as a lens to get to descriptions of Hawai'i.

Through their experiences in the urban environment, we can understand more about their preferences. When discussing what the women like to do on the weekend, or when they are not working, they invariably described walking or riding the bus. Modes of transit are particularly important. They frequently discussed the vegetation, the smells and the feeling of the air, the wind, and the feeling of places.

The wind KPT can be so strong, but I like it, it reminds me of home. (09)

There is a feeling in some places, at St. Elizabeth it is a spiritual feeling, and feelings of respect. (12)

I go to the park, Salt Lake park. It is good big, trees, and tables, basketball court volleyball court swimming area, pool, there is a lake. (05)

There are many examples of adaptive use, but one of the most apparent adaptive uses of space in Hawai'i occurs in the public parks. Parks have proven to be important places for the gatherings that would normally be held at meeting houses. The reasons behind this adaptive use are many. From the interviews it is clear that the cultural preference for which park criteria best suits their needs are different from those planners would consider when developing a park for recreation. Both my observations of public parks around Kalihi-Palama, and the responses in the interviews informed their environmental systems.

A few of the environmental evaluation criteria for park space are access (proximity to a bus stop), quiet (minimal ambient noise and fewer other park users) and an abundance of shade. This is interesting as parks are designed for their recreational opportunity, but taking into account some of these criteria could enhance the use of parks as meeting places, not just places to play but to gather, and spend uninterrupted time family.

It was rare to discuss private places, like their homes. Much more often the women spoke about public spaces. The parks were highest on the list, followed by churches and beaches as enjoyable places to spend time.

I go the St. Elizabeth, I go to KPT, visiting my sister, she is living near. I catch the bus, it is easy I always do this. (04)

Often, churches in Hawai'i such as St. Elizabeth offer an acceptable substitute, but because they are not designated for this purpose, they might not be available when they are needed. Reserving church space for a funeral, congregation or community meeting also costs money, as the space has to be rented. This is an expected finding as other research has considered the role of the church in resettlement and interethnic interactions.

In the home islands, the meeting house required no such expenditure, and without that cost, get-togethers would happen more casually. Churches, being houses of specific gods, also add the complication of religion. Not all members of a traditional meeting house would necessary be members of the same church, so the meeting house was essentially non-

denominational. Another added difficulty is that churches are not often central, thus creating a transportation need for those further away. The travels required to reach these meetings often deters people from attending, as it costs money and time to make the journey. Back in their home, community meeting houses were open to all, and food was often part of the gathering. People would usually walk to the meeting house in Chuuk, as it was unlikely to be far from their homes. These spaces were integrated into the daily lives of residents but they took on more importance when there was a death, birth or some business that had to be settled in the community. In Hawai'i, there are no comparable spaces so substitutes are found, like pavilions at parks, and cafeterias in community centers.

Carucci (2012) discussed the process of migrants transforming a new place against the backdrop of the pre-existing culture and society. Some of these transformative practices were achieved through gardening, land-use choices, dress and cooking. It is suggested that these practices may transform space, including the scents, sounds, physical environment and energy of a place. Respondents often echoed Carucci's findings when they discussed aspects of places that were beyond the visual. The below respondent noted her motivation for staying away from Chinatown, despite it being a desirable shopping destination.

> Only Chinatown I don't like to go there anymore because of the smell, so stink. I just want to go buy some vegetable, but because of the smell I can not go, it makes the things there nasty. We have all the local food there, but you know because of the smell I really don't like to go there. Some other Chuukese people don't like to go there too. (04)

Learning how to navigate the public transportation system was a topic when discussing adaptations to the urban environment. Many of the women had never ridden a bus before so learning the rules of how it worked took time. A few respondents described who taught them how to ride the bus, and showed pride in being able to teach other migrants newer than themselves.

> For new people coming here we need support, back home we get support from families or our chiefs, for here if they have families that have been here longer that are educated that those are needed to help these people. As you mention mapping maybe other islands in Chuuk coming from a tiny island I have never used that before, everybody knows each other. Learn the bus, it goes by family and friends they know where to go they are the one leading and helping the bus rider to go to the place where he or she wants to go. With the language barrier one could not go by herself, I don't think they can do it by themselves. They need support until they can do it on their own. (09)

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During their working and caretaking time, public transportation and walking were also often discussed. The buses were problematic for some of the women who worked later than the bus would run, or far from a bus stop.

> In Weno, it was a little like what directions are like here. Landmarks, next to this building, different from my island, on my island your neighbors could tell you. We would never be giving the exact address, we don't have that, or even the streets we don't have any names. On my island we have names but no signs. No crosswalks, no cars, no worries about cars hitting them, we cross anywhere and anytime. (09)

This excerpt shows how critical the family and community participation is to helping people adapt and learn about their new environment. Many of the woman discussed navigating the city and emphasized that back home if you needed to find someone or something, you would just walk up to people and ask them. The navigation on Oʻahu is clearly different. There are maps and street signs, and not as many friendly faces to show one the way. This disparity makes navigation in the city with someone who already knows their way even more critical.

Locating Family Ties, Socially and Geographically

In the structured interviews, the discussion of family was central to the conversation. The literature also supports the central importance of family in Micronesian culture. The migrant Chuukese women were from islands all around the nation of Chuuk and were all currently living in Hawaiʻi. The women's families were often split between Hawaiʻi and Chuuk with parents, siblings and children living both in Hawaiʻi and some of them still living in Chuuk.

Family ties. The fluid nature of family, and who is included in the label was apparent in the very beginning when the question "Size of family?" (see Appendix E) was asked. The most telling response came from a woman, who answered:

> "Can you tell me about your family?" would be appropriate because there are so many kids are raised by grandparents and aunties and uncles, it depends on how they look at family as not only my biological mom and dad, I look at family as my grandparents. Relatives and cousins are all family. I don't look at family as my mother and my father and my sister and my brother, no that is not really what I mean by family. Even my mother's father's kids, those are my families too. Then I moved to the center (Weno) and stayed with my mom's oldest brother and my mother. My family is extended on my grandfather's side of the family my mom and her sister they all have boys so their sons have kids, all of those kids went out to school, some came back, others are still out, I have an auntie that is a registered nurse working in Oregon, one of the brothers he goes

around working in Marshall Islands Palau, Guam, others they went out to join the military and then come down to us (on Oʻahu). Most people are staying back home, several of us go out go to school. (08)

Given her answer, I restructured the demographic question about family as it is clear such a closed questions would be confusing and not consider the larger cultural concept of family that Chuukese have.

This woman speaks to the fluid notion of family, and also the fluidity of movement, and that within one family they are spread out across the US and other nations in Oceania. Having a more flexible family structure allows for more flexibility in geographical arrangements.

This is in line with Rauchholz (2012), who explored Chuukese customary adoption practices. He explores the issues of migration and globalization through adoption, and describes how interwoven and large the family network can be, and also explains how these networks become more complicated with migration.

The extended relationships of families are matched by the physical distance often between them. With families spread out across Oceania and sometimes living on the US Continent it was not surprising to hear that women often identified both Chuuk and Hawaiʻi as home, truly carrying a multinational and multi-locational identity.

Me and 3 kids are in Honolulu, son is in Chuuk, my other son stayed with us, but last year he went for a visit (to Chuuk) and stayed. (03)

The fluidity of movement and the multi-locality of people conveyed in the above description of where the woman's family are located is conveyed. It also exemplifies that unlike immigration, movements can be more casual, and less planned. Her son in the quote above left Hawaiʻi for a short time and then decided not to return. The fact that migration can happen freely likely increases the amount of circular migration taking place.

Social Capital

The importance of social capital came through clearly in all the discussions. The family networks are very strong and supportive of one another. In general, the migrant Chuukese woman discussed how much they enjoyed being with other Chuukese migrants The below excerpt exemplifies that it is not just about changing spaces but physically existing in them together that can create a community. Together they feel comfortable wearing their traditional

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attire, eating their favorite foods and speaking their language. It is as if Chuuk gets recreated when these familiar constructs are present.

> We hang out at KPT and see Chuukese people there I hang together, I say "Hi! How are you where you from? I see them on the bus in the park, at the store. In Chuukese I say "Hi, I'm from Chuuk, you from Chuuk? Nice meeting you." (04)

> When I was little I saw, people really depend on the land and ocean, there wasn't that much. When I was little I see my parent used to dry the coconut and would sell the copra to support the kids who are in school so there was so much working together and looking out for each other and supporting and helping each other, and we don't worry about being kicked out if we don't pay our rent. Or don't worry about paying out electricity, we use the firewood for cooking. (09)

This excerpt is laced with the crisscrossing of issues that migrants face. But their strong social capital has been curated by their subsistence culture, and is evident in the excerpt above.

It is significant that the issue of homelessness, which was highly correlated with migration in the neighborhood board meeting for Kalihi-Palama , and often written about in the newspaper, was never described as a problem by migrant Chuukese women, though they did occasionally discuss it.

> There are no homeless people (in Chuuk), our custom, if our family need help we help each other, no one would ever be homeless. It is strange to see homeless people. It is like I feel so sad when I see people their homeless, I feel how they feel, they need help. We need to help them, in Chuuk it is hard to see homeless people, even though we don't have money, we don't have food, but we just help each other, we share. (01)

> It's hard to see the drugs and homeless people here. In Chuuk we still have our culture, and we go to church. I saw a woman in panties, she had lost her mind and was at a bus stop. That was hard to see. (17)

This is not to say that there are no Chuukese living on the street. They discussed the struggle of getting and paying for housing on Oʻahu. But none of them identified themselves or others in their networks as homeless. Having spent years in the community, I did know women and families who lived at Kakakakou Park and previous research by the Hawaiʻi Appleseed Center for Law and Economic Justice has also established that COFA citizens have been exposed to "both blatant and subtle housing discrimination." (2012) In the report it cited situations when landlords would say a unit was available but when the (Micronesian) renter arrived they would say it was unavailable. This type of discrimination impacts COFA citizens ability to secure housing, so having a network

that will share this resource is extremely important and makes them more adaptable in their new homes.

Social Adaptations

For migrants, the social world in Hawai'i is full of unfamiliar challenges. Behaviors and customs are often entirely different than they are back in Micronesia.

> Since I moved to KAM 4, my hope is that we can have some different programs, 'cause I feel like from morning to late at night I can hear kids running around outside in the neighborhood. I wonder where the parents are, why are the kids out there screaming. I hope that I can help, I have a big thought what can I do to help for the parents to be involved, that way we would help. (Is it common to let kids run around) No, as soon as the sun goes down the little kids are home. (what is happening) The culture is different, when my 1st daughter was in 7th grade at Roosevelt, and she went to the park after school. She got home late, for the first time, she came home and I was really mad, I kept calling and calling and she didn't answer, so she came home and I slapped her on the butt, so my neighbor called police because she was screaming. I said eh, you know what time it is, so where you after school, and how come until now you just came. I think because the laws are different, back home we can spank. The rules and laws are not that strong, you can break the law. So then, because of that the Chuukese omg the Chuukese are more naughty, they know you cannot slap a kid. Plus I think they don't really know how to do things in this environment. So when the police came, my daughter was still crying and they asked "what happened" I said I spank her butt and slap her face. How come they ask, I said because it was almost 10 and it was not the right time for her to be out there, and I care about her. So the police talked to her and said you cannot stay out late, your mom loves you and cares about you. I told my neighbor, it is your job to call police (she was the manager) but I said you do not know what was going on, and so, there are differences, (where was your manager from) she was…. white. And parents don't have time to care as much because it is so expensive to live here. (07)

The above quote discusses the differing customs from Chuuk. Parenting is just one area that can be complicated to navigate. Prior to migrating there are materials online to help orient people to their new environment and the cultural customs of their new home. In the orientation materials found online at the FSM Embassy, the advice given regarding children is this:

Violence, Abuse, or Neglect of Children

> Children are strongly protected under US law. If for any reason, doctors, teachers, friends, or even strangers suspect abuse or neglect of a child in your care, the State has the authority to intervene on behalf of the child. Children can and will be removed from the custody of parents for their safety during investigation. Those convicted of abusing children, including parents, will be jailed, and their children taken away.

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Note: FSM citizens must remember that in all matters legal or otherwise, the Micronesian customs and traditional methods of forgiveness are not accepted or recognized by any law enforcement authorities in the US. ("FSM Citizen Information | Embassy of the Federated States of Micronesia in Washington, D.C.," 2013)

This orientation is focused heavily on the fact that children can be taken away for reasons that would be unfathomable. For instance "even strangers suspect abuse or neglect" which is far outside of the realm of possibility in Micronesia. Also notable is the reminder that "Micronesian customs and traditional methods of forgiveness are not accepted or recognized" ("FSM Citizen Information | Embassy of the Federated States of Micronesia in Washington, D.C.," 2013).

Clothing as Markers of Identity

During the year I spent in Kalihi, I had observed migrant Chuukese women who were training to be home health care assistants. This profession required that they wear a nurse's uniform which consisted of medical pants and a shirt. For the women to wear the pants was not easy, especially in front of men and their children. However, in their desires to secure better paying jobs they were willing to shed their traditional dresses and skirts for the scrubs. Their feelings around these issue were complex. They were proud to be earning money for their families, but they were also embarrassed sometimes to be seen in such western clothing. They adapted to wearing the uniforms, and until they got to work, would wear their colorful skirts, embroidered around the hems, over their pants. In the interviews, the dresses were mentioned often, and the women had varying degrees of comfort with wearing their traditional attire in Hawai'i.

> Can you tell where people are from, there are people who are not from Chuuk but they are wearing the same dress sometimes I listen to their accent or the language they are Nikota has the thing in the middle. I wear dresses when I go to Chuukese functions or church I put on these dress, not all the time through I used to have a lot when I was more involved. (09)

This is spoken by a woman who now works at a nonprofit in Kalihi. She was wearing pants when we did the interview, and she explains that she wears the skirt to identify more with the Chuukese when she is doing things with the church, so around her own people.

> I used to swim at night when the sun goes down, because of the culture we cannot use swim suit or bikini, so I wait for the sun to go down so no Chuukese can see me. In Chuuk we wear skirts, but it is embarrassing to do that here, so we don't swim as much. (07)

This woman talks about the difficulty of not being able to swim because it is not right to wear a bikini in Chuuk, but it is also embarrassing to wear a skirt in Hawai'i. She speaks to the identifier that makes her an outsider, and needing to navigate between two worlds.

The Intersection of Social Worlds with Spatial Changes

The migrants also adjust to their new spatial arrangements. In Chuuk, they all own land and have houses and meeting houses. Space does not come at a premium like it does in Honolulu. The description of gatherings on O'ahu shows how even food preparation is different.

> Back home we have our own kitchens in our own houses and when we need to get together, like a wedding or something else for the clans, we all get together. For example all our family will get together. Outside the house is where we use the very big big pots and bigger fire. Here we ask to go to the park, and we prepare food at the apartment and then go to the meeting. We don't have a place here where we all cook together. Instead, we spread the food… "you cook some" and we all cook some and then bring it together. It feels different, back home we all come together and agree on the recipe, but here the food is separate, we all do our own recipe, so we bring the same food and different recipes. Here we rent spaces where we can meet, the parks are the best. (12)
> The way "home" in Honolulu is navigated is also different from how things are in Chuuk.

Not owning land, or having communal space greatly shifts family dynamics and how decisions are made around space.

> In Chuuk it is kind of different from here, we have to understand. Like in public housing, if your family wants to stay sometimes you have to say no. Once we are kicked out from public housing then we can't do nothing. Even though we have kids, that's why first you have to think about the kids. So the Chuukese culture, the customs, we have to lay it down, we have to lay it down. (19)

The above comment captures the concept that the migrants are aware that their customs and traditions do not always fit perfectly into the culture in Hawai'i. Though in Chuuk they would never deny their family to stay at their house, they realize that it is a risk in Hawai'i, so they have to adapt.

Adaptations happen slowly, and not without stress. Many of the respondents discussed things that took them time to get used to. The speed at which things happen in the city is something most migrants were entirely unfamiliar with. The cars, escalators, planes and buses, provided markers for migrants of the pace of life. The physical pace is also echoed by the social pace of life. Back home, leisurely walks, gathering together in places that do not require

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planning, and not worrying about the time was the norm. In Hawai'i, adjustments to that core constitution of time are continually being asked of the migrants. The urban environment is also packed with smells and noise and stimulus that can overwhelm. In the excerpt below, this change causes a physical reaction.

> So when I came here the first time I got on the freeway I felt like I was flying, oh my gosh, my stomach. In the bus I thought I was going to get sick the cologne smell, and so crowded no shower stink and all mixed together so it was, ah, oh my gosh, this is not good for me. I got a headache, but I kept riding the bus and I kind of got used to it. When I went home I had to go and rest, but I didn't give up riding the bus. (09)

Bridge Migrants

While reading and coding, it became clear that although all of the migrants had gone through similar migrant experiences, some of them had assimilated more readily during their time in Hawai'i. This came across in subtle ways, as well as more direct one, like when the women were working at organizations. These women were now engaged with agencies and programs that supported other migrants in Kalihi-Palama. It also was apparent in reverse when people in organizations were interviewed that were also migrants. I identified these as "bridge" migrants' due to their ability to fully assimilate and reach back to help other migrants do the same. Often, these "bridge" migrants' English language skills were more advanced and they stood more firmly in both their receiving communities and their sending communities.

Involvement in the work force trainings, church groups, public housing programs and workforce training seemed to help immensely in the process of belonging and empowering the migrants. In the interviews it was clear that contributing to their families and their communities transformed the experience in the receiving community. These migrants distinctly stood out for the insight they offered around the meaning of migration, adaptation practices, the building of their communities and where the biggest improvements to the current system could be made.

One excellent example of this was Dr. Jojo Peters who eloquently spoke about Micronesians ties to home and their process of movement. He described that they were afraid to be adrift in unfamiliar waters, without control of location, direction or movement. As with traditional navigation, in diaspora, people also look back and hold on to memories of home,

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embody place through food and their close clan connections while they steer through unfamiliar waters.

Conclusion

It is clear through the interviews that migrant's experiences during social and physical adaptation to life in Hawai'i are diverse, yet their roles as caretakers, workers and bridges for their family uniquely situates them to be key in programs and policies to assist other migrants.

The women's resiliency should be well understood and inform both physical and social planning interventions to be more congruent with the needs of the community. Women migrants have so much to offer their receiving communities. Often their collectivist culture conflicted directly with the more western, individualist norms that govern life in Hawai'i. Underneath all of these issues was an entirely new urban environment, in most cases, a very different place than the places they had left at home.

Their individual experiences of discrimination are part of a larger system of policies and practices that reinforce racial inequity. While they are cognizant of these challenges, they may miss home and easier paths with kinder neighbors; they approach the future with resilience and remember the ways they know to live on an island and make brave efforts to adapt that to life in the city.

CHAPTER 5:

THE MIGRANT EXPERIENCE: INTERVIEWS WITH ORGANIZATIONS AND SERVICE PROVIDERS FOR MIGRANTS

Interviews with Organizations

Each interview began with a discussion of the organization that the respondent worked for. Initial questions were regarding the mission of the organization, the target population they attempt to reach and also the services they offered. The interviews were conducted in the greater Honolulu area, though most of them took place in Kalihi-Palama.

The services they offer are mostly informational, they help migrants fill in medical forms, make appointments with doctors, provide food from food banks, offer space for the migrants to meet, and help with housing. Most of the organizations are associated with public housing and churches in Kalihi-Palama.

The interviews were carried out with a mixed group of actors who worked for local community-based organizations, nonprofits, religious institutions, government offices and businesses' in the private sector.

I conducted 19 interviews made up of individuals in various agencies and organizations that were predominately located in Kalihi-Palama and usually worked directly with migrants in that community. In the interviews the respondents defined how they interacted with migrants, the urban setting that they encountered each other in, the perceived challenges and opportunities the migrants face and discussions associated with the future of migration in Hawai'i. This interview instrument was devoted to seeing how these respondents perceived the multi-ethnic context, the process of migration, and the efforts and actions on behalf of their organizations or institutions to assist migrants in their transitions. These interviews are essential as these actors contribute to building the community for migrants and are knowledgeable about migrant's experiences and the way they assimilate, either through their volunteer or professional positions. The interviews were pivotal in describing the politics of reception and how they perceive the migrants experience.

The interviews progressed through a type of snowball sampling until saturation was reached. The first participants were identified through my personal and professional networks. At

the end of each interview, I asked the respondent to recommend other potential participants and followed this process.

      The table below (Table 15) shows the various organizations that were interviewed during this research. The organizations were asked to speak to their missions and the services they provided in the community. In addition, they spoke to the challenges and strengths within the migrant community and most importantly the biggest barrier to their successful establishment in their new communities.

Table 15.

List of All Organizations Interviewed

Organization Name	Mission	Impacts for Migrants
Faith Action Community Equity Hawai'i	Allows its members to live out their common faith-based values by engaging in actions that challenge the systems that perpetuate poverty and injustice. Its spiritual centered-ness empowers its leaders to return hope and love to the public arena.	• Supports fair Public Housing practices
Catholic Charities Hawai'i	Catholic Charities Hawai'i provides a wide range of social services with dignity, compassion, social justice, and a commitment to excellence. Through programs and advocacy efforts, Catholic Charities Hawai'i serves all people, especially those with the greatest need, regardless of their faith or culture.	• Educates employees about migrants needs • Programs specifically designed to help migrants integrate into the community
Susannah Wesley Community Center	A comprehensive social series organization dedicated to helping and empowering youths, adults and families (many of whom are newcomers to Hawai'i) who have great social and economic challenges, move towards self-sufficiency and independence.	• Operates a center for new migrants with resources for finding jobs, housing and education
Belt Collins	Provides civil engineering, planning, landscape architecture, and environmental consulting services to both private and public clients.	• Located in Kalihi • Responsible for planning projects in the region
Legal Aide	Helping the people of Hawai'i meet their legal needs since 1950. As the state's oldest and largest non-profit, public interest law firm with offices statewide; Legal Aid helps	• Pursues cases on behalf of migrants • Provides legal advice pro-bono to migrants

	ensure justice and fairness for all by providing civil legal aid to the most vulnerable in our society.	
WE ARE OCEANIA (WAO)	Advocating for the health of Micronesian individuals and families, empowering them to weave their indigenous skills, knowledge, and being/values with their newly acquired knowledge of their new community on Oʻahu, in order to reach their full potential and become self-sufficient.	- Operates a resource center for migrants - Hosts events that educate the public about migrants and the challenges they face - Promotes pride in the migrant community around culture and traditions
Kuhio Park Terrace	Affordable high rise apartments in Kalihi Valley with many public programs.	- Operates programs the serve the migrant community - Upholds rules that can be culturally difficult for migrants to adhere to
Hawaiʻi Immigrant Justice Center	The Hawai'i immigrant Justice Center at Legal Aid provides free legal services to indigent immigrants, advocacy, and community outreach and education. They safeguard legal rights, unite families, protect abused, abandoned and neglected children and give immigrants hope for a better life.	- Advocacy for migrants - Legal advice and representation for migrants - Guard dog of migrants rights
Medical-Legal Partnership for Children	A collaboration between the William S. Richardson School of Law (University of Hawai'i at Mānoa) and Kōkua Kalihi Valley Comprehensive Family Services, a community health center. They seek to address and improve the social determinants of health that impact child and family well-being.	- Provide interpreters in the medical setting - Fight for coverage for migrants - Research and publish reports related to migrant health and well being in Hawaiʻi

		• Lead in policy initiatives and legal representation for migrants
FSM Consulate General of Honolulu	Resources for FSM citizens and support for migrants living in Hawai'i.	• Provide a wide range of support and resources for new migrants • Act as a hub of information and networks to help migrants
Seams Wonderful	Together they work toward healing, reconciliation and alleviation of suffering in Kalihi Valley by serving communities, families, and individuals through strong relationships that honor culture and foster health and community.	• Offer a space and time for migrant women to sew together and feel at home in Honolulu • Provide a venue for selling sewn goods made by migrant women
Kokua Kalihi Valley	Together they work toward healing, reconciliation and the alleviation of suffering in Kalihi Valley, by serving communities, families and individuals through strong relationships that honor culture and foster health and harmony.	• A holistic health center designed to help migrants, and other underserved groups
Better Tomorrows	To support low income housing communities by providing comprehensive programming and individualized case management services that empower children, seniors, families and neighborhoods to thrive.	• Operates a resource center that assist many migrants • Acts as a conduit for better access to health care
Honolulu Community Action Program	A non-profit 501(c)(3) organization, delivering need-based human services to the economically challenged on the island of O'ahu since 1965.	• Assists in providing better access to education through head-start and STEM programs • Provides programs for adult including tax and energy assistance services
St. Elizabeth Episcopal Church	An anchor for meeting the spiritual, educational and social needs of a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic congregation and neighborhood	• Hosts an array of programs for migrants

		• Is highly inclusive of migrants in the church and culture • Provides space for migrant gatherings and programs such as WAO
Hawaiʻi Appleseed Center for Law and Economic Justice	Changing systems that perpetuate inequality through research, development, education, coalition building and advocacy.	• Research and publish reports related to challenges migrants face • Lead in policy initiatives and legal representation for migrants • Influence public policy and public awareness through their research and publications
Hawaiʻi Health Connector	A non-profit organization, of Hawaiʻi, for Hawaiʻi, established to comply with the federal Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (PPACA) of 2010.	• Designed to help people, including migrants find health care it is now defunct • Despite having translators, the program was plagued with issues and was not helpful for migrants needing coverage
University of Hawai'i Office of Multicultural Student Services	Outreach activities encouraging individuals from underrepresented groups and underserved communities to seek higher education, providing university students opportunities to experience Hawai'i's multicultural contexts, they conduct activities to promote cross-cultural understanding and social justice, and promote the development of and provide a clearinghouse for information and resources related to Hawai'i's multiethnic groups.	• Public education around the topics of diversity and cross-cultural understanding. • Provide resources and support to underrepresented groups enrolled at the university

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COFA-Community Advocacy Network	Advocates for health justice, civic participation, and highlight positive contributions of the Micronesian community.	• A strong voice in the public sphere that advocates for justice and also speaks to the positive contributions made by the migrant community • Confronts stereotypes and offers a platform to openly share about being the experience of being a migrant
Empowering Pacific Islander Communities	Advance social justice by engaging Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander communities through culturally relevant advocacy, research, and development.	• Advocate to disaggregated data for better data driven policy • Publishes reports on NHPI specifically in Hawaiʻi and California • Decolonizing on all levels, especially for young Pacific Islander leaders

Each informant was driven by different factors, and became involved in their line of work through various avenues. A minister who had been a lawyer told me that he was driven to work with the migrants because he believed in justice, and didn't think COFA migrants were being treated fairly; he felt what was happening to them was wrong. No other informants said this as clearly, but many of them were driven by the idea that the United States had taken something from Micronesians and was unwilling to fulfill the promises made under the compacts.

The agencies and organizations often recognized the needs of the migrants and echoed concerns that migrants had. The organizations often acted as a conduit between the migrants and the receiving communities. The hostility toward migrants that the respondents described bothered them, and inspired them to contribute to this community.

COFA

Many of the respondents worried about the COFA agreements and the migrant's access to services. At the time of these interviews, their access to healthcare was in jeopardy.

> They don't know what is happening to them after getting kicked off of Medicare/Medicaid, now they are having to go to HMSA or Kaiser, they are treated like they have no rights. They have been fucked over, people in Hawai'i don't know, they are ignorant about the situation, they are treated like immigrants, but that is not their status. (18)

The fact that migrants were discriminated against was more than a moral issue, that healthcare was taken away (and people were dying because they did not have dialysis; Palafox, Buenconsejo-Lum, Riklon, & Waitzfelder, 2002) added an intense layer of regret and sadness for people that worked most closely with the migrant community. Recounting one migrant who had lost his leg due to lack of care brought an informant from the nonprofit sector to tears. It seemed the inhumanity in the States decisions around healthcare was irreconcilable with the impact it was having in the migrant community. This burden, spoken of often, made more nuanced discussions about the physical places less important to these respondents. Thus, the focus for the organizations were very much on social policy. They physical spaces that migrants exist in were also discussed but not the focus of many of the interviews.

Importantly, the respondents from the organizations almost unanimously spoke of the importance of educating the people of Hawai'i on the history of COFA, why it exists and the migrants rights under the agreements.

> I don't think there is a lot of support, there is a lot of misunderstanding. Hello, we dropped a bomb, and we made promises to them that we are not keeping and they can come here, and Reagan took an eraser and wiped them out, we are supposed to be taking care of them on their islands, and they have to come here, and people complain, there is a misunderstanding, lack of human understanding. And I see these kids. The doctors say the impact of all the toxins won't be fully seen for 5 generations, and I can see them now. (11)

This sentiment was not discussed once by any of the COFA migrants. Not one time did a woman mention that she was in Hawai'i because the United States bombed or had military rights and access. There was no shred of entitlement. Rather, their stories mostly followed a reminiscent path from home, and why they had moved, that they are making the best of it, but that it is not always easy. While currently migrants are motivated by a handful of factors including healthcare, it is apparent that climate change will play a much larger role in future migration.

Assimilation

The individuals in the organizations discussed the main challenges as bureaucratic challenges, housing, employment, education, transportation, medical access and language issues. They also recognized the discrimination that the migrants face.

> Moving here is hard, it's not easy at all. There is a culture in Hawai'i of last one in gets off the boat gets the most shit, no one wants to show them that this is what my grandparents did when they got here. 19

The above quote speaks to the deep history of discrimination against newcomers to Hawai'i. This respondent speaks to individual's unwillingness to assist in showing migrants the way, which collectively can be considered part of the politics of reception. Notably, these organizations that were interviewed, including the one this respondent works for, are committed to changing this and offering assistance where on one else will. Mixed in with the above sentiment is the often-cited concept that the "Aloha State" that it is a mixing pot, with all cultures getting along. One respondent said that:

> Moving is really simple in Hawai'i because the complement of the population is uh, you have everyone, Japanese, Chinese, Polynesian, almost everybody here. So the transition

from when you first arrive is pretty simple, and because of that I mean the Micronesians, they feel right at home, other than the normal challenges of finding work, trying to find ways to help get them on their feet. But they are similar in their lifestyles and their culture to us in Hawai'i. (14)

What is interesting about the above statement is the respondent's inclination to say that everyone just blends in, while also recognizing that Micronesian migrants face the same challenges that every other immigrant faced. This normalizing of the difficulties comes off as complacent, and is far more common from the newspaper to the average citizen on O'ahu, than one would think. If COFA migration experience is not problematized, then there is no way to really understand the challenges, or find solutions.

Housing

What makes the women migrants so resilient with their family networks also complicates their ability to adapt to some of the rules around space that are the norm on O'ahu for both public and private rental housing.

Chuukese are wonderful family people, their way of thinking is if I have room you can come and stay with me but that is really against the housing rules and there are limits on how many people can be in one apartment. (11)

Migrant Chuukese women, as part of their resilient networks are always open to taking in family, and housing their relatives. Whether in public housing, or private rental properties, accommodating more people than are allowed on the lease agreement creates instability in housing. Many of the migrants recounted being forced to move because they broke the conditions of their lease by allowing more people to occupy the space than the lease stipulated.

Clearly, this could be addressed through better policy, or accommodations that are flexible to larger families. While some of the respondents from organizations recognized this, others noted that housing is difficult for everyone in Hawai'i. Traditional Micronesian homesteads could be incorporated into housing concepts going forward, taking into account their familial cultural bonds, their resource sharing with their extended family and the way the utilize space. This concept would not be cost prohibitive but would require a change in design standards and Housing and Urban Development policy.

Community in Kalihi-Palama

In contrast to the Chuukese women migrants who feel safe in their neighborhood with the exception of Aala Park, the perspective of individuals in the agencies often felt that Kalihi could be dangerous.

> Kalihi, it is a poor neighborhood next to public housing. It is older, historically where people go where they first get off the boat from the harbor, an easy area for new migrants, so you have a mix like Palama Settlement. It has a lot of history and mainly it is a rougher neighborhood because of the public housing. Deeper into the valley KAM 4 & 3 public housing in reality it only in a small area, but it is low income, and there is drug use, gang affiliations. It is rough but it is not real bad, but you will deal with a lot of issues and hard situations. (14)

The perception of Kalihi as a rough neighborhood is in line with the image put forth in the newspapers and the stereotype held by many on Oʻahu.

Most of the individuals in the organizations interviewed realize the dearth of support for migrants. They largely discussed that while things were getting better and changing, there was a lack of awareness about the migrants, and their unique situation. This ignorance has contributed to many of the ills that the migrant Chuukese women discussed during the interviews.

Public Space

Most respondents recognized that the western spaces in the city did not necessarily make the migrants feel at home. The noted that newer migrants preferred open spaces and parks, the beach over an air conditioned lounge. Many of the organizations responded to this obvious desire that the Micronesian have to be outside by moving their official meetings to suit their clients. One such respondent said:

> They like the lawn areas so much better than our office buildings. We usually meet upstairs and eventually go outside for some activities. You can see the changes in the way they relate to eachother, and us as service providers. They are more relaxed, they naturally break up in to smaller informal groups and congregate, sit in the grass, play and generally enjoy the experience so much more. I think it feels more familiar, for Pacific Island people in general the parks are a meeting place, where people dance, and eat, and see their family and friends.

While this topic was not heavily discussed during interviews with organizations, a few respondents described their observations and incidences with Chuukese migrants in public

spaces. One interviewee who works for a local non-profit organization recounted being at a park while working with a non COFA client:

> I had a reoccurring meeting with a client at the same park every week, at the same time. We would meet under a pavilion that could seat at least 20 people. Every week it was only myself and my client and her child. A group of Micronesian women in their colorful skirts would arrive in anticipation of using the facility. Instead of letting them come share the space, my client gave them stink eye and made it obvious she didn't want them under the pavilion while she was there. Occasionally, a Micronesian women would peek her head in to check, and my client would tell her that she would be leaving in a certain amount of time and then they could have the pavilion. I asked her why we could invite them in to share the facility and she said "Micronesians take over everything, and they can wait." The kids would run in and out, but the women would sit outside, respectfully and wait. She was in the space first, and she didn't want to share it.

The struggle between locals in Hawai'i and the "Micronesians" in parks was a reoccurring theme in the interviews with organizations. These public spaces, while meant to serve the entire community, and from observations, were not necessarily overcrowded, seemed to ignite the debate about who has the right to the city (or even parks). Unlike other contested resources, such as medical care, education, and employment (which could be argued are finite) the sharing of a park does not diminish others enjoyment of the resource.

Another respondent mentioned that they work with the Micronesian community, and that their friends and family are aware of the nature of their work but still say derogatory things about Micronesians. The respondent recalled a time a friend said "They take over the parks, haven't you noticed how many of them there are?" (21) This respondent reflected that it was really sad to hear other Pacific Islanders being so unwelcoming and added:

> There has been discrimination against every new group, this has always been the case, even with the same skin color. It has really hurt in particular for Micronesians as the issues of homelessness has added to their struggle. They also wear a distinctive dress, so it makes it easy to pick them out. (21)

This respondent starts on the topic of parks, and the push back Micronesians experience for occupying space in the public sphere. Like the above respondent whose client didn't want to welcome the Micronesians, they both think it's notable that non-migrants feel they have ownership of the public space of the parks. Other interview respondents mentioned that some people in Hawai'i don't like to see the COFA migrants in the parks, whether they are using the

resource or not. Ultimately, this means that people's perception of the COFA migrants are often not informed by personal experiences, but rather the dominant narrative of who COFA migrants are.

Conclusion

The organizations and agencies contributed to the research through a deeper understanding of what resources are available for COFA migrants. They served the population in a myriad of ways. They interact with the migrant community through healthcare, housing, empowerment, advocacy, spiritual services, language translation and civic participation. Being that the organizations represent such diverse services, a more holistic view of the migrants was created.

The respondents gave insight about the most pressing issues for COFA migrants. Collectively they felt that better education for the general public about who COFA migrants are and why there are here is necessary. They thought that this would help to alleviate some of the misunderstanding and misconceptions about migrants. This group of interviews, more than any other part of this research outlined the racist reception that migrants face. At more than one interview, the respondents cried (with sadness and also frustration) while discussing the situation for COFA migrants. They were emotional discussions, but reinforced their commitment to the work they are doing.

[1] These numbers are from the Native Hawaiian & Other Pacific Islander Population report published by the Bureau of Census and authored by Hixson, Helper and Kim (Yakushko et al., 2008, p. 170)

[2] Jane Jacobs (1961) "The life and death of great American cities" was a significant contribution to urban planning.

[3] The number of interviews was chosen after considering the qualitative methods of other dissertations whose inquiry centered on process for community making and migration. In truth, I will attempt to continue the interview process until theoretical saturation is reached (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 292)

[4] Suzanne Kuehling argued that the movement of air creates a sense of place. She suggested that by accepting the notion that persons and objects are connected and not divided by the surrounding air, will help in understanding emplaced and embodied experience (2012). Looking at space in ways that transcend western concepts will be important for understanding adaptation, and use by diaspora.

CHAPTER 6:
LAYERS OF RESEARCH

This chapter brings all the research together about the current COFA migrant experience in light of increased movement in the Pacific and climate change. It suggests tools and processes for migrants and the receiving communities to create more just and socially inclusive places in the multiplicity of urban social worlds. The Chuukese diaspora is a small window into how migration and adaptation are happening in Oceania for the communities in countries of destination. This research reiterates the consensus that while these migrants have historically been motivated to move predominately by healthcare, education, and employment, all indicators show that climate change in the coming years is going to redistribute populations in Oceania. With sea level rise, changing rainfall patterns, and diminishing ocean resources, it is highly likely that additional migrants will be relocating to Hawai'i and elsewhere around the Pacific.

This chapter focuses on the possible adaptations that can be consciously undertaken by communities, NGO, and City and County, State and Federal governments around the Pacific to address shortcomings and enhance the outcomes of success for migrants and the receiving communities they settle in.

There is an opportunity for Hawai'i to be an example of how immigration laws, policies and processes can be successfully done when increased migration pressures become the norm, rather than the exception. This research sought to move that concept forward and understand how migrants (specifically women from Chuuk), use space and how that space is shaped around them by the politics of reception, planning and relevant agencies and organizations. This chapter brings the various layers of data together to conclude how place-making is happening in the complex receiving community of Hawai'i and to give recommendations for how migrants can be better integrated into their new communities.

Qualitative data was used to understand the reasons migrants from COFA nations move to Hawai'i, how they are received when they arrive, the impact their presence has in their receiving communities, and the strategies they employ to make a home in a new place. Through this understanding of the interplay of migrant adaptation strategies and the politics of reception, this research elucidates what policies and practices might be helpful in the future as migration continues to be a large part of the social landscape in Oceania.

Structure of Research

Three distinct research projects were completed to fully explore and understand the varied dynamics around migration in Oceania under the COFA agreements. Table 16 summarizes the various chapter and the general recommendations they make.

Table 16.

Summary of Findings and Recommendations

Chapter	Findings	Recommendations
1) Introduction to Micronesia and Migrant issues, theory and previous research	• Migration is complex, the causes and impacts happen on an international and local scope. It is both an environmental, social and political issue. Previous research tends to focus more narrowly on one aspect, for example, the migrant experience, or the political climate of migration.	This research used a multimodal approach, and considered an inclusive analysis to understand the politics around migration. It considers the migrant experience, as well as that of the host community. Ultimately, this information can be used to understand how planning might adequately respond to the reality of increased migration where people will not be able to return home due to climate change.
2) Understanding the Politics of Reception Through an Analysis of News Coverage of "Micronesian" Diaspora in Hawaiʻi	• The "politics of reception" refers to an active process of creating a story, sentiments and ideology around the issue of migration. • It is not determined by one person, or one flow of information, rather it is actively being created through many avenues, and separate voices. • For Micronesians, the politics of reception is predominantly influenced by negative stereotyping in the media.	It is necessary for urban planners to understand ambient attitudes toward migrants in receiving communities in order to address issues of fair representation of migrants as they integrate into society. Recognizing the increased number of migrants as an opportunity for growth rather than a threat can change the way migrants are interpreted in their new home. The risk in continued exclusion of migrants from economic and educational opportunities is that they are not able to be productive citizens incorporated into communities, but remain outsiders, unable to contribute economically or culturally.
3) Kalihi-Palama Neighborhood Board Meetings: Migrants and the	• The complete non-existence of migrants in participatory planning.	Planning, in its most noble form should help to eradicate injustices and create more equitable futures for people, especially in urban

ideal of Participatory planning	• migrants influence over space and placemaking was happening in the parks and on the streets, not in formal planning.	environments. Migration is a complex issue, but no one expects it to lessen in the coming years. It represents part of an ever changing landscape, where being adaptable and dynamic will be the only way to prosper. Cities, and those that plan for them have a great deal to learn from migrants, and can use that knowledge to better include them in the formal planning processes
4) The migrant experience: Interviews with migrants and organizations that influence services or space for Pacific Diaspora in Kalihi	• Involvement in the work force trainings, church groups, public housing programs and workforce training seemed to help immensely in the process of belonging and empowering the migrants. • Often their collectivist culture conflicted directly with the more western, individualist norms that govern life in Hawaiʻi. Underneath all of these issues was an entirely new urban environment, in most cases, a very different place than the places they had left at home. • Their individual experiences of discrimination are part of a larger system of policies and practices that reinforce racial inequity.	The women's resiliency should be well understood and inform both physical and social planning interventions to be more congruent with the needs of the community. Women migrants have so much to offer their receiving communities and must be part of the process in planning cities of the future.

| 5) The migrant experience: Interviews with organizations and service providers for migrants | • Migrants face a racist reception when moving to the US.
• The existing community, to a large degree does not like to share space, even public space, like parks with migrants.
• Collectively respondents felt that better education for the general public about who COFA migrants are and why there are here is necessary. | Robust migration policies that recognize nations responsibilities to each other is desperately needed. COFA is a good example because there are positive and negative outcomes from the agreements that we can learn from. A more cohesive approach for incorporating migrants is needed. The challenges they face are diverse, and the service providers and organizations are best suited at working with bridge migrants in the community to help rectify the racist reception migrants encounter and improve migration policy for future movements. |

The above table give a brief description of each chapter and the broad recommendations. Because this research considers historical migration policies, current politics about migration and the movements of people now and in the near future, recommendations speak to larger trends. Collectively, this research calls for a more thorough understanding of human movement and resettlement patterns. To arrive at the ability of greater understanding, undressing the current stereotypes is necessary. Through this understanding, and a greater awareness of the issues migrants face when they cannot necessarily "go home", receiving countries can be better equipped to engage and make more mutually beneficial arrangements for migrants. In the face of increasing sea-level rise, and given the migrants important cultural connection to Micronesian's homeland, climate change has pushed the urgency to better understand and accommodate migrants to the forefront of policy decisions and local governance.

Chapter 1

The foundation of these studies was presented in Chapter 1 which provided general information on the situation of Pacific Island diaspora in the islands of Hawai'i. It described who the migrants are, previous research about why they migrate, and the challenges they face. Theories around migration were also covered, and the clear threat that climate change is creating to the livability of island nations was laid out. Collectively, these topics show where gaps in knowledge exist, and where this dissertation research should be focused.

Chapter 2

The research for Chapter 2 utilized newspaper articles to concretely explore the portrayal of Micronesians in the receiving community of Oʻahu by the dominant local press. This data showed the covert representations and overt associations that the media creates for Micronesians, and COFA members as a whole. Generalizations of who COFA migrants are were often made, and negative associations were both invented and reinforced. The chapter concluded that identities that are constructed by the local media about the "Micronesian migrant" influence the politics of reception. For example, "homelessness" is frequently covered and correlated to "migrants."

Chapter 3

Chapter 3 moved from the political discourse of the newspaper to focus on how participation in civic life, and particularly planning, was happening in Kalihi-Palama. Analysis of the neighborhood board meeting minutes offered insight about how new migrants fit into a participatory democracy. The Sunshine laws encouraged the government to be more accessible, accountable, and responsive to citizens, however newer migrants are largely left out of this process.

Chapter 4

Chapter 4 was comprised of interviews with migrant woman. The decision was made to focus the research cohort around women migrants from Chuuk because Chuukese make up the largest demographic of the COFA migrants, and women are the head of the family and often the decision makers. Collectively, these interviews revealed how migrants were adapting space, and becoming residents and neighbors in their new homes. The interviews also elucidated when the policies that affect COFA migrants were working, and when they fell short.

The interviews with migrant Chuukese women explained the social and economic challenges they face, as well as their experiences in the urban environment of Honolulu. The data showed detailed accounts of migrant's social and physical worlds. An understanding of their environmental evaluation process, as well as the knowledge they bring with them lend to more cohesive understanding communities.

Topics the women were interested in were rarely addressed at neighborhood board meeting. Such as public transportation, walking and their mobility in Kalihi-Palama. For a neighborhood with broken sidewalk connectivity, improving this asset, especially around schools, would significantly change the landscape for not only migrants but everyone who spends time in the neighborhood. The data from the interviews also gave insight about the informality of the migrant's arrangements and influence on creating spaces.

Chapter 5

This chapter included interview data from individuals who work closely with the migrants. These agencies, organizations and CBOs contributed to this research with their in-depth knowledge of migration and how their organizations interact with migrants. Other experts were interviewed, among them a planner who knows Kalihi, an author who writes about Kalihi and people involved in churches and other organizations.
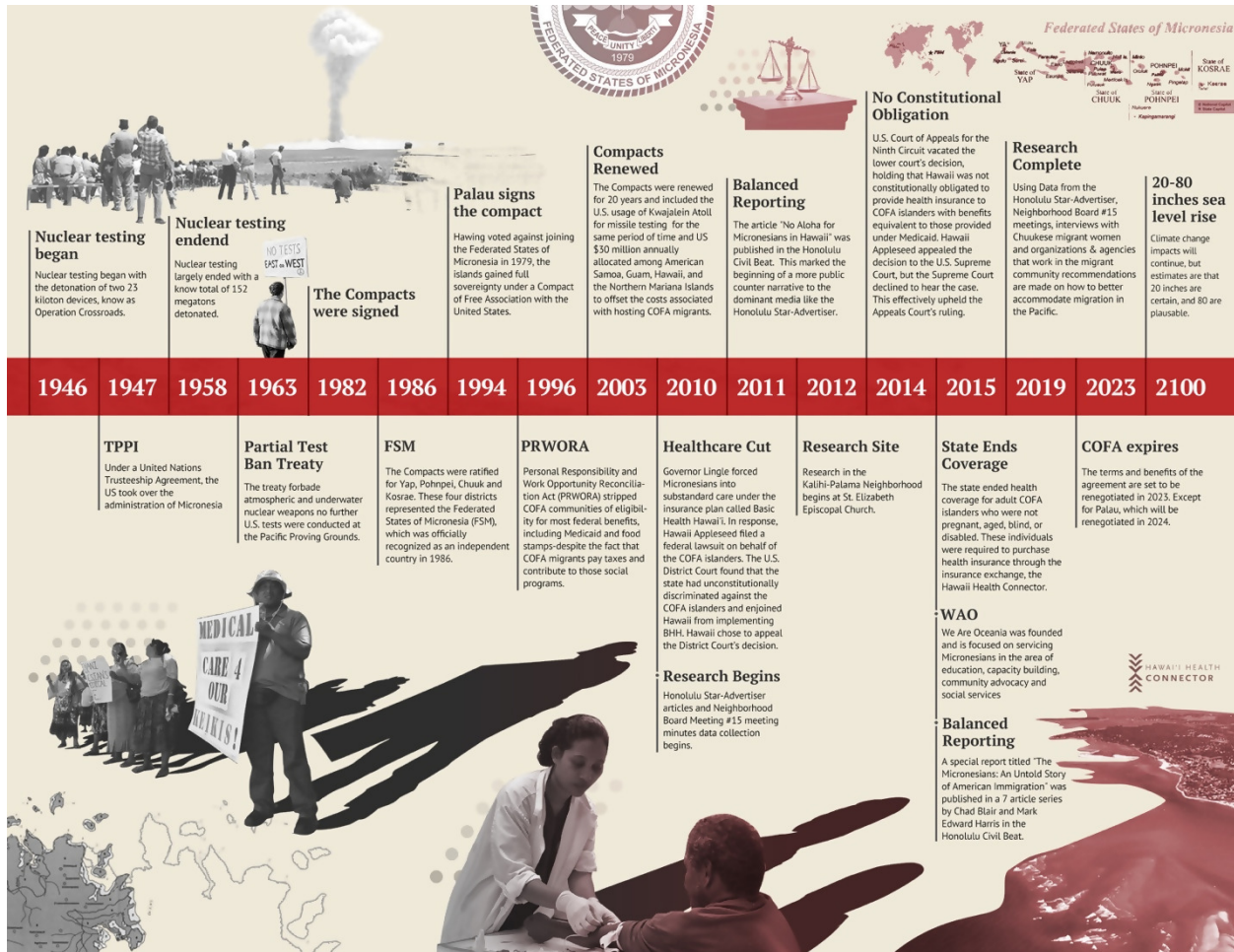
Figure 32. Research timeline with major milestones for COFA migrants and the politics of reception.

Inequality and Racism: Contestation over COFA

COFA contributes both to the patterns of migration as well as the political climate of the receiving communities. There is often racism toward COFA migrants, both veiled and blatant. This is a reality in the receiving communities in Hawai'i but is also the case in other receiving communities such as Guam. Racism is manifested in education, housing, and employment discrimination which makes adjusting to life more difficult for migrants (Hawai'i Appleseed Center, 2011).

In addition to abject racism, like the Republic of the Marshall Islands Consulate repeatedly receiving messages reading, "Fuck Micronesia. Kill all Micronesians," politicians have complained about the "Compact Impact" of Micronesian families using public services

while comments in the media have urged them to "Keep these leeches off our island." (Hawaiʻi Appleseed Center, 2011) Some of the struggles COFA migrants have faced have been even more public. The best example is the contestation over their presence in Hawaiʻi is the denial of their fundamental legal right to access to healthcare.

Micronesian migrants have been both stigmatized and scapegoated and are consistently framed in terms of a negative drain on resources (Hawaiʻi Appleseed Center, 2011). The government's persistent effort to cut healthcare benefits for this community is a frightening embodiment of discrimination in public policy, and represents a manifestation of social discrimination against Micronesians (Hawaiʻi Appleseed Center, 2011).

In health services, these tensions are exemplified between the migrant's legal rights for benefits and people's perception of the migrant's rights, on the basis of belonging. The debate and legal battle over health coverage has been drawn out and very public. Part of the problem was seeded in 1996 with the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) that stripped COFA communities of eligibility for most federal benefits, including Medicaid. When Federal coverage ended, the State of Hawaiʻi continued to offer healthcare as COFA migrants suffer from many chronic diseases that can be linked to U.S. involvement in the region. But 13 years after PRWORA, in 2009, Linda Lingle (the Republican governor of Hawaiʻi at the time), dropped COFA citizens from the state-run health insurance program.

For the COFA migrants being dropped from coverage was a terrifying experience. At the time there were 110 Micronesians receiving life-sustaining dialysis treatment for kidney failure on an average of 3 times a week. Without this treatment they would die within 10 days. Others were receiving chemotherapy and would suffer the same fate without treatment (Hawaiʻi Appleseed Center, 2011).

There was no transparency in the decision-making process to dis-enroll non-citizen Micronesians, and no effort to educate the people about what the new alternative insurance plans would cover. Lingle publicly declared that the cost of paying for their health care was $100 million (a number often disputed as being too high as it did not account for any of the contributions, such as taxes that non-citizen Micronesians pay) and said it was bankrupting the state (Blair, 2015b).

The incidents of public officials using COFA migrants to hang larger problems on are common, and contribute to the conflict between the larger Hawai'i community and COFA migrants. This is clear from the research in Ch. 2 of the analysis of HSA. The comment sections on articles published about COFA and health care issues often devolved into name calling and all out demonization of migrants.

Ultimately, newer migrants are seeking jobs, housing, education and healthcare just like everyone else. The competition for limited resources in the islands contributes to the negative attitudes toward new arrivals and resentments are apparent in claims on the rights to resources and the sentiment about who belongs.[16]

Joakin Peter, PhD, who is involved in advocacy was asked by a television host on a local show; "Someone in Hawai'i who hates Micronesia for instance might say well ok that (referring to the compact) is between the US and Micronesia, this agreement, why should I as a tax payer support these Micronesians who do nothing except like are on welfare and all of that?" Dr. Peter answered by saying, "That is a stereotype, that is not true." While it is clear the interviewer is leading him, repeating this kind of racist rhetoric is what the HSA does with their comment sections. Repetition of this sort of rhetoric is harmful, and replacing it with narratives more complete and closer to the reality is necessary.

Dr. Peter goes on to say that America is a nation of immigration values and it has always opened its arms for people looking for a better life:

> The fact that they have painted Micronesians as opportunists, taking without giving…of course that is nothing new in the history of this nation because other immigrant groups have faced the same issues. However, what I would like to point out is if we have learned these lessons in the past, and we are products of that experience, the negative part of the history, why should we turn around and do it to other people? And people answer, "well deal with it." But there are consequences that are really hard to say deal with it. When kids are bullied at school to the point where their future is compromised, and people are being discriminated against in seeking healthcare to the point where it compromises their lives. Jokes are jokes, but there are those that go overboard and it undermines the quality

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[16] There are also political undercurrents about Hawai'i upholding a responsibility that belongs to the US Federal Government. This argument is often stated by the Hawai'i taxpayer, but becomes even more pronounced from some ethnic Hawaiians. Given some socio-economic similarities between the populations, defensiveness toward outsiders is a visible trend. This research did address this sentiment, as it is complex, and could be a dissertation all its own.

of life, and threatens people's lives. This is where we have to draw the line and say this cannot happen. (Peter, 2015)

In the interview, he points out how people try to normalize the experience that Micronesians have, but notes that it is costing people's lives. The normalization of discrimination was often discussed during my research, people told me how discrimination always happens with immigrants and there was nothing that could be done. However, changing the narrative of COFA migrants from needy, to COFA migrants that contribute to their communities would help rectify the cacophony of racist remarks and the painful stereotyping they endure.

Politics of Reception

Migrants often face a territorial and hostile receiving community. This research found that there are profound discriminatory discursive practices at work in the most read newspaper in Hawai'i as well as stereotypes in the community about who migrants are, why they move to Hawai'i, and how they impact the larger community. In neighborhood board meetings, some members (who were migrants themselves) had to call out the other members and remind them that "migrants are human too." In a normative stance, these discursive practices may seem insignificant, however given their recurrence in the NB #15 minutes, the pattern of stereotyping is imbedded. Falgout (2012) discussed the struggles Micronesian face in maintaining positive identities while resettling in Hawai'i. The challenges of being "Micronesian" in Hawai'i are apparent and migrants and the organizations that work with them invariably recognized this and noted that this discrimination made the migration process much more difficult.

In one article, there was a picture of a migrant family at the park. The Honolulu Star-Advertiser (HSA) used this image as evidence for homeless people, however from deeper analysis of the image it was clear that they were just gathering, and not necessarily sleeping there. Would the HSA have used this image had the family been white in the picture? Or would it have been assumed that the white family in the park were just having a picnic? Stereotyping is the cognitive culprit in prejudice and discrimination (Fiske & Taylor, 1993) and as such, the negative representations that the newspaper puts forth are impacting Pacific Diaspora in Hawai'i, and the politics of reception.

The environment of hostility toward Micronesian migrants in Hawai'i has hindered the migrant's ability to secure good jobs, housing and education, which feeds back into the dominant

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culture's discriminatory beliefs. The general discursive dominance over newer migrants impacts the outcomes of their ability to have fulfilling lives in Hawai'i through access to education, employment, housing and healthcare.

The barriers that are built through racism are a matter of social justice for those that are discriminated against. They also impart inequalities that are taxing on Hawai'i as a whole, such as discriminatory education, hiring and housing practices which contribute to difficulties in successful access to a better quality of life.

Additionally, encouraging, or even accepting a negative politics of reception can only contribute to the complicated situation of migration at best, and at worst, it can destabilize communities and cause devolution of civil order into crisis.

Through this analysis, it was evident that migrants were not participating in civic forums (like NB #15 meetings). Analyzing the recorded neighborhood board meeting minutes revealed few words that identify the COFA population. This was a surprising finding given the high density of migrants on O'ahu that live in Kalihi-Palama. Having sat in many of the meetings, I heard issues around the migrant population often discussed. Thus their absence in the meeting minutes is mysterious and seems to be a case of whitewashing the official record. Looking more deeply with NVivo it became clear that "code" words were being used in the minutes. Most interestingly, the "homeless" topic was used almost interchangeably with issues around "migrants" and the COFA population.

This finding echoes the politics of reception that are curated in the HSA which also related migrants and homelessness. Not surprisingly, homeless discussions dominated many of the recorded minutes from the meetings of NB #15. The lack of migrants in the meetings made it clear that democratic ideals around community planning were not happening in Kalihi-Palama. Additionally, the majority of conversations about migrants did not address many of the issues migrants face, but rather reinforced stereotypes of migrants as an issue. The similarities between the discourse of the HSA and the neighborhood board meeting minutes reaffirm the politics of reception. Collectively, these two written records, which span a 5-year period, firmly establish the racial prejudice that migrants face.

In the years proceeding 2015, with the creation of supportive and proactive community based organization such as We Are Oceania, COFA CAN and other CBOs, the "politics of

reception" have been evolving in positive ways. During a recent parade through Waikiki, Micronesians were proudly represented through the guiding light of We Are Oceania. With skirts, headdresses and lei from their islands, it was a strong show of cultural pride, at home in Hawaiʻi.

Incomplete Data

Some respondents in organizations that work with migrants noted that there was almost no existing data on the contributions that migrants make through taxes, jobs and other contributions. Despite this fact, the state often publishes accounts detailing the cost of COFA migrants in Hawaiʻi. This incomplete cost analysis paints an uneven picture of the economic situation around the migrants, which is often publicized in the papers and ultimately broadcasted as true and correct. Naturally, this puts more pressure on the migrants and portrays them as leeches on society, rather than contributing members of their new communities. It is possible that the state is doing this to encourage the federal government to help more, but it only deepens resentments, and to date, has not encouraged more federal funding. A respondent summarized the politics and the way the State was implicated:

> The State response is encouraging of the racism, we (the organization) are helping to get even more engaged in these issues and in the fight to counter the discrimination. (17)

The issue of health insurance for Micronesian migrants has become a flashpoint for conflict. This topic is contentious in Hawaiʻi because the state claims it carries the financial burden for the programs that serve the migrant community and that the programs are underfunded by the Federal government. What became clear through further research is that the actual numbers of the cost of health care for COFA migrants is not transparently represented, or necessarily easy to calculate. As noted above migrants pay taxes, yet the calculations for healthcare do not reflect their contribution. Despite this, the State routinely publishes these reports claiming expenses that are associated with the cost of health care for COFA migrants. These reports ignite ire in the local community, and stir feelings of resentment toward migrants.

For population statistics, Tavae Samuelu is the Executive Director of Empowering Pacific Islander Communities says lack of data makes it impossible to show the impact of public policies and the American Community Survey doesn't go into enough detail. "So much of how resources are allocated and how many people make the case for their needs is based on

quantifiable data," Samuelu stated (Hofschneider, 2018a).

In the census data nothing exists for Chuuk or other islands in the Federated States of Micronesia. They were lumped into another category called "Other Micronesians" made up of more than 18,000 people in 2015. That's about equal to the number of people who make up Hawai'i's Okinawan, Chamorro and Tongan communities combined, (Hofschneider, 2018a) so not a nominal portion of the population.

A 2012 survey commissioned by the Federated States of Micronesia estimated there were about 8,000 FSM immigrants in Hawai'i. However Rachel Wong, the Director of the Hawai'i Department of Health and Human Services reported that in 2014 there had been 21,733 FAS citizens who utilized services, a significantly higher number than the number of FAS citizens estimated by the Department of the Interior in their report "Micronesians in Hawai'i : Migrants Groups Face Barriers to Equal Opportunities" (Hawai'i Advisory Committee to the US commission on Civil Rights, 2016). It appears that the Federated States of Micronesia has underestimated the number of FSM citizens in Hawai'i, while the Department of Health and Human Services seems to have a more accurate count, they likely do not capture the entire population. Collectively, this illustrates the confusion and lack of clarity around the number of migrants and relatedly the cost associated.

State and Federal Government Policies

The dynamic between the state and federal government is fraught over the COFA migrants. To allow the migration is a mandate that comes from a Federal level, but the costs of accommodating migrants are reportedly carried by the state. This breeds resentment toward migrants within the State Government. The 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) that stripped COFA communities of eligibility for most federal benefits including Medicaid, is a serious point of contention. Frequently COFA migrants suffer from health conditions directly linked to actions taken in Micronesia by the US government, as discussed in Chapter 1. The incongruent financial support of COFA, paired with the moral responsibility toward the migrants is one of the biggest shortcomings of the Compact. This creates a massive strain between nations, states and cities. It also burdens migrants, much of the racism towards them stems from feelings of economic imbalance and that they are to blame. In

reality, they have held up their end of the compact, and it is the Federal government who is not fulfilling theirs.

This situation requires a serious and well-resourced response from Washington and its regional partners. COFA, and the geo-political region are strategically important to the US, but the status of the agreement, or what will happen in the coming years remains to be seen. It is clear that underfunded federal migration policies should be avoided for the confusion and resentment they cause. Beyond the current COFA agreements, the US government must boldly reimagine both international and regional responses to migration in the short, medium, and long term. Anything less will further aggravate an already serious humanitarian crisis and contribute to political and economic instability.

Housing

The disparity between legal rights, and perceived rights are also visible in migrants need for housing. Hawai'i's high cost of housing creates extra tension. Many families are economically stressed by the high cost of living (necessitating an annual income of $77,968 for a family of two adults and two children; DBEDT, 2015). Statewide, 45% of two parent, two children households had incomes below the self-sufficiency standards in 2015 (DBEDT, 2015). This number indicates that many Hawai'i residents are living, often considerably, below the cusp and that some form of assistance is needed. Part of the cost of living can be seen in housing costs that are among the highest in the nation. These high costs translate to more wage earners needing to live together, and this is not just true for migrants, but all residents in the state. The Department of Health's Easy Access Project (EAP) reports that Micronesians have the lowest ratio of rooms to people in their residence (5 rooms for 8 to 10 people), and that they were more likely to report unsatisfactory housing than other immigrants and migrants (Pobutsky, Krupitsky, & Yamada, 2009).

Through the interviews with Chuukese migrants, I heard countless stories of blatant discrimination by landlords targeted at Micronesians. The problem became formidable enough that in 2007 a nonprofit began filing lawsuits against landlords (Vorsino, 2007). However, the state Civil Rights Commission deputy director, Christopher Jones said in an interview that he didn't know whether housing discrimination against Micronesians was any worse than against

other groups (Vorsino, 2007). This statement exemplifies the degree of ignorance about the problem and the correlated lack of resources that are allotted toward addressing the issues Micronesian experience when they migrate to Hawai'i. Migrants use of housing subsidies, and settled residents' perceptions of 'unfair' allocation show how political sentiments of identity, belonging and place shape perception of "just" access to social goods (Harvey, 1996).

The theme of homelessness correlated to migration gives the false impression that the COFA demographic makes up the majority of the homeless population. Research on homelessness in Hawai'i however does not support this, nor do the migrants own perception of homelessness in Hawai'i; the migrants interviewed only referenced homelessness by expressions of sympathy for people that were without a home. Migrants noted countless times during this inquiry that there are no homeless in Chuuk because culturally, "we just wouldn't let that happen to each other." (09) The Chuukese migrants resource sharing of shelter is an asset for their community in their adaptation process to life in a new place, however, as mentioned above, it is also a liability due to rules around housing.

Adapting to Make Themselves Invisible

This analysis has shown there is a systematic stereotyping from the local newspaper to neighborhood board planning meetings and many places in between. These stereotypes are deeply felt in the migrant community. Despite the significant contributions that Micronesians have made to Hawaiian culture, there is a shy and sometimes shameful recognition that some markers of the migrants' national identity were hidden with the hopes that they would more easily blend in.

This was done with food, attire, and even language. Some women reported that their children only spoke English, that they didn't wear their skirts, and that they rarely spoke about home with others outside their diaspora so as not to identify where they came from. These attempts to distance themselves from their cultural identity show the heavy burden of discrimination that they are currently forced to carry in Hawai'i. That the discrimination is highly correlated with the visual cues of their difference makes the problem even more vexing and seems to speak to theories like Stahelli, who claims that becoming part of a community mean fitting in.

Exclusion from Formal Planning

Lack of residents' participation was immediately evident by the structure of the meetings. They revealed inequities between the board members and citizens. These inequities further limited meaningful and robust participation. Turn allocation and turn size were strictly set for citizens while being expansive and variable for board members. Citizens were given access to openly discuss a topic of their choosing at only one point in the meetings. They were able to respond to discussions at three other points during the meetings. The format gave the officials time to discuss and present, and then respond to citizens following the "rules of speaking." Citizens were not allowed to speak during other portions of the meeting, and could be barred for not following the rules.

The turn allocation limited citizen participation to four sections of the meeting and gave a fixed turn size of 3 minutes. While these rules certainly have a negative impact on the equal footing that Habermas puts forth, we can imagine for a migrant it is even more restrictive. There are no translators and the agendas, written in English, with 12 pt font, are often pages long. Having attended many of these meetings during this research, it was clear that the constricting nature of turn taking reduces migrant involvement.

In the vacuum of migrant participation that this research discovered, the council members are left to plan for them. Clearly, given the interchangeable nature of the "homeless issue" and the "migrant issues" in the meeting minutes, there is no equity, or appropriate definition of the real challenges because the migrant's voices are missing.

Exclusion from Public Space and the Right to the City

During the interviews it became clear that some people (maybe a majority) in Hawaiʻi have negative feelings towards COFA migrants and that they often manifest in claims about people's right to the city. In Ch. 5, respondents discussed how locals feel threatened about losing "their" space. This often referred to public spaces, like parks. Given the claims of locals about ownership of public space, the community in Hawaiʻi is not embracing the multiplicity of difference nor the "aloha spirit". The ideals set forth by more progressive planning theories of right to the city are falling short in the way the community is welcoming migrants. However, despite this reception, the Chuukese migrants continue to move to Oʻahu and carry on with their lives in their new homes.

Gathering together is vital to the Chuukese migrants well-being. In recounting their migration experience many mention the importance of parks in their adaptation to life in Hawai'i.

> When I first lived in Hawai'i we used to go to the park a lot. We had parties at the park, but for, it was also just to relax. A big towel and me and my family just laying on the grass when we are done with our responsibilities. I go to Ala Moana beach, or sometimes I go to Makiki District Park. (09)

This respondent has living on O'ahu for 9 years, and she vividly remembers the feeling of being in the park with her family. The park for her was like a refuge, away from all the worries where she could "just relax" after all the work is done. Because so few Chuukese migrants own property due to financial constraints, their usage of public spaces for gathering and meeting is essential.

Micronesians feel intimidated by the perceived ownership local people have over public spaces, but despite this, they still find parks to be their best sanctuary. In mapping important places around Kalihi-Palama, the most frequently mentioned destinations were parks. I conducted ethnographic field work in many of these places and was able to observe gatherings with families, and multigenerational group. They rarely use the fields or other park equipment. While locals in Hawai'i often use the parks for large parties like birthday, the COFA migrants appeared to used the public spaces more for meetings and other gatherings.

The gatherings I observed of migrants were usually under 20 people. Food was shared. Often there was no obvious event they were celebrating (no large banners or balloons decorating the pavilion), rather they were there to be together, share food and enjoy the outdoors. The map below depicts places the Chuukese women migrants spoke about during the interviews.

Figure 33. Places described by Migrant Women from Chuuk.

KALIHI PALAMA

HONOLULU, HI

PARKS
1. Makiki District Park
2. Aala Park
3. Kalakaua District Park
4. Thomas Square
5. Kaka'ako Waterfront Park
6. Ala Moana Regional Park
7. Salt Lake District Park *(not on map)*

PUBLIC HOUSING
1. Mayor Wright
2. Kam IV Apartments
3. Kuhio Park Terrace

SHOPPING
1. Kamehameha Shopping Center
2. Talofa Polynesian Market

SCHOOL
1. Farrington High

OTHER
1. Oahu Correctional

CHAPTER 7: RECOMENDATIONS AND CONCLULSIONS

This chapter brings together all the findings for more actionable recomendations going forward. These recomendations and conclusions should be informative when concidering how migrants adapt and intergrate in thier new homes. This chapter can also help reciving communities plan and interact with migrants to maximize the collective benifits of more diverse and inclusive places. Lastly, when possible rengotiations around the COFA agrements happen in 2023/2024, and when climate change necesitates the discusion of migration options, this reserch can be used as a case study of what the success and challenges have been associated with migration policy, planning and governance.

Collaborative Planning

Currently, concepts and designs for spaces[17] and their uses within cities rest largely on professional assumptions about the space's value in the social world. These assumptions are founded on culturally specific perspectives for way-finding and spatial models (Shore, 2014). Because cities are comprised of groups of people who have culturally patterned differences in perspectives and preferences for space, the implementation of plans and programs should be mindful of those differences. It is not possible for planners to address every unique perspective, but it is tenable for them to be more aware of their own culturally patterned models and open up to other ways of seeing and being. Both policy and practice could benefit cities of the future through their sensitivity to difference. The neighborhood board meetings were open to the public but were not inclusive. They maintained processes and turn taking rules that made it impossible for equal footing for more balanced conservations. Despite these issues however, because international and national policy frameworks are often mired in the loaded and divisive politics around migration and climate change, planning could be more effectively focused on the community level and then scaled upwards. Though communities in cities are neither apolitical nor homogenous, this research shows that it is more appropriate to discover and plan for the

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[17] The concepts of 'space' and 'place' are culturally grounded. For Solomon islanders for example, "place (*kula ni fuli,* literally, "place situated in source," the place of one's existential foundation)" representing family ties, genealogy, and connections to the land (Gegeo, 2001, p. 494). Space for Solomon Islanders is simply a location that can be occupied, more often than not, temporarily. For this proposal I will not make a distinction, but during the research I will seek clarification and define the terms for the purposes of the research.

opportunities and challenges of the displacement of individuals, and communities at the neighborhood or city level.

To do this, it is critical to create a collaborative process and sharing of information to better map, understand, predict and address migration for sending and receiving communities. The planning should address movement caused by natural disasters, and the effects of climate change, while ensuring the autonomy and human rights of those migrating. The most logical place to start is with the inclusion of communities that have migrated or may be migrating and the receiving communities. The goal should be both policy and planning that seeks to secure the well being of humans and the larger success of receiving communities and the migrants that live there. It needs to start with the experiences of the migrants and their neighbors in the receiving communities.

Media Reporting Reframing & Better Politics of Reception

The concept of politics of reception is often formed in the media and is capable of humanizing stories, or stereotyping stories. Stereotypes are reductive of reality and the true stories of people lives. The reporting so often found in the HSA was predominately stereotyping migrants, making the politics of reception more negative. What the Honolulu Civil Beat has done is report on the complex situations happening in the world. This is incredibly important for issues around migration.

A more responsible approach to news "reporting" is needed. There are real impacts from the discursive practices of the media, which should be unpacked, and policy makers would benefit from doing so. Imagine if all of the positive association with Nainoa Thompson and the Hokulea were related back to their initial teacher Mau Piailug. Mau was from Micronesia and he shared his knowledge so that the lost Hawaiian navigational techniques could be brought back to life through the Polynesian Voyaging Society. This incredible cultural gift came from Micronesia, it should be told more frequently so that people in Hawai'i also remember that migration means innovation and progress, not just homelessness and welfare.

Additionally, the long history between Micronesia and the United States should be explained more wholly, and far more often when discussing the compacts. Too often there is reporting that captures an incomplete story about why COFA migrants are in Hawai'i . This leads to misunderstandings in the community. Many people in Hawai'i are not aware of the fact

that COFA migrants receive no special treatment, are not eligible for food stamps and other federal safety net programs and additionally, pay taxes into those social programs. It should be incumbent on newspapers to report this kind of information and educate its readership about the reality of situations locally and internationally.

Partnerships between the media and those involved in the planning for migrants should be developed. More robust relationships with those who really understand the situation and those who disseminate information about them need to be forged. Currently the media situation is such that extremes exist across the news platforms. Despite this trend, there are opportunities to reverse it. The Civil Beat does an extraordinary job of deeper journalism that exposed the complications of the situations for migrants in Hawai'i . It is journalism like this that helps to educate not just the public, but policy makers on the real nature of issues, and offers a starting point for more informed decision making.

City and County

Though migration is an international and regional phenomenon, the receiving communities are often cities. In the past few years, sanctuary policy has been a point of tension between federal, state, and local authorities.

Each city has its own politics of reception, defined by the multiple players in that space, including the local media, city government, organizations, mayor and civil societies. Some are very progressive, and others less so. They play into a dynamic which is also impacted by overarching national policies. In support of migration, the mayors of major migrant destination cities, such as New York, and Los Angeles, have rejected national policies that deny migrants rights and services. In January of 2017, New York's Mayor Bill de Blasio proclaimed that "we're going to defend our people regardless of where they come from, regardless of their immigration status". (NYT, 2017) With this proclamation, De Blasio reaffirmed New York's status as a sanctuary city that protects the city's most vulnerable inhabitants. Honolulu has an opportunity to be a city that treats all of its residents with respect, but to date, the mayors of the city, (Carlisle and Caldwell during this research) were not reaffirming of migrants rights. And when a vote went up to make Honolulu a sanctuary city the city council voted it down.

While mayors are capable or setting the tone for migrants, there are interventions for urban planning to implement. It's the active participation of migrants in community initiatives

and planning that increase civic engagement. This lived daily experience can be enhanced by welcome program for migrants that can help them understand and navigate their news homes with more confidence and resources. The city and county plans should incorporate the migrant populations. This is related to the data that is missing for this demographic of the population but also the representation of migrants in official planning documents. Currently, the migrant population is almost entire vacant of any mention in the TOD plans for Honolulu, and also, as this research has shown, from the neighborhood board meetings.

Nationally, Sanctuary cities have shown that it is possible to expand the scope of urban citizenship and to an extent, expand the "right to the city" on behalf of immigrants. The policies and methods cities use to do so have implications beyond the impact for illegal immigrants and speak to larger issues in planning, like place-making and belonging, community planning and coping and resilience. At the city and county level, there is a chance to advance the prospects of the poorest and the most disenfranchised populations.

Direct Learning

It is evident that a deeper understanding of how migrants adapt, and the real struggles they face, is needed for creating appropriate policies and informed planning decisions. Currently, this is applicable to COFA migrants, but in the near term it will be required to address larger influxes of climate change migrants.

As planners, it is critical when looking forward to increasingly diverse communities to first recognize how embedded some stereotypes are. Though planners are ideally objective, sometimes discrimination is so deep that it becomes invisible. I would urge planners to carefully consider and identify the most vulnerable communities, and make an effort to learn about them directly from the communities themselves. Awareness of, and planning for the most vulnerable people in a community leads to an expanded capacity for resilience and ultimately more successful societies.

Intercultural Understanding

Most crucial is a political consciousness that supports progressive moves at national and local levels toward respectfulness of others and greater equality (Fainstein, 2005). Findings suggest that rather than try to celebrate cultures and build respect through larger scale events like

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public festivals, we need to create spaces of interdependence in order to develop intercultural understanding (Amin & Thrift, 2002). That the 'micro-publics of everyday social contact and encounter' matter most (Valentine, 2008) and in our approach to discover how these connections are articulated, the most helpful readings suggest to look to the social fabric of the city. The dynamics and relationships between people and place are best explored through the encounters that happen there, and the accounts of those encounters as expressed by those who experience them. The public parks and beaches are an ideal site for intercultural understanding. With 'Politics of Place', Friedmann correctly theorizes about place attachments being important regardless of the temporal or liminal nature of a space. The Chuukese women make strong place attachments with the semi-public space of the church and the public space of various parks. That they are not able to control the space does not seem to diminish their valuation of it.

However the repellant feelings that most people in Hawai'i have towards Micronesians, even in the public sphere of the park limit bonding between cultures. To encourage people to reach out across divides of difference more complete narratives about who the migrants are and why they are here is necessary. This is the bridge that happens between social and physical worlds that can lead to encounters in the micro-publics of everyday social contact.

Congruent and Collaborative Policies

While it is important that organizations are producing counter narratives, it is equally critical that the policies are corrected on a systemic level. Making the federal government fall back in line with the policies that existed pre-1996, when the Compacts were created is key to aligning the state and federal government and also upholding the promises made by the United States in the agreements. The issue of healthcare for COFA migrants exemplifies the growing need for collaborative efforts that strengthen our knowledge of and response to migration. PRWORA as an example of unintended consequences, where the situation devolved into a health crisis for the migrant community and a resource war in the State of Hawai'i. With greater knowledge and shared understandings about migration, it is possible to improve policies that unlock the potential of successful migration. There is a strong need for the migrant community with their leaders and organizations to continue to work toward supportive legislative and legal initiatives with the various levels of government.

Comprehensive Data

It has been clearly established that there is very little data about migration populations or the underlying economics on behalf of the sending and receiving communities. To rectify the lack of economic data, the GAO and the Interior should have guidelines for the affected jurisdictions that adequately address concepts essential to producing reliable impact estimates and impact contributions. For there to be an accurate understanding of what the State of Hawaiʻi is lacking in resources, quantifiable data needs to be available.

For a more complete understanding of the population and the number of people migrating, it's critical to better identify members of the COFA population through enhanced questions on the census and at all points of contacts, such as through information provided in the medical insurance programs. In addition to getting better data, it needs to be shared more easily and widely between stakeholders so that each sector is able to better assess the issues migrants face, identify where they actually are, and address them.

Building on Indigenous Knowledge and Resilience

In our globalized world, migration has been a source of prosperity and innovation. Without neglecting the challenges, these positive impacts can be optimized by improving migration policies and preemptive adaptation strategies.

One of the best ways to do this, in unison with the higher policy approaches, is to work with migrants to understand how the experience is affecting them and their families, and the communities they settle in. A robust knowledge of their indigenous knowledge, adaptive strategies and strengths will help show receiving communities how to support them. This would include support for their preference of intergenerational housing, access to land for growing food, and more support in pursuing education. Immediately in Hawaiʻi, there are things that can be addressed that are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Despite the discrimination, and flawed policies, ultimately, the women migrants have shown that in the face of overwhelming logistical challenges, often with sick relatives, in a place that their neighbors and employers can be unkind, where housing discrimination is common, they were still incredibly resilient and capable of solving many of the issues through their own resourcefulness. The Chuukese migrant women exemplified the invaluable indigenous knowledge and networks that buffer the often-harsh realities of their new homes.

Micronesians have successfully found jobs, formed businesses, been educated and raised families despite the divisive and disheartening politics of reception that dominate the landscape for migrants. These examples can inform how a larger number of migrants might be accommodated during a period of climate change and increased human movement. For consideration of each nation, and diaspora in Oceania, it reduces to a willingness of the receiving country to understand what makes that particular society work, and identification of their greatest strengths discussed in Chapter 4, and what will be their greatest challenges. A preemptive accounting of these assets and liabilities better prepares receiving communities for the inevitable movement of populations in Oceania.

Since the beginning of this research, We Are Oceania has formed among other organizations that support and maintain Micronesian community and culture. This CBO's and others like it provide support to the migrant community and carry out events and programs the build capacity in the COFA community as well as educate the larger public about the migrants.

During a recent announcement for an event WAO was doing on a locally broadcasted show, Dr. Jojo Peter, Community Advocacy Manager for WAO gave the most comprehensive explanation of COFA. He described the military advantages and economic strategy involved in the U.S. desire to have the compacts. He finished his statement with this "That's what we gave….what we get out of it, is just the open opportunity. Nothing special, just the open opportunity to be able to travel here, get our work on our own, send our kids to school, pay taxes just like everybody else and be able to enjoy life like everybody else. No special treatment, just that open immigration, but that is what we gave up in the compacts" (ThinkTech Hawaii, 2018).

These larger capacity building efforts are alongside the many migrants who on a daily basis interact with their communities and help to shape a more positive politics of reception.

Knowledge and Recognition of Migrants Adaptive Strategies and Strengths

Importantly, the women migrants make efforts to replicate their culture and customs in Hawai'i. There are many adaptations they must make as they transition into an urban environment, often without land (which they are accustomed to in their home countries). Below are the main areas that they discussed. Greater awareness for organizations and agencies that work with migrants around these issues could lead to benefits for the migrant communities and receiving communities alike.

Agriculture. Agriculture resource gathering among the women is a way that they supplemented their food security. In discussions about home they would describe their food gathering. Often it was going out fishing, collecting breadfruit and coconuts as well as growing tapioca. On Oʻahu, in urban Kalihi-Palama there is limited opportunity to grow food. There are a few small community garden spaces at the churches, but they only produce a small amount of food. To continue their cultural practices of food collection, the women reach out to their larger networks on Oʻahu, and find trees of breadfruit and avocado (among other things) to help supplement what they have to purchase at a store. Along with their food gathering, they have to adapt to new practices. In Chuuk the tapioca is fresh and free; on Oʻahu it is frozen on the market shelves and must be bought. Without land or their own gardens, they use traditional ways such as gathering food when available, as well as adopting practices from their new home.

Housing. The cultural generosity extends beyond sharing knowledge and financial resources. Women have also adapted in their sharing of space. In Chuuk, where women own sprawling properties, with multiple structures and lots of open space, accommodating their families and friends is done without hesitation. Repeatedly the migrant Chuukese women reported during the interviews that no one in Micronesia is homeless because the families that make up the communities would never allow someone to sleep without shelter. On Oʻahu space comes at a premium, rents are expensive and living spaces are tight, but this the resource is still often shared without boundaries. Because of this, more Chuukese are sheltered, even if they do not have their own home. This is a particularly interesting adaptation strategy in Hawaiʻi because of the housing rules. To house family and friends, it often requires people to get up before sunrise to escape inspections in public housing. If an apartment is inspected and found to have too many people, the lease can be cancelled. There were also hardships for migrants in private housing. Often landlords did not like extra people around their properties and would instigate evictions on unfounded basis.

Collectively, the cultural generosity of sharing space is an important adaptive strategy that does not happen without sacrifice. Though judgment may be passed on migrants for allowing their family to stay in their homes without permission from their landlords, their cultural contracts are much stronger than any paper agreements the western world forces them to sign. They feel providing shelter to others in need is a moral responsibility.

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The strict rules around housing leaves an opportunity for huge strides in understanding that migrants find their biggest support in one another. There are more dynamic and accommodating styles of housing migrants that could envisioned and created. There are also slight changes to policy that can greatly impact the incidences of issues with migrants overcrowding their shared spaces. Currently, this idea may seem like it is a reach. Most people experience some kind of housing insecurity in Hawaiʻi because it is so expensive. However, when climate change really sets in later this century, and the need for migrant housing is even more dire, less expensive (and accommodating) designs will be the only solution. The social problems caused from forcing people into unideal housing are well documented, there is no argument that justifies not making more flexible accommodations. This is especially true when those accommodations can be more affordable. Obviously, this is not easily done with current building codes and zoning, but the need to start studying how to make it possible is urgent.

Healthcare. One reason COFA migrants move to Hawaiʻi is for dialysis. And though migrants are incredibly generous to each other, there is no amount of cultural generosity that can help with this situation when there is no dialysis treatment in their home country. There is still a critical need for the policies around healthcare for COFA migrants to be corrected. For the State of Hawaiʻi, current and future migrants, PRWORA needs to be reversed or rewritten. There are a handful of human rights that need to be maintained in migration, and healthcare is one of them. That the U.S. caused many of the migrants' health conditions only exacerbates how wrong PRWORA was, and the following decision by Lingle to end State supported health care. The neglect of this need is indicative of the possible failures of policy in future migration. COFA migrants predominantly come to Hawaiʻi because they suffer from chronic disease for which they need treatment. The Federal government stopped healthcare coverage of COFA migrants and then the State government followed suit; this incongruence in coverage created a gap that resulted in the death of people. Micronesian migrants died, lost limbs, and suffered month of sickness because of their lack of access to care. The extent of mortality and personal loss is still uncalculated for this period of non-coverage.

Miscommunications, malice, and communications lost in translation all contributed, but this incredible sacrifice that the COFA migrants made should not be lost without some gain. This research considers some of the challenges migrants in Oceania face that will be present for climate change migrants. Ultimately, these migrants are a glimpse of our future; when migration

can happen freely from places where environmental destruction is total. An agreement like COFA is our only option in the face of sinking nations, and as such, deeper analysis of COFA, certainly more than this dissertation, needs to be done.

Bridge migrants. Newer migrants learn to navigate systems by being led through the process with women who have lived in Hawai'i longer and adapted to their host culture more completely. These women act as conduits between the foreign culture on O'ahu and the newer migrants understanding of life from home. One can think of these women as bridge migrants, and with their knowledge they are willing to help and guide the newer migrants. This is culturally the way things would be done in Micronesia where the collective is much stronger than the individual approach. When this collective is translated to life in a new place, it creates a diaspora that is more self-sufficient. Examples of this kind of traditional cultural assistance are seen in all areas of life, from the way migrants learn to ride the bus, to navigating complex medical mazes, to registering children in school. These women assist each other in everyday life and they are especially supportive during emergencies. For example, when resources are needed for funeral arrangements, such as the purchase of airline tickets home, or funds to have the body returned to their island, they rely on their community financially. These are only a few examples of how reliable and resilient the migrant community truly is. These assets should be understood as strengths, and leveraged in the planning process for the benefit of the migrant community.

Bridge migrants and organizations. Through interviews, the disconnects that have contributed to the main struggles the migrants face have been identified. Important and necessary opportunities exist not only to help migrants' transition to their new communities but also to help Hawai'i residents assimilate the new migrants and share in the wealth of knowledge that they bring with them.

Migrants are moving from subsistence cultures, bringing their robust agricultural practices with them. Despite this wealth of knowledge and desire to grow food they have almost a complete lack of access to land available for this purpose. They are experts at farming and being self-sufficient on their islands. Their skills should be leveraged on O'ahu to bring more local food production to Hawai'i (which relies heavily on imported food in urban Honolulu).

Women who act as bridges between the newer migrants and the host community should be leveraged and their knowledge and voices should be lent to the process of adaptation and policy making for migrants in Oceania. These women carry a large amount of power and

influence, and have the ability to access the migrant community. Policy makers and planners need to be sensitive and responsive to the unique ways of knowledge sharing in the migrant community. It is a disservice to everyone to squander these community influencers. Looking toward the future when migration will be more intense, partnerships with these influencers is critical. Top down planning practices are useless in the migrant community, printed brochures and pamphlets about adapting will go unread. The most efficient way to work with migrants will be to work with those who bridge them into their host culture. Kokua Kalihi Valley (KKV) is a strong example of the bridging that can be done. Through interviews with staff from KKV, and in information they provide on their website, it is apparent that their organization very intentionally included migrants.

> From the arrival of early diasporas from China, Japan and Korea, to the 1950 and 60s when pig farms were replaced with the state's two largest public housing developments, this land has been a first home to many of Hawai'i's newest arrivals including families from Laos, Samoa, the Philippines, the Marshal Islands and Chuuk. Since 1972, KKV has channeled Papahanaumoku's nurturing energy, welcoming and providing vital support to each successive wave of new immigrants, who in turn learn and give back to their adopted land and their host community. (Kokua Kalihi Valley, 2018)

Many of the women in diaspora interviewed are involved in KKV. Of the patients served by KKV, 24% of them are Micronesian. Unlike the dominant media that imagines migrants as burdens on society, KKV values other cultures and traditions. KKV actively seeks to bridge cultures for the benefit of the entire community. The mission of KKV is highly inclusive and their programs and offerings are adapted to accommodate diversity.

Climate Change and Adaptations

Before people choose to migrate it is highly likely that they will have exhausted all other options (Farbotko & Lazrus, 2012). Despite migration being a last resort for most, it should still be considered an adaptive capacity.[18] Within Oceania, migration decisions will depend on

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[18] *Adaptive capacity* is the potential or ability of a system, region, or community to adapt to the effects or impacts of climate change. It is a means for coping with changes and uncertainties in climate, including variability and extremes. In this way, enhancement of adaptive capacity reduces vulnerabilities (Smit & Wandel, 2006).

individual factors of the community, island, nation and environmental challenges people are facing.

There is an existing impetrative for an informed and timely response at an international policy level. Article 4.1 of the UNFCCC commits parties to formulating, cooperating on, and implementing "measures to facilitate adequate adaptation to climate change" (Protocol, 1997). The Kyoto Protocol (Article 10) also commits parties to promote and facilitate adaptation. As has been established above, this includes migration.

In line with the UN commitments in Article 4.1 of the UNFCCC, and the foundations of this research, planned adaptation should be approached as a deliberate policy decision based on an awareness that conditions are changing and action is needed to backstop those changes negative impacts (Pittock & Jones, 2000). Part of this is an improved understanding of the process of adaptation including migration and the conditions under which it occurs. This understanding should help build communities' resilience to the challenges posed by climate change.

Over the years that this research was being conducted the conversations about climate change evolved. In 2010 it was rare to hear COFA migrants discuss this topic, and it was equally unusual to have researchers discuss migration in Oceania in regards to a rising sea. In the last two years, COFA migrants tend to always mention climate change as a pressing concern and most articles published about migration note sea level as a push factor in the Pacific.

Future Research

There is limited research that addresses the various aspects of the migrant experience. This research focused on Kalihi-Palama and the politics of reception that are created there for migrants. The migrants experience in this space was studied in depth and their ability to adapt was considered. This research was qualitative, however more quantitative research is needed on the latest statistics that mark success such as retention rates in schools, unemployment rates, home ownership, ownership of small business and number of migrants going onto higher education.

The politics of reception as described in Chapter 2 and 3 are still loosely defined in terms what qualifies and creates it. This research has shown that the politics of reception from the

dominant media, and civic planning groups used the same discourse and had similar dominant political narratives about migrants. More research on what influences the politics, how they are defined, and what can be done to change them would be hugely informative and helpful.

More quantitative research would also be desired about the number of Micronesians that are sheltered in a family's homes (not homeless, but also not permanently housed). A more robust picture of how circular migration is happening would also be helpful.

Looking ahead at climate change migration, and reflecting on COFA, more research around how the compact effected motivations to move would help to elucidate how movement decisions are made, and what weighs most heavily on the likelihood for displacements. There is a concern that totally open borders (and policies) will encourage more people to move. This may be true, or it may not be. The best opportunity we have to understand migrants' motivations and their decision making around the migration process exists in COFA, where the barriers to move are low. Variables that should be researched are environmental, economic and social conditions at home as well as perceived notions about migrants destination communities.

Conclusion

Migrant Chuukese women who move under the umbrella of COFA aren't just looking for opportunity, and a better life, progressively migrants in Oceania are looking for a place to live as their homes become more challenging to inhabit. This is a stark comparison to almost all previous migration, especially in the Pacific where circular migration is the dominant pattern of movement. There is a risk that climate change will create a new form of land alienation which could negatively impact physical as well as cultural environments. Especially in Chuuk, where land is the guiding principle for social organization and personal identity, preemptive consideration of movement and settlement is imperative.

In Oceania, lives are already immeasurably impacted by climate change, a phenomenon created by nations and industries far away from their islands shores. Their homes and land may disappear completely, and yet the US, and other nations responsible for this environmental crisis have done nothing substantive to address the likely necessity of their movement.

This research has explicated the dynamics around COFA migration because as a policy for human movement, it is one of the best examples as it softens the boarders between the US and the compact states. This gives migrants more agency in making decisions around their

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mobility. Unlike other immigrants, COFA migrants move based on multiple variables, and are able to move back and forth freely. Unlike other unauthorized or underauthorized immigrants who may be banned from conventional mobility channels and employment opportunities, COFA migrants have expanded access though they are limited in access to healthcare and access to social security despite paying taxes. These limitation to their access can be seen as structural discrimination and must be addressed in future compacts around migration. However, COFA is a positive example for migration because unauthorized immigrants are often forced to use unorthodox means of self-affirmation and survival, which do not successfully help integrate them into their new communities.

Using the COFA as a policy proxy is supported by the fact that UN, in 2018 introduced its Global Compact for Migration which recognizes the outsized influence migration has and will continue to have. The UN Global Compact states that there are over 258 million migrants around the world living outside their country of birth, and that the number is expected to grow for reasons including population growth, increasing connectivity, trade, rising inequality, and climate change. While organizations around the world are slowly awakening to the realities of the need for increased human mobility, there is still so much to do.

In December of 2018, Fiji published its Planned Relocation Guidelines that provide a framework for climate change related movement. It discusses how people (as a last resort) will move internally, and across borders. Fiji is one of the first nation States to develop a national framework that guides the relocation process, making this document quite extraordinary. It is indicative of what lays ahead, and while it covers some aspects of international migration, the quote below is the only mention of receiving communities.

> For host populations (if relocation site is in a previously occupied area): additional infrastructure development, including but not limited to, shelter, schools, medical facilities and livelihoods; pre-arrival orientation to manage expectations about relocated persons. (Fijian Government, 2018, p. 15)

This dissertation does not have all the answers, but it does show the complexities of integrating migrants. When countries consider relocation, all of the issues brought up here will need concrete answers and policies. These can only be arrived at if there are efforts to do so. A whole-of-society approach can ensure that responsibility for managing migration is shared by local, national, and regional civic, private, and government sector actors.

There is a massive need for greater awareness of the experiences of Pacific Diaspora in communities receiving migrants from Oceania, and improving efforts at building cohesive communities that support each other in the face of changing demographics that result from migration. The challenges and opportunities of migration should be uniting nations and communities, rather than dividing them. COFA migrants are the best proxy for future immigration policies that address climate change migrants globally. The issues that are uncovered in this research are deep and wide, however solutions are also visible, and knowledge about COFA, and what worked well and what didn't should be welcome markers in a quickly approaching landscape of unknowns.

The outcomes of successful integration include economic independence (less reliance on state and federal funding, and fewer cultural misunderstandings (fewer fights in schools, less gang violence, more cultural expression). The social impacts of shunning and effectively segregating migrants (Micronesians now, and others from Oceania who will come in the future) are both economically and culturally damaging to the migrants and detrimental to the social and economic wellbeing of the entire community. The erosion of culture is not an acceptable impact of climate change, and if migration is necessary, migrants need to have space to maintain their traditional practices like language, communal living and food sharing. In Hawaiʻi a coping strategy was migrants making themselves invisible, this strategy was implemented to avoid poor treatment in the receiving community but has the effect of rapidly dismantling a migrants culture and traditions.

As with other examples in US history the denial of civil rights, the current treatment of Micronesians will be looked back on with shame and embarrassment. With COFA migrants, as it will be with climate change migrants, humans are moving because they are faced with huge losses and incredible damage to their home land. Responsibility needs to be accepted by those nations and industries which freely created carbon in the atmosphere and led to climate change. Once that responsibility is owned by the countries and industries that contributed most to carbon emissions, there is a possibility to collectively move forward in finding solutions.

A shift has to happen now. Reimagining and planning for a greater number of migrants to Hawaiʻi and other global destinations will allow for maximum agency for those who choose to move. The risk of rising seas is real, much needs to be done to curb that, but this research is

focused on the process of migration. If not already reflexively know, it clearly shows that indigenous knowledge has a place in the conversation. And COFA migrants are a window into how these policies can work. COFA also reveals how missteps in policy may devolve into more serious issues, most readily exemplified in access to healthcare for migrants.

Planners should observe and learn the migrant's values and culture, and leverage them for maximum mutual benefit for the migrants and communities they choose to settle in. Healey describes collaborative planning as having the potential to be transformative through the attention to process design. And that such processes is "made more socially just and in the context of the multiplicity of urban social worlds, more socially inclusive (Healey, 2003, p. 108). Taking it further is the "right to the multicultural city" which Amin argues can be found through "lived everyday experiences and local negotiations of difference, on microcultues of place through which abstract rights and obligations, together with local structures and resources, meaningfully interact with distinctive individual and interpersonal experiences" (2002, p. 967)

To even approach these loftily ideas, a vastly more positive politics of reception needs to be nurtured. Looking forward, when COFA is up for renegotiation in 2023/2024 the circumstances of migration and suggestions that this research makes should be considered. This research does not argue for a paternal relationship, where the US tells people in Oceania to move, rather a partnership in which the option of migration is available. Currently migrants do not even have the unfettered right to lay on a blanket in the park without being judged and harassed, this tenuous link to the right to occupy space threatens migrants ability to maintain their culture. This research made clear that the US Federal government, the State of Hawai'i and the City and County of Honolulu can improve their strategies for welcoming new migrants should they decide to relocate. Also evident is that despite the lack of a welcoming politics of reception, and a very limited right to space, COFA migrants are still making a home, educating their children, working and becoming part of the community. This shows that there is great value in the migrants current networks and the maintenance of their culture. More can be done to support the newest members of the Hawai'i community, both now, and for the possible climate change migrants of the future.

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APPENDIX A

Meeting Minutes Rules from Neighborhood Plan (Neighborhood Commission Office, 2015b)

§2-11-307 Meeting minutes. (a) The commission shall keep written minutes of all meetings. Unless otherwise required by law, neither a full transcript nor a recording of the meeting is required, but the written minutes shall give a true reflection of the matters discussed at the meeting and the views expressed by the commissioners and participants. The minutes shall include, but need not be limited to:

(1) The day, date, time, and place of the meeting;

(2) The commissioners recorded as either present or absent;

(3) The time of arrival or departure of any commissioner;

(4) The substance of all matters proposed, discussed, or decided; and a record, by individual commissioner, of any vote taken and any recusal (and related disclosure) made; and

(5) Any other information that any commissioner, during the applicable meeting, requests be included or reflected in the meeting minutes.

(b) The minutes shall be publicly available within thirty calendar days after the meeting, except where disclosure would be inconsistent with chapter 92F, HRS; provided that minutes of executive meetings may be withheld so long as their publication would defeat the lawful purpose of the executive meeting, but for no longer.

(c) If quorum is not attained to convene a meeting, the commission shall prepare a memorandum for the record of the absence of quorum and the status of the noticed meeting.

(d) The commission may approve or amend the minutes at a subsequent meeting of the commission. [Eff 10/20/08] (Auth: RCH §§4-105(4), 14-102) (Imp: RCH §§4-105(4), 14-102)

APPENDIX B

Meeting Minutes Rules from Open Meeting Sunshine Law (State of Hawai'i, 2015)

MINUTES: Is a board required to keep minutes of its meetings?

Written minutes must be kept of all meetings and must include the date, time, and place of the meeting; the members recorded as either present or absent; the substance of all matters proposed, discussed, or decided; a record by individual member of votes taken; and any information that a board member specifically asks at the meeting to be included. Boards are not required to create a transcript of the meeting or to electronically record the meeting.

Are the minutes of a board's meeting available to the public? Yes. Minutes of public meetings are required to be made available to the public within 30 days after the meeting. If the official minutes are not available within 30 days after the meeting, the board must make available, upon request, the draft or yet-to-be approved minutes of the meeting. Minutes of executive meetings can be withheld only so long as publication would defeat the lawful purpose of the executive meeting.

OPEN MEETINGS - JUNE 2015 29 Once disclosure of the executive meeting minutes would not defeat the purpose of closing the meeting to the public, those minutes should be made available to the public. For example, minutes of an executive meeting to discuss a property's acquisition should be disclosed after the property has been acquired.

APPENDIX C

O'ahu's Neighborhood Board System Guide Book (Neighborhood Commission Office, 2015a)

COMPLETION OF MINUTES

The Neighborhood Commission Office (NCO) strives to provide the best services possible in the production of monthly board meeting minutes.

The following steps and timeframe should allow adequate time to review the draft minutes. It should also provide the NCO with sufficient lead time to produce the final set, print, prepare and mail the minutes to fulfill legal requirements.

1. In order to meet deadlines set by law, draft minutes shall be emailed to only one person designated by the board within ten (10) work days after the board meeting.

2. Upon receipt, the delegated board person should review the material only for non-substantial errors (spelling, grammar, dates, etc.) and return the corrected draft minutes to the NCO by email within four (4) work days from the date the drafts are sent by the NCO.

3. Should the board fail to return the revised draft minutes revisions within the specified time frame, the draft minutes as prepared by the Neighborhood Assistant (NA) will be used.

4. All action(s) to correct and approve the minutes shall take place only at a regular meeting of the board. If corrections are substantial, please bring written corrections of the minutes to the regular meeting.

5. Accepted corrections will be attached to the official file copy of the minutes and appear in the board of the minutes for the meeting at which they are made.

This process should give the NCO staff two to three work days to make necessary corrections and to prepare the minutes for mailing. A total of thirty-three (33) sets of minutes and agendas are due and produced each month. A standard process used by all boards, therefore, is needed to assist the NCO in the timely delivery of its services.

Occasionally, delayed delivery of the draft minutes may occur. In these circumstances, communication between the board's review person and the NA will be essential in order to produce the document by scheduled deadlines.
Minutes are legally required to be available to the public upon request 30 days after the meeting, even if the minutes are still in draft form.

Should there be any comments regarding the process, please feel free to contact the Neighborhood Commission Office.

APPENDIX D

Kalihi-Palama Neighborhood Board No. 15 Agenda

REGULAR MEETING AGENDA
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 20, 2016
KALIHI UNION CHURCH LIBRARY
2214 NORTH KING STREET
7:00 P.M.

Rules of Speaking: Anyone wishing to speak is asked to raise his/her hand, and when recognized by the Chair, to address comments to the Chair. Speakers and those giving reports are encouraged to keep their comments to less than three (3) minutes. Please silence all electronic devices. Thank you!

1. CALL TO ORDER: By Chair Ryan Mandado

2. CITY MONTHLY REPORTS – Three (3) Minutes Each: This is an opportunity for everyone to speak directly with representatives of the Honolulu Fire Department, Honolulu Police Department, and the Board of Water Supply. Community residents are encouraged to ask the representatives questions after each report. City representatives are encouraged to remain to listen and respond to concerns under the next agenda item.
A. Honolulu Fire Department
B. Honolulu Police Department – District 1 and District 5
C. Board of Water Supply

3. RESIDENTS' AND COMMUNITY CONCERNS – Three (3) Minutes Each: Meeting participants may present their community concerns at this time. Note – Due to the State "Sunshine Law," concerns not listed on the agenda may be presented, but no Board action can be taken. Items brought up may be placed on a future agenda for discussion/action.

4. PRESENTATIONS

A. Representative Romy Cachola – Addressing the Unfunded Liabilities Issues

5. CITY ELECTED OFFICIALS – Three (3) Minutes Each: This is an opportunity for everyone to speak directly with representatives of the City Administration and City elected officials. Residents are encouraged to ask the representatives questions after each report. Representatives are encouraged to remain to listen and respond to concerns under the next agenda item.
A. Mayor Kirk Caldwell's Representative – Director Sheri Kajiwara
B. Councilmember Joey Manahan – Shirley Templo

6. STATE ELECTED OFFICIALS – Three (3) Minutes Each: This is an opportunity for everyone to speak directly with representatives of the State Administration and State elected officials.
A. Governor David Ige
B. Senator Donna Mercado Kim
C. Senator Suzanne Chun Oakland
D. Representative Karl Rhoads
E. Representative Romy Cachola

7. UNFINISHED/ON-GOING BUSINESS
A. Honolulu Rail Transit Project (HRTP) – Pat Lee

8. APPROVAL OF THE NOVEMBER 18, 2015 REGULAR MEETING MINUTES

9. OTHER REPORTS – Three (3) Minutes Each:
A. Chair's Report and Correspondence (If necessary)
B. Treasurer's Report

10. ANNOUNCEMENTS
A. The next Kalihi-Palama Neighborhood Board No. 15 meeting will be on Wednesday, February 17, 2016 at 7:00 p.m., at the Kalihi Union Church, 2214 North King Street.
B. The Kalihi-Palama Neighborhood Board No. 15 recordings can be seen on Olelo channel 49

or at www.olelo.org/live at the following times:

-1st Monday of each month at 9:00 p.m.

-2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at 11:00 a.m.

11. ADJOURNMENT

A mailing list is maintained for interested persons and agencies to receive this board's agenda and minutes. Additions, corrections, and deletions to the mailing list may be directed to the Neighborhood Commission Office (NCO) at Honolulu Hale, Room 406, 530 South King Street, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi 96813; Telephone (808) 768-3710 Fax (808) 768-3711; or call Neighborhood Assistant II Neil Baarde at (808) 768-3770 or e-mail nbaarde@honolulu.gov. Agendas and minutes are also available on the internet at www.honolulu.gov/nco.

Any individual wishing to attend a Neighborhood Board meeting who has questions about accommodations for a physical disability or a special physical need should call the NCO at 768-3710 between 8:00 a.m. and 4:00 p.m. at least 24 hours before the scheduled meeting.

All written testimony must be received in the Neighborhood Commission Office 48 hours prior to the meeting. If within 48 hours, written and/or oral testimony may be submitted directly to the board at the meeting. If submitting written testimony, please note the board and agenda item(s) your testimony concerns. Send to: Neighborhood Commission Office, 530 South King Street, Room 406, Honolulu, HI 96813. Fax: (808) 768-3711. Email: nbtestimony@honolulu.gov.
Last Reviewed: January 13, 2016

APPENDIX E

Traditional story about the journey away from home

We have a legend about a master navigator who decided to pass knowledge on to his two boys. This is a legend, he taught them everything about sailing and carving the canoe of the sailing boat until the time he taught them how to sail, how to look at weather, how to respect the environment, he taught them how to sail, testing them, and the first son, was the first one to set out for the sail. He prepared his boat, his sailing crew, preparing food, looking at the weather so he started sailing, but part of sailing or movement, traveling we prepare food and you know our food can last for months. We bring coconuts along, bread fruits, coconut but food that can last long time. So on this journey, according the legend, the father taught them when every time they pass this FA we say (but maybe like spot in the ocean where they need to show respect. There is a certain time where they must show respect, they must sit down, there is a certain spot where they will stand, and they cannot eat any time they want, only certain time that it is permitted that is when they can eat, this is a very important part of the travel. The father taught them when you leave this channel or the lagoon there is a woman that fishes make sure you get permission from her to leave, so much instruction that was imparted to them. But the older brother, he just did the opposite, like the time to stand, they would not stand. The time to sit down, they just stand. The time to eat, they did not respect that, they eat whatever they want. Especially the time when they pass the channel, this woman was fishing you know we have women type of fishing net where you hold the bowl and there is net. They just sail out and broke her net and when the woman looked she said, "oh, you go and you will see what you will face in the water." So when they sailed they actually reached the destination. But on the island, the father taught them there are certain things that must be respected on the island. There are two ponds, like water, there is one for drinking and there is one for bathing, but they just used either one for both. And in the end….they died. Because they did not also follow the instructions to keep them safe from the ghosts, nobody came home, the father waited, the whole island waited, and nobody came back, so he sent the second son. So every instruction the father had taught them, the son respected, and obeyed and followed. Like sitting down, they must sit down, standing up, they stood. Even the woman, as they passed the woman at the edge of the lagoon the son said "may we pass, will you allow us to pass?" So the woman had the chance to pull up her net and allow them. So until this moment, in our Chuukes culture we always Teru, Teru is a word of respect when you have to

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pass, if someone is sitting down you say Teru. And I notice some islands in the Pacific use the same concept, they might say a slightly different word, like they say sero, but we say tero. So ah, that is what happened with the young son so his sailors, they all follow so when they did this to the woman and she was so surprised so she said you go and you sail, she was so happy that is someone that understands and obeys and respects. Because these are important words in our culture obedience and respect. So they got to this island, they know which water to bath in and they know which one to drink in. When they were ready to sleep during the night the father taught them that they must take out the coconut meat (from an old coconut, the part that is white) they go to sleep and they put it on their eyelids, so that the ghost thinks they are awake and will not get them. So they followed everything and the ghost did not get them. The next day they applied their local medicines to the brother and all his sailors and they came alive. That is the legend, and they all sailed back home. This is known throughout Chuuk. It is too bad if parents don't teach their kids this legend. Every child learn about this story, it really talks about how to follow direction, obedience and respect. So much traditional values are integrated into this legend and the brothers the oldest brother is Rongolat and the younger brother is Rogasit. The concept of those names is like hearing, being ronagsit is being obedient, and rongolat is when you are not. But lat can be big or older, but it also applied when you disobey. In Marshal they have the same concept Rongolat and Tongasit. We have the word in Chuukese and in Marshallese. There are lots of legends talking about journey.

Interview Instrument for Migrants

University of Hawaiʻi at Manoa
Consent to Participate in Research Project:

Diaspora in the City: Women's Adaptive Strategies for Space and Time

My name is Juliette Budge, I am from the Island of Hawaiʻi and I am currently a Ph.D. student at the University of Hawaiʻi, Manoa. As part of my degree, I am conducting research about migration and cities. The purpose of my research is to understand adaptive processes in the city. I am focused on the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood, and the strategies that Pacific Women in Diaspora use to create a new home there. Because of your experiences, you are invaluable in helping me understand more about the process you have gone through to make a life in urban Hawaiʻi.

Interview Questions and Time Commitment. If you decide to participate, we will schedule a time to talk for approximately 1 hour. With your consent, I will record the audio of our interview and type a transcript so we have a written record of what we talked about. I will have questions that guide our interview about your experience in Hawaiʻi, and specifically Kalihi/Palama. During our time together if you are made uncomfortable by any of the interview questions, we can skip the question, take a break, stop the interview, or withdraw you from the project. After the interview, I will type a transcript from our talk and share the written record with you. After you review the transcript, your approval will finalize it as the record of our conversation. The finalized transcript will be analyzed for information during later stages in my research.

Confidentiality and Privacy: I will keep the information from our interviews in a safe place. I will be the only one with access to the data, although legally authorized agencies, including the University of Hawaiʻi Committee on Human Studies, have the right to review research records. After I type up our interview, I will destroy the audio recordings of our talk. I will not use your name in my research findings, or any other information that would identify you.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this research is voluntary and anonymous. If you decide to participate, at any point during this project, you can withdraw your participation without consequence.

Questions: If you have any questions about this project, please contact me by phone at (808) 956-7381 or e-mail jbudge@Hawaiʻi.edu. You may also contact my supervisor, Luciano Minerbi if you wish to direct questions at him by phone at 808-956-6869, or email at luciano@Hawaiʻi.edu.

Interview Guide for Interview Group 1

Narrator Code Number:_____

Date of Interview:_____

Time of Interview:_____

My name is Juliette Budge, I am from the Island of Hawaiʻi and I am currently a student at the University of Hawaiʻi, Manoa. We are meeting today to talk about your experience migrating to Honolulu with the hope that this will help the community and help make the transition easier for people who follow in your footsteps. I am going to turn on this recorder to document your consent to participate in this project.

Did you receive a letter explaining this project and asking you to participate in this research?

    Yes: ____
    No: ____ (if not, give them the letter and reschedule the interview for another time)

Do you give your oral consent to participant in this project?

    Yes: ____ (Skip the next question)
    No: ____ (After thanking the participant for their time, I will conclude the interview)

Do you give consent to audio record this interview?
    Yes: ____
    No: ____ (Stop the recorder.)

I want to thank you for agreeing to participate in this project. Please know that your participation is voluntary, and you may withdraw from participating at any time. You also may choose not to answer any question at any time for any reason and I will not ask you to explain. This interview will not take more than 60 minutes and we will take a break at any time.

Do you have any questions about this project? (Answer all of them, and if no serious concerns are raised, continue)

Do you mind if we begin?
    Yes: ____
    No: ____ (Attempt to reschedule interview.)

Demographics:
Age: ____
Residence (area, not exact address) _____
Can you tell me about your family?: _____
Place of birth: _____
Employment (full-time, part-time): _____
Type of employment:_____
How many years have you lived in Hawai'i: _____
Where do you call home: _____

Locating Family Ties
1. Can you me where you were born, and where is your family from?

2. Do you have children, how many do you have?

3. Where does your family live (children, parents, siblings, etc.)?

4. When did you move to Hawai'i (1ˢᵗ, 2ⁿᵈ, 3ʳᵈ time)?

Memories of Home and Hawai'i
5. What had you heard about Hawai'i (through letters, telephone conversations, emails and the news)?

6. What are your first memories of migrating (need prompting: Can you remember the airplane ride, airport, the first time you rode the bus)?

7. Can you describe what it has been like moving to Hawai'i?

Social/Physical/Cultural Landscape

8. Do any places in Hawai'i remind you of home?

I am not as familiar with your neighborhood; to help me understand your community better I would like to talk about places that you know about. I also have some photos of the neighborhood that I would like you to look at (during this part of the interview I will try to understand the uses and values of each space).

9. Where do you go most often?

10. What do you do in these places?

11. Can you describe what the physical environment is like in these places?

12. Are there smells, sounds, or certain feelings that come to mind when you think about _____ (name of a specific place on the map)?

13. Of all the places we have talked about, which ones are most important?

14. Are there any places that you do not like in the neighborhood?

15. Do you have everything you need in your neighborhood, why or why not?

16. Are you able to change spaces in your neighborhood to be more comfortable or accommodating to your uses?

17. Is there anything else that I did not ask you that you would like to tell me?

18. Do you have any other questions for me?

Thank you again so much for your time, this concludes our interview. It has been a pleasure to talk with you and I will be in touch soon with the transcripts from this conversation. Once the transcripts are ready I will contact you and we can review them together, or I can give you a copy to review on your own. Should you need to contact me for any reason you have my email and phone number, as well as the contact information for my supervisor should you wish to talk to him. Thank you.

APPENDIX G

Interview Instrument for Organizations

University of Hawaiʻi at Manoa
Consent for Organization to Participate in Research Project:
Diaspora in the City: Women's Adaptive Strategies for Space and Time

My name is Juliette Budge, I am from the Island of Hawaiʻi and I am currently a Ph.D. student at the University of Hawaiʻi, Manoa. As part of my degree, I am conducting research about migration and cities. The purpose of my research is to understand adaptive processes in the city. I am focused on the Kalihi-Palama neighborhood, and the strategies that Pacific Women in Diaspora use to create a new home there. I would like to speak with you on this topic because your organization is either physically located in my area of interest, or is engaged with the community in this location.

Interview Questions and Time Commitment. If you decide to participate, we will schedule a time to talk for approximately 1 hour. With your consent, I will record the audio of our interview and type a transcript so we have a written record of what we talked about. I will have questions that guide our interview about the role your organization plays in Kalihi/Palama. During our time together if you are made uncomfortable by any of the interview questions, we can skip the question, take a break, stop the interview, or withdraw you from the project. After the interview, I will type a transcript from our talk and share the written record with you. After you review the transcript, your approval will finalize it as the record of our conversation. The finalized transcript will be analyzed for information during later stages in my research.

Confidentiality and Privacy: I will keep the information from our interviews in a safe place. I will be the only one with access to the data, although legally authorized agencies, including the University of Hawai'i Committee on Human Studies, have the right to review research records. After I type up our interview, I will destroy the audio recordings of our talk. I will not use your name in my research findings, or any other information that would identify you or the organization you represent.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in this research is voluntary and anonymous. If you decide to participate, at any point during this project, you can withdraw your participation without consequence.

Questions: If you have any questions about this project, please contact me by phone at (808) 956-7381 or e-mail jbudge@Hawaiʻi.edu. You may also contact my supervisor, Luciano Minerbi if you wish to direct questions at him by phone at 808-956-6869, or email at luciano@Hawaiʻi.edu.

Interview Guide for Organization

Organizational Mission and History

1. How long have you been with this organization and what is your capacity in it?

2. What is the history of your organization (how many years has it been active in the community)?

3. Can you describe the mission of your organization broadly?

4. What community/communities does your organization serve?

Services and Nature of Work

5. What kinds of services do you provide in the community (health, planning, education, housing)?

6. How are the services delivered (people physically visit organization, outreach)?

7. What networks are most effective when accessing the community and migrant community if there is a difference?

8. Can you estimate how many people are impacted by your organizations work or services?

Physical/Social/Cultural Landscape

9. Can you describe the physical neighborhood around your organization?

10. In an effort to talk in more depth about the organizations role in this neighborhood, will you list the important places in the neighborhood, including your organization?

Based on the list, the following questions seek to understand how and why the areas listed are important.

Social:
11. Who uses these spaces?

12. Why are they important to the organization?

13. What is/are the predominant purpose/s of each place?

14. When are each of these places used (Mondays, weekends, time of day)?

15. How much time, if any, does the organization spend in each place?

Physical:
16. Can you describe what the physical environment is like in these places?

17. Are there smells, sounds, or certain feelings that come to mind when you think about _____ (name of a specific place on the map)?

18. Is the place conducive to the activity that you want to do, do other people bother you, do they encroach, is it suitable, is it clean, not smelly. Too hot, no shade, too windy. Maybe those things.

19. Are there any places that people in the organization prefer not to go? Really enjoy going?

20. Has the organization changed the neighborhood physically (buildings, gardens etc.) or socially (through the available services etc.)?

21. Of all the places you listed, which ones are most important to the organization?

Cultural:
22. Based on your knowledge and professional experiences, how would you describe the process of adapting to life in Hawai'i for migrants?

23. Does the urban environment of Honolulu provide specific opportunities or challenges for migrants?

24. What is the most valuable thing your organization does that impacts the neighborhood?

25. Is there anything else that I did not ask you that you would like to tell me?

26. Do you have any other questions for me?

Thank you again for your time this concludes our interview. I appreciate your participation in my dissertation research and will be in touch soon with the transcripts from this conversation. Once the transcripts are ready I will contact you and provide a copy for your review. Should you need to contact me for any reason you have my email and phone number, as well as the contact information for my supervisor should you wish to talk to him. Thank you.