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# Hālili

Multidisciplinary Research  
on Hawaiian Well-Being

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*Hūlili* is a multidisciplinary forum for current research that examines the nature, needs, and strengths of Hawaiians, their families, and their communities. Through collaboration and critique, *Hūlili* fosters new connections and shared insights to mobilize greater Hawaiian well-being.

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COVER: Ho'okupu © 2006 by Harinani Orme

# Hūlili

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Kamehameha Schools  
Research and Evaluation Division

**COVER ART:** “Ho’okupu” (Offering) by Harinani Orme, MFA  
16" x 16", acrylic on watercolor paper

**Ho’okupu.** To cause growth, sprouting; to sprout.

**Ho’okupu.** Tribute, tax, ceremonial gift-giving to a chief as a sign of honor and respect; to pay such tribute.

(Pukui, M. K., & Elbert, S. H. [1986]. *Hawaiian dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press.)

Ho’okupu is a traditional protocol among *Kānaka Maoli ‘o Hawai’i* (indigenous people of Hawai’i) that is dictated by *hō’ihi* (respect) for the host, land, ancestors, or gods. It establishes a connection between the giver and the receiver that is culturally appropriate.

Born in Honolulu, Hawai’i, Harinani Orme earned a BFA in printmaking at the University of Hawai’i–Mānoa and an MFA in printmaking at the Pratt Institute in New York. Harinani’s background as a printmaker is evident in her drawings and paintings, illustrating the relationship between Kānaka Maoli and nature. “I am proud to be Hawaiian. In creating each piece, I move toward reconnecting to my ancestors and to my culture.”

**SECTION ART:** “Ho’okipa” (Lei Greeter), “Pahu Hula” (Wooden Hula Drum), “Mahua mea Mahoe” (Mother and Twins), “Kupuna and Mo’opuna” (Teacher and Apprentice), “Kaha Nalu” (Body Surfer), and “Ke A’o ‘Ukulele a Kua’ana iā Kaina” (Older Brother Teaching ‘Ukulele to Younger Brother) by Harinani Orme, MFA.

**DESIGN:** Stacey Leong Design

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## FROM THE EDITOR

Welina me ke aloha,

A Hawaiian proverb says, “Hō a’e ka ‘ike he’enalu i ka hokua o ka ‘ale,” or “show your knowledge of surfing on the back of the wave.” This saying suggests that talking about one’s knowledge and skill is not enough; let it be proven (*‘Ōlelo No’eau*, 1013).

As researchers, we like the process of discovery. We thrive on evidence. We design surveys and studies to find evidence that confirms our hunches. We want to test whether a certain theory is valid and meaningful. We want to identify relationships, show causality where possible, and grow and learn together from the growing evidence base of knowledge about our people.

The 13 articles in *Hūlili* Vol. 3 provide mounting evidence that Hawaiian perspectives matter, that Hawaiian language and knowledge systems are flourishing, and that Hawaiian identity and culture are central to Hawaiian well-being. From Hawaiian immersion classrooms in Kea’au to creative writing workshops in Oregon, from the shorelines of Lā’ie to the doctor’s office in Aotearoa, and from the courtrooms of Washington, DC to the *pu’uhonua* (place of refuge) in traditional Hawai’i, these articles add to the evidence base that documents Hawaiian progress and well-being. These articles also reinforce the value of our own voices, our own stories, and our own kinds of evidence.

The very existence of this publication—now in its third volume—gives other kinds of evidence. There is evidence that *Hūlili* is filling an important gap by providing a forum for critical discussion about issues facing *Kānaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiians). There is evidence that Hawaiian scholars, educators, and service providers are amplifying the Hawaiian voice through quantitative and qualitative research. There is evidence that peer reviewers and other professionals place a high value on *Hūlili* and are willing to volunteer their time to ensure the quality of the journal. And there is evidence that *Hūlili* is spreading in influence as articles from previous volumes are being cited in other academic publications.

None of this would be possible without the persistence, intelligence, and *mana’o* (ideas) of the contributing authors, to whom we extend a warm mahalo. We also encourage readers to submit work for future volumes and to strengthen the base of evidence that affirms who we are and where we want to be as a self-determining people.

‘O wau me ka ha’aha’a,

Shawn Malia Kana’iaupuni  
*Editor*

## THE HOUR OF REMEMBERING

*Elizabeth Kapu'uwailani Lindsey*

This is the hour of our remembering, of our putting those parts of ourselves that have been dismembered and disenfranchised back together again. It is only from this place of wholeness, our holiness, that we can dream once more. And when we dream, let it be of a Hawai'i where our people are healthy and vibrant, where we no longer kill ourselves with despair and abuse. Let us dream a Hawai'i, as Dr. Manu Meyer says, "where our children are inspired to make knowledge joyful." And let us dream a Hawai'i where our land and her resources are loved and properly cared for.

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Twenty-five years ago, my father, Henry Lindsey, shared a prophecy with me before he passed away. I'm sure many of you are familiar with this—that at the turn of the new dawn, which has been interpreted as the 21st century, a wisdom will rise from this land, born of humility and *pono* (goodness, righteousness), calling our people to *ho'i*, to return, to their source. As we return, we will remember that we are beneficiaries of a powerful, ancestral, and spiritual legacy. And as we remember, we will meet adversity with spirituality, and we will rise again. It's a prophecy that I continue to think about. And when I see Kekuni Blaisdell here,\* who was a close friend of my father, I'm reminded of the wisdom that we have with us and the wisdom that we have within us.

The veil is so thin. If you could see with spiritual eyes, then you would know that your ancestors are here with you.

My father was an educator, inventor, and passionate genealogist. He was a man of uncommon humility. When I was growing up, he would often say, "Elizabeth, the veil is so thin. If you could see with spiritual eyes, then you would know that your ancestors are here with you. They're always here with you. They're here to guide you, to help you, but you have to ask because they won't impose themselves on you."

This evening, if we could see with spiritual eyes, then we would know that this room is filled with greatness. And we would be humbled by those whose blood pulses through our veins, those who have paved the way, bringing us to this moment in our collective history, and who are always there, if we but seek their guidance. And so as I stand before you and *aloha* (greet) you and acknowledge you, I also *aloha* and acknowledge those family members who are in this room with you, because it is most important to know that we are not alone. We do not have to walk this journey by ourselves. We always have guidance, we have protection, we have a lot of wisdom that is working with us, and it would be arrogant for us to think we are doing it ourselves—the height of arrogance, in fact.

\* This article is based on a speech delivered at the 2005 Research Conference on Hawaiian Well-Being in Honolulu, Hawai'i.

And so I direct my remarks to our *remembering*. Our remembering who we really are when we often forget in this contemporary, modern, sometimes noisy world. We stop remembering. We forget what we came here to be, who we really are. And it is time to take a break and start to recall that again. Through Kamehameha Schools, we have become *ma'a* (accustomed) to the idea of being beneficiaries to a substantial estate. And yet, the truth is that while Kamehameha's trust is substantial, it does not compare to our ancestral and spiritual legacy.

In each of us is a genetic code—a cellular memory—of inexplicable intelligence. Scientists and quantum physicists are only now scratching the surface on what our *kūpuna* (ancestors, elders) always knew. Our *kūpuna* were spiritual giants who lived with this knowledge, an innate intelligence that they were cocreators with a divine source. So keen was their knowledge of what is now referred to as quantum mechanics that they had the ability to call forth the winds and the rain by name. They could heal the sick and command the plants to flourish. They lived the principles of *ho'oulu* (to grow, to cause to increase). As a result, we have inherited a cultural, ancestral, and spiritual endowment that is wealthier and far more powerful than anything this modern world can offer.

Our kūpuna were  
spiritual giants...  
they were  
cocreators with  
a divine source.

When I was growing up, being that both of my parents were educators, I was raised by these old Hawaiian women in Lā'ie. And my earliest memories are of being taken to the ocean where they would hold us and they would speak, always in a very humble voice. They did not have to show off to anybody. They went to the ocean and they called the fish, and they would pray. And when they went to plant, they planted according to lunar cycles, and they blessed everything. They blessed the land, as well as their implements and the plants that they were putting into the ground. They blessed all of it, and they understood their responsibility and their cocreatorship with a source that was so divine. And that was not so long ago.

And here we are now in the 21st century, and we don't remember the names of the winds and the rain. We have forgotten how to go to the ocean and speak and call the fish to us and take only what we need. We have forgotten those things, so the essence of my remarks is on our remembering again. Our *kūpuna* understood

the true definition of *mana*—that which manifests the power of the divine. And our ancestors were the keepers of this wisdom, the keepers of this light, and now this is our *kuleana*. It is our responsibility to remember again so that we have something to pass on to future generations.

It is my *mana'o* (thoughts, opinion) that the greatest loss our people sustained had less to do with land or a shift in political and economic strength, though those were significant issues. The greater tragedy has been the psychological, emotional, and spiritual trauma we have endured. Jon Osorio wrote a terrific book brilliantly titled *Dismembering Lāhui* (Honolulu, 2002). To dismember means to tear, pull, or cut apart limbs. As disturbing as it sounds, this is what happened when Hawaiians assimilated into a culture that was foreign to us.

We became disenfranchised on a multitude of levels, the most tragic being our spiritual dismemberment. For those of you who have not yet read Osorio's book, I suggest you do. In it, he poignantly recounts a cultural unraveling. And so, this calling for us to return to our source, to remember who we are and where we

come from, and what our inheritance is—our true spiritual and cultural inheritance—is so important because it calls forth the parts of ourselves that have been dismembered and disenfranchised, so that we become whole again. And in that wholeness, we begin to heal once more.

A native mind  
will tell you it is  
all interconnected.  
The only way you  
can see a whole  
picture is to look at  
it holistically and  
not separate it out.

When we talk about healing and wholeness, and we look at it through native eyes, it is very different from a Western point of view. It is about bringing all of us together in such a way that we are no longer fragmented. Even in education—and I am grateful for David Sing's wisdom in guiding my own studies—working on my dissertation was difficult, there's so much that's Eurocentric. We use measurements that are not true to us. They separate things, they compartmentalize

things. "You do this, and that has no relationship to this." When in fact, a native mind will tell you it is all interconnected. The only way you can see a whole picture is to look at it holistically and not separate it out.

When I was working on my PhD, there was a woman in California who coined the term “indigenous science.” Her argument was that our measurements are as important and as accurate as measurements that one would call Eurocentric, except that we do not give our indigenous measurements value. We sort of dismiss them, and we think there are other ways of learning and other ways that are more important, or more valuable than our own. And we dismiss ourselves in the process.

Regarding our wholeness and coming together to be healed, one of my favorite quotations is, “we do not attract that which we want; we attract that which we are” (James Allen). Let me repeat it: We do not attract that which we want; we attract that which we are. Quantum physics and quantum mechanics are showing that frequency attracts like frequency. A simple example would be how many people say, “I want more money. I want more money, I need more money.” And yet, they are still running on the idea of lack and scarcity. We see examples of people who have won lotteries. They have a lot of money and then, a few years later, they’ve lost it all because there is an underlying current based on lack and scarcity.

If what we want is an empowered Hawaiian nation, then we must first become strong in and of ourselves.

When we look at our wholeness, we have to dig deep and go back to the core of what is driving us and where we are wounded and where we need to be whole, and become empowered again. If our current conditions are not what we want, then we must become the change we seek. If what we want is an empowered Hawaiian nation, then we must first become strong in and of ourselves. If what we want is to unite our people, then we must *ho’oponopono* (correct, set right) our own lives first. If what we want is a healthy community, then we must commit ourselves to being well, to becoming well and whole. This is our kuleana. It is a privilege that is not reserved for just a select few within our community. We are all responsible for this. To take care of ourselves so that we can take care of our families. And as we are able to take care of our families, we can take care of our community. For as one of us heals, we all become more whole. As one of us excels, we all advance as a people. And as one of us is strengthened, we are all empowered.

Does it strike you as ironic that we, who come from an ancient and powerful lineage, now seek recognition from a government that is culturally immature (just a few hundred years old), morally bankrupt, and spiritually impoverished? We are spending so much time right now debating the issue of political sovereignty when in fact our true sovereignty, this *ea* (sovereignty, independence), can neither be granted to us nor stripped from us. Each of us holds the key to our own freedom. When we become the change we seek, then and only then will we truly be able to determine our future. Whatever form our future government takes, it must be based on a foundation that is born out of personal sovereignty.

## There is no more time for us to be playing small.

The notion of “crabs in a bucket”<sup>1</sup> is an old idea. It is a lie. Let it go. I grew up hearing people say, “Oh, those Hawaiians, they’re so lazy. Ah, you know, crabs in a bucket.” And if you hear it often enough it becomes the truth. And all of a sudden, one day I woke up and thought, “That is a lie!” Yet we buy into it and play it out like it is the truth. We see one another, and sometimes we see someone within our community who starts to advance, and if we are running on the notion of lack and scarcity, we are not happy for them, because by comparison, we think we are failing. That is a lie. That is a mentality based on scarcity. When we can begin to celebrate that someone is beginning to excel, and we say, “Thank you, because you are showing me that the bar is higher now and I can do more,” then we know we are becoming whole and well. When people are getting stronger and starting to speak up and we celebrate their accomplishments, we are getting well. We have had enough. There is no more time for us to be playing small. Our community does not need any more victims. And we do not need to be victimizing anybody else. What we need is to get stronger and better and to stop making apologies for it.

Nature is really brilliant. It is audacious, and bold, and authentic. For example, would a star diminish its own light? Do you think there is a star in the sky that says, “I don’t want to shine tonight. I don’t feel like it. I’m too bright, and I don’t want to make the other stars feel bad about themselves.” Is that not a stupid idea? Or a flower—a bud—that says, “I’m having a bad day. I don’t think I’m going to bloom now.” Why then do we continue to negate ourselves? Here we are, part of this system, and we think, “You know, if I’m a little too bright, they’re not going to be happy with me. I don’t think I’m going to do it now.” We play small. And

our community does not need for us to play small anymore. There is a difference between *ha'aha'a* (humility) and this kind of false humility. There is this ego that drives us where we are acting. It is not authentic.

My challenge for us all is to be authentic. Come into your life as you were meant to be, to be who you were born to be. Stop making excuses for who you are. Be brilliant, because we need you to be brilliant. We need you to be strong. We need you to be smart and to be everything that you can be and to stop negating yourselves.

Be brilliant,  
because we  
need you  
to be brilliant.  
We need you  
to be strong.

When people start stepping up and start shining brightly, it gives other people permission to do the same, and then we begin to celebrate one another in a really honest way. We do not have to sit at the back of the room and say, "You know, she's a show-off." She's not really a show-off, you're just feeling kind of bad for yourself. We see it all the time in our community. We do not have to play small anymore, and we must not. Those of the next generation do not need that of us. Frankly, it is not that attractive.

When we start to get more honest, we will say, "You know what, this is where I am right now, and I'm doing the best I can. There are areas I can improve upon, but I am doing the best I can today, and tomorrow, it's going to be better. And the reason I'm doing this is because I know that I was born to do something with my life. And what I am giving back to this community is the best that I have of me." When we have this attitude, all of a sudden we grow a strong and healthy community.

So this is the hour of our remembering, of our putting those parts of ourselves that have been dismembered and disenfranchised back together again. When we become whole and are healing, we can dream again. And we can dream big this time. We do not have to dream small dreams. We can dream really big. And when we dream, let it be of a Hawai'i where our people are healthy and animated again, where we no longer kill ourselves with self-doubt, poor diets, and abuse. A dear friend of mine, Manu Meyer (personal communication, 2005), wrote something I really love. This is what she said:

Postcolonial is not a physical place, it is a mental one. We know that things are not improving for many of us. We've become accustomed to eating poorly. We die early. We are unhealed within our families. Ice grips us. We represent the majority in our prisons. We kill ourselves with self-doubt and self-loathing. We are often polemic (which means we are given to disputing), because it is our way of reacting to our erasure (our becoming invisible in our own land).

What I see happening is the turning of the tide now, which really excites me, just as the prophecy predicted and foretold that would happen. We are witnessing within our community a reawakening. Meyer also said,

More and more of us are affirming instead of protesting. There is a resurgence in our culture and our language. An unprecedented number of books by Kanaka Maoli authors and scholars are changing our understanding of history, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, psychology, political science, and education. Displaced, dismissed, and disengaged, we are now becoming rooted, acknowledged, and animated. We are a culture. We have a language of innate knowing. And we must speak it so that we ourselves can hear because hearing changes us.

We must speak it so that we can hear ourselves, and as we hear the language, it changes us on a cellular level. And scientists are finally discovering what our ancestors have known for centuries. There is a scientist in Japan by the name of Masaru Emoto who has done some phenomenal research called *The Hidden Messages in Water* (Hillsboro, OR, 2004). He talks about how things shift according to the language we use. It is especially important that educators look at Emoto's work. He demonstrates that we change as we hear different language, so that when we start hearing language that is empowering and allows and invites us to be inspired, we will create a ripple effect through our community that inspires other people. It's just what happens, and that is part of what quantum physics is about. I did not know much about quantum physics until a few years ago. I have learned that we affect one another's lives physiologically, emotionally, and spiritually.

There are physical results that can now be measured, that we can change as we begin to think differently. As we begin to speak differently, we affect change in dramatic ways.

Let us dream. Let us dream a Hawai'i where we come to know that all knowledge, all reason, all theories, and all ideas are simply interpretations. Think about it. I studied books at Kamehameha Schools that were written by people who were not *Kanaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiian), who were interpreting ideas of our history without having mastery of the language. We were studying from these books thinking that was the truth. Now we are going back and revisiting some of these books and realizing they are not entirely accurate. Remember, there was a time when people were saying, "The world is flat," and they thought that was the truth. And all of a sudden, someone came along and said, "I don't think so." So we can challenge it. These ideas are simply interpretations. The good news is that we are now the interpreters. We get to interpret the ideas coming out of books. We do not have to buy it all; we have to question whether or not it's right. We need to ensure that our interpretation of the world is based on the values handed down by our kūpuna.

May our wealth  
be found in  
giving the best  
of ourselves  
to the world.

May we exercise cooperation rather than competition. May a new leadership be born that bridges the political and socioeconomic divide that's long dominated these islands. May pono, not conflict, rule our lives. May our wealth be found in giving the best of ourselves to the world, rather than how much we can accumulate.

Let us dream a Hawai'i, as Meyer (personal communication, 2005) said, "where our children are inspired to make knowledge joyful." Let us dream a Hawai'i where our environment and her resources are loved and managed properly as our ancestors demonstrated they can be. Let us dream a Hawai'i where aloha becomes the intelligence with which we meet life, and let us never again stop dreaming. For together we have a kuleana and a sacred right to *mālama* (care), not only to sustain but to enrich, and to pass on to future generations the vast legacy we have inherited from our ancestors. May this torch of wisdom burn brightly while in our stewardship and carry on as it was prophesied it would be—that at the turn of the



new dawn at this chapter in our collective history, a wisdom will rise from this land born of humility and pono and call our people to ho‘i. When I think about our people, and how we are starving for wisdom, leadership, strength, and courage, it will take all of us to be that for our people. We can’t expect only a few to carry that burden. By virtue of the fact that we will touch many lives, it is up to all of us to carry on. Let this be the hour of our remembering and our ascending, and let us rise as it was prophesied we would.

*Me ke aloha pumehana a me ka na‘au ha‘aha‘a.*

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#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Elizabeth Kapu‘uwailani Lindsey, PhD, President and CEO of Pono, LLC, is a graduate of the Kamehameha Schools and holds a PhD in anthropology. An award-winning documentary filmmaker, she lectures on Native Hawaiian philosophy and culture throughout the world. Engagements include Oxford University, Harvard University, and the Smithsonian Institute. The recipient of national and international honors including the CINE Eagle for her 1996 directorial debut of *Then There Were None*, the former Miss Hawai‘i has established scholarships in literature and serves as an advisor to organizations that advance education and culture.

#### NOTE

1 This refers to the image of crabs trying to climb out of a bucket. When one crab gets near the top, another crab grabs it and pulls it down.

## ON BEING HAWAIIAN

*Jonathan Osorio*

Were Hawaiians better off in 1893 than today? In 1893, our people were not confused about who they were and understood themselves to be Hawaiian, not American. It is *huikau*, confusion, over what our choices are and what they mean that is threatening our nation. How far are we willing to commit ourselves to be Hawaiian? It all comes back to our choice: to live as Hawaiians or not. I believe we are warriors still, and we are more than up to the task of building our nation again. We need to bring our leaders together, to strategize what to do with the expertise we have built, and to be willing to take the fight to the next level.

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I almost always begin a talk\* with this prayer. Dr. Kanalu Young and I wrote this song together. We composed it in November 1992, during the time when those of us who were at Kamakakūokalani Center for Hawaiian Studies had been preparing for the commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the loss of our kingdom. We wanted to write something hopeful and spiritual, something that would refer to leaders but that would also give us a sense of direction. So this prayer is what we came up with:

E ho'okāko'o	Noi aku iā 'oe
<i>Let us support</i>	<i>We ask you o Lord</i>
E ala launa pū	Ke alaka'i nō
<i>Gathering together</i>	<i>Lead us</i>
'O Mauna'ala i ke ea	He wiwo nalowale lā
<i>Mauna'ala is the source of our spirit</i>	<i>Fear is gone</i>
Pū mai nei Lanakila ē	A pau ka 'eha o ka lā
<i>The wind of victory comes this way</i>	<i>And finished is the pain of that day</i>
E mau mana'o mai	E mau mana'o mai
<i>Let the thought prevail</i>	<i>Let the thought prevail</i>

What happens when you write—and any writer will tell you this—is that you can come up with some really strange ideas. That's why you write over and over and over again. That's why you rewrite. I didn't have time to rewrite this presentation, so these may be strange ideas, but I think they're important ones.

The University of Hawai'i–Mānoa has a brand new graduate seminar called Hawaiian Studies 601: Indigenous Research Methodologies. I teach the seminar, and I have 14 brilliant graduate students. During our seminar, we have grappled with the issues and choices facing Lili'uokalani in 1893. This is a particularly rich class as the readings included all the recently authored histories of the kingdom and Lili'u's own *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen* (1898). During a particularly interesting exchange, we noted how certain things have not really changed since the end of the 19th century: We were a landless and impoverished people, our

\*This article is based on a speech delivered at the 2005 Research Conference on Hawaiian Well-Being in Honolulu, Hawai'i.

own government had been usurped and greatly distorted to the point where it ruled us without actually representing us, and we were a people unable to defend ourselves militarily from invasion or intimidation. However, in several important areas, there have been substantial changes. In 1893 we were practically 100% literate and very much involved in and informed about the political issues of the day. In 1893, our people also understood themselves to be Hawaiian, not American.

Certain things  
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19th century.

I want us to consider the very interesting notion that we Hawaiians were better off in 1893 than in 1993, despite the fact that our population was at its very lowest point, despite having just lost what was left of our government, and despite the much smaller income and access to modern goods. We read, we wrote, and we had opinions that we were not at all afraid to share about the provisional government, about annexation, and about our own native political leadership. Our people were not confused about who they were. And while the entire annexation process was deeply humiliating, annexation was not itself the thing that separated Hawaiians from their identities. It was what came as a consequence of the takeover—the military occupation, the American school system, and the brutal evictions of our people from the public lands and the large estates over the next century—that disfigured us as a people. We were fewer in 1893, yet somehow we were more substantial.

## HUIKAU (CONFUSION)

I heard 'Īmaikalani Kalāhele read a poem of his about houseless Hawaiians a few weeks ago and was struck by what a simple and elegant theory of dispossession it was. It goes like this: On some beach, a houseless Hawaiian is confronted by another Hawaiian who wants to know what he is doing there. He asks, "What are you doing here?" "Watchu doin' hea brah?" That's actually how he said it. The houseless Hawaiian replies that he was always there, from the first settlement to the coming of the great southern chiefs to the invasion by Kamehameha. He, like his ancestors, has always been a part of the land. It was only huikau, confusion, that caused people to believe they had no right to live and work on the land. Kalāhele's poem tells us that the houseless Hawaiian is completely at home, while the one who confronts him is the one who is homeless because he doesn't know who or where he is.

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For the longest time, I've been aware that with every new generation, a larger and larger number of our young people need to work harder to identify with their ancestors—or even just with other Hawaiians. Brought up in urban environments, far from *lo'i* (wetland taro patches), and often unfamiliar even with the ocean, reared in the loud emptiness of American popular culture, our young increasingly exist in an isolation that even the children of my generation never knew. Despite the very real successes of Hawaiian language education, the revival of *oli* (chant), *mele* (song), and hula, and the ongoing political and social activism, *Kānaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiians) face a most dangerous time in our history, when being Hawaiian may be rendered impotent by a federal court decision by the American culture of equality, and most importantly, by our own choices.

It is huikau, confusion, over what our choices are and what they mean that is threatening our *lāhui* (nation) and not the choices themselves. One example is federal recognition. The kingdom folks tell us that supporting the Akaka Bill will end our essential sovereignty and replace it with a puppet government, end our legitimate claims to the crown government lands, and ultimately lead to the end of the *lāhui*. The Akaka folks tell us that without federal recognition, the courts will eventually destroy all of our entitlements and leave Hawaiians with nothing.

I wonder what Lili'u would make of this kind of choice? I think her choices were clear and simple: Commit her people to fight and die for her government, or not. The choice she faced did not, in her wildest imagination, lead to a people who would become indistinguishable from Americans. It was simply about whether her government and her rule continued.

The essential choices for Hawaiians today are no more complex than hers. Do we wish to live as Hawaiians, or don't we? And if that is the choice we must make, then federal recognition is irrelevant. What matters is not what the U.S. Senate decides but how we will face the future together, whom we will entrust with leadership, and how far we are willing to commit ourselves to be Hawaiian.

We've been hearing these conversations all around us, for the better part of a half century. Hawaiians must know their language, Hawaiians must know their history, Hawaiians must remain on the land, Hawaiians gotta stick together. The common thread to all of these imperatives is Hawaiian. Being Hawaiian. When I consider all the things American society possesses and promises, it almost surprises me that there are so many of us who insist on living our lives as Hawaiians. Especially since so few of us come well equipped for the task. My *'ōlelo* (language) is halting enough to make me almost mute in any gathering of Hawaiian language faculty. And my family would starve if they needed to depend on me to care for the *lo'i* or the *loko i'a* (fishpond). So, I might be a technically deficient Kanaka Maoli, but this I know: I am not an American. And if that statement makes any Kanaka in here uncomfortable, it is *huikau*, confusion, about what being Hawaiian means. It isn't just ancestry and it isn't just cultural proficiency; being Hawaiian is ultimately about not wishing to be anything else.

There are certain things that cannot be taken, that can only be surrendered. As a people, we are knowledgeable about the things taken but not always conscious of the things we have not surrendered. I am speaking of our unwillingness to forfeit our kinship with each other and the many different ways we attempt to express that kinship. All of the culturally significant things we do, from *'ōlelo* to cleaning the *'auwai* (ditch, canal) to marching through Waikiki, are not as important as the fact that we do them to be closer together. I laugh when I think about how hard it is to keep this faith. While we insist on maintaining this kinship, it doesn't mean that we necessarily agree with one another or even that we like each other.

That brings me to some observations about Hawaiian leadership. I notice that we modern-day Kānaka Maoli are particularly hard on our leaders. And as I have become acquainted with our 18th- and 19th-century *ali'i nui* (great chiefs), I have realized that we've always been that way. We kill the weak ones, the foolish, the inept, the disloyal, and sometimes just the unfortunate. I think of a chief like Ka'iana, who came back from voyaging to China wanting to support Kamehameha, wanting to get involved, bringing his guns and knowledge of the world, and he was ready to go. The other chiefs didn't like him, so they started spreading rumors, they created suspicion, and pretty soon that poor guy was outta there—one of the people killed on O'ahu in the invasion.

Do we wish  
to live as  
Hawaiians, or  
don't we?

We're like that to our leaders. We killed them literally before; we harm our leaders only figuratively today. I'm not sure which one is more merciful—the literal or figurative killing—but this I know: We are warriors still—men and women—and we are more than up to the task of building our nation again. It comes back to our choice: to live as Hawaiians or not.

As I've been involved in different parts of our movement, and mostly in education in these last 10 years, I've noticed that one of the things we tend to do—we do it almost naturally now—is to avoid taking over the whole thing. We want to do our own *kuleana* (responsibility), and it's a very Hawaiian thing to do. We stake our claim to a particular kind of task: health, education, higher education, whatever it is. We want to be sure we're doing something we are competent to do, and we don't want other people butting in. And we're really good about caring for our kuleana, and now we have kuleana everywhere: *kumu hula* (hula instructors), educators, people in law, people in government. But it's not enough. We need people now to bring the leaders together and say, "Yes, those are your kuleana, but we need to be together now. We need to strategize what to do with the expertise

you have built and the people around you are building together. We need to come up with a strategy for building our nation again, and you have to take a step forward and be willing to take the fight to the next level. You have to be willing to talk to people you couldn't stand before, you have to be willing to make mistakes and maybe lose." And until we do this, we are a nation in theory only.

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I've been saying some of these things for the last few months, recognizing that we have suffered the attacks on our ali'i trusts and on the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA). I am very much aware of the fact that those attacks are going to probably continue because the people who are doing this believe that they can win, and that we're running from them. We shouldn't run from them anymore. The

Kamehameha Schools, with its money and its lands, has the capacity to transform the economy of this state. It has the capacity to effect tremendous political change just by threatening to transform the economy of this state. OHA can pitch in with the corpus of money it has collected over these years and the experience it has had within its own leadership.

But people have to listen to one another. Because the fact is, it isn't going to be Kamehameha Schools' money and land or OHA's money that can make change. It's the leadership, the leadership that's grown out of the community that has done enormous things in the past quarter century, such as saving Kaho'olawe Island from the navy and reviving the Hawaiian language. All this was done without Kamehameha Schools' money, and without OHA. So, what are we doing? Why are we running from the courts? Why are we running from the U.S. government?

We have  
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sacrifice.

Leadership is about recognizing that we choose to be Hawaiian. We choose to be nothing else. We don't want to be fragmented. We don't want to be part-Hawaiian. We don't want to be part of a country that is aiming for something very different and has very different values and very different understandings of its role in history. If we are to be true to the legacy of our ancestors—and I mean not just our distant ancestors but our immediate ancestors like Lili'u and Nāwahī, and even Kūhiō—we need to resurrect the nation. We need to be a country again. It is only *huikau* that prevents us from taking this step.

I think the longer we are in this movement, the surer we are of who we are. We had children to understand that we know who we are so that they follow in our footsteps, and we need to bring the leaders to task to understand what they have to do. I look at Kekuni Blaisdell and see someone who has led us for so long in a gentle and yet forceful way toward making those choices. We're ready. We should stop fooling around. The Twigg-Smiths in this world, they're not fooling around. They're not going to wait on us. They're not going to give us an inch. We need to take this place back, and we need you to do this with us.

Just so nobody thinks we're romanticizing leadership, we have to remind ourselves that leadership is sacrifice. So I close with a tribute to George Helm and Kimo Mitchell, who were lost on Kaho'olawe Island in March 1977.



I can recall the way your voice would fill the room  
And we would all be stilled by your melody  
And now your voice is gone and to the sea belongs  
All of the gentle songs that you had harbored

Hawaiian Soul how could you leave us  
You've not been lost at sea, you're only wandering  
Hawaiian Soul we sing your melody  
And send them out to sea, you know the harmony

They say before you left to seek your destiny  
That older voices called and drowned your laughter  
But I believe you knew what you would always be  
A beacon in the storm to guide us after

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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## GROUNDING HAWAIIAN LEARNERS— AND TEACHERS—IN THEIR INDIGENOUS IDENTITY

*Monica A. Ka'imipono Kaiwi*

By rooting Hawaiian students first in their own cultural perspective, we provide the lens through which they can view the rest of the world. A multicultural curriculum taught in Hawai'i that is devoid of Hawaiian anything—by omission, obstruction, or obliteration—marginalizes Hawaiian culture. Because we are in our homeland, this type of omission affects our academic integrity. If we do not teach Hawaiian students who they are as Hawaiians, we devalue them and their *kūpuna* (ancestors, elders). This is Hawai'i, and for that reason alone, as teachers we must use a Hawaiian philosophy of education that establishes Hawaiian literature as foundational before moving out to embrace a global perspective.

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As I often share with my graduating seniors at Kamehameha Schools, this is a great time to be a Hawaiian educator, and it is a great privilege to teach our Hawaiian students. The concept of Hawaiian education is exciting, especially as we see the momentum build each year. When I arrived at the conference this morning,\* I was thrilled to see two busloads of students—our future educators—arriving. We have come a long way since the first Native Hawaiian Education Association conference on Maui in 2000.

Although exciting, as many of us know, Hawaiian education is not an easy road. We are often met with resistance from without—when we also have to meet national initiatives like No Child Left Behind, new SAT exams, and more competitive college entrance requirements—all to be accomplished with dwindling budgets. “Do more with less” is the expectation and frustration.

We also experience resistance from within our own Hawaiian communities—when parents worry that their child will be shortchanged or no longer competitive if we change our approach to education. And we can’t blame them when so many of our Native Hawaiian community are no longer able to afford to live at home. A good education has become even more valuable.

Some of the questions that we, as Hawaiian educators, field include the following:

- “So what is Hawaiian education, anyway? And does that mean Hawaiians learn differently from other students?”
- “Aren’t you compromising academic rigor when you incorporate Hawaiian culture, literature, and pedagogy?”
- “How can Hawaiian education help students who have only enough Hawaiian blood to fit in their little toe? Do you really want to cram their Hawaiian ethnicity down their throats?”

\*This article is based on a speech delivered at the Seventh Annual Conference of the Native Hawaiian Education Association in March 2006 in Pearl City, Hawai‘i.

This essay provides some answers to these questions.

In my opinion, Hawaiian education is a philosophy of education. In many ways, it is like the other philosophies we have learned and incorporated in one way or another throughout our teaching career. When I first began teaching in 1984 in Newport Beach, California, Madeline Hunter and her five-step lesson plan was the philosophical craze. Today the concepts of multiple intelligences and differentiated instruction have become catchwords for educators. As head of the English department at Kamehameha Schools, I receive fliers on a weekly basis for diverse learning seminars. Call it the latest craze, but many of these ideas were introduced by the Hunters, Goodlads, Deweys, and other educator philosophers. Great ideas! Good philosophies! And within our classroom, we use bits and pieces—and discard the rest.

Yet, Hawaiian education differs from these others because it is a philosophy rooted in a sense of indigenous being. And it is a philosophy of education that many of us *know* works best with our students here in Hawai‘i. When we shift the focal point away from a Western-centered approach to a Hawaiian/Kanaka Maoli-centered focus, our students make relevant connections to what’s being taught, especially our *haumāna* (students) of Hawaiian ancestry, because so much of what is taught and how it is taught is rooted in our sense of identity as Kānaka Maoli. Ironically, many of the Hawaiian teaching strategies we use in the classroom are consistent with what is considered “best practice.” Yes, this is yet another philosophy of education.

Hawaiian education is a philosophy that is rooted in a sense of indigenous being.

So how do we describe or even explain a Hawaiian philosophy of education? I answer this question by sharing a story of how I came to my own Hawaiian philosophy of teaching.

First of all, I am a California-born Hawaiian—I’ll say more about my upbringing later—and I came home to Hawai‘i in 1989. I was assigned four sections of ninth-grade English at Kamehameha Schools, and I began teaching my students the same way I had taught in San Diego, where I had taught the previous year. Initially, my students were very polite and patient, but it became very clear, very quickly, that they didn’t have a clue about what I was saying.

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Besides the fact that I was talking 100 miles an hour—I talked as fast as I drove in Southern California, and I was dangerous—the literature that we were discussing was written by authors—mainly dead *haole* (foreign, Caucasian) males—who lived 2,500 to 9,000 miles away from Hawai'i. The majority of the literature came from the East Coast of America or from England.

I was teaching the best and the brightest from the Hawaiian community, yet they did not relate to the literature, to me, or to my philosophy of teaching—which at that time was: I am the teacher, the imparter of all English knowledge, and I have *all* the answers because I went to college. So these students needed to listen to me because I controlled their grade. What a naive philosophy I had back then.

In my desire to figure out how to better connect with my students and to understand why they were struggling, I began to envision them and their attempt to connect with the literature as a tree, upside down with its roots in the air, trying desperately to connect with both the literature and my expectations—because as good students, they did try very hard. I soon realized I had two choices: One, I could continue teaching as I was, dragging 100-plus students through my curriculum, pass them on, and then continue the pain and torture, or, two, I could change the way I approached teaching and essentially change my philosophy. I soon realized it would take less effort for me to change than it would take to continue dragging my grade-conscious students through my egocentric, *haole*-centered curriculum.

This shift in philosophy was spooky. No longer could I be the imparter of all knowledge because I needed to root my students in literature *they* could relate to before I could introduce the literature I knew best. As a California-born Hawaiian, that meant I needed to learn about my own identity as a Hawaiian as well as learn new Hawaiian literature. My students became my teachers as we worked through literature they knew well. And instead of my voice being the loudest in the classroom, my students' voices came to the forefront as they became empowered—my perspective became just 1 of 25. I realized that the moment of student empowerment had arrived when one of my students said he thought my reading of the text was “too sensitive.”

The best part about the shift in focus was that it worked! Using our own cultural literature, my students were able to personally connect to the literature and gain the necessary literary analysis skills from examining Hawaiian *mo'olelo* (stories), which they also were able to successfully apply to other, more Western—canonical—literary pieces.

My new philosophy worked especially well when teaching American literature. I began each unit with relevant works from home. For example, we examined the persuasive techniques found in journals and protest letters written by Walter Ritte and Richard Sawyer in *Nā Mana'o Aloha o Kaho'olawe* (Honolulu, 1978) as well as other pieces generated by the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana during their efforts to stop the bombing on Kaho'olawe. We read these materials *before* we discussed Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, who staged a similar “David and Goliath” struggle with a superpower. By placing American literature into a sharper Hawaiian-honed focus, the passion and motivation of Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, the founding fathers of America, became familiar to my students because as Native Hawaiians, they held similar passionate opinions regarding the bombing of Kaho'olawe. The connections were made, the bridges were built, and my students began to see relevance in literature generated far away from our island home.

However, as expected, my new approach to teaching English was met with the question, “Aren't you compromising academic rigor when you incorporate Hawaiian culture, literature, and pedagogy?” Unfortunately, yet not surprisingly, my department head and many others at that time questioned me about this new approach.

It was a fair question, but my answer then and now is—*No!* To assume that including Hawaiian culture or a Hawaiian worldview would decrease academic rigor would mean that our *kūpuna* (ancestors, elders) weren't very bright and had no standards of their own.

Was it not our *kūpuna* who told us “*kūlia i ka nu'u*” (strive for the highest)? It was our *kūpuna* who told us, even scolded us, to believe that perfection and rigor were to be celebrated. It was our *kūpuna* who produced the finest *kapa* (tapa made from tree bark) in the Pacific and whom Captain Cook labeled as having established the

I needed  
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as a Hawaiian  
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new Hawaiian  
literature.

most sophisticated society in all of Oceania. Therefore, if we expect that same rigor from our students, then their performance should be their very best at all times. These were rather high expectations, and I am certain many of you can also share stories of how it works and how our students truly rise to the challenge.

The reality is, our students must function in multiple worlds. As Native Hawaiians, they are the next generation and the hope for our people. They also live in the Western society with its economic, sociopolitical, and cultural realities. These same students must also function in a third world of pop culture and technology. Navigating between multiple worlds takes talent and sometimes we, as their *kumu* (teachers), need to guide them through the maze. I believe that giving my students a solid grounding in their indigenous identity, then transporting them to other cultures through our study of literature, is one way to help them navigate these different worlds.

By rooting our  
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With this conviction in mind, I embarked on a second mission: building the bridge for my colleagues to understand that solidifying students' indigenous identity does not mean lost rigor. I needed to justify and demonstrate that the same skills could be better taught to my students when they were rooted first in a Hawaiian perspective. When I made my philosophical justification, my department head did not buy it. It was one of my colleagues and mentors, Richard Hamasaki, who taught me that the secret to changing the status quo was to "answer questions before they were asked." I began including my justifications in unit plans and yearly overviews as well as project instructions. I also identified the required skills and assessment for the study of both Hawaiian and American literature.

As I introduced earlier, my unit on Kaho'olawe compared the Hawaiian-generated protest literature with the protest writings of the American Revolution. I required my students to analyze the same persuasive techniques and strategies used in the writings of the Protect Kaho'olawe 'Ohana in comparison with American revolutionary writers like Patrick Henry and his "Speech to the Virginia Convention" (1788). Not surprisingly, when these skills were taught in this manner, my students got it, even though they still thought Patrick Henry was far too long-winded.

By rooting our students first in their own Hawaiian cultural perspective, we provide the lens through which they can view the rest of the world. Thus in the discipline of English, I first start with Hawaiian literature, then move to traditional and global literature. This process expresses a Hawaiian philosophy of education.

To silence the naysayers, my goal was to overwhelm my department head with information—to answer the questions before being asked—so I showed her everything I developed. In turn, she supported my efforts as a Hawaiian educator. It took many more years before I began to truly win her over, but during that time she allowed me the space to explore and develop new curriculum.

## Our Hawaiian identity stays in our DNA!

Even as a kumu at Kamehameha Schools where I am privileged to teach only Hawaiian students, I have had students who initially thought they were getting shortchanged because I was not teaching them “real English”—whatever “real English” is. In fact, on more than one occasion, a parent or one of my colleagues has asked: “How can Hawaiian education help your students, especially when most have only enough Hawaiian blood to fit in their little toe? And do you really want to cram their Hawaiian ethnicity down their throats?”

This two-part question deserves a two-part answer. My first answer is one that I learned from Auntie Pua Kanahele in her 1995 article “Ke Au Lono i Kaho‘olawe, Ho‘i (The Era of Lono at Kaho‘olawe, Returned)” documenting the Makahiki on Kaho‘olawe (*Mānoa: A Pacific Journal of International Writing*, 7, 152–167). She calls it *ancestral memory*. Our Hawaiian identity stays in our DNA! It doesn’t matter how much or how little Hawaiian blood our students have—it takes only one ancestor to connect students to the many who came before. And I have personally seen this played out in my own life.

I was born and raised in a small town on the Russian River in Northern California called Forestville. For most of my childhood, we were the only Hawaiians in the predominantly White town. My Hawaiian father was the baby of a family of eight children who were also born and raised in California. My grandparents are from Hawai‘i Island—Grandpa was a Kaiwi from Kona, and Grandma was a Kumalae from Hilo. Both left home at the beginning of the 20th century, making me, their granddaughter, a second-generation California-born Hawaiian.



I grew up in a typical American family that denied our cultural background. Although my mother is 100% Moscow Russian, early in my childhood, she stopped practicing Russian traditions. And my father was intent on capturing the American dream. He talked very little about being Hawaiian, besides fighting the racism that accompanied his dark skin and a last name only identifiable on a map

of Hawai‘i—the channel between O‘ahu and Moloka‘i. And I was told that Kaiwi meant “the bone,” which seemed very strange to me at the time. I really didn’t have a clue.

When a  
Hawaiian keiki  
walks into my  
classroom, I  
realize that  
he or she comes  
with his or  
her ‘ohana—  
those living  
and those who  
have passed.

For the most part, people in my small town thought I was a rather whitewashed American child with a difficult last name that no one could pronounce; however, I was also very aware of the fact that I saw the world differently. I saw *hō‘ailona* (signs, symbols) in the environment around me and connected with my surroundings in ways that my friends never understood. I remember I prayed to be like everyone else—to be “normal.” I didn’t know what normal really was, except that this brown girl wasn’t it.

In fact, the first time I began to feel normal was when I came home at age 27 and sat in Kekūhaupi‘o gym on Kamehameha Schools’ campus with 3,000 other Hawaiians who looked just like me. It was then I knew I wasn’t so weird after all. But I had yet to understand what being Hawaiian meant.

My *hānai* (adoptive) parents, Dani and Philip Hanohano, were the ones who took the time to remind me about who I was as a Hawaiian and to guide me in understanding what I knew in my *na‘au* (gut). It was 17 years ago that I began my journey of remembering, which brings me to where I am today. It took my kūpuna 70 years before the first of their ‘*ohana* (family) returned home, but they made certain that even though I was born two generations away from the ‘*āina* (land), I would not forget that I am Hawaiian.

So how does my story relate to the Hawaiian students in my classroom whose Hawaiian *koko* (blood) can fit in their little toe? Simply put, it is not *only* about the students. It certainly was not only about me when I came home. My kūpuna had a plan (and in many ways, I came back kicking and screaming). But I have no doubt now that they wanted me home. So, when a Hawaiian *keiki* (child) walks into my classroom, I realize that he or she does not come alone—he or she comes with his or her ‘ohana—those living and those who have passed. In fact, on the second day of class, my students introduce themselves with their *mo‘okū‘auhau* (genealogical succession, pedigree)—not necessarily for their classmates’ benefit but to remind them of who stands with them and to help me to understand who has been entrusted to my care.

My hānai dad always says that as kumu in the classroom, I am merely the conduit, the guide, creating the environment and opportunity for the journey to begin. I may not see the fruits right away or ever, but I just need to trust that I am part of the process. My educational philosophy dictates that I teach to the whole student—represented by those who have come before and the adult each *keiki* will become.

So what about the here and now? Do I really want to “cram their Hawaiian ethnicity down their throats”? No, but I also don’t want to ignore their Hawaiian heritage. A multicultural curriculum taught in Hawai‘i that is devoid of Hawaiian anything—by omission, obstruction, or obliteration—marginalizes our Hawaiian culture. And because we are in our homeland, this type of omission affects our academic integrity. If we don’t teach our Hawaiian students who they are as Hawaiians, we devalue them and their kūpuna. There has been enough of that for too long.

Most importantly, out of the chop suey mix of ethnicities that I could possibly root my students in, there is only one ethnicity that can truly claim Hawai‘i as its ancestral homeland. We are not in the Philippines or Portugal or China or Japan. This is Hawai‘i, and for that reason alone, I am obligated to use a Hawaiian philosophy of education that establishes Hawaiian literature as foundational before moving out to embrace a global perspective when teaching my students, *especially* those of Hawaiian ancestry.

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I have done my best to answer three of the many questions we face in Hawaiian education. My hope is that somewhere in all I have shared, you can find something that can work for you. It is truly an exciting time to be a Hawaiian educator. And we are all in this together. Mahalo to our kūpuna and *Ke Akua* (God) who continue to guide us each day.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Monica A. Ka'imipono Kaiwi, a 22-year veteran teacher, currently serves as head of the English department at Kamehameha Schools Kapālama High School. In 1983, she earned her BA in English from Biola University, and in 2001 she earned her MA in English from the University of Auckland, New Zealand. As a founding member of the Native Hawaiian Education Association, she sat on the board for 5 years. Presently, she sits on the board of Kuleana 'Ōiwi Press, which publishes *'Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal*.

# KAUPAPA MĀORI RESEARCH AND PĀKEHĀ SOCIAL SCIENCE: EPISTEMOLOGICAL TENSIONS IN A STUDY OF MĀORI HEALTH

*Fiona Cram, Tim McCreanor, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Ray Nairn,  
and Wayne Johnstone*

In Aotearoa New Zealand, Māori research capability has grown to the point at which *Kaupapa Māori* (“by Māori, for Māori”) research is a reality. However, there are situations in which health disparities between Māori and *Pākehā* (New Zealanders of European descent) can be better understood through innovative research collaborations that examine the contributions of both cultures to Māori health issues. In the *cooperative independence* approach described here, Māori and Pākehā research teams think of themselves as “parties” to research about Māori patient and Pākehā primary care physician conceptions of Māori health. The research relationship was both satisfying and productive. The findings highlight the cultural gulf between Pākehā physicians and Māori clients, suggesting the need for cultural competency training for physicians.

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*Ko koe ki tena, ko ahau ki tenei kiwai o te kete*  
You at that and I at this handle of the basket

In this article we focus on the processes involved in a bicultural research project (hereafter the physician project), funded by the Health Research Council of New Zealand, in which independent but collaborating *Māori*<sup>1</sup> and *Pākehā*<sup>2</sup> research teams investigated the ways in which Māori users of primary health care services and Pākehā physicians talk about Māori health and their experiences with each other in health encounters. The aim of this research project was to investigate the discursive practices at play in this domain of intercultural relations to understand any impacts they may have on the persistent health disparities between Māori and Pākehā.

Alongside a description of the study itself, we present a methodological analysis of our own research process as a reflexive commentary on the epistemological tensions inherent in research across power differentials, and as a contribution to some unanswered challenges presented by Pākehā and Māori researchers undertaking health research of interest to Māori. The purpose of this approach is to illuminate the epistemological, theoretical, and political commitments that Māori and Pākehā researchers brought to the project. As such, the article relates to established critical traditions that count reflexivity, awareness, and sensitivity to the place of the researcher in knowledge creation as important issues in validating and interpreting research findings (L. T. Smith, 1999; Wetherell, Taylor, & Yates, 2001). An additional goal of this article is to stimulate methodological and political debates on models of Māori–Pākehā research relations in the social sciences in Aotearoa New Zealand and to add to conversations about indigenous–nonindigenous research relations in the social sciences globally.

As the research capacity of indigenous groups continues to increase, there will be a growing need for such challenges to current notions of research relations. In Hawai‘i, programs such as ‘Imi Hale–Native Hawaiian Cancer Network are striving to build Native Hawaiian health research capacity (Tsark & Braun, 2004). Some of the reflections in this article may well connect with the experience of Native Hawaiian health researchers on two fronts: the creation of research collaborations with nonindigenous researchers and the examination of health care encounters between indigenous patients and nonindigenous physicians.

## MĀORI HEALTH DISPARITIES

The starting point for our research was the sharpening of our general knowledge about Māori health. The health disparities between Māori and Pākehā populations within Aotearoa New Zealand are well documented (Howden-Chapman & Tobias, 2000; Pōmare et al., 1995). Māori have poorer outcomes across a wide range of health statistics, and this disparity has been reflected in official statistics for many decades (e.g., Turbott, 1940). The gap may have been reduced over the decades of the 20th century, but it still remains. Māori health researchers argue that the governmental reforms of the late 1980s and early 1990s led to an increase in the disparity (Ajwani, Blakely, Robson, Tobias, & Bonne, 2003; Pōmare et al., 1995).

Health disparities between indigenous and nonindigenous peoples are an enduring legacy of colonization (Smylie, 2005). In the 1990s, Native Hawaiians had the lowest life expectancy in the United States and suffered disparate rates of heart disease, cancer, and diabetes. Within a dominating culture of biomedicine, a commonly held view is that Native Hawaiians are innately unhealthy (Blaisdell, 1998; McMullin, 2005). This is not dissimilar to Pākehā representations of Māori (McCreanor & Nairn, 2002a, 2002b).

Common Pākehā representations of Māori health, based on the reductionist biomedical model, facilitate blaming Māori, or sometimes Māori culture, for the current state of affairs. In such talk Māori are represented as ignorant, shy, superstitious, or backward (Beaglehole & Beaglehole, 1946). Historically, the Pākehā response based on such constructions has been manifest in attacks on traditional Māori medical practices or efforts to “educate” Māori people (Simon & Smith, 2001). In the early decades of the 20th century, health workers persuaded Māori mothers not to breastfeed or, alternatively, to boil their breast milk to reduce tuberculosis. Turbott’s (1940) account of typhoid among Māori is another example, stressing the need for “education...to develop the desire for improved hygiene and better homes” (p. 247). A more recent example of the process of blaming cultural practices was found in the discussions of cot death. The published prevention strategies in the 1990s led to marked reductions in the deaths of Pākehā babies, while death rates among Māori babies remained virtually unchanged (Public Health Commission, 1993). Faced with this failure, some authorities attempted to pin Māori rates to bed-sharing (see, e.g., “Coroner has Warning,” 1993). Blaming Māori for their own ill-health serves to avoid consideration of the impacts of Pākehā systems, ideologies, and practices (i.e., the entire colonial process) on the issue.

General Māori conceptions of health, on the other hand, are known from a number of written descriptions identifying integrated, holistic, community-based concepts that differ fundamentally from the standard Pākehā approach (e.g., Pere, 1988). In this way, Māori conceptions of health are close to those of Native Hawaiians (e.g., Mayberry, Affonso, Shibuya, & Clemmens, 1998; McMullin, 2005). Māori conceptions of health tend to cohere around resilient cultural concepts and practices, such as the relationship between *tinana* (body) and *wairua* (spiritual essence), the concepts of *tapu* (sacred) and *noa* (ordinary), and the ritual of *tangi* (mourning), to name a few (Dansey, 1992; Marsden, 1992). These representations promote holistic, integrated practices based on self-sufficiency and Māori empirical knowledge about health and healing. They include diet, exercise, herbal and traditional medicines, the use of *karakia* (prayer), *whānau* (family) involvement, and other practices that have been frequently criticized, undermined, and sometimes outlawed by the dominant Pākehā views on health.

In the past 20 years, Māori views of health have crystallized older, cultural understandings, to conceptualize a holistic schema encompassing *tinana* (the physical element), *hinengaro* (the mental state), *wairua* (the spirit), and *whānau* (the immediate and wider family) within the health area (Murchie, 1984). Also known as the *Whare Tapa Wha*, or four cornerposts (Durie, 1994), these aspects occur in the context of *Te Whenua* (land providing a sense of identity and belonging), *Te Reo* (the language of communication), *Te Ao Turoa* (environment), and *Whanaungatanga* (extended family relationships; see Public Health Commission, 1993, p. 24). The disruption of such theoretical structures and the practices they sustain, by Pākehā ideologies of health in the course of the colonial process, means it is unclear if and how these ideologies are active among Māori in the contemporary setting. The Māori section of the physician project sought to discover if any of these resources are used in the talk of Māori participants in constructing Māori health.

Māori also report understandings about Pākehā health care that are the legacy of past experiences between Māori clients and Pākehā health professionals. These include suspicions about treatment, the reluctance to engage in an interaction with health professionals, and behavior referred to in the sociological literature as resistance (L. T. Smith, 1985). Such actions have been interpreted by some as evidence of *whakamā*, the notion of shame or shyness (Metge, 1986), but they may also be part of a more general reaction to being treated in patronizing or paternalistic ways (Awatere, 1984). Consideration of this last point, alongside historical accounts

of Māori good health prior to European incursion into the country, made us less inclined to accept the victim-blaming conclusions of individualizing biomedicine as a satisfactory explanation of Māori health disparities. Instead, we wanted to look at what the medical system could be contributing to the situation. We knew that Māori utilization of primary health care services was different in nature, if not in level, to that of Pākehā (McAvoy, Davis, Raymont, & Gribben, 1994). Māori were shown to present later and with more florid symptoms, suggesting a nonspecific discomfort with the medical system. If there were problems, would we be able to shed light on them in the Pākehā section of the physician project by talking to medical practitioners who, after all, are the empowered, authorized parties to this interface between Māori and Pākehā? It was with this question in mind that we turned our attention to primary health care in Aotearoa New Zealand.

## PRIMARY HEALTH CARE

Māori seeking primary medical care will invariably end up in the consulting rooms of Pākehā physicians, because the number of Māori physicians is small. The consulting room can be viewed as a site of struggle between Māori patients and Pākehā physicians. The struggle occurs because of the meeting of two different kinds of “lived ideologies,” namely, Pākehā and Māori. It is a struggle over power and over whose ideology informs and controls the interaction. Within this context, the interaction between Māori patient and Pākehā physician becomes more than just getting along well and communicating on an interpersonal level; it is also about negotiating cultural boundaries. The central focus of our study is how both parties that engage in these interactions—Māori as patients and Pākehā as physicians—talk about Māori health and their experiences of interacting with one another.

The literature (Silverman, 1987; Simpson et al., 1991) points out that the quality of such talk has profound impacts—even on apparently physical symptoms such as blood pressure—and is of crucial importance in psychosocial and psychiatric problems. Communication is also strongly implicated in treatment compliance in chronic diseases such as diabetes (Kaplan, Greenfield, & Ware, 1989). In this



vein, one prominent study (Mishler, 1984) has taken a discourse analytic approach focused primarily on the diagnostic interview, highlighting the material impacts of such specific discourse. Although doctor–patient communication is an important facet of our concerns in this project (and a likely subject for detailed investigation beyond it), we were keen to cast the net wider to draw in other features of discourse that constitute a more general context to Māori health. As previously outlined, history (both personal and sociopolitical), relations of dominance and oppression, worldview and spirituality, are all expected to influence constructions of health analyzed in this study.

The second strand of this project story, a reflexive commentary that weaves in and out of our team discussions of the research topic, began with our deliberation of who should conduct Māori health research.

## WHO SHOULD DO MĀORI HEALTH RESEARCH?

In many fields of social science research, including health—where researchers are conducting investigations with groups who are comparatively disadvantaged or marginalized—it is recommended that research partnerships be formed to reduce the perceived distance between those doing the research and those being researched. Such arrangements are described as a vehicle through which researchers, their work, and the knowledge produced can be more “useful” to participant communities (Moewaka Barnes, 2000). For example, in the Australian context, Humphery (2001) highlighted calls for indigenous involvement in the direction and conduct of research important to indigenous communities. Furthermore, First Nations peoples in Canada have called for research to be decolonized (Ten Fingers, 2005), and in Hawai‘i, moves are afoot to firmly recenter Native Hawaiians within research and evaluation with indigenous communities (Cook, 2001; Kahakalau, 2004).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, where the indigenous Māori have been displaced and dispossessed in the course of 160 years of Pākehā colonization, guidelines for Pākehā researchers wanting to research Māori health issues urge the establishment of collaborative research approaches and partnerships. Ethics guidelines within some disciplines have also been formulated with the notion of

partnership between non-Māori researchers and Māori research communities in mind (e.g., Te Awekotuku, 1991). These initiatives are to be admired because they have prompted all researchers to question their practice and, indeed, their view of the world, so that in our situation there is emerging consensus that research should be at least culturally sensitive, if not fully vested with the provisions of cultural safety (Ramsden, 1997). However, such moves are premised on a shortfall in Māori research capacity that requires non-Māori researchers to conduct Māori research. This shortfall is less and less likely as Māori research capacity is growing rapidly. As such, the guidance offered to researchers does not fully explore the issues faced by Māori researchers who are conducting research with Māori. This is not a situation of researchers researching “down”; rather these researchers must negotiate the multiple and often subtle ways in which they are both an insider and an outsider to their participant group (L. T. Smith, 1999).

In addition, the guidelines on partnership research do not speak to Pākehā researchers who want to do research “for” Māori that is not necessarily research “with” or “on” Māori; in other words, Pākehā researchers who want their research to support a Māori epistemological framework through the development of a research-based critique of Pākehā theories, policies, and practices, especially as they relate to Māori-Pākehā relations. In response to the first of these gaps, L. T. Smith (1999) outlined seven ethical principles that are relevant for Māori research. Cram (2001) expanded these principles in general research guidelines for Māori researchers (see Table 1). The second issue of Pākehā researchers supporting a Māori *kaupapa* (framework) remains largely unaddressed (Cram & McCreanor, 1993; Huygens, 1993). In seeking guidance on this issue, we turned to the founding document of Aotearoa New Zealand: *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* (The Treaty of Waitangi; Orange, 1987).

TABLE 1 “Community-Up” approach to defining research conduct

Cultural values (L. T. Smith, 1999)	Researcher guidelines (Cram, 2001)
Aroha ki te tangata	A respect for people; allow people to define their own space and meet on their own terms.
He kanohi kitea	It is important to meet people face to face and to also be a face that is known to and seen within a community.
Titiro, whakarongo... kōrero	Looking and listening (and then maybe speaking); develop understanding in order to find a place from which to speak.
Manaaki ki te tangata	Sharing, hosting, being generous.
Kia tupato	Be cautious; be politically astute, culturally safe, and reflective about insider/outsider status.
Kaua e takahia te mana o te tangata	Do not trample on the “mana” or dignity of a person.
Kia mahaki	Be humble; do not flaunt your knowledge; find ways of sharing it.

*Note:* From “Researching in the Margins: Issues for Māori Researchers—A Discussion Paper,” by L.T. Smith, 2006, *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Scholarship*, (Special Supplement 2006—Marginalisation), pp. 4–27. Copyright 2006 by Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga.

The treaty was first signed at Waitangi on February 6, 1840, by Māori chiefs and British officials. It paved the way for British settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand while at the same time guaranteeing social and economic rights and privileges to Māori (McCreanor, 1989). The principal right guaranteed to Māori was *tino rangatiratanga*, which denotes not only possession but also control and management of lands, dwelling places, and other possessions (Waitangi Tribunal, 1983). However, disputes over the treaty have occurred because of differences between the English and Māori versions of the treaty. In the English text Māori cede “sovereignty” to the Queen, whereas in the Māori version they cede only *kawanatanga*, the right to govern.

Controversy and debate still surround the role of the treaty in Aotearoa New Zealand society, but it has certainly come to the forefront of current-day discussions about Māori–Pākehā relations and Māori aspirations for self-determination (Dyck & Kearns, 1995; Jackson, 2004). It therefore stands to reason that the treaty should also be considered central to a discussion of research conducted within this

country. It was tempting to use the common terminology in Aotearoa New Zealand of treaty “partnership” and apply this to the relationship between the Māori and Pākehā research teams. However, we were wary of treading the negative pathways that have come to be associated with the term partnership (Torjman, 1998). It is too easy to conceal important power differentials beneath the egalitarian gloss of partnership, a factor widely experienced in bureaucratic responses to Pākehā treaty responsibilities.

Instead, we prefer to define partnership as a goal rather than as an existing state. We have therefore chosen to base our thinking within an analysis that views Māori and Pākehā as parties to the Treaty of Waitangi, and we have applied this terminology to our research relationships. Both parties to the research therefore have a stake in it and have consequent rights and responsibilities. These rights and responsibilities were to be negotiated between parties throughout the project.<sup>3</sup> Being “parties to a research project” is also terminology that can apply more generally to indigenous–nonindigenous research collaborations, even in the absence of an overarching treaty. The following section describes one such research collaboration.

## THE PRESENT PROJECT

The present project examined how two groups of participants, Māori patients and Pākehā physicians, talk about Māori health. These speakers constitute a given entity such as Māori health in differing ways, depending on their understanding of the context in which they are speaking. To do this, they must draw on an array of resources provided within their community. These resources are the object of this study. For this project, it means we do not seek to provide a definitive representation of the single coherent entity, “Māori health,” but to identify the resources two distinct groups of informants use in constituting the entity in their talk. We felt that if we could describe these resources—and particularly, if we could understand critical differences between them—then we would be in a position to inform and encourage action in both groups to improve outcomes. A critical element of the present project was the relationship between the two research teams, with the Pākehā research team taking responsibility for examining the talk of Pākehā physicians and the Māori research team taking responsibility for talking with Māori patients.

### *Methodology*

By methodology, we mean the theoretical approach that determines the way we undertake research, including, for example, our relationship with participants and the communities where we work and live. Methods, on the other hand, are tools that can be used to produce and analyze data, for example, in-depth interviewing and questionnaires (L. T. Smith, 1999). The methodology for the present research is sourced in *Kaupapa Māori* (“by Māori, for Māori”) theory. Kaupapa Māori research is an attempt to retrieve space for Māori voices and perspectives, methodologies, and analyses, whereby Māori realities are seen as legitimate. This means working outside the binary opposition of Māori and Pākehā and centering *Te Ao Māori* (the Māori world; see Pihama, 1993).

Kaupapa Māori takes for granted the legitimacy of being Māori and the validity of Māori worldviews. Māori language and culture are therefore seen as central. In addition, Kaupapa Māori acknowledges, and is underpinned by, Māori struggles for autonomy and self-determination (G. H. Smith, 1997). An integral part of Kaupapa Māori theory is also the critique of societal “common sense” understandings of what it is to be Māori. These understandings have invariably been built up over decades of colonization, are based on deficit models, and provide justifications for policies and practices that oppress Māori (Pihama, 1993).

Within Kaupapa Māori research, the role of researchers is therefore twofold. First, researchers need to affirm the importance of Māori self-definitions and self-valuations. Second, researchers need to critique Pākehā/colonial constructions and definitions of Māori and articulate solutions to Māori concerns in terms of Māori knowledge. Linda Smith (1999) argued that while Pākehā researchers cannot do Kaupapa Māori research, they can support Māori Kaupapa (also see Cram, 1997). Our research discussions of these issues have also rested on the premise that Pākehā researchers would not be doing research with Māori participants but would be doing research that would be of benefit (or at least relevance) to Māori. Nevertheless, a joint approach was valuable because of our conception that the “problem of Māori health” was at least as much a Pākehā problem as (if not more than) a Māori problem. By this we mean that there are significant contributions to Māori health from both Māori and Pākehā, given the Pākehā domination in the process of colonization and alienation of Māori resources, not to mention the long-standing theoretical and applied domination of health theory, practices, and services.

In seeking to understand the disparities between the goals of both health authorities and consumer groups and the outcomes described in the reports, the research project focuses on the construction of Māori health in the talk of physicians and Māori clients. To appreciate the value of such work, it is necessary to recognize the links between such discourse and the social practices of those for whom these representations constitute “reality.” There is a substantial body of research demonstrating that the way in which people, as individuals or groups, define reality is a major determinant of their behavior. In problem solving (Johnson-Laird, 1983), interpersonal behavior (Snyder, 1984), among scientists (Gilbert & Mulkay, 1984), and in the community (Potter & Reicher, 1987), the way in which situations or events are understood has been shown to shape participants’ actions.

Recent developments in social science have inspired a growing body of language-based research in areas of social dominance and inequality (van Dijk, 1993; Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Wetherell et al., 2001). There are two assumptions underlying this work that must be understood if the power of its findings is to be appreciated. First, it is assumed that the reality of objects, events, and situations is constituted through the discourses about them. The second assumption is that the way in which the reality of a particular object, event, or situation is constituted depends on the interest or concern of the speaking individual in that situation. It follows from the first assumption that research in this tradition does not seek to uncover or define the essential nature of the targeted entity; indeed, it assumes that such a description would be merely another way of constituting the object. In doing so, research introduces the realm of power relations into knowledge-based enterprises, to make explicit the ways in which differentials in material and political power are manifest in material differences in the situations of differently empowered groups. In this context, the ideologies of those with power will be dominant over those of people who have less.

Theories of ideology (Bordieu & Passeron, 1990) emphasize the role of language in the reproduction of ideology and the importance of the latter to the establishment and maintenance of social relations. However, in its conventional context of class struggle, ideology is characterized as the tool of ruling elites and is evoked to explain the control of the masses. We are more interested in the formulation by Billig et al. (1988), which presents the idea of *lived ideology*—the array of ideas, beliefs, and explanations drawn on to interpret everyday experience.

For the Pākehā research team, the poststructuralist perspective that has encompassed the critique of empiricism has also inspired the development of qualitative research styles focused on the explication of language in areas of gender (Gavey, 1989; Lather, 1991) and cultural relations (Essed, 1988; Nairn & McCreanor, 1990). Methods built around the discourse analysis of transcriptions of semistructured interviews (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) offer detailed understandings of the complexity and dynamics of intergroup relations that are lost in the traditional social science approaches of experiment and questionnaire.

For the Māori research team, this perspective offered one tool for the analysis of Māori talk. Māori theories of knowledge encompass empirical traditions for enumeration, measurement, and comparison, yet the historical storage, retrieval, and transmission of knowledge through oral culture means that there is an ongoing orientation toward talk as data. The everyday understanding of knowledge as constructed/enacted is cemented in the institutions and practices of Māori societies, such as *whakapapa* (genealogy), *waiata* (song), and many others. While these practices are continually undermined and derogated through the colonial imposition of Western worldview, culture, and science, the renaissance in Māori society at large has seen the resurgence of interest in discourse, reclaiming testimony, life story, and storytelling as legitimate forms of knowledge (L. T. Smith, 1999). In this project, the research interviews incorporate many of these elements, providing a particularly rich and deep base of experiential material from which to draw the themes and patterns, as well as the variations in participants' encounters with primary health care in keeping with the imperatives of the chosen research question.

Potter and Wetherell (1987) argued that approaching such data as a topic of study "in their own right" is theoretically justified, methodologically possible, and socially significant. It is a naturalistic option that acknowledges the possibility that people are positioned within heterogeneous and contradictory discourses, and that these discourses can reflect the manner in which power relations in a field such as Māori health may be manifest. Discourse databases are designed to sample the kinds of linguistic resources available, rather than to assign individuals into preconceived categories (as do survey studies) or to provide a single, apparently coherent account of a concept such as Māori health that is variously constituted in

participants' talk and practice. This means that discourse studies typically draw on relatively small numbers of participants, whose talk centers on common topics and particular tasks such as explaining and justifying. For this reason, it is assumed that fewer individuals speaking in more depth will provide a global impression of the discursive resources available.

An array of broadly critical discursive approaches to the scientific study of social life has emerged (Wetherell et al., 2001). These include poststructuralist discourse analysis, conversation analysis, and critical discourse analysis (van Dijk, 1993), offering a comprehensive approach to the dimensions of text that need to be examined to provide rigorous descriptions of the structure and function of discourse. In addition, a theoretical rationale for critical study of the discourse of both the empowered and the disempowered, as a means of highlighting social injustice, is beginning to appear (Wodak & Matouschek, 1993). Studies of the production of dominance mainly focus on the discourse of the empowered in the enactment of their ideologies. For example, Wetherell and Potter (1992) analyzed Pākehā talk about "racial issues" and showed that speakers use a variety of discursive resources to justify the relative positions of Māori and Pākehā, to present themselves in a positive light, and to legitimate the status quo.

However, beyond the particular commitment to work toward "depowering" elites (Huygens, 1993), discourse theory also identifies a key role for the study of the discourse of the oppressed in challenging existing social relations (Essed, 1988). The notion of hegemony (Gramsci, 1971) foregrounds ways in which disciplinary power may be internalized in the ideologies of the oppressed, leading them into beliefs and practices that entrench their condition (Awatere, 1984). Knowledge of the discourses of the disempowered may act as a catalyst in the political development and educational programs among oppressed groups, which in turn challenges established ideology and leads to social change.



*Data and Analysis*

Indigenous theories of knowledge challenge Western theory in a contest for space to determine what counts as data (L. T. Smith, 1999). There are echoes of this tension within Pākehā thinking as positivist and constructionist philosophies battle over the legitimacy of methods—and thus conceptions—as to what will count as data. The former regards data as deriving from empirical observation and experiment, whereas the latter creates new possibilities based on experience, especially as represented in discourse and talk. In the context of the larger conflict between indigenous and colonizing epistemologies, there are resonances between the constructionist and indigenous approaches to knowledge, which predispose both to orient to talk and text as data for understanding and interpreting the lived experience of population groups.

The research question is pitched in such a way that calls for qualitative data, because it bears on and illuminates the situated interpretative resources and common-sense, lived ideologies of particular communities. We wanted to know about the ways in which two interacting groups construct and interpret those interactions. Qualitative data give us the richness and depth from which to build accounts of the recurrent patterns and variations in such talk. Asking participants directly about the topic of Māori health (in which both groups have an interest) evokes the shared vocabularies, grammar, imagery, ideas, and meanings available and current in their constructions and interpretations of the topic. These data will have integrity and meaning on their own; when they are brought into “conversation” with each other, the data will potentially reveal important insights about the basis and nature of the interaction between Māori clients and Pākehā doctors.

We decided that in the first instance, as the study was exploratory and inductive, we would conduct face-to-face interviews. We wanted the data to be able to “speak from two sides” as a way of approaching the different experiences of the two groups around the common topic rather than as a basis for a simplistic compare-and-contrast exercise. For this reason, we took a flexible approach to both the form and the content of interviews gathered by the teams, being prepared for what came forth from a relatively negotiated, organic process rather than trying to dictate uniformity for comparability.

### *Māori Participant Interviews*

While the Māori side of the physician project chose individual interviews, there was a flexibility that was sensitive to a preference enacted in some instances of participants contributing in pairs rather than alone. Twenty-eight Māori participants (ages 17 to 74) were interviewed. The interviews were loosely structured to allow the participants to be in the driver's seat regarding the direction the interviews took, areas that were open to discussion, and the length of the interviews. Participants were invited to talk about Māori health and to tell their stories about interacting with non-Māori physicians. We would be hesitant to call our method "talk story," but we definitely have an affinity for this as a way of engaging with research participants. The interviews were fully transcribed, and the transcripts formed the data for a thematic analysis.

### *Pākehā Participant Interviews*

While Pākehā researchers have had to struggle to establish the legitimacy of qualitative methods in general—and discursive approaches in particular—within these emerging traditions there is a central concern with talk and text as data. In the case of the Pākehā doctors, we decided to pursue individual interviews for pragmatic reasons, because our connections indicated that getting doctors together in groups would be more difficult owing to their busy schedules. We felt clear that following the lead of Wetherell and Potter (1992), this would be the preferred mode of contribution to the project for this group. In addition, it seemed that it might be easier to manage any power dynamics one to one, rather than with a group of relatively assertive and articulate individuals.

Twenty-six physicians were interviewed. For the purpose of data that can be used to identify interpretative repertoires, individual interviews are assumed to involve the participant in the articulation of common forms of talk, without the complicating factors of interactive phases with coparticipants. While it is true that the interviewer—to a greater or lesser extent—coconstructs the interview, in this instance the interviewer (Tim McCreanor) was relatively unfamiliar with the topic. Further, with participants speaking from a position of strength, we were confident there would be clear articulations of the resources available to physicians to talk about Māori health.

## FINDINGS

To date, there have been three publications from this study. The first, which is primarily methodological, appeared in the *Journal of Health Psychology* (McCreanor & Nairn, 2002a), whereas the second and third articles reporting overviews of the Māori and Pākehā findings appeared separately in the *New Zealand Medical Journal* (Cram, Smith, & Johnstone, 2003; McCreanor & Nairn, 2002b). The latter articles report widely divergent themes from discursive analyses of data gathered from Māori and Pākehā participants. Further publications will elaborate these differences and consider the implications for equitable and realistic policies for health service delivery in a colonial situation with entrenched health disparities between Māori and Pākehā.

The findings represent a contribution to a social analysis of medicine in Aotearoa New Zealand that has historical dimensions (Nicholson, 1988) and contemporary components (Westbrooke, Baxter, & Hogan, 2001). The findings also demonstrate similarities with the widely available critique of racism in health, which fuels ethnic health disparities worldwide (Karlson & Nazroo, 2003; Krieger, 2003). Māori and Pākehā have very different ways of constructing and talking about health, which arguably play out in primary health care consultations and have real impacts on the health of Māori individuals, communities, and populations.

### *Māori Patients*

This section provides an overview of 5 of the 10 recurrent themes that arose from the interviews with Māori patients. (See Cram et al., 2003, for a full overview.)

**MĀORI HEALTH.** When answering the question “What is Māori health?” many of the participants emphasized the importance of defining health holistically. They acknowledged both the interconnectedness and the importance of balance among the physical, mental, and spiritual aspects of health. The significance of whānau or family (see below) was also stressed. Some participants also talked about the impact of social and economic well-being on Māori health, the disparities between Māori and Pākehā health, and the role of Māori health care provisions in maintaining health.

**TRADITIONAL WAYS.** The holistic, relational nature of Māori health was closely linked to participants' discussion of traditional Māori approaches to, and knowledge about, healing. Many of the participants had engaged in traditional healing practices related to, for example, *rongoā* and *wairua* (see below). These practices therefore continue to have a role in Māori health.

**RONGOĀ.** Rongoā includes remedies, therapies, and spiritual healing. Older participants told stories from their youth about rongoā being used in times of illness. Rongoā were also currently being used by both young and old participants who saw this as compatible with their use of Western medicines. Two of the *kuia* (older women) spoke about their own specialized knowledge of rongoā and of sharing this knowledge with others.

**WAIRUA.** Wairua, or spirit, was the most commonly mentioned element of Māori health. It was seen by participants as key to understanding health and illness as it provides insight into the whole person, not just the person's manifest symptoms. Without such insight, healing cannot occur as a person's physical or mental symptoms may well have other, underlying causes. This understanding was seen as being fundamental in Māori health practitioners, whereas Pākehā practitioners were seen as less likely to understand it, often treating only the symptoms.

**WHĀNAU.** Participants spoke about the whānau, or family, as the foundational structure for Māori. Whānau buffers its members from the wider world, including experiences of illness, treatment, and hospitalization, and is therefore integral to Māori health and well-being. Participants were in agreement about the importance of the leadership roles *kuia* and *koroua* (older men) have within whānau. It was also acknowledged that some whānau did not function in this way because of family stresses (e.g., economic, social). These whānau were seen as coping the best they could and in need of both relief and hope.

### *Pākehā Physicians*

In this section, we outline 5 of the 10 repertoires that emerged through our analyses of the data. These sketches are summaries of more lengthy analyses (McCreanor & Nairn, 2002a, 2002b) consisting of detailed descriptions of themes illustrated by verbatim excerpts from transcripts.

**MĀORI IDENTITY.** The issue of who should be counted as Māori was seen as deeply problematic and was widely used as a discursive device for discounting claims of racism or cultural insensitivity. Scientific definitions based on genetics were routinely offered but regularly conflicted with social constructions of Māori identity, leaving no viable objective standard. Some participants argued there was insufficient justification for conceptual or practical differences in their work with Māori and Pākehā patients.

**MĀORI MORBIDITY.** In line with population data, Māori were seen as more commonly and more severely afflicted by a wide range of serious and mundane conditions. Some participants argued that Māori under their care were much better off, but most concurred there was a real problem nationwide. Explanations of these disparities were cast as interactions between genetics and environment (primarily socioeconomic status and culture) in conventional biomedical terms, with no analysis of racism or colonialism.

**COMPLIANCE.** Participants widely reported that one of the key issues in working with Māori was noncompliance, which meant that Māori must accept responsibilities for failures or breakdowns in health care. Compared with the rest of the practice population, Māori did not take a consistent preventative approach to their health care and were frequently locked into distressing, reactive, crisis-oriented treatment regimes, to which they had little commitment. This was said to arise from a present-focused, laissez-faire worldview, seated in ignorance, willfulness, or self-destructive tendencies that characterized the Māori approach to life in general.

**STYLE OF WORKING WITH MĀORI.** Despite the preemptive arguments about Māori identity, most participants reported important differences in how they would work with Māori and Pākehā patients. In particular, participants noted the need to allow more time with Māori patients to facilitate rapport-building and to allow for a more flexible unfolding of the medical history. Specific issues included protocols for physical examination, use of group consultations, indirect communication with patients (via senior women), simple presentations of information using pictures, repetition, extra input on follow-up, and flexibility with respect to punctuality and payment.

**MĀORI CONCEPTIONS OF HEALTH.** Many participants were clear that Māori think about health in quite different ways than do Pākehā but were able to give only a general outline of what Māori conceptions were. Very few had knowledge of formal Māori models of health; some named a few actual remedies or practices from Māori traditions and felt that acquiring such knowledge was not their responsibility or interest. A discourse about complementary medicine was drawn upon, to argue that if there was no harm done in the course of such practices, then they were to be accepted and even encouraged.

## DISCUSSION

The findings from the studies are strong evidence of the cultural gulf between primary care physicians and Māori clients of these professionals. The findings highlight the different conceptualizations, practices, and expectations that inform and shape the actual interactions of primary health care. The inevitable power differential at personal, systemic, and institutional levels that exists between the groups—and in many of the clinical consultation dyads that constitute primary health care—is a likely contributor to the differential patterns of health service usage and outcomes for Māori and non-Māori.

Addressing this power differential will require more than cultural competence training in its narrow sense. Rather, change will require a broader, twofold agenda for cultural competency such as that suggested by Symonette (2004). The first component, “Inside/Out,” would require physicians to develop an understanding of power and privilege hierarchies, including how they and their patients are located within these hierarchies. The second component, “Outside/In,” would encompass the development of diversity-relevant knowledge and skills. Politically and ethically, it is incumbent on the physicians to work for change. This is not to say that Māori should not also work for change, but that a heavy responsibility lies with the empowered group. For Māori, our research is about validation and affirmation. It is one thing to suspect that the treatment you receive from your physician is affected because you are Māori; it is another thing to have those suspicions confirmed and analyzed within a broader, ideological context.

In terms of research process, we have worked together as Māori and Pākehā researchers; as parties to a historical and living agreement to cooperate, Te Tiriti o Waitangi: as parties interested in exploring specific domains such as health in pursuit of social justice in this country; and as parties with interests in social justice for indigenous peoples worldwide. The idea was that we would be apart, but talking to one another, and somewhere down the track we would come together to link up the findings emerging from the components. This has required a large element of trust, as we were simply unsure of what we were getting into. We adopted a process of routine reporting, delivered through monthly meetings on how each group was faring, supplemented by extra contacts when problems arose or significant insights emerged. “Cooperative independence” seems like a simple catchphrase to characterize this stage. Similar patterns emerged in the analytic phases as the teams worked to process their data and then to see that the approaches were sufficiently congruent to all the datasets (to speak to each other).

The development of this bicultural knowledge is firmly situated within Kaupapa Māori. On the one hand, the exploration of Māori experiences of primary care has looked inward, asking Māori to talk about their understandings of Māori health and their experiences of engagement with non-Māori physicians. On the other hand, the exploration has looked outward, asking how these same experiences are constituted within the talk of Pākehā physicians. Several key lessons from our research process are highlighted below:

- There is an important role for nonindigenous researchers who are committed to supporting indigenous research agendas. This role is about working with and alongside indigenous researchers, but not necessarily researching within indigenous communities. Rather, nonindigenous researchers can turn their gaze on nonindigenous communities in which the underlying causes of indigenous marginalization can be found and challenged. In Hawai‘i, this might mean that non-Hawaiian researchers ask systemic questions about the power and privilege that is embedded within nonindigenous institutions, and whether this power and privilege works for or against Hawaiian well-being and self-determination.

- By taking the stance of “interested parties” to the research—as distinct from research partners—we were able to keep the power relations between us, as Māori and Pākehā, clearly in the frame throughout the research process. On the whole, this encouraged a much more negotiated set of research relations in which the assumptions of either party were available for scrutiny throughout the research process. This accountability process is important. Nonindigenous researchers, for example, should not rush off to do the research they think will serve an indigenous agenda, even if this research is with nonindigenous communities. Rather, the research agenda should be negotiated with, and be accountable to, indigenous peoples. In this project, we have found that one such accountability framework occurs when indigenous and nonindigenous research teams work together.
- The intellectual traditions of both Māori and Pākehā were comfortably encompassed within the methodological framework we settled on for our investigation. In addition, the selection of research questions assumed that there would be two perspectives at play and drew on the knowledge, expectations, and agendas of both parties. The most important elements in this were our mutual respect and the commitment we each brought to the research relationship. Through this, we have put into effect many of the practices that guide Māori researchers (see Table 1), such as a respect for one another, a willingness to listen and to share expertise, and a belief that we can learn from one another. These cultural values can provide useful guidance for how indigenous and nonindigenous researchers can behave toward each other when they address an indigenous concern through joint research.
- Power differences between the two groups supplying data meant that each team took its own approach in analyzing the materials while keeping each other informed and retaining the option of further collaborations. The result was that the findings, while reflecting the very different experiences and approaches informing the discourses of the two groups on issues of Māori health, nevertheless mirror and anticipate each other in ways that have significant implications for health service delivery. The prospect of these types of synergies is real in this research model, with one outcome being multiple sites—both indigenous and nonindigenous—at which the findings might be brought to bear to facilitate social change.



This elucidation of understandings and power dynamics that influence Māori health and well-being has been one fruit of this research relationship. Change in the current lived ideology of this context now needs to follow if Māori are to be well served within primary health care in this country. We believe our experiences of collaboration have generated insights of importance to future research in Aotearoa New Zealand and, we hope, of interest to researchers in Hawai'i and elsewhere.

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## NOTES

- 1 Māori are people of Polynesian origin who have been settled in Aotearoa New Zealand for nearly a millennium.
- 2 Pākehā is a Māori word for New Zealanders of European descent.
- 3 This conceptualization is inclusive of the possibility that the relationship may be extended to other parties, such as Pacific peoples.

## CIVIL RIGHTS AND WRONGS: UNDERSTANDING *DOE V. KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS*

*Trisha Kehaulani Watson*

The importance of *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* is obvious to Hawaiians, yet this suit affects all minorities. For centuries, minority groups have suffered from educational discrimination. After the American Civil War, laws created to end slavery provided minorities a mechanism to sue schools with discriminatory policies. Ironically, White students bringing suits against affirmative action programs have been the most successful in using these laws. *Doe* falls in a series of suits attempting to dismantle educational programs redressing historical discrimination. In defending its preference to admit Hawaiian students, Kamehameha Schools has an opportunity to argue for a new legal standard: one where courts meaningfully consider the oppression of the group benefiting from the program and in turn place the burden on claimants to show membership within a historically oppressed class of people.

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Racial discrimination has a long and turbulent history in the United States. Nowhere has this history been more visible and destructive than in our educational institutions. Despite the fact that civil rights legislation was first enacted in the late 19th century (Civil Rights Act of 1871), the courts and the legislature did not effectively recognize the problem of racial discrimination in education until the mid-20th century.<sup>1</sup> The educational institutions in Hawai'i witnessed violent discrimination for decades against Native Hawaiian children who sought to obtain an education and speak their native language (Silva, 2004). The result has been an institutional discrimination against Native Hawaiian educational and cultural practices that has left in its wake generations of Hawaiian children mired by economic difficulties.

Hawaiians have been left largely to their own accord to attempt to improve the education available to their children. The struggle has been constant and difficult. This article is about the most recent episode of this struggle, the *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* lawsuit. The lawsuit refers to a non-Hawaiian applicant who was denied admission to Kamehameha Schools in part because of his lack of Hawaiian ancestry.

The first section of this article briefly reviews the history of the various laws used in educational discrimination suits. It illustrates how the *Doe* suit undermines the spirit and histories of these laws. Then the article examines the history of § 1981, the specific statute being used by the plaintiff in the *Doe* case. Specifically, it argues that although § 1981 was enacted to protect ethnic minorities from discrimination against private actors or entities, various legal decisions and the high cost of litigation made it very difficult for ethnic minorities to use this law successfully to fight discrimination against minorities in private schools. Instead, Caucasian students would lead the charge, using this law to launch numerous legal attacks against affirmative action programs attempting to redress historical discrimination.

Next, the article looks at the *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* decision as the latest in this line of cases brought by claimants attacking programs aimed at redressing educational discrimination. This section examines how the first 9th Circuit decision continues the trend within American courts that apply the rule of law without considering the spirit of the law. The article then analyzes the problems with the Kamehameha Schools' defense, which leans heavily on justifications used to protect affirmative action programs. This leads to the final section, which argues that Kamehameha Schools must stand up for the spirit of civil rights laws, which were created to protect groups like Native Hawaiians and not individuals like the claimants. Kamehameha Schools is fitting its defense to existing

standards established by affirmative action programs; it should instead call for a new standard—one that demands that the courts look at the unique legal position of Native Hawaiians, the indigenous people of these islands, and in turn requires the plaintiff to show membership within a historically oppressed class of people. If the plaintiff cannot show how he is a member of a group that has historically suffered from educational discrimination, his claim should be dismissed.

Civil rights laws should be reserved for those they were intended to protect. Further, Kamehameha Schools should encourage courts to look at the specific history of groups benefiting from educational programs and policies. The legal status and history of Native Hawaiians is not comparable with that of other groups. By using legal arguments put forth by other minority groups, Kamehameha Schools continues to allow American courts to see Native Hawaiians and other minority groups as one amorphous mass. Until defendants demand that the courts see individual groups within their specific and unique historical circumstances, the rights of the privileged will always supersede the rights of the oppressed.

The recent *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* litigation emphasizes that the promising language of civil rights laws differs tremendously from the reality of civil rights laws. Civil rights legislation promised to remedy a violent history of discrimination against ethnic minorities, particularly in educational institutions. Yet that remedy continues to elude minorities and indigenous people, for the 9th Circuit's existing interpretation of law in this case shows that civil rights legislation is poised to attack the very groups it was enacted to protect. The outcome of *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, therefore, will affect not only Native Hawaiians but also all minority groups whose children are denied a quality education in the United States.

## A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL RIGHTS

Historically, educational discrimination litigation has been a fairly inactive area of the law. It was not until the latter half of the 20th century that courts began to deal with racial discrimination in education. Since that time, there has been a fair amount of litigation combating racial discrimination in higher education, although none of it was particularly successful in helping minorities gain access to

better education. Nevertheless, these cases reveal laws that have been traditionally used in the effort to create educational equality for minorities. The most important laws in battling discrimination in educational institutions have been the Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment, § 1983 and § 1981.<sup>2,3</sup>

While the complaint Doe filed against Kamehameha Schools did not use all of these laws, the laws are all still important, because they provide a history of how the courts have treated educational discrimination cases. What is perhaps most important to understand is the context in which these laws were created. Understanding the context of why these laws were created sheds light on the appalling ways these laws are currently being used. Many of the statutes used in the *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* litigation were enacted in the post-Civil War era in an effort to realize the ending of legal slavery in the United States. It is blasphemous that statutes created to end human slavery are currently being used against minorities.

The 13th Amendment was a bold amendment, for, unlike amendments that applied only to state action, the 13th Amendment regulated the actions of private parties and entities; this was to ensure that private slave owners be forced to free their human slaves. The 13th Amendment states:

*Section 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

*Section 2.* Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

The 13th Amendment not only banned private persons from owning slaves<sup>4</sup> but also granted Congress the authority to enact legislation to enforce this ban. It is under this premise and authority that § 1981 was created.

Another post-Civil War statute (Civil Rights Act of 1866),<sup>5</sup> § 1981 is a statute in the U.S. Code. There are two statutes applicable to this discussion: § 1981 and § 1983; § 1981 is distinct from § 1983 in that it, like the 13th Amendment, applies to private parties, whereas § 1983 applies only to state agencies. Section 1981 reads:

All persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every state and territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as is enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishment, pains, penalties, taxes, licenses, and exactions of every kind, and to no other.

Therefore, § 1981 has the capacity to reach parties and entities that would be protected from 14th Amendment or § 1983 action, as both the 14th Amendment and § 1983 apply only to state actors. Private parties do not like being governed by federal law, yet the Supreme Court has consistently supported the constitutionality of § 1981, finding that § 2 of the 13th Amendment granted Congress the authority to enact laws that enforced the 13th Amendment.<sup>6</sup>

Section 1981 has been used primarily in employment discrimination cases, a fact that becomes important when looking at the *Doe* case, because the courts would find it appropriate to apply standards of employment law in their decision. Therefore, actions related to § 1981 in employment cases would influence § 1981 education cases. The Supreme Court affirmed the use of § 1981 against both private and public employers (*Johnson v. Railway Express Agency*, 1975; *Runyon v. McCrary*, 1976). Section 1981's potency against employers was bolstered in 1991, when Congress amended the Civil Rights Act to include subsections that allowed employees to bring suits against employers who engaged in discriminatory conduct.<sup>7,8</sup>

The 14th Amendment of the United States Constitution is probably the most famous source of "civil rights" protection. The 14th Amendment reads:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Yet, the 14th Amendment is limited in its application in that it applies only to state action. The power of the 14th Amendment was bolstered by the enactment of § 1983, which, like the 14th Amendment, protects individuals from discriminatory state action.<sup>9</sup>

Section 1983 has been an important weapon in combating racial discrimination. Section 1983 reads:

Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory or the District of Columbia, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress.

Derived from the rights guaranteed under the 14th Amendment, § 1983 “ensure[s] that an individual has a cause of action for violations of the Constitution.... Section 1983 by itself does not protect anyone against anything.”<sup>10</sup> Therefore, § 1983 is a device for individuals to bring claims for constitutional violations. While these statutes were not used in *Doe*, they are nonetheless part of a larger body of law that provides guidance for the courts in educational suits, like *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*.

The history of § 1981 claims against schools is most applicable because it is the statute specifically used in the *Doe* complaint. An analysis of § 1981’s history in the courts reveals the irony of the plaintiff’s success in *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, because the statute has been largely unsuccessful in creating educational opportunities for minorities. Like *Rice v. Cayetano* (2000),<sup>11</sup> in which civil rights laws once enacted to combat violent racial discrimination throughout the United States were used against Native Hawaiians, a displaced indigenous group, the *Doe* decision illustrates how civil rights laws can be manipulated to keep dominant groups in power. Section 1981 suits have done little for minorities but have been tremendously successful in attacking affirmative action programs. Unlike suits against employers, which have the potential for substantial monetary recovery,

the limitations placed on the ability of plaintiffs to recover substantial monetary damages under § 1981 claims against schools have contributed to the minimal number of § 1981 suits brought against educational institutions.

Whenever monetary damages are limited, the costs of litigation fall often on the claimants. Most minorities or groups representing minorities lack the financial power to engage in costly litigation. Therefore, the attack on Kamehameha Schools speaks not only to the effort of non-Hawaiian groups to keep Hawaiians dispossessed and disempowered through stripping them of the minimal resources still available to Hawaiians—much of which is controlled through Kamehameha Schools—but it also reveals much about how “justice” has been too expensive for those who need it most.

For generations, we have witnessed the intellectual and cultural deprivation of meaningful educational opportunities for Hawaiian children. This deprivation of educational excellence differs starkly from our traditional system in which Hawaiians thrived intellectually. (For a more in-depth discussion of traditional Hawaiian educational systems, see Meyer, 2003.) Yet, recent legal events threaten to make the sad state of Native Hawaiian education even worse. This case is therefore not simply about a policy for admission to a private school but about the future of Native Hawaiian education.

Native Hawaiians, like many minority groups throughout the United States, have seen no educational justice, despite the fact that the U.S. Constitution and civil rights statutes provide ample ammunition for individuals to battle racial discrimination in the United States. It is important to emphasize that the groups in most need of the rights afforded in civil rights laws have not been able to successfully access them. Understanding the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of education litigation serves to illustrate the uniqueness and disturbing nature of the 9th Circuit decision in *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*.

In his complaint, Doe claims Kamehameha Schools’ admission policy violates his rights under § 1981. A number of the “landmark” § 1981 cases have been claims involving discrimination in educational institutions. From these decisions, it is clear that § 1981 had the potential to be a formidable weapon to combat racial discrimination within a system that has traditionally contributed to the racial segregation and inequality that persists in America today. Ironically, it instead became a weapon used against historically oppressed groups, like Native Hawaiians.

In 1976, two African American students sued a private school that had a policy that categorically denied African American students admission. In the decision in *Runyon v. McCrary* (1976), the Supreme Court held that “§ 1981 does reach private acts of racial discrimination,” which, as applied in *Runyon*, included private schools. This was a powerful decision and remains precedent. But, strangely, the *Runyon* decision did not open a floodgate of litigation over racial discrimination in private schools, as might have been expected. It was certainly the optimal time to bring such a suit, for subsequent decisions would limit the broad applicability of § 1981.

Section 1981 was at its strongest after the *Runyon* decision. At the time, it was believed that “it was clear from prior decisions that suits against private parties under § 1981 could be based on a remedy implied from § 1981 itself” (Jeffries, Karlan, Low, & Rutherglen, 2000, § 1.5(C)). The Supreme Court continuously eroded the power of § 1981 suits thereafter.<sup>12</sup>

## THE USE OF § 1981 AGAINST RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN EDUCATION: A BRIEF HISTORY AND RECENT CASES

Despite its potential, § 1981 remained arguably underutilized. One study found § 1981 to be “the third most important civil rights statute” (Eisenberg & Schwab, 1988, p. 596). Only § 1983 and Title VII actions were brought more often.<sup>13</sup>

Section 1981 actions against educational institutions have rarely been brought in comparison with employment claims. Even in 1980–1981, prior to decisions that made bringing § 1981 suits more difficult, Eisenberg and Schwab (1988) found that only 10 Title VI actions were brought, compared with 433 Title VII actions. Among the 252 claims brought under § 1981 only 2 were against schools, compared with the 195 brought against employers (Eisenberg & Schwab, 1988). Here we begin to see how rare and important the *Doe* decision becomes.

Ironically, despite the minimal number of claims brought under these statutes, claims against educational institutions have become highly successful, when brought by White students challenging affirmative action programs. Most notably, in *Hopwood v. Texas* (1996), four White law student applicants sued the University of Texas School of Law, claiming that its admissions program, which gives preference

to minority applicants (i.e., African Americans and Mexican Americans), violated the plaintiffs' civil rights under the 14th Amendment, Title VI, § 1983 and § 1981. The *Hopwood* decision led to a change in application procedures and policies at the law school.

In *Texas v. Lesage* (1999), the Supreme Court protected an individual's right to challenge affirmative action programs that use race as a factor in their decision-making process. Lesage was an African immigrant of Caucasian descent who was denied admission to the University of Texas's counseling psychology program.<sup>14</sup> The district court ruled for the defendant on a summary judgment motion after finding that the university would not have admitted Lesage, even under a constitutional program (*Texas v. Lesage*, 1999, at 18–19). The 5th Circuit reversed and the Supreme Court affirmed the 5th Circuit's decision (*Texas v. Lesage*, 1999). One commentator notes: "*Lesage* indicates that the Court takes very seriously its traditional preference for equitable relief in constitutional cases" (Whitman, 2000, p. 635).<sup>15</sup> This means that when a constitutional violation case comes before the court, as in *Rice* or *Doe*, the court will require a change in policy rather than award monetary damages. These cases are not about people winning monetary awards—they are about dismantling programs.

Therefore, the "success" of suits brought against universities and colleges has resulted primarily in injunctive relief and/or nominal damages (see also *Smith v. University of Washington*, 2000). It is this fact that possibly explains why the number of civil rights claims brought in the educational setting has been minimal compared with those brought against employers. This reality only emphasizes the *Doe* suit as an attack on Native Hawaiians and any program that aims to remedy the current subjugated state of Hawaiians.

Again, as recent cases show, § 1981 suits can do little but change policy; these suits are not about money. In *Hopwood v. Texas* (1994), despite finding that the law school's admission program violated the plaintiffs' civil rights, the district court substantially limited the monetary relief available to the plaintiffs.<sup>16</sup> In its initial decision, the district court found only that the plaintiffs were allowed to reapply to the law school without paying application fees and entitled to nominal damages of \$1 per plaintiff (*Hopwood v. Texas*, 1994, at 582–585). This award resulted from the plaintiffs' failure to show that they would have been admitted under a constitutional admission program (*Hopwood v. Texas*, 1994, at 579–583).



The 5th Circuit disagreed with this test and relieved the plaintiffs of some of the evidentiary burden placed on them by the district court's finding. Instead, the 5th Circuit held that the defendant had the burden of proving that the plaintiffs would not have been admitted under a constitutional admission program. If the defendant could not meet this burden, the plaintiffs would be entitled to greater monetary damages (*Hopwood*, 1994, at 963).

On remand, the defendant proved that the plaintiffs would have still been denied admission under a constitutional program. Thus, the plaintiffs were able to show no injury (*Hopwood v. Texas*, 1998). The award of \$1 per plaintiff was reinstated (*Hopwood v. Texas*, 1998, at 923).

In its latest incantation, the 5th Circuit affirmed the district court's finding regarding monetary damages. The court agreed that the defendant met its burden of proof when showing that the plaintiffs would not have been admitted under a constitutional admission program and were therefore not entitled to compensatory damages (*Hopwood v. Texas*, 2000).<sup>17</sup>

The Supreme Court in *Lesage* approved similar limitations to remedies in civil rights litigation. In *Lesage*, the Court stated that "even if the government has considered an impermissible criterion in making a decision adverse to the plaintiff, it can nonetheless defeat liability by demonstrating that it would have made the same decision absent the forbidden consideration" (*Texas v. Lesage*, 1999, at 20–21, citing *Mt. Healthy City Board of Education v. Doyle*, 1977).<sup>18</sup> This decision is consistent with prior findings that held that absent proof that a plaintiff suffered actual injury—a violation of one's constitutional rights—is insufficient in itself to justify a substantial damages award.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps *Bivens v. Six Unnamed Federal Narcotics Agents* (1971), which “provides a damages remedy for individuals deprived of constitutionally protected rights” (Helfand, 2000–2001, citing *Bivens*, at 397), limited the potential of § 1981 claims before *Hopwood* and *Lesage* were ever decided. *Bivens* greatly limits remedies available under § 1981:

Section 1981 is inapplicable to remedy many types of constitutional deprivations engaged in by federal officials. While Section 1981 provides all persons the right to make and enforce contracts, to sue, to be parties, and to give evidence on equal footing, it does not provide a remedy for tortuous conduct typically associated with a violation of the Fourth, Fifth, and Eighth Amendments. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of Section 1981 actions brought today are employment discrimination suits. In *Bivens*, the Supreme Court recognized that Section 1981 would not provide a remedy for the types of unconstitutional conduct that Mr. Bivens experienced. (*Bivens*, at 108–109, citing 42 U.S.C. § 1981(a) (1994))

So again, remedies available under § 1981 are limited. This emphasizes the action against Kamehameha Schools as an effort to change policy and social sentiment against Hawaiians.

The lack of litigation against private institutions brought by marginalized groups is certainly suspicious. Civil rights laws were not created for the White majority, yet it seems that only members of the White majority have been able to successfully use civil rights statutes.

Despite the potential to initiate systemic change to prevent racial discrimination in educational institutions, it seems that limits on the amount of monetary damages available and traditionally awarded under § 1981 have discouraged minorities from bringing suits under this statute. Unlike employment cases, which yield a greater potential for compensatory relief, the victories of suits won against schools are largely symbolic (i.e., they result in injunctive or declaratory relief).

While the ability to recover is clearly an important consideration in bringing a suit, the reality is that it inhibits defendants (often members of ethnic minority groups) from bringing suits. Without the potential for monetary damages, defendants are left to fund their actions themselves. Judicial decisions that limit litigation, especially in civil rights actions, run the risk of curbing the mechanisms by which individuals initiate social change and participate in the protection of their civil rights. The importance of § 1981 is not limited to the employment relationship; protection of the freedom to participate in an educational process free from discrimination is also key to sustaining a meaningful democratic society. *Doe* proves that judicial relief often makes itself available only to the wealthy majority and not to the oppressed minorities.

## THE CASE OF *DOE V. KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS*

In June 2003, John Doe, a child of *haole* (non-Hawaiian) ancestry, filed a complaint in federal court after being denied admission to Kamehameha Schools. In his complaint, the plaintiff sought

a declaratory judgment that the challenged policy is illegal and unenforceable; a permanent injunction against any further implementation of the challenged policy of any other admissions policy at Kamehameha Schools that grants a preference on the basis of 'Hawaiian ancestry'; and a permanent injunction admitting Plaintiff to a Kamehameha Schools campus. (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2003)

The plaintiff sought only to change Kamehameha's admission policy.

Doe is being represented by John W. Goemans and Eric Grant. Grant is with the Center for Equal Opportunity, a conservative organization committed to ending affirmative action programs in the United States. Their Web site features articles such as "Hispanic Immigrants Becoming Americans," which expresses concerns such as the following:

Though most opponents of immigration are loath to admit it, at least publicly, they're worried that the huge influx of Hispanics will somehow change America for the worse. And who can blame them for wondering whether the tremendous demographic shift that has taken place over the last few years won't have unintended consequences? In 1970, there were fewer than 10 million Hispanics in the United States; today, there are more than 40 million, thanks largely to the ever-increasing influx of Latin American immigrants. And some estimates predict that by mid-century one out of every three Americans will be of Hispanic heritage. (Chavez, 2006)

This is shameless racist rhetoric of the Center for Equal Opportunity—the same organization that supports the plaintiff's lawsuit against Kamehameha Schools. The plaintiff's brazen request, that the court use a civil rights law that had only until this action “prevented all-white private schools from refusing to admit black students” (“Ninth Circuit,” 2005) against Native Hawaiians, illustrates the vitality of prejudice against minorities in the United States.

Kamehameha Schools serves as one of the few remedies provided to Native Hawaiians for a history of discrimination that extends back to the 19th century. Among a history of empty promises by the state and federal government, it was Princess Pauahi and her private trust that gave Native Hawaiians land and resources. In their Reply Memorandum in Support of Defendants' Motion for Summary Judgment, Kamehameha Schools explained: “Kamehameha...is an educational institution that operates to redress the effects of historical wrongs done to the Native Hawaiian people by preparing students for society at large, and as a consequence, its mission has an external focus” (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2004, at p. 16). This is the crux of their affirmative action argument—that their purpose, to remedy a specific historical wrong committed against the Native Hawaiian people, justifies policies that otherwise violate American law. The Reply Memorandum further noted:

Kamehameha is not remedying generalized social discrimination, but rather is remedying a very specific harm in which government was plainly implicated: the actions of the State of Hawai'i and the United States in bringing about the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the

dispossession of the Native Hawaiian people. The Schools are addressing, through their educational programs, the continuing effects of these past wrongs. (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2004, at 21)

Therefore, Kamehameha Schools argues not only that its program is an affirmative action program but also that the program appropriately meets all the legal standards set forth within American jurisprudence.

The District Court agreed. Because no case like this had ever been decided in the United States, the action afforded Judge Alan Kay the opportunity to determine which standard of law should apply. In his decision, Judge Kay found:

In this case, Kamehameha Schools is a private institution that does not receive federal funding.... Logic thus dictates that although not entirely analogous to a private school's race-conscious remedial admission policy, the Title VII/§ 1981 private employment framework provided the most appropriate guidance. (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2003, at 1164)

This means the Court applied standards from employment law to this education case.

Although Judge Kay agreed with Kamehameha Schools, the argument failed on appeal to the 9th Circuit for a number of reasons, both legal and social. The argument failed because although the 9th Circuit did not apply the strict scrutiny test (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2005), the court nonetheless found Kamehameha's policy to be a civil rights violation. The 9th Circuit determined:

[T]he issue becomes whether the Schools can articulate a legitimate nondiscriminatory reason justifying this racial preference. Toward this end, the Schools urge that its policy constitutes a valid affirmative action plan rationally related to redressing present imbalances in the socioeconomic and educational achievement of native Hawaiians, producing native Hawaiian leadership for community involvement, and revitalizing native Hawaiian culture. (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2005, at 8947–8948)

Although this certainly adopts a framework endorsed by Kamehameha Schools in the Reply Memorandum, ultimately the court determined that the schools' policy failed to meet the standards adopted by the 9th Circuit.

In rejecting Kamehameha Schools' plan, the court applied a three-part test from a Title VII (employment) case. Comparing this case with *United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO-CLC v. Weber* (1979), the court noted: "At issue in *Weber* was an affirmative action plan collectively bargained by a union and an employer that reserved for African-American employees fifty percent of the openings in an in-plant craft training program" (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2005, at 8949). The Court then outlined its three-part test from *Weber*:

We recently distilled the Court's analysis in *Weber* into three distinct requirements: affirmative action plans must (1) respond to a manifest imbalance in its work force; (2) not 'create [ ] an absolute to the [ ] advancement' of the non-preferred race or 'unnecessarily trammel [ ]' their rights; and (3) do no more than is necessary to achieve a balance. (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2005, at 8950)

The Court then found that the affirmative action policy was a civil rights violation because it failed to meet the second requirement of the *Weber* test. The Court stated:

We do not address the appellant's claims because we find the second of *Weber*'s guiding principles fatal to the program in place at the Kamehameha Schools. The school's admissions policy operates as an absolute bar to admission for non-Hawaiians. Kamehameha's refusal to admit non-Hawaiians so long as there are native Hawaiian applicants categorically 'trammels' the rights of non-Hawaiians. (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2005, at 8951)

By this standard, no remedial policy that protects a specific group would survive.

This standard fails to place its decision within the context of Hawai'i's colonial history. The court immediately followed the preceding statement with this: "The [Supreme] Court in *Runyon* made clear that an admission to all members of the non-preferred race on account of their race is a 'classic violation of § 1981'" (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2005, at 8951, citations omitted). This is a flat-out insult to what *Runyon* stood for and an illustration of how applicability of law depends on the color of one's skin. In *Runyon v. McCrary* (1976), the Supreme Court held that "§ 1981 does reach private acts of racial discrimination," which, as applied in *Runyon*, included private schools. Yet, in *Runyon*, two African American students were denied admission to a private school that had a policy of systematically denying admission to African American applicants. *Runyon was about letting Black students into an all-White school*—a vital decision the 9th Circuit conveniently ignored in the Kamehameha decision, as if the circumstances of this case have no bearing on the case at hand.

## THE PROBLEM WITH AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AS A REMEDY

This brings us back to the problem of using the affirmative action paradigm. Contract remedies fall into three categories: restitution, reliance, and expectation damages. Tort remedies include three categories as well: general, special, and punitive damages. Civil rights violations can require remedies that demand an individual or group to perform or provide a certain service. This last category is generally what is used in affirmative action cases: Courts can either demand a change in policy or require the school to admit a student who would not otherwise be admitted. Affirmative action cases focus primarily on the student denied admission. The history of the beneficiaries is secondary. This framework allows the court in *Doe* to place the rights of one haole student above the rights of all Hawaiian children.

Affirmative action has become a "catch all" solution that often replaces solutions more appropriate for indigenous people who have native rights to lands and resources that other subjugated persons do not. Instead, perhaps we need to work within the framework of antisubordination theory, discussed later in this article, which gives greater deference to the individualized plight of historically oppressed people.

Kamehameha Schools' admissions policy is not an affirmative action program—it is an exercise of beneficiaries' rights and cultural rights. Native Hawaiians have legal rights that are unique to Native Hawaiians (Lucas, 2004). Take, for example, the issue of access rights. In the *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, Lucas (1991) explained:

Access along the shore, between *ahupua'a* or districts, to the mountains and sea, and to small areas of land cultivated or harvested by native tenants, was a necessary part of early Hawaiian life. With Western contact and the consequent changes in land tenure and lifestyle, gaining access to landlocked *kuleana* parcels, and to the mountains and sea, have become important rights which Native Hawaiians must assert if they are to retain their lands and their traditional cultural practices. (p. 211)

Access rights, customary rights, fishing rights—these are all things that distinguish Native Hawaiians from other nonindigenous subjugated groups. We must therefore be careful when aligning our claims with other oppressed groups, because a remedy appropriate to one may not necessarily be appropriate to another. Therefore, while using an affirmative action argument makes legal sense within the progeny of cases used by Kamehameha, one must wonder if it did not fail because Kamehameha failed to distinguish itself enough from other oppressed groups within the United States. By “falling into line” with the affirmative action argument, Kamehameha Schools essentially caves to *Rice v. Cayetano* (2000) and its hegemonic ideology by likening the Native Hawaiian people to other ethnic minorities instead of being steadfast in its position that we are subjugated indigenous people with land rights and customary rights that entitle us to special consideration in American courts.

While there are a number of similarities between subordinated groups, such as African Americans and Hawaiians, we cannot allow American jurisprudence to treat us as one amorphous subjugated mass. The bases of the claims by Hawaiians are not the bases of the claims of African Americans. The nature of dispossession of Native Hawaiians comes from specific and distinct acts by the United States that involve the illegal overthrow of a sovereign kingdom. This is a far cry from the atrocities committed against African Americans. When Kamehameha Schools fit itself into the framework created by the plaintiff, it essentially allowed itself to



be “lumped” into a marginalized mass created and controlled by American jurisprudence. Kamehameha Schools allowed itself to be indistinguishable. By saying, “sure we’re like everyone else, but...” we fell right into a rhetorical hegemonic trap that doomed us from the start. Such is the very nature of the hegemonic ideologies that control American law. Critical race theory possibly holds an answer.

## ANTISUBORDINATION THEORY: A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR DEFENDING EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Antisubordination theory comes out of the critical race theory (CRT) legal scholarship, which

embraces a movement of left scholars, most of them scholars of color, situated in law schools, whose work challenges the ways in which race and racial power are constructed and represented in American legal culture, and more generally, in American society as a whole. (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995, p. xviii)

Crenshaw et al. (1995) identified two common interests within this collection of otherwise diverse scholarship:

The first is to understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and, in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as “the rule of law” and “equal protection.” The second is a desire not merely to understand the vexed bond between law and racial power but to *change* it. [The scholarship] thus share[s] an ethical commitment to human liberation—even if we reject conventional notions of what such a conception means, and though we often disagree, even over its specific direction. (p. xviii)

The ways in which these legal theorists set out to change the use of law as a weapon against the subordinated have undergone many evolutions in the years since the first inception of CRT (Valdes, McCristal Culp, & Harris, 2002). No collection of scholars identifying themselves as “critical” should be without a willingness to be self-critical. The most interesting and perhaps applicable to the legal developments in Hawai‘i is antistubordination theory, a subdiscourse within CRT that moves toward a more dynamic approach that allows for greater consideration of the history of the group benefiting from the program being challenged.

Antistubordination theory refocuses on the original vision of affirmative action that demands redress for the wrongs committed against subordinated people. Lawrence (2001) explained:

The original vision of affirmative action proceeded from the perspective of the subordinated. The students and community activists who fought for affirmative action in the 1960s and '70s understood that racism operated not primarily through the acts of prejudiced individuals against individuals of color but through the oppression of their communities. It was not enough to remove the “White” and “Colored” signs from lunch counters, buses, and beaches. Institutionalized racism operated by denying economic resources, education, political power, and self-determination to communities of people defined by race. When they demanded affirmative action—when they sat-in and sued and took over buildings and went on hunger strikes and closed down universities—they sought redress for their communities. They demanded the admission of students and the hiring of faculty who identified with the excluded—not just people who shared their skin color or language, but individuals who would represent and give voice to those persons who were ignored, misrepresented, or objectified in traditional scholarship. (p. 928)

Legal analysis of the 9th Circuit in *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* clearly did not operate within this framework. Instead of considering the program “from the perspective of the subordinated,” the decision conversely turned on the rights of the non-Hawaiian student. Antisubordination theory therefore would be jurisprudence within the spirit of the law (protection for the oppressed) as opposed to the current practice of using color-blind approaches in keeping marginalized people subordinated.

The *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* decision errs fundamentally in its perpetuation of a “color-blind” approach of civil rights. It is the position of who Brown et al. (2003) identified as “racial realists.” In *White-Washing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society*, Brown et al. explained:

Although racial realists do not claim that racism has ended completely, they want race to disappear. For them, color-blindness is not simply a legal standard; it is a particular kind of social order, one where racial identity is irrelevant. They believe a color-blind society can uncouple individual behavior from group identification, allowing genuine inclusion of all people. In their view, were this allowed to happen, individuals who refused to follow common moral standards would be stigmatized as individuals, not as members of a particular group. (pp. 7–8)

Color-blindness is simply that: blind. It refuses to acknowledge and engage the continuing discriminations and disparities that hamper any true advancement of justice or equality in the United States. Color-blindness—once the blessed vision of Martin Luther King Jr.—has been distorted by the progeny of his adversaries to hinder the very dream King once held so dear.

The perversion of civil rights law by the White plaintiff and his attorneys in *Doe* is best seen in their reply brief to the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals. The brief opens by citing *Brown v. Board of Education*, the celebrated civil rights decision that ended racial segregation in public schools in the United States in 1954. The plaintiff’s heretic effort in *Doe* to turn law enacted to protect ethnic minorities and other oppressed groups against the native people of Hawai’i illustrates the very sort of racial hatred that haole have perpetuated in these islands for hundreds of

years. The plaintiff asks the courts to effectively ignore the history of educational discrimination in Hawai'i and throughout the United States against indigenous and minority groups.

Education, for the majority of the history of the United States, has been used as an effective tool in the oppression and marginalization of Native Americans, Hawaiians, and African Americans, among other marginalized groups, such as Latinos, women, and the disabled (Spring, 2001). Whether through the provision of inadequate education or the denial of education altogether, the White American majority considered it beneficial for hundreds of years to keep races, classes, and genders uneducated. Often, this effort was a calculated and intentional one (Spring, 2001). The White, male majority regularly promulgated laws banning the education of subjugated peoples, like African Americans, women, and Hawaiians. The lasting effects of these efforts are still identifiable today. The plaintiff in *Doe* makes no mention of them.

The more disturbing aspect of color-blind rhetoric is its adoption by the courts. The refusal by judges to see that civil rights laws are contextually situated within the racial discrimination from which they developed is truly what keeps racial discrimination alive and well in the United States. White people should not be allowed to bring race discrimination claims. These laws were not meant to protect them. These laws were enacted to be shields for the oppressed, not swords for the oppressor. Yet such laws have been defiled by people like the plaintiff and attorneys in *Doe* who disregard what is *pono*, or what is right.

## CONCLUSION

An analysis of the civil rights statutes being used in *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* reveals a perversion of justice. *Doe* has used laws created to end human slavery in an effort to dismantle a school created to provide a quality education to dispossessed Native Hawaiian children. A look at recent cases brought under these same laws shows how the Center for Equal Opportunity's work in the *Doe* case is actually part of a larger campaign that systematically attacks programs throughout the United States that work to remedy hundreds of years of education discrimination.

*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* affords Hawaiians the unique opportunity to make our history heard. It is our opportunity to change jurisprudence for the betterment of disenfranchised groups throughout the country. Instead of defending its policies, Kamehameha Schools should ask the court to shift the burden from defendants justifying their affirmative action policies to plaintiffs bringing civil rights suits. Place the burden on those from nonminority groups bringing civil rights suits to show how they belong to a marginalized class as to afford them protection under these laws.

The United States has never afforded all its residents equality under the law. The greatest insult of *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* is that the 9th Circuit pretends it does. When Native Hawaiians continue to suffer immeasurably from colonization, the demand by a non-Hawaiian that we justify ownership and protection over the few resources that remain available to us is the greatest insult many of us have ever known. We can only hope that the rehearing before the 9th Circuit (*Doe v. Kamehameha Schools*, 2006) results in a decision that better appreciates the continuing struggles of the Native Hawaiian people.

There are many reasons to cringe when reading the *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* decision. For a nation of marginalized students, it is horrifying to know that the justice that has eluded those who have needed it most continues to elude them, while the courts threaten to take opportunities for minority children and give them to the dominant majority. Yet, there is a more insidious danger in *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* than the obvious threat it poses to Kamehameha Schools and its programs. This decision codifies within American ideology the notion of a color-blind America, one that refuses to see the ways in which racism still exists in this society. bell hooks (1995) wrote:

After all if we all pretend racism does not exist, that we do not know what it is or how to change it—it never has to go away. Overt racist discrimination is not as fashionable as it once was and that is why everyone can pretend racism does not exist, so we need to talk about the vernacular discourse of neo-colonial white supremacy—similar to racism but not the same thing. Everyone in the society, women and men, boys and girls, who want to see an end to racism, an end to white supremacy, must begin to engage in a counter hegemonic “race talk” that is fiercely and passionately calling for change. (pp. 4–5)

And this is what we must do now. We must continue to demand a discussion around *Doe v. Kamehameha Schools* framed not in the judicial terms of “affirmative action” or “remedial programs” but fierce discussions about the racism that still plagues Hawai‘i. *Doe* should not be only about defending Kamehameha’s programs but also about advocating for an end to the continued racial attacks against the Hawaiian people. We have allowed this discussion to be about the rights of non-Hawaiian children. *What about the rights of Hawaiian children?*

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#### NOTES

1 See *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), in which the Supreme Court ordered the University of Texas Law School to admit an African American student who had been forced to attend a segregated law school in the state because the law school did not admit African American students. See also *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents* (1950); *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

2 Yet, generally, these devices are not used with equal frequency in civil rights cases. Even among cases brought against schools, there is a disparity between the number of cases brought against public institutions (where relief is available under § 1983) and cases brought against private institutions (where relief would not be available under § 1983). When § 1983 relief is not available (§ 1983 actions can only be brought against state actors), remedy would be available under Title VI or § 1981.

3 Title VI is also an important device in educational discrimination suits against private schools. Yet, Title VI only prohibits discrimination in any program or activity that receives funding or financial assistance from the federal government. (“No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance”; 42 U.S.C. § 2000d.) Because Kamehameha Schools does not receive federal funding, it is not applicable to this case. Title VI is nonetheless important in civil rights claims because it, like § 1981, can reach entities that may not necessarily fall into the jurisdiction of § 1983 claims because it has been established that federal funding does not necessarily mean that the entity or program is acting “under color of law” (618 PLI/Lit 611, 630, citing *Morse v. North Coast Opportunities*, 1997).

Further, Title VI can reach private schools that would be protected from § 1983 action. The standard is clear: “Private schools of higher education receiving federal funds, chartered by state, regulated by state, generally not state actors” (*Morse*, p. 637, citing *Cohen v. President and Fellows of Harvard College*, 1984; *Fischer v. Discoll*, 1982; *Krohn v. Harvard Law School*, 1977; *Martin v. Delaware Law School of Widener University*, 1985; *Smith v. Duquesne University*, 1985). This general rule applies even to secondary institutions, despite the opportunity to show standing under § 1983 under “public function” theory (“Since education, fire, and police protection were clear ‘public functions’ and there was ‘a greater degree of exclusivity,’ state action could be found when challenges were made to the conduct of those entities”; *Morse*, p. 635): “Where state law mandates that private schools established disciplinary rules for disruptive student activity and student suspended for violating those rules, still no state action...” (*Morse*, p. 637, citing *Albert v. Carovano*, 1988 [en banc]). It has been argued that the only way a school could escape the regulations of Title VI would be to refuse federal funding.

4 While the 13th Amendment’s initial effect was the banning of slavery, the Supreme Court would later find that it also prohibited all “badges of slavery”:

‘By its own unaided force and effect,’ the Thirteenth Amendment ‘abolished slavery, and established universal freedom.’ Whether or not the Amendment itself did any more than that—a question not involved in this case—it is at least clear that the Enabling Clause of that Amendment empowered Congress to do much more. For that clause clothed ‘Congress with power to pass all laws necessary and proper for abolishing all badges and incidents of slavery in the United States.’ (*Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 1968, citing *Civil Rights Cases*, 1883)

5 “Section 1981 stems from § 1 of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, ch. 31, 14 Stat. 27. It was reenacted in part of § 16 of the Enforcement Act of 1870, ch. 114, 16 Stat. 140, and in full by § 18 of the same act. The rights protected by § 1 of the 1866 Act and by § 16 of the 1870 Act became §§ 1977–1978 of the Revised Statutes” (Eisenberg & Schwab, 1988, note 1).

6 “It has never been doubted...‘that the power vested in Congress to enforce [the 13th Amendment] by appropriate legislation’...includes the power to enact laws ‘direct and primary, operating upon the acts of individuals, whether sanctioned by state legislation or not’” (*Runyon v. McCrary*, 1976, citing *Jones v. Alfred H. Mayer Co.*, 1968).

7 42 U.S.C. § 1981(b)–(c): (b) For purposes of this section, the term “make and enforce contracts” includes the making, performance, modification, and termination of contracts, and the enjoyment of all benefits, privileges, terms and conditions of the contractual relationship. (c) The rights protected by this section are protected against the impairment by nongovernmental discrimination and impairment under color of state law.

This amendment rejected the Supreme Court decision in *Patterson v. McLean Credit Union* (1989), which found that a § 1981 action could not be brought to remedy discriminatory conduct in the employment setting.

8 Yet, in *General Building Contractors Association, Inc. v. Pennsylvania* (1982), the Supreme Court held that a § 1981 claim requires a showing of intentional discrimination. This made Title VI a more powerful tool in combating racial discrimination in schools. For, until the recent *Alexander v. Sandoval* (2001) decision, Title VI could reach cases of disparate impact whereas § 1981 could not.

9 To qualify for relief under § 1983, the plaintiff must prove there was “state action” or that the person or entity who committed the violation acted “under color of law” (see 618 PLI/Lit 611, 628 [1999]).

10 618 PLI/Lit 611, 615 (1999), citing *Chapman v. Houston Welfare Rights Organization* (1979; “§ 1983 does not create any substantive rights at all”).

11 *Rice v. Cayetano* was the lawsuit filed by a *haole* (non-Hawaiian) Hawai‘i resident over a state law that allowed only those with Native Hawaiian ancestry to vote for candidates for the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. The case went to the United States Supreme Court. The Supreme Court found that Native Hawaiians were a racial group and not a political group under the law. Therefore, allowing only Hawaiians, as a racial group, to vote in a state election was a violation of the Constitution. This decision allowed all state residents, regardless of ancestry, to vote for Office of Hawaiian Affairs candidates.

12 In *Jett v. Dallas Independent School District* (1989), the Supreme Court found that § 1981 itself, contrary to popular belief, did not supply a remedy when the § 1981 action was being brought against a state actor. The court found that remedy for a § 1981 violation in such instances derived from § 1983. The court stated, “We think the history of the 1866 Act and the 1871 Act...indicates that Congress intended the explicit remedial provisions of § 1983 be controlling in the context of damages and actions brought against state actors alleging violation of the rights declared in § 1981.”

The court continued to articulate:

That we have read § 1 of the 1866 Act to reach private action and have implied a damages remedy to effectuate the declaration of rights contained in that provision does not authorize us to do so in the context of the “state action” portion of § 1981, where Congress has established its own remedial scheme. In the context of the application of § 1981 and § 1982 to private actors, we “had little choice but to hold that aggrieved individuals could enforce this prohibition, for there existed no other remedy to address such violations of the statute.” (*Jett v. Dallas Independent School District*, 1989, citing *Cannon v. University of Chicago*, 1978; Judge White, dissenting)

*Jett* made bringing a § 1981 action against state actors more difficult in that it required plaintiffs to establish a § 1983 violation as well. (“The plaintiff can recover against a unit of local government, therefore, only if the conditions established for § 1983 can be satisfied”; Jeffries et al., 2000, § 4.2.) Such a showing is not required for actions brought against private actors. (“In cases where *private* actors are sued under § 1981, by contrast, the remedy appears to be implied from § 1981 itself. Section 1983 would in any event be irrelevant because of its explicit limitation to actions taken under color of state law”; Jeffries et al., 2000, § 4.2.)

13 Eisenberg and Schwab (1988) analyzed the civil rights cases brought in three districts between 1980 and 1981. They found that 506 cases were brought under § 1983, 433 were brought under Title VII, and 252 were brought under § 1981. In their analysis, cases could be brought under more than one statute.

14 Lesage brought his claim under the 14th Amendment, Title VI, § 1981 and § 1983 (*Texas v. Lesage*, 1999).

15 Whitman (2000) further commented: “The Supreme Court’s opinion in *Lesage* is consistent with prior case law in recognizing that prospective relief should not be foreclosed by a defendant’s same-decision showing, whether the case is a First Amendment retaliation case or an equal protection challenge to a government’s motion” (p. 634).

16 In their complaint, the plaintiffs had “sought injunctive and declaratory relief, as well as compensatory and punitive damages” (Seamon, 1998, citing *Hopwood*, 1994, at 938).

17 “The district court was correct...in holding on remand that Texas had borne its burden of proving by a preponderance of the evidence that the Plaintiffs would have had no reasonable chance of being offered admission to the Law School in 1992 under a constitutionally valid, race-blind admissions system. In affirming that ruling we avoid the need to address the district court’s alternative findings of fact and conclusions of law regarding compensable damages incurred by the Plaintiffs” (*Hopwood v. Texas*, 2000, at 256, 281–282).

18 The court concluded in its decision that “where a plaintiff challenges a discrete governmental decision as being based on an impermissible criterion and it is undisputed that the government would have made the same decision regardless, there is no cognizable injury warranting relief under § 1983” (*Texas v. Lesage*, 1999, at 21).

19 Whitman (2000) explained that in *Carey v. Piphus*: “[The Supreme Court] rejected plaintiffs’ argument that they should be able to recover substantial damages without proof of actual injury simply because their constitutional rights had been violated” (p. 633, citing *Carey v. Piphus*, 1978).

# THE ROLES OF FAMILY OBLIGATION AND PARENTING PRACTICES IN EXPLAINING THE WELL-BEING OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN ADOLESCENTS LIVING IN POVERTY

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and Ivette Rodriguez Stern*

This study examines parenting practices and adolescents' sense of family obligation in promoting resilience in 155 Native Hawaiian youths living in poverty. Two aspects of adolescent well-being, behavioral adjustment and physical health, were studied. Four variables—supportive parenting, punishment, youth respect, and youth support—predicted the likelihood of youths' engagement in internalizing/externalizing problem behaviors and youths' general health status after family demographics, family history of psychosocial risk, and chronic medical conditions were controlled. Results suggest that parenting practices and youths' values of family obligation were significant correlates of youths' behavioral adjustment and well-being. Greater attention should therefore be paid to the protective function of Native Hawaiian families and development of positive family value systems in Native Hawaiian youths.

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Many Native Hawaiian (NH)<sup>1</sup> youths face challenges and obstacles on the path to successful adulthood. As children, they perform more poorly in school than do non-Hawaiians, as evidenced by lower standardized test scores and overrepresentation in special education programs (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003). As teens, NH youths are more likely to engage in risk behaviors such as antisocial activities, drug use, and early sexual intercourse, and are less likely to graduate from high school (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003; Lai & Saka, 2000; Pearson, 2004). Later in life, NH adults are overrepresented among those who are arrested or incarcerated (Gao & Perrone, 2004; Marsella, Oliveira, Plummer, & Crabbe, 1995; Yuen, Hu, & Engel, 2005). Native Hawaiians face health disparities as well. They display the highest rates of certain chronic health conditions such as obesity, diabetes, asthma, and high blood pressure, and have the shortest life expectancy of all ethnic groups in the state of Hawai'i (Hawai'i Department of Health, 2004; Marsella et al., 1995). All of the negative outcomes mentioned above are also associated with poverty (Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 2000; Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Moore & Redd, 2002). By whatever indicator is used—income, homelessness, welfare assistance, or children receiving free or reduced school lunches—Native Hawaiians are disproportionately found among the poor (Aloha United Way, 2005; Harris & Jones, 2005; Stern, Yuen, & Hartsock, 2004).

To date, much of the research on the NH population has been descriptive, with a focus on documenting negative health and social conditions. There is a need for additional research that documents positive outcomes as well as vulnerabilities. Both policymakers and the general public need to remember that there is considerable variation in well-being across different members of the NH community, with most individuals and families showing healthy outcomes. Most important, there is a need to better understand the factors and processes that contribute to strength and resiliency among the more vulnerable Native Hawaiians.

Some researchers point to the family as the starting point for understanding the developmental trajectories of Native Hawaiians (Kana'iaupuni, 2004; Stern et al., 2004). The cultural value of commitment to the *'ohana* (family) continues to be held among contemporary Hawaiians and is an essential component of NH identity (Kana'iaupuni, 2004). Native Hawaiians tend to exhibit greater family-centered characteristics than do non-Hawaiians. For example, Native Hawaiians are more likely to live in multigenerational households, NH children have more contact with grandparents and other kin, and extended family members play a larger role in child rearing as compared with other ethnic groups in Hawai'i (Goebert et al., 2000; Stern et al., 2004). NH adolescents report higher levels of

emotional support and closer relationships with family members (Goebert et al., 2000), and NH families are more likely to regularly engage in cultural practices (Stern et al., 2004). In this article, we examine the family as a source of strength for NH adolescents living under the risk condition of poverty. Two aspects of the family context are considered: parenting practices and the adolescent's sense of obligation to his or her 'ohana.

## POVERTY AND PARENTING

Poverty is consistently associated with problems in child health, socioemotional adjustment, and school achievement, including problems such as low birth weight, disability, chronic asthma, internalizing and externalizing problem behaviors, grade retention, and school dropout (Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; Moore & Redd, 2002). Although the deleterious effects of poverty are certainly multicausal in nature, one contributing mechanism operates via the family environment. The *family stress model* posits that chronic financial pressure can disrupt the positive family processes that promote children's healthy psychosocial development (Conger & Elder, 1994; Duncan & Brooks-Gunn, 2000; McLoyd, 1990). The anxiety and distress experienced by financially stressed parents can make them become less affectionate, less supportive, and less involved with their children and more likely to use inconsistent, harsh, or explosive discipline. However, financially stressed parents who are able to maintain a stable, loving, and stimulating home environment may help their children overcome at least some of the environmental disadvantages associated with chronic economic hardship.

The family stress model has been applied across several populations (e.g., displaced workers, small farm families, urban and rural poor), certain ethnic groups (Caucasian, African American, Mexican American), and even historical periods (e.g., contemporary, the depression era; see Brody et al., 1994; Conger & Elder, 1994; Elder, 1974; Liem & Liem, 1988; McLoyd, 1990; McLoyd, Jayratne, Ceballo, & Borquez, 1994; Mistry, Vandewater, Huston, & McLoyd, 2002; Parke et al., 2004). However, it has not been applied to Native Hawaiians, a population that is neglected in studies of family poverty.



## PARENTING PRACTICES AND HEALTHY YOUTH DEVELOPMENT

There is a large literature that highlights the importance of parent-child relations and the effects of child-rearing practices on children's psychosocial adjustment (Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch, 1991; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Parker & Benson, 2004; Patterson, Reid, & Dishion, 1992; Steinberg, Mounts, Lamborn, & Dornbusch, 1991). Within this literature, much attention has been paid to the construct of authoritative parenting. This parenting style is characterized by high warmth and involvement with the child, coupled with firm but reasonable control, as seen in clear rules and standards for behavior and the use of reason-oriented discipline. Authoritative parenting is widely found to enhance a variety of positive child outcomes, such as self-esteem, avoidance of risk behavior, social skills, and academic achievement.

To our knowledge, the construct of authoritative parenting has not been studied in NH families. Ethnographic work suggests that NH parents are affectionate and indulgent with infants but less demonstrative toward older children (Howard, 1974). Compared with parents from other ethnic backgrounds (particularly Caucasian parents), NH parents may engage in less explicit teaching and instead use more indirect methods of shaping their children's behavior. NH parents may be reluctant to use praise or material rewards for fear of establishing in their children a dependence on external incentives (Howard, 1974). In addition, because social sensitivity is highly valued, NH adults may expect children to read social cues and attend to the needs of others without prompting or acknowledgment (Shook, 1985, cited in Yee, Huang, & Lew, 1998). There is also a lack of information about discipline practices in NH families. Although cultural historians suggest that severe punishment was not part of traditional Pacific child rearing (Korbin, 1990; Morton, 1996), NH children are overrepresented among the ranks of confirmed child abuse cases in Hawai'i (Marsella et al., 1995).

Even less is known about the ways in which parenting in NH families influences children's development. One study (Goebert et al., 2000) found that NH adolescents who reported high levels of support from their families showed reduced risk for internalizing symptoms such as depressed mood. Another study using a

mixed sample of Asian Americans/Native Hawaiians found positive associations between authoritative parenting and youth behavioral adjustment (DeBaryshe, Yuen, & Stern, 2001). Clearly, there is a need for research that demonstrates the mechanisms through which NH families contribute to their children's healthy development.

## FAMILY OBLIGATION

Family obligation is a construct that includes both behaviors and attitudes that indicate an adolescent has a strong sense of emotional bonding, duty, and mutual responsibility with his or her extended family. Indicators of family obligation include putting the good of the family first, showing respect for and seeking the advice of older family members, spending time in family activities, providing instrumental assistance to other family members, and maintaining emotional ties with parents across the life span (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Fuligni, Tseng, & Lam, 1999; Phinney, Ong, & Madden, 2000). Family obligation has been studied most extensively in immigrant families. However, the construct is relevant to NH families, for whom personal identity is embedded in the matrix of extended family relationships (Blaisdell & Mokuau, 1991; Mokuau & Chang, 1991).

Research on Asian and Latino immigrants suggests that family obligation is positively associated with feelings of closeness with one's parents in adolescence and with psychological well-being in early adulthood (Fuligni et al., 1999; Fuligni, Yip, & Tseng, 2002). It also appears to play a central role in motivating young people, especially lower achieving youths, to pursue a college education (Fuligni, 2001). It has been suggested that youths who value family obligation will avoid engaging in risk behaviors (DeBaryshe et al., 2001).

## THE PRESENT STUDY

The purpose of this study is to determine whether parenting practices and youths' sense of family obligation contribute to the well-being of at-risk NH youths. In this case, the at-risk condition was economic deprivation. We looked at two aspects of adolescent well-being, namely, behavioral adjustment and physical health. These outcomes are important as NH youths show high rates of risk behavior and face an elevated likelihood of chronic health problems in adulthood. Unlike many other studies of NH youths, we collected information on family processes and youth well-being from the perspective of multiple family members, thus avoiding the potential reporting bias associated with the use of only youths' self-reports.

## METHOD

### *Participants*

Participants were 155 low-income Native Hawaiian families living on the island of O'ahu. All families received needs-based financial assistance, that is, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), Temporary Assistance to Other Needy Families (TAONF), and/or food stamps. Selection criteria included the receipt of public assistance, the presence in the home of an adolescent child age 10–17, and the presence in the home of at least one of the child's biological parents. Of our sample, 87 households were headed by a single mother; in the remaining 68 homes the mother was married or cohabiting with a male partner. Throughout this report, we refer to the male householder as the father, even though some men were not the participating youth's biological parent. Demographic information on the families is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1 Demographic characteristics of NH families in this study

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation	Range
Mother's age (in years)	36.77	5.51	28–54
Father's age (in years)	39.31	6.51	26–56
Youth's age (in years)	12.92	1.95	10–17
Per capita income (\$)	5,258.00	2,164.61	1,512–13,500
% of families			
Single parent	56.1		
Two parent	43.9		
Welfare recipient	48.4		
Food stamps recipient	51.6		
At least one employed adult	78.7		
Parent education	% of parents		
	Mother	Father	
< High school	9.7	29.4	
GED/high school diploma	59.4	58.8	
Some college/associate's degree	25.1	11.8	
Bachelor's degree or higher	5.1	0.0	
Missing	0.6	0.0	

Note: For fathers, *n* = 68; for mothers, youths, *n* = 155.

### *Procedure*

Participants in this report are a subset of families from the Financial Strain and Family Resiliency study (Center on the Family, 2003). In the larger study, participants were a stratified random sample of all current benefit recipients who met our inclusion criteria (stratification variables were benefit type and family composition). In this report, we include data from all the Native Hawaiian families in the original Financial Strain and Family Resiliency sample.

Participating families received a \$100 gift certificate for their time and effort. Data collection occurred in the families' homes. Each family member was interviewed individually, in a session lasting approximately 2 hours. The interviews were highly structured and consisted primarily of orally administered versions of survey instruments with known psychometric properties. The interview staff consisted of employees from a local research firm. Interviewers were selected on the basis of their interpersonal skills and ability to communicate respect and authenticity with families. Several members of the interview team were themselves former welfare recipients. Interviewers were trained by the Center on the Family research staff who are authors of this article and were required to pass a mock interview prior to working in the field.

### *Measures*

**CONTROL VARIABLES.** Six control variables were measured. Each control variable represents an aspect of the youths' ongoing family or personal circumstances that could reasonably be expected to correlate with current health and psychosocial adjustment. *Youth age*, *youth gender*, and *single-parent* versus two-parent household status were all individual questions included in the parent and youth interviews. Using information on household size and a wide variety of earned and unearned sources of income (TANF and food stamp benefits, alimony, wages, rental income, etc.), we also computed household *per capita income*.

*Youth risk history* was a 6-item self-report scale measuring past problems with family violence, substance abuse, mental illness, and criminal activity in the child's family of origin ( $\alpha = .55$ ). Each item was scored using a yes/no response scale. Sample items include "Have you ever worried that someone in your family might seriously hurt another family member (for example, punch them or threaten them with a knife or gun)?" and "Have you ever been arrested, put in juvenile detention or probation, or been in jail?" High scores on the risk history variable indicate a higher level of psychosocial risk.

*Chronic health conditions* was a composite variable formed by taking the mean of parent and youth reports on whether the youth suffered from five chronic medical conditions: asthma, allergies, sinus/ear infections, speech/vision/hearing problems, and any other major health problem. All items were answered using a yes/no response scale with a higher total score indicating more health problems. These items were adapted from the yearly Hawai'i Health Survey (Hawai'i Department of Health, 2004) and represent the most frequently reported medical conditions affecting children in the state.

**PARENTING PRACTICES.** Five different aspects of parenting practices were measured: use of monitoring, positive reinforcement, strict consequences, harsh discipline, and problem solving. Later, these five aspects of parenting were reduced to two composite scores using factor analysis. The parenting measures used in this study were also used in the Center on the Family's (1997) study of family adjustment to recent unemployment and are adaptations of instruments used in two longitudinal studies of parenting and adolescent development (Conger & Elder, 1994; Patterson et al., 1992). Each scale was administered both to children and parents. Adults reported on their own behavior vis-à-vis the child, while the child reported on each parent separately. All items were answered on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. Most items were parallel across parent and youth reports, although for some scales the youth report version contained more items.<sup>2</sup>

Monitoring was a 4-item scale measuring adult knowledge of the focal child's activities, companions, and whereabouts (e.g., "You know where *child* is and who he/she is with even if you aren't there";  $\alpha = .70$  for mothers, .72 for fathers, .62 for youth reports on mothers, and .59 for youth reports on fathers). The positive reinforcement scale contained three items for adults and five items for youths

( $\alpha = .79, .68, .82$ , and  $.86$ ); it measured parents' use of physical and verbal reinforcement and tangible rewards (e.g., "When *child* does something you like, you give him/her a smile or some other small sign that you like what he/she did" and "Your mom does nothing when you do something good because she doesn't want you to be too proud of yourself" [reflected]). Strict consequences was a 3-item scale ( $\alpha = .66, .60, .63$ , and  $.69$ ) measuring parents' consistent administration of strictly enforced but nonabusive consequences (e.g., "When you do something wrong, your dad gives you chores or extra work to do"). The harsh discipline scale contained four items for parents and six items for youths ( $\alpha = .52, .45, .69$ , and  $.73$ ). This scale measured the use of more severe discipline techniques such as corporal punishment or locking the child out of the house (e.g., "You use physical punishment when your child does something wrong" and "Your dad tries to make you feel a sense of shame when you do something wrong"). Problem solving was an 8-item scale ( $\alpha = .58$  to  $.80$ ) measuring the quality of family problem solving (e.g., "When the two of you have a problem to solve, how often does your mother seriously think about your ideas on how to solve the problem?").

We first computed scale scores for each respondent and then a family-level score by taking the mean for all respondents, yielding five family-level scores. Because the five parenting scores were highly correlated, we reduced the data using factor analysis. The monitoring, positive reinforcement, problem-solving, strict consequences, and harsh discipline family-level scores were entered in a factor analysis using maximum likelihood extraction and orthogonal factor rotation. A 2-factor solution provided a good fit to the data,  $\chi^2(1, N = 155) = 1.35, p < .25$ , and accounted for 55% of the item variance. The first factor, labeled *supportive parenting*, had high loadings for positive reinforcement ( $\lambda = .80$ ), monitoring ( $\lambda = .65$ ), and problem solving ( $\lambda = .59$ ). The second factor, labeled *punishment*, had high loadings for harsh discipline ( $\lambda = .84$ ) and strict consequences ( $\lambda = .55$ ) and a high, negative loading for problem solving ( $\lambda = -.48$ ). We computed factor scores for each family, and the two factor scores, supportive parenting and punishment, served as the two measures of parenting practices used for data analysis.

**FAMILY OBLIGATION.** The Family Obligation Scale (Fuligni et al., 1999) was administered to each adolescent. Two scores were derived from this instrument. *Youth respect* was a 7-item scale ( $\alpha = .70$ ) addressing the youth's beliefs about the importance of showing respect and deference to older family members. Items include "How important is it to you to do well for the sake of your family?" and "How important is it to you to treat your parents with great respect?" *Youth support*

was a 6-item scale ( $\alpha = .70$ ) measuring the extent to which the youth values maintaining ties of emotion, propinquity, and mutual assistance with family members across the life span. Examples include “How important is it for you to help your parents financially in the future?” and “How important is it to you to live or go to college near your parents?” Youth respect and youth support served as our two measures of family obligation. In each case, a high score indicates a higher level of family obligation.

**PROBLEM BEHAVIOR.** *Youth problem behavior* was a composite variable formed by combining youth, mother, and father reports on an 11-item internalizing scale and an 11-item externalizing scale ( $\alpha = .72$  to  $.89$ ) adapted from the Child Behavior Checklist (Child Trends, 1999). High scores indicated the presence of more problem behaviors.

**GENERAL HEALTH.** *Youth general health* was a composite variable formed by combining parent and youth reports on two items regarding the adolescent’s overall physical health. The first item, “How would you rate your/your child’s overall physical health?” was answered using a 5-point response scale ranging from 1 = *poor* to 5 = *excellent*. For the second item, “How would you compare your/your child’s overall physical health with other children of your/his/her age?” the 5-point response scale ranged from 1 = *much worse* to 5 = *much better*. The items were scored so that a high score indicates better current overall health.

### *Analysis*

We conducted data analyses using hierarchical, multiple linear regression. Hierarchical regression is commonly used with cross-sectional data as a way of making quasi-causal inferences. Our aim was to explain variance in each of the two youth outcome measures (problem behavior and general health). In hierarchical regression, predictor variables are entered in groups or steps. Variables entered in the first step of the analysis are those that theoretically are more distal causes or predictors of the outcome or dependent variable. Variables entered in succeeding steps are seen as more proximal causes.



In our analyses, the control variables were entered in Step 1. Control variables included the demographic measures of age, gender, single-parent household status, and per capita income. An additional control variable differed according to which dependent measure was being predicted. In the equation predicting youth problem behavior, we included family risk history as a control measure, as this measure should be strongly associated with the likelihood of youth problem behavior. In the equation predicting youth general health, we included as a control the number of chronic medical conditions, which is a very stringent control for preexisting health status. By entering these control variables into the analysis first, their influence is already taken into account when the next set of predictors is added to the regression equation.

In Step 2 of the regression analyses, we entered the four measures of parenting practices and family obligation. This allowed us to determine the extent to which this set of predictors explains variance in the outcome measures above and beyond the prediction already achieved by the control measures. A significant increment in prediction in Step 2 is consistent with, but does not conclusively demonstrate, a possible causal role of the Step 2 variables.

## RESULTS

Descriptive statistics on the 12 variables used in the regression analyses are shown in Table 2. Distribution plots and skewness and kurtosis statistics were examined for each variable. Only one measure, per capita income, was significantly nonnormal. To correct for this, we trimmed outlying scores (those more than 3 standard deviation from the mean) by replacing the outlying scores with values that were \$1,000 higher than the highest score in the sample that was not an outlier (Tabachnick & Fidell, 2001). Results of the regression analyses are shown in Table 3. We conducted two hierarchical multiple regression procedures using the SPSS 14 statistical package. Ordinary least-squares computation procedures were used.

TABLE 2 Descriptive statistics on analysis variables

Variable	Mean	Standard deviation
Youth age (in years)	12.92	1.95
Youth gender <sup>a</sup>	1.55	0.50
Single parent <sup>b</sup>	0.56	0.50
Per capita income (\$)	5,258.00	2,164.61
Youth risk history <sup>c</sup>	0.30	0.24
Chronic health conditions <sup>c</sup>	0.82	0.84
Supportive parenting <sup>d</sup>	0.00	0.88
Punishment <sup>d</sup>	-0.01	0.86
Youth respect <sup>e</sup>	4.38	0.54
Youth support <sup>e</sup>	4.02	0.66
Youth problem behavior <sup>f</sup>	0.52	0.29
Youth general health <sup>e</sup>	3.70	0.62

<sup>a</sup> 1= male, 2= female. <sup>b</sup> 0 = two parent, 1= single parent. <sup>c</sup> 0–1 response scale with items summed for a maximum score of 5. <sup>d</sup> Measure is a factor score, so means are zero. <sup>e</sup> 1–5 response scale. <sup>f</sup> 0–2 response scale.

**TABLE 3** Beta coefficients,  $R^2$ , and  $F$  statistics for the regression of control variables, parenting practices, and youth family obligation on youth problem behavior and general health

Variable	Youth problem behavior	Youth general health
Youth age	-.14*	-.09
Youth gender	.10	-.08
Single parent	-.02	-.09
Per capita income	.06	-.02
Youth risk history	.31****	
Chronic health conditions		-.25***
Supportive parenting	-.21**	.31***
Punishment	.36****	-.11
Youth respect	-.15+	.09
Youth support	.16*	-.07
Step 1		
$\Delta R^2$	.21****	.11**
$F(5, 149)$	8.13	3.73
Step 2		
$\Delta R^2$	.18****	.13****
$F(4, 145)$	10.69	5.97
Total		
$R^2$	.39****	.24****
$F(9, 145)$	10.45	5.01

*Note:* Beta coefficients shown at the top of the table are for the full model. Variables entered at Step 1 are age, gender, single parent, per capita income, and either risk history or chronic health conditions. Variables entered at Step 2 are supportive parenting, punishment, youth respect, and youth support.

+  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ . \*\*\*\*  $p < .0005$ .

### *Predicting Youth Problem Behavior*

Results for the equation predicting youth problem behavior are shown in Table 3. The five control variables collectively accounted for 21% of the variance in youth problem behavior ( $\Delta R^2 = .21, p < .005$ ). When supportive parenting, punishment, youth respect, and youth support were added in Step 2, these four variables explained an additional 18% of the variance in problem behavior ( $\Delta R^2 = .18, p < .005$ ). The standardized regression coefficients for the final, full model are also shown in Table 3. Each coefficient represents the unique association of that particular variable with youth problem behavior, above and beyond the variance shared with all the other predictors in the equation. Inspection of Table 3 shows that five variables had significant, unique shared variance with the outcome measure, and one variable had a marginally significant unique association. Specifically, when all other predictor measures were controlled, more frequent problem behavior was associated with higher levels of family risk history ( $\beta = .31, p < .0005$ ), more frequent punishment ( $\beta = .36, p < .0005$ ), and higher levels of youth support ( $\beta = .16, p < .05$ ). Lower levels of problem behavior were associated with being an older teen ( $\beta = -.14, p < .04$ ), with having parents who engage in high levels of supportive parenting ( $\beta = -.21, p < .01$ ), and, marginally, with higher levels of youth respect ( $\beta = -.15, p < .09$ ).

### *Predicting Youth General Health*

Results for the regression equation predicting youth general health are shown in Table 3. For health outcomes, the five control measures entered in Step 1 explained 11% of the variance in youth general health ( $\Delta R^2 = .11, p < .003$ ). When supportive parenting, punishment, youth respect, and youth support were added in Step 2, these variables explained an additional 13% of the variance in youth health ( $\Delta R^2 = .13, p < .0005$ ). Inspection of the standardized regression coefficients in Table 3 indicates that only two predictor variables had unique associations with the dependent measures. Specifically, when all other predictors were controlled, general health was worse for youths with a higher number of chronic health conditions ( $\beta = -.25, p < .001$ ) and better for youths whose parents engaged in high levels of supportive parenting ( $\beta = .31, p < .001$ ).

## DISCUSSION

In her review of identity processes in contemporary Native Hawaiians, Kana'iaupuni (2004) stated that "today's Hawaiian families have been overlooked in much of the research on family diversity and strengths" (p. 54). The present study begins to rectify this gap by providing evidence that the family is an important source of resiliency for at-risk NH youths. In this sample of NH adolescents living in poverty, both parenting practices and youths' values relating to family obligation were significant correlates of their behavioral adjustment and physical well-being. For both problem behavior and general health status, parenting practices and youth family obligation explained a significant proportion of the variance above and beyond the effects of family demographic characteristics, history of family psychosocial risk, and chronic health conditions.

In terms of relative influence on problem behavior, parenting practices were most strongly associated with youth problem behavior, with youth family obligation playing a lesser role. Specifically, harsh punishment was a risk factor associated with poor behavioral adjustment, whereas supportive parenting was a resource that predicted low rates of problem behavior. Adolescents' own belief in the importance of respecting family members was also a protective factor associated with low levels of problem behavior. It is interesting to note, in the context of all other predictors, that the second aspect of youth family obligation—the belief in the importance of providing instrumental support for family members—was associated with higher rates of problem behavior. In terms of youth general health status, supportive parenting was the strongest unique protective factor of all the measures included in this study.

The two parenting variables measured in this study—supportive parenting and punishment—together represent the construct of authoritative parenting. Parents high on supportive parenting and low on punishment would be described as showing a prototypical authoritative parenting style. Consistent with predictions from the literature, supportive parenting was a resiliency factor associated with positive youth well-being, and punishment was a risk factor associated with negative adjustment. Thus, this study demonstrates empirically that an authoritative parenting style, which has been widely shown to facilitate positive youth development in other ethnic groups, functions in a similar way among Native Hawaiians.

This study also empirically validates the hypothesis that family-centered values and the importance of ‘ohana (as measured on the family obligation scale) are strengths that can buffer NH youths from the deleterious effects of poverty.

It is also interesting that one aspect of family obligation was associated with an increased likelihood of youth problem behaviors. In the context of all other independent variables, youths high on youth support—that is, those who placed a greater importance on providing instrumental assistance and support to family members now and in the future—had higher levels of behavior problems. This is an unexpected finding and suggests that expectations for ongoing financial and practical obligations to one’s family can be a source of stress. Expectations for future support may be problematic for adolescents who perceive a conflict between providing for their families and desiring personal independence, or if youths feel poorly equipped to obtain lucrative employment that will help support family members financially in a locale known for its high cost of living.

The present results suggest that prevention or intervention efforts for at-risk NH youths should have a dual focus on changing both parents and their children. In other words, families, not individuals, should be seen as the recipient of programs or services. Because we did not collect data relating to grandparents, older siblings, or other kin, we cannot say with confidence that extending the focus of intervention beyond the parent–child partnership to include the larger ‘ohana would have additional benefits. However, given that NH youths report that the extended family network provides important child-rearing and caretaking functions (Goebert et al., 2000), we suggest that future research should explicitly compare the effectiveness of interventions that include parents and children only with those that address the larger family system.

With regard to prevention or intervention efforts that focus on parenting practices, attention should be paid to the following: replacing punitive, reactive punishment with more productive discipline techniques; encouraging open expressions of affection and approval; promoting proactive monitoring and supervision of children’s activities and companions; and increasing rational, inductive, and collaborative parent–child problem solving. The focus for youths should be on recognizing and appreciating the concern and efforts that parents extend on their behalf, and

giving real consideration to the wisdom of the advice and directions that parents and elder kin provide. It is likely that these two aspects of family life—parenting practices and youths’ valuing of family obligation—are dynamically related. As parents become more involved with their children and allow greater communication and collaborative decision making, children’s respect for and bonding with their parents should increase, making them more willing to follow parents’ advice and share their parents’ goals and reasoning.

What is the likelihood that prevention or intervention efforts that focus on authoritative parenting and on promoting family-related values would be well received in the NH community? We propose that these topics are consistent with NH cultural values; thus, we expect a good chance of uptake by program participants. Recent statewide surveys present a mixed picture of NH family life as compared with other ethnic groups in the state (Goebert et al., 2000; Pearson, 2004). On one hand, NH adolescents report high levels of family risk factors, particularly in the areas of exposure to and lack of sanctions against violence, antisocial behavior, and alcohol and other substance use. On the other hand, NH youths report higher levels of protective family factors, including more parental supervision, greater enjoyment of shared family time, and greater self-disclosure with their parents. This suggests that many NH families, including at-risk families, already engage to some degree in interaction patterns similar to those we propose as the focus of possible intervention. For many families, then, rather than replacing or changing family interaction patterns, prevention/intervention efforts would raise self-awareness of the strengths that families already possess and increase the frequency and intentionality of healthful family interactions.

A notable finding in the present study is the identification of psychosocial correlates of physical health. Most of the health disparities suffered by Native Hawaiians emerge in middle age (Hawai’i Department of Health, 2004). It would be worthwhile to ascertain whether the link between family interaction practices and better health that we found for adolescents is also present in NH adults. Our findings also raise interesting questions about possible health prevention efforts. If positive parenting experienced by adolescents is associated with better physical health, could parenting programs have the unexpected positive side effect of preventing later health issues by promoting good health among children earlier in life?

In summary, we have shown that parenting practices and family obligation beliefs are nontrivial predictors of the behavioral and physical well-being of NH adolescents living in poverty. One important limitation of the present study is that our data are cross-sectional. To address this limitation, we controlled in our analyses for demographic characteristics, long-term family risk factors, and chronic medical conditions, thus looking at the effects of parenting and belief systems above and beyond the influence of these well-established risk factors. However, longitudinal research is needed to better confirm our contention that positive family life plays a causal role in promoting the well-being of NH youths.

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## NOTES

- 1 Throughout this article, we use the term *Native Hawaiian* to refer to families and persons of both full and partial Native Hawaiian ancestry.
- 2 Some items, for example, how often youths share accurate information with their parents about their companions and whereabouts, are only available through youth self-report.

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# THE APPLICATION OF TERROR MANAGEMENT THEORY TO NATIVE HAWAIIAN WELL-BEING

*A. Ku'ulei Serna*

This article examines a psychological explanatory framework called the terror management theory (TMT) as applied to Native Hawaiians. According to TMT, faith in a cultural worldview—combined with the achievement of those standards—leads to self-esteem, which in turn leads to lower anxiety and positive adaptive behaviors. The TMT model suggests that Hawaiian children's self-esteem, anxiety, and adaptive behaviors are linked to (a) their identification with being Hawaiian, (b) their ability to practice Hawaiian core values and beliefs, and (c) restoration of collective cultural pride among Native Hawaiians. This article also discusses implications for future research and how these findings will contribute to existing knowledge concerning Native Hawaiian identity and well-being.

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Research indicates that Native Hawaiians continue to demonstrate social, political, economical, and educational disparities. Native Hawaiian adolescents, Grades 6 through 12, display high rates of antisocial behaviors in risk areas such as school suspensions, alcohol and drug use in school, solicitation of drugs, vehicle theft, arrests, rates of depression, likelihood to attempt suicide, and firearm possession (Kana'iaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005; Office of Hawaiian Affairs [OHA], 2000; Saka & Lai, 2004). Hawaiian adolescents also report higher lifetime prevalence for tobacco, alcohol, and marijuana use (OHA, 2000). Native Hawaiian children continue to be disproportionately victimized by child abuse and neglect (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005).

Native Hawaiians constitute 26% of the students served by the Hawai'i Department of Education (Kamehameha Schools, Policy Analysis & System Evaluation, 2004). Native Hawaiian students scored approximately 10 percentile points lower than statewide averages in math and reading, with the gap widening in relation to the progression of grade level (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005). Native Hawaiians continue to be overrepresented among students qualifying for special education programs (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003b) and are underrepresented in institutions of higher education and among adults who have completed 4 or more years of college (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005; OHA, 2000). They are more likely to be retained one grade level and to be excessively absent in secondary schools. Native Hawaiian children are more likely to attend restructuring schools under the No Child Left Behind Act, as well as attend schools where there are higher faculty turnovers and tend to have teachers with less experience and fewer qualifications (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005; OHA, 2000).

Native Hawaiians positively indicated their sense of strong ties and reliance on family, communities, and neighborhoods (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005). However, risk for maladaptive behaviors and negative social outcomes among today's Native Hawaiian population, especially its school-age youths, may be the result of their marginalization from traditional Native Hawaiian culture and the dominant Western culture (Hishinuma et al., 2000). To succeed in a Western school setting, Native Hawaiian students have had to leave their culture and values at home and assume Western values and behaviors associated with success (Kawakami, 1999). Native Hawaiian children who continue to be at risk for disparate conditions often do not realize that they are disconnected from these inherent Hawaiian cultural

values. Reconnecting Hawaiian children to lost or dormant Hawaiian values may play a significant role to support their effort to succeed at home, at school, and in their community. Given opportunities to practice cultural values may increase self-esteem in Hawaiian children, increasing their chance of success.

There has been much research in the areas of education, social sciences, health, and history to explain the phenomenon of such disparities among Native Hawaiian children and youths, and effective preventative and intervening remedies have been designed to resolve some of these issues. This article introduces the *terror management theory*, or TMT, as a psychological theoretical explanation for disparate conditions among Native Hawaiian youths.

Terror management theory suggests that in order for an individual to maintain psychological calmness and composure, the individual must sustain (a) faith in a culturally derived worldview that influences reality with meaning and order and (b) the belief that one is a significant contributor to this reality (Pyszczynski, Solomon, & Greenberg, 2003). Self-esteem is obtained when one is successful at achieving the standards of culture. Therefore, TMT states that self-esteem helps to serve as an anxiety buffer. The higher the self-esteem, the greater chance for an individual to buffer against anxiety. TMT applied may help explain and provide possible solutions to resolving present issues that Hawaiian children face by addressing culture, identity, practice of core values, and self-esteem.

## THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF TERROR MANAGEMENT

Terror management theory is an empirically tested psychological framework that explains how we as human beings defend against anxiety and existential terror. Inasmuch as humans are prone to anxiety, TMT attempts to give an explanation of social behavior by focusing on our essential being and circumstances (Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991). It suggests that culture serves as a psychological defense by providing a potential buffer against anxiety caused by the human condition, which is inevitable death (Salzman, 2001). Terror management is presumed to be an unconscious and ongoing defense (Pyszczynski et al., 2003).



### *Culture and Anxiety*

Self-consciousness, our cognitive ability, causes us to wonder or worry about who we are and what is our worth (our self), where we are going (our future), and why things occur the way they do (causality). We are aware of our mortality and know that it is impossible to live forever. This awareness creates anxiety (existential terror; Salzman, 2001). Becker (cited in Solomon et al., 1991) suggested that humans confront the physical problem of death and tragedy through the creation of culture to minimize the anxiety associated with the awareness of death. Therefore, as humans, we adopt a cultural worldview to buffer this anxiety (Solomon et al., 1991).

We as human beings need to find higher meaning. We create and maintain the social construction of culture by providing a shared symbolic construct. According to Salzman (2001), cultural worldviews imbue the universe with order, meaning, predictability and permanence and are constructed so that security can be maintained through the belief that one is a valuable member of the universe. Thus, cultural worldviews serve as an anxiety-reducing function by providing a sense of meaning (Pyszczynski et al., 2003).

Although cultural worldviews vary, they offer descriptions for what people should do to live “good” and “valuable” lives. Culture provides standards by which an individual can be judged to be of value (Solomon et al., 1991). Kanahale (1986) stated that values as standards define for a person how he or she should behave in life, what actions merit approval/disapproval, and what patterns of relations should prevail among people or institutions. Therefore, cultural values as standards tell us what we want to be, what kind of world we want to live in, or how we evaluate ourselves and the world.

### *Culture and Self-Esteem*

It is necessary to view self-esteem as being universal. Self-esteem is the belief that one is a person of value in a world of meaning (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). Self-esteem is the sense of one’s value in living a good life and is significant in the cultural construction of meaning (Salzman, 2001). Self-esteem can only be derived from meaningful action in this world and consists of viewing oneself as a valuable participant in a culture.

Self-esteem is acquired when one accepts the standards of a cultural worldview and views oneself as achieving those standards (Solomon et al., 1991). Salzman (2001) stated that self-esteem is the result of having faith in a culturally prescribed worldview and living up to its standards. Self-esteem cannot be procured for the self through self. It is culturally contrived (Pyszczynski et al., 2003), the accepted standards of that meaningful reality.

Basic values may vary among cultures, but self-esteem is always achieved by the belief of a cultural worldview and the achievement of those standards (values). Similarly, Kanahale (1986) claimed that every society's ideal has a concept of a "good life," a desirable and ideal way of living that produces a highly acceptable state of well-being. Members of societies who share and have faith in common beliefs, practices, values, and standards strive to obtain the good life. The more values members of societies accept and respond to, the more needs they fulfill, thus allowing them to be happier beings (Kanahale, 1986) with heightened self-esteem.

### *Self-Esteem as an Anxiety Buffer*

According to TMT, the primary function of self-esteem is to buffer anxiety associated with vulnerability and death. Positive self-esteem is the feeling that one is a valued participant in a culture. When self-esteem is raised, anxiety is managed and adaptive action occurs (Salzman, 2001). Likewise, low levels of self-esteem result in higher levels of anxiety, which can lead to behaviors that may be maladaptive for an individual.

Anxiety is heightened when we as humans do not do the "right things" according to the expectations of the social construct of culture. When we adhere to the standards set up by culture, we sustain approval by those around us, thus elevating self-esteem. Self-esteem as an anxiety buffer has two aspects. First, an individual must have faith in a cultural worldview, and second, one must see oneself as achieving a set of standards/values of that cultural worldview. Self-esteem can only be achieved in these circumstances, which then allows the anxiety-prone human to escape feelings of inferiority (Salzman, 2001). When self-esteem is high, anxiety is managed and actions are taken to preserve faith in cultural worldview. If faith in cultural worldview is preserved, standards can be achieved to heighten self-esteem.

Conversely, if one has faith in the cultural worldview but has not achieved the set of standards for being and acting in that world, self-esteem cannot be achieved. This results in having no cultural anxiety buffer, and anxiety goes unmanaged. Another reason for maladaptive anxiety management strategies is when a cultural worldview is challenged, fragmented, and not believed—whether or not standards for being and acting are achieved, self-esteem is not achieved, thus providing no cultural anxiety buffer and no management of anxiety.

### *Empirical Support for Terror Management Theory*

The formulation of TMT had two basic hypotheses that would lead to empirical predication, the design of studies, and collection of data to test predictions within a laboratory setting. The first hypothesis was that raising one's self-esteem would lead one to experience less anxiety following a threat.<sup>1</sup> To test this hypothesis, Pyszczynski et al. (2003) told college students that they would be watching a short video and they would be asked their reactions to it. Students were given personality tests, personalized psychological assessments, and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. Half of the students watched a 7-minute video of *Faces of Death* that included an actual autopsy and electrocution, which served as the anxiety-provoking situation. The other half watched a 7-minute video from the same documentary that was nonthreatening and had no references to death. Then all the students completed anxiety tests. It was found that those in the raised self-esteem condition did not report elevated levels of anxiety in response to graphic depictions of death (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). A second study was done to replicate and extend findings from the first study. The results of this study supported that of the first.<sup>2</sup>

Studies have also investigated the effects of self-esteem on defensive perceptions of vulnerability to illness and death. In one study, participants were given positive or neutral feedback. Half of the participants were told that emotionality led to a shorter or longer life. Those participants who were given neutral feedback were engaged in vulnerability-denying defensive distortions. They reported being more emotional when they were told that emotionality led to longevity and being less emotional when emotionality was associated with a shorter life expectancy. When self-esteem was raised by positive feedback, participants did not report differences in emotionality. Raising self-esteem reduced the need to engage in vulnerability-denying defensive distortions (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). Multiple studies have provided support for the TMT proposition that self-esteem functions to reduce anxiety in stressful situations (Pyszczynski et al., 2003).

Pyszczynski et al. (2003) stated that more than 120 studies in different countries were conducted to test the second basic hypothesis of TMT, which was that cultural “worldviews assuage the potentially paralyzing terror associated with the awareness of our mortality” (p. 45). Reminders of death should cause people to increase their defense and bolstering of cultural worldviews. In studies that tested this second hypothesis, participants were asked to think about their own death, called *mortality salience*. Mortality salience and moral transgression were tested, as well as mortality salience and worldview defense (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). Mortality salience should produce a strong need for the protection that worldview provides and consequently provokes an especially strong positive reaction to anything and anyone who upholds the personal vision of reality diffused through culture and a strong negative reaction to anything and anyone who violates this reality (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). In support of the theory, a body of research has shown that asking people to contemplate their own mortality does produce such responses. Beliefs about the nature of reality served to alleviate the concerns of mortality.

## HAWAIIANS’ TRAUMA CAUSED DISRUPTION OF CULTURE

Terror management theory can be used to explain the trauma of the Hawaiians brought on by changes in the social, religious, and economic structures of Hawai‘i. Kanahele (1986) spoke of the years of degradation for the Hawaiians since Western contact. Salzman (2001) stated, “indigenous peoples and the cultures that support them psychologically have been traumatized by contact with European peoples” (p. 183). Such was the case for Hawaiians, who were forced to give up their language, traditions, myths, cosmology, religion, and rituals. Old Hawaiian traditions disintegrated with an increase in Western contact (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992). The Hawaiian population also dwindled following contact, which led to a surrender of political and economic power (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Kanahele, 1986).

In the application of TMT, Salzman (2001) discussed the death threat Native Hawaiians have encountered with the introduction of new diseases, suffering a culturally traumatic experience. The Native Hawaiians did not have immunity from these Western diseases and died by the tens of thousands, virtually wiping out the population.

By their own standards and values regarding death, many Hawaiians may have felt that they were evil and had done something evil to deserve such desecration. In Hawaiian tradition, the universe was *pono* (in harmony) if the *mō'i* (king) was *pono* (righteous), so if the disaster occurred, the *mō'i* was not *pono* (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). However, Hawaiians continued to die under Kamehameha's reign. Kamehameha continued to remain *pono* in the eyes of the people. During his reign, the *'āina* (land) flourished, Kamehameha remained religious and continued to honor various *akua* (gods), and there was peace in the Hawaiian Islands, yet people died (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Therefore, questions and doubts surfaced concerning the traditional beliefs in the old *akua*. When Kamehameha died, the *ali'i nui* (high chief) had to search for a new source of *mana* (power). The *ali'i nui* no longer viewed the *kapu* system (things determined sacred and prohibited) as *pono* (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Before the Calvinist missionaries arrived in 1820, Liholiho, Kamehameha II abolished traditional Hawaiian *'ai kapu* (in which men ate separately from women and certain foods were restricted for consumption), *heiau* (temple), and *akua* (Armitage, 1996; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). These were not only rituals and traditions but served as an infrastructure for the order of Hawaiian society (Joesting, 1972, Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). This disruption left a void in Hawaiian religion that also accounted for the fragmentation of cultural worldviews.

The Western missionaries also assisted the Hawaiians toward self-degradation, leading them to believe that their sinful ways were to blame for the disasters. The Westerners made Hawaiians feel like they needed to turn from their savage ways and renounce their "culture," such as the hula (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Death from foreign diseases surrounding Hawaiians often made it easy to convert them to Christianity for the promise of heaven and an afterlife (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992). Over time, the Hawaiians' traditional cultural worldview was fragmented, with no set of values and standards available. It did not seem *pono*. The Hawaiians were vulnerable to question the legitimacy of their cultural worldview, thus shattering their faith in it. As a result, self-esteem could not be obtained, and standards could not be achieved. With self-esteem unavailable to the Hawaiian people, they were left feeling inferior to Caucasians and, thus, psychologically defenseless. The Hawaiians' lack of psychological defense led to maladaptive anxiety-reducing behaviors that were a quick relief but in the long term caused more grief and pain. For example, Liholiho and *ali'i nui* indulged in foreign goods—foods, liquor, clothing, jewelry, guns, ships, among other things—leading to expenditure of thousand of dollars and excessive drinking and eating (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

Another example of cultural disruption was the stifling of the Hawaiian language when Westerners colonized Hawai'i. The written word introduced to the Hawaiians by Westerners was a way to disseminate information quickly and a means of achieving power. Kane (1997) stated that this was "incompatible with the belief that knowledge was sacred power, a manifestation of mana that must be guarded as sacrosanct to those worthy of it" (p. 41); therefore, making information readily accessible through the written words could be misused. However, ali'i realized that literacy was the key to understanding and using the power of the Western culture. After the missionaries arrived in 1820, they published a reader in Hawai'i. Queen Ka'ahumanu learned to read in 5 days, and schools were set up throughout the kingdom. By 1824, two-fifths of the entire population had graduated from school, and by 1834, the majority of the population had become literate. The Kingdom of Hawai'i soon achieved the highest literacy rate of any nation in the world at that time (Kane, 1997).

However, in 1893 Hawaiian children who attended school in Hawai'i were prohibited from using their native language and were forced to speak English, which was a second language to most Native Hawaiian students (Native Hawaiian Education Act of 2001). The cultural worldview that Native Hawaiians held was that their language was important for their very existence and perpetuation of their culture. However, this worldview was shattered, and Hawaiians felt that they needed to speak English to be deemed important by society, and that speaking the native language and subscribing to the culture were not good enough in the colonized Western world. Hawaiians were made to feel that English was superior. Being compliant to colonization, the Native Hawaiian students did not speak the native language in school. As a result, a high sense of self-esteem was not achieved.

As a result of lower self-esteem, there was no cultural anxiety buffer, and anxiety was not managed. The majority of Native Hawaiian students found it hard to participate in a Westernized school setting that forced them to leave their cultural values at home (Kawakami, 1999), and they often exhibited nonparticipating behaviors. They were labeled as being "lazy" and deemed unmotivated. Throughout the years, their reading achievement scores were affected, and sometimes students were labeled as "dumb." This group soon believed and acted out these negative labels.

They strove to become Westernized by practicing Western culture. Most Native Hawaiians discontinued the practice of Native Hawaiian culture, resulting in cultural degradation over generations, until the emergence of a Hawaiian renaissance in the mid to late 1970s (Kanahele, 1982).

Hawaiian historical contexts are far more complex and sometimes contradictory than what has been presented here. The examples summarized in this article clearly demonstrate that the cultural worldview of Hawaiians was shattered over generations, and that Hawaiian “ways” have always been threatened, seemingly inferior to the superiority of Western ways. This may explain the reason for lack of anxiety-buffering self-esteem and the constant internal struggle to overcome generational stereotypes. Nainoa Thompson, the first Hawaiian in centuries to become an open ocean deep-sea navigator, the most important job in the ancient days of Polynesian voyaging (Harden, 1999), stated, “The loss of culture, loss of beliefs—you end up feeling second-rate in your homeland...there’s a strong connection between self-esteem and physical health, and sometimes we define that as spirit” (p. 223). The lack of self-esteem in the consciousness of many of the Hawaiian people hindered their ability to buffer against anxiety over the span of generations, causing them to exhibit maladaptive behavior. Anxiety-prone behaviors manifested in many, but certainly not in all Hawaiians, may account for Hawaiians having the greatest number of citizens on welfare, lowest paying jobs, highest incarceration rates in proportion to total population, ranked first for most Western diseases, highest high school dropout rates, and shortest life expectancy among all peoples in the islands (Dudley & Agard, 1993; Kana’iaupuni et al., 2005).

## HOW DO WE BEGIN TO DEFINE A HAWAIIAN CULTURAL WORLDVIEW TODAY?

There have been many literary contributions that address Hawaiian values and the need to understand and apply them. With the introduction of Christian missions to Hawai’i in 1820, the study and comprehension of Hawaiian thought came to an end (Ka’ano’i, 1992). Anti-Hawaiian sentiment, colonialism, and institutional racism permeated every aspect of Hawaiian society (Kana’iaupuni & Ishibashi,

2003a). In much of the literature regarding Hawaiian values, references are made to pre-Western and post-Western exposure. Because ancient Hawaiian society communicated orally, there is consensus among writers that some of the Hawaiian antiquities, *mana'o* (thoughts, insights) of pre-Western exposure, could have been diluted or misinterpreted by following generations (Malo, 1996).

It is through understanding the philosophy of Hawaiian culture that values can be identified. However, scholars continue to search for answers concerning Hawaiian values (e.g., Kanahele, 1986), asking questions such as: What were the values of Hawaiians before Cook? Can traditional values be known? How have those values changed since, and to what extent are they practiced? What is their present-day validity?

Pukui, Haertig, and Lee (1972a, 1972b) attempted to describe Hawaiian beliefs and customs applicable to today. However, for the sake of discussion in relation to TMT, this article focuses on core Hawaiian values as the means to achieve cultural worldview. Kanahele (1986) polled a cross-section of a Hawaiian community and asked them to identify what they thought were Hawaiian values. The results were a list of 25 values (see Table 1). When participants were asked to rank these values, *aloha* (love) was first, followed by *ha'aha'a* (humility), *ho'omana* (spirituality), *lokomaiika'i* (generosity), *'olu'olu* (graciousness), *ho'ohiki* (keeping promises), *na'auao* (intelligence), *ma'ema'e* (cleanliness), and *kōkua* (helpfulness).

Before 1778, Hawaiians may have placed *ho'okipa*, *koa* (courage), and *kela* (excellence) high on the list (Kanahele, 1986). Kanahele explained that historical conditions account for these differences. For example, *ho'omana* was listed as a value, but in ancient Hawai'i spirituality was not a value but a guiding principal and was integrated throughout the culture itself (Ka'ano'i, 1992). Modern-day Hawaiians may think differently because living in a Western society has diluted their sense of ancient Hawaiian culture.



TABLE 1 Twenty-five identified Hawaiian values

aloha (love)	haipule or ho'omana (spirituality)
ha'aha'a (humility)	kūpono (honesty)
ho'okipa (hospitality)	wiwo (obedience)
laulima (cooperativeness)	ma'ema'e (cleanliness)
'olu'olu (graciousness/pleasantness/manners)	pa'ahana (industriousness/diligence)
ho'omanawanui (patience)	le'ale'a (playfulness)
ho'okūkū (competitiveness)	ho'ohiki (keeping promises)
huikala (forgiveness)	na'auao (intelligence)
kūha'o (self-reliance)	maika'i or kela (excellence)
koa (courage)	kōkua (helpfulness)
lōkahi (harmony/balance/unity)	hanohano (dignity)
alaka'i (leadership)	kū i ka nu'u (achievement)
lokomaiika'i (generosity)	

*Note:* From *Kū Kanaka—Stand Tall: A Search for Hawaiian Values*, by G. H. S. Kanahēle, 1986, pp. 19–20.

Ka'ano'i (1992) gave another perspective with regard to Hawaiian values. He stated that the subjective orientation of Hawaiians' understanding of the environment and relationship to nature—that man should *ho'omanamana* (empower) nature rather than overpower nature and that man is a part of nature and affected by nature—is fundamental to Hawaiian culture. For example, the central concept for ancient Hawaiians that most clearly demonstrated the connection between their cosmology and their values was *mana* (Kanahele, 1986). *Mana* was and is a universal energy, the force that animates all life and elements of the universe, a divine supernatural force available to humans for perfectibility (Kanahele, 1986; Pukui et al., 1972a). Because Hawaiians believe in the divine interconnectedness of nature and their culture, Ka'ano'i believed that Hawaiian religious philosophy is the foundation of Hawaiian values.

Ka'ano'i (1992) suggested that the cornerstones of Hawaiian values are *'ohana* (family), *aloha*, *pa'ahana* (industriousness/diligence), and *maika'i* (excellence), sometimes referred to as *kela*. These values will help Hawaiians understand and succeed in areas regarding family, health, education, nature, business, and government. *'Ohana* is the foundation of Hawaiian culture; the root of origin was a deeply felt and a unifying force (Pukui et al., 1972a). The core values applied to family would be *aloha*, *ho'okipa*, *pa'ahana*, *ho'oponopono* (setting right), and *lōkahi* (unity). The concept of *'ohana* encompasses a sense of unity, shared involvement and responsibility, mutual interdependence, help, loyalty, solidarity, and cohesiveness (Pukui et al., 1972a).

Contemporary Hawaiians believe that a cornerstone value is *aloha*, interpreted to mean love. A warm welcome, hug, and touching nose to cheek is often a display of *aloha*. "*Alo*" meaning face and "*ha*" means to breathe, to breathe upon the face (Ka'ano'i, 1992). To define *aloha* is to live it. *Aloha* describes the highest level of emotional, romantic, and sexual love between husband and wife. The perpetuation of this love is found in their children, who in turn carry on the ideals of *aloha*. In this way, love is everlasting (Ka'ano'i, 1992). According to Pukui et al. (1972a), *aloha* was the neutralizer of hostility. Profound concepts that prevented hostile behavior or attitudes were *aloha* (love and affection), *ho'okipa*, *lokomaiika'i* (generosity and good will), *kōkua* (mutual help, cooperation), *kala* (mutual forgiveness), *ho'iho'i* (returning, anger would return to the instigator), recognition of *luna 'ike hala* (conscience or superego), and emphasis on interdependence (Pukui et al., 1972b).

Work ethics are also important to Hawaiians. The value of work, *pa'ahana*, in a family establishes a foundation for *lōkahi* and is regarded as honorable and worthwhile. According to Hawaiian thought, an activity must have been socially productive to be deemed as work; it must have provided benefit to a group or community. Related to *pa'ahana*, Hawaiian values reflect a striving for *maika'i*, personal excellence (Ka'ano'i, 1992). Personal excellence increased personal *mana* (Ka'ano'i, 1992), sometimes regarded as authority, an inherent quality of command and leadership, or personal magnetism (Pukui et al., 1972a). This *mana* in turn would reflect the quality of one's family and culture. Personal excellence applies to one's health, dress, or talents; to *aloha*, as in love and in making love; to being a friend or family member; and to education, business, and government. It was more important to Hawaiians to increase *mana* than to receive any material compensation.

Malo (1996) noted that because information of ancient traditions was memorized and orally transmitted, this might have caused inaccuracies, controversy at times, and disagreements. Therefore, to begin to accurately define Hawaiian core values, it may be necessary to debate perspectives of core values, both traditional and contemporary.

## IMPLICATIONS OF THE EXISTENCE OF THE CURRENT MIXTURES OF VALUES

The Native Hawaiian population doubled from 1990 to 2000 and has become more diverse than ever, according to U.S. Census data (Malone & Corry, 2004). Nearly two of three Native Hawaiians reported multiple races (Malone & Corry, 2004). Therefore, many Hawaiian students are bicultural and identify with both Western and Hawaiian culture. There are actions that can be taken with these students to have bicultural competence without sacrificing their cultural foundation (Salzman, 2001). It is important to help these students become skillful at identifying and achieving Hawaiian standards and values they are comfortable with to achieve anxiety-buffering self-esteem.

To address this biculturalism of Hawaiian and Western cultures, Ka'ano'i (1992) stated that Hawaiians should not be afraid of Western tools or systems because it is the "self" that empowers them, not the other way around. If Hawaiian values and self-identity are intact, Hawaiians will not be intimidated by Western ideals but will be able to filter and use them for their benefit through their values. For example, a college education is a great tool to use to *kū i ka nu'u* (achieve), to become *na'auao* (intelligent), to become *kūha'o* (self-reliant), and to increase mana, which in turn reflects the quality of the 'ohana and community. There is a need to foster cultural identity in Hawaiian children so that they can be empowered to use Western tools and systems for their benefit instead of being intimidated by them.

Biculturalism may pose a challenge to some Hawaiian youths. Surrounded by the dominant Western culture, some youths may have subconsciously or even consciously marginalized their Hawaiian identity (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003a). They may not feel like they belong to either culture, have no faith in any cultural worldviews, cannot achieve any cultural standards, and are unable to achieve anxiety-buffering self-esteem, all leading to maladaptive anxiety-buffering actions. These Hawaiian youths could renew their cultural identity and gain access to its standards and values, thus being able to achieve anxiety-buffering self-esteem.

### *An Attempt to Repair Fragmented Cultural Worldview*

The Hawaiian renaissance (Kanahele, 1982) is an example of returning to self-appreciation and of trying to mend a fragmented cultural worldview. It includes self-determination efforts, the revival of the language through language immersion schools, the hula, martial arts, music, ancient voyaging, and the return to indigenous healing practices (*lā'au lapa'au* [healing therapies], *lomilomi* [massage], and *ho'oponopono* [mediation, "to correct"]). However, this effort to revitalize Hawaiian culture cannot "upstage the debilitating effects of more than 200 years of political, social, cultural and psychological trauma" (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003a, p. 1).

Kanahele (1986) stated that members of the generation of the Hawaiian renaissance have more pride in being Hawaiian than the preceding generation. Therefore, if we allow Hawaiian students who identify with being Hawaiian to reestablish a cultural worldview that they have faith in and help them achieve its standards/values, this will help them build anxiety-buffering self-esteem and lead them to exhibit adaptive instead of maladaptive behavior. These positive behaviors may affect academic achievement, reduce health risk behaviors, enhance prosocial behavior, and facilitate greater community involvement to perpetuate the culture among broader global audiences.

## TERROR MANAGEMENT AND IMPLICATIONS FOR HEALTHY HAWAIIAN YOUTHS

Terror management theory suggests that if people have faith in a cultural worldview and see themselves as achieving its standards or values, they will have access to anxiety-buffering self-esteem, thus making adaptive behavior more probable (Salzman, 2001). The TMT psychological defense explanatory model may explain Hawaiian maladaptive behavior in society, but it can also help create solutions for promoting positive healthy adaptive behavior that leads to a more productive lifestyle for Hawaiian children and youths. Such solutions may be social and educational programs that include cultural interventions and opportunities for Hawaiian youths to identify with being Hawaiian and achieve core Hawaiian values, so self-esteem can be achieved and anxiety managed. This in turn translates into the demonstration of adaptive behavior by Hawaiian youths.

Raising self-esteem is important for the successful functioning of Native Hawaiian families. Those who have a better attitude toward “self” achieve more than those who have a poor attitude toward self (Kawakami, Aton, Glendon, & Stewart, 1999). A survey of Hawaiian educators revealed that successful learning experiences for Hawaiian students must take place in a culturally authentic physical and social learning environment (Kawakami, 2003). Therefore, it is crucial for Hawaiian students to identify with and have opportunities to live Hawaiian culture and values to develop a better attitude toward self, thereby raising self-esteem, increasing the chance of success, and lowering the risk of failure.

Terror management theory supports the notion that helping raise Hawaiian students' self-esteem is vital to their success and very existence. Bean (1992) noted that children with high self-esteem behave in ways that are self-satisfying, are able to accept more responsibility more comfortably, and experience more personal satisfaction from doing so. They have better interpersonal relationships and are more likely to be chosen for leadership roles. Children with high self-esteem usually have the confidence to demonstrate their creative inner process and expect to be appreciated for what they have done. Conversely, children with lower self-esteem may cover feelings of inadequacies by exhibiting bad behavior (Bean, 1992).

## CULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR HAWAIIAN YOUTHS

Today, there are examples of cultural interventions for Hawaiian children that could well promote the renewal of cultural identity and an opportunity to practice Hawaiian cultural worldview, thus providing a means to achieve anxiety-buffering self-esteem leading to adaptive behavior outcomes. Among these examples are selected Hawaiian charter schools, which have been established to better educate Hawaiian children using culturally appropriate strategies and Hawaiian values. Hawaiian charter schools have also provided opportunities for innovative educational approaches for Native Hawaiian youths (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2005). Students have performed better on SAT-9 reading tests than those in mainstream public schools and also tend to be more engaged and have higher attendance rates (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2005).

Kamehameha Schools also provides a learning environment that ensures that Hawaiian students' experiences and learning styles are welcomed. Kamehameha Schools strives to institutionalize and practice cultural perspectives throughout the organization, instilling a strong sense of pride, self-esteem, and identity with culture for Native Hawaiian children (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003a). Kamehameha Schools aims to rebuild cultural and social stability for Hawaiian students by restoring cultural literacy. Students feel most comfortable in a learning environment created for Hawaiians by Hawaiians and are able to succeed academically in learning environments that facilitate cultural pride and practice. They do not have to fear culturally biased classroom practices (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2003a).

Programs sponsored by the Polynesian Voyaging Society and other Hawaiian agricultural programs exemplify effective ways to connect Hawaiian students with their cultural roots (Harden, 1999). Participation in these programs gives the students a sense of accomplishment that makes them feel proud of their heritage and boosts anxiety-buffering self-esteem, thus leading to adaptive actions.

Another example is a program introduced at University of Hawai'i–Hilo. The Nā'imiloa Curriculum Model, developed by the university's Center for Gifted and Talented Native Hawaiian Children, attempted to implement a values-based curriculum that was designed to provide opportunities for Native Hawaiian students to display and practice values throughout the school year and eventually in their daily lives (Kawakami et al., 1999).

Other existing programs that reinforce Native Hawaiian cultural identity and integrate traditional Native Hawaiian knowledge and values have proved successful in renewing a sense of pride and confidence among Hawaiian youths (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005). Positive cultural identity is important to Native Hawaiians who struggle with such negative views of themselves (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005). Reconnecting Native Hawaiian youths to values and traditions that are inherently a part of them is vital to the restoration of positive cultural pride and cultural renewal of an indigenous culture that has been fragmented over generations. Some examples of these programs are language immersion programs, place-based learning education programs, and community health programs (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005).

## CONCLUSION: PROPOSAL FOR FUTURE STUDIES

The terror management theory's explanation of how humans defend themselves psychologically against the anxiety of inevitable death has been supported in literature. The theoretical underpinnings of TMT directly correlate to the historical plight of Native Hawaiians. For example, Hawaiians historically dealt with physical annihilation and sudden death, as well as cultural trauma. Therefore, TMT is deemed as a viable explanatory model for Hawaiians' behavioral and social outcomes.

The resurgence of the Hawaiian language, music, dance, and other cultural practices provoked Native Hawaiians to revisit their cultural values. Native Hawaiian organizations and institutions revisit Hawaiian values and cultural practices to establish guidelines and standards that, if practiced, would help increase the chances for Hawaiians to overcome socioeconomic disparities and to be productive, contributing citizens in present-day society. Also, existing educational institutions and programs have institutionalized and embedded cultural opportunities within educational practices to ensure academic and social success for Hawaiian children. Native Hawaiian values, active restoration of those values, and the establishment of cultural standards support the notion that TMT could be used to explain much of the historical and current behaviors of Native Hawaiians.

Research in much of the literature addressing cultural identity and its impact on self-esteem, social behavior, education, and the health of Native Hawaiians is indicative of comparisons made using empirical research conducted on other indigenous groups and minorities. To enhance this existing body of research, it is proposed that the empirical testing of TMT, in a natural versus laboratory setting, be used as a viable tool to evaluate the effectiveness of current educational and cultural interventions for Hawaiian children.

Applying the components of TMT, future research on Hawaiian youths could examine if Hawaiian youths who identify or seek to identify with “being Hawaiian” and are assisted in achieving its core cultural values (a) will have higher levels of self-esteem if they see themselves achieving cultural standards following cultural intervention, (b) will have lower levels of anxiety following intervention, and (c) will increase “adaptive” behaviors such as studying, achieving academic standards, and making positive contributions to their families and communities. Future studies could be designed specifically to evaluate various Native Hawaiian cultural programs by measuring the variables of TMT, including identity and practice of Hawaiian cultural values on self-esteem, anxiety, and adaptive behavior of Hawaiian youths. The methodology would include pre- and postmeasures of Hawaiian identity, self-esteem, anxiety, and prosocial behaviors. Data collected from empirical research using the theory of TMT applied to Hawaiian youths may provide valid and reliable information to help evaluate and design effective educational and cultural interventions.



In conclusion, this article suggests that TMT should be considered to provide explanations, within a social psychological reference, for maladaptive and adaptive behaviors of Native Hawaiian youths. The application of TMT could be used to provide empirical evidence that evaluates components of best practices for culturally based programs. Data collected may inform community leaders in creating, promoting, and sustaining existing effective cultural programs, educational practices, and interventions for Native Hawaiian children and youths. It is important to note that TMT research can contribute new knowledge and perspectives to existing research about Hawaiian identity and well-being. Research using the TMT framework can create a new body of scientific evidence that may provide justification to secure future political and economic support for Native Hawaiian programs.

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## NOTES

1 The first hypothesis concerned self-esteem as an anxiety-buffering function (Pyszczynski et al., 2003). When people believe they are valuable in a world of meaning, “they should be able to function securely” (Pyszczynski et al., 2003, p. 39). Pyszczynski et al. found that there were hundreds of studies already available that found negative correlation between self-esteem and anxiety; high self-esteem is associated with low anxiety and low self-esteem is associated with high anxiety. Other existing experiments examined the effects of bolstering or threatening self-esteem.

2 The second study involved students in a laboratory situation who were physically aroused by electrical shocks. Physiological effects such as skin conductance (the small electric current traveling between a person’s fingers) were measured. Greater anxiety in a person causes greater perspiration; water causes the electric current between fingers to travel faster. Half of the students were told that they would receive electrical shocks (threat), whereas the other half were placed in a nonthreatened situation, the physical stimulation of light waves.

## “FOR THE INTEREST OF THE HAWAIIANS THEMSELVES”: RECLAIMING THE BENEFITS OF HAWAIIAN-MEDIUM EDUCATION

*William H. Wilson and Kauanoë Kamanā*

Those who overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy understood that banning Hawaiian as the language of public and private schooling would exterminate the language. They also believed that replacing Hawaiian with English was “for the interest of the Hawaiians themselves.” This article challenges that belief by presenting five areas of importance in academics and core values where Hawaiian-medium education, in fact, demonstrates significant advantages over English-medium education. The information presented here should be useful in spreading autochthonous language medium education in Hawai‘i to the extent seen in New Zealand, Wales, and other areas. A major obstacle to overcome in spreading the model is the continued exclusion of Hawaiian-medium education from the state’s private schools, including Kamehameha Schools.

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“The gradual extinction of a Polynesian dialect may be regretted for sentimental reasons, but it is certainly for the interest of the Hawaiians themselves.”

Thus read the first biennial report of the Bureau of Public Instruction of the Republic of Hawai‘i (1895) established by those who overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy. By the next report, the use of Hawaiian as a medium of education had been outlawed in both private and public schools. And by 1983, there were fewer than 50 children under the age of 18 who spoke Hawaiian fluently (Wilson, Kamanā, & Rawlins, 2006). That year, a small group of Hawaiian-speaking educators established the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo to reestablish Hawaiian language medium education and save Hawaiian from extinction.

In 1986, after a three-year lobbying campaign by the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, the state removed the ban on schooling through Hawaiian. The founding of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo and the expansion of its programming through high school is the local reflection of an international autochthonous language medium education movement. There has been great progress toward making this form of education the norm for students in New Zealand, Wales, Greenland, and northern Spain (Baker & Jones, 1998). A distinctive factor stalling and even threatening the continued existence of autochthonous language medium education in Hawai‘i is the fact that private schools have allowed the ban on Hawaiian-medium education to remain on their own campuses.

Descriptions of physical and psychological punishment for speaking Hawaiian in public schools and in the Supreme Court-controlled private Kamehameha Schools are commonly found in oral histories of the early territorial period (Eyre, 2004). The forced loss of the Hawaiian language is widely denounced, yet there is a reluctance to embrace the language, even in Hawaiian institutions. This reluctance suggests that misrepresentations regarding the Hawaiian language promulgated by those who overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy remain widespread and continue to have a negative impact.

This article provides evidence that it was not, and still is not, in the interest of Hawaiians to be educated through English rather than Hawaiian. As a result of replacing Hawaiian-medium education with English-medium education, Hawaiians and Hawai'i as a whole have lost a number of benefits that could be reclaimed by further development of contemporary Hawaiian-medium education. We focus on five such benefits as evidence against the claim that policies replacing Hawaiian-medium education with English-medium education are “for the interests of the Hawaiians themselves.” The evidence of the superiority of Hawaiian-medium education over English-medium education discussed in this article includes (a) assuring personal cultural connections, (b) maintaining the identity of Hawaiians as a distinct people, (c) supporting academic achievement, (d) supporting acquisition of standard English, and (e) supporting third-language study.

## PERSONAL CULTURAL CONNECTIONS

The Republic of Hawai'i predicted that banning Hawaiian in the schools would result in the extinction of Hawaiian. Hawaiian is now clearly extinct as the first language for the vast majority of contemporary Hawaiians. Before the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, all Hawaiians and many locally raised non-Hawaiians grew up speaking Hawaiian. It was the normal language of the home, of the peer group, of participation in government, of church, and of daily basic economic activity. Today, there are fewer than 200 Hawaiian-speaking *kūpuna* (elders) remaining, and were it not for the children in Hawaiian-medium education from the Pūnana Leo through high school, there would likely be no fluent Hawaiian speakers in a few years (Wilson & Kamanā, 2001).

Historically, Hawaiian language loss occurred earliest among students educated in boarding programs such as the Kamehameha Schools where use of Hawaiian could be prohibited and monitored 24 hours a day (Eyre, 2004).<sup>1</sup> Within little more than a generation of English-only education, the last children to use Hawaiian as their normal language of peer interaction had been born in all communities except Ni'ihau. Hawai'i Creole English then became the language of peer group identification for most Hawaiian children in the public schools and other children who joined them there.<sup>2</sup>

The first generation of Hawaiian adults experiencing the ban on Hawaiian in the schools did not simply acquiesce to loss of the language. There was considerable effort to maintain Hawaiian. In calling for a multifaceted effort to support the survival of Hawaiian, a January 26, 1917 editorial in the newspaper *Ka Pu'uhonua* noted:

*I keia la, ke hepa mai nei ka oleloia ana o ka kakou olelo makuahine. Aole keiki o ka 15 makahiki e hiki ke kamailio pololei i ka olelo makuahine o keia aina. A no keaha ke kumu i hiki ole ai? No ka mea, aole a'o ia i ka olelo pololei. A i ka hala ana o na la pokole wale no o ka pau no ia...*

We now find that our mother tongue is being spoken in a broken manner. There are no children under the age of 15 who can speak the mother tongue of this land properly. And why is this the case? Because, the proper use of the language is not taught (in the schools). And in a very short period we will find that the language is gone.

The editorial makes numerous suggestions to support the survival of Hawaiian, including sole use of Hawaiian in the home, in church, in Sunday school, and in Hawaiian organizations. These suggestions were carried out by the majority of the adult generation, but they proved futile in the face of English-only policies in territorial public and private schools. Once the children went to the English-medium schools, they stopped speaking Hawaiian with their peers and even answered their parents' Hawaiian with English.<sup>3</sup>

There is no question that the *Pu'uhonua* editorial was correct in stating that Hawaiians were about to lose their mother tongue. It was also correct in faulting the elimination of Hawaiian-medium education. The effect of maintaining a language as the medium of education can be seen throughout the world. Where a language has been maintained as the medium of education, it survives. Where it is banned or is just partially used for the first few grades, it disappears (Baker & Jones, 1998).



The inability to speak Hawaiian is considered a major personal cultural loss by many contemporary Hawaiians. Without Hawaiian, much of the wealth of unique knowledge and culture that is expressed and recorded in Hawaiian remains out of reach. Without the language, there is no creativity in traditional forms of poetry, oratory, and aspects of other arts. Also lost are more subtle features of Hawaiian thinking and worldview encoded in the grammar and vocabulary of Hawaiian.<sup>4</sup>

Being severed from Hawaiian has also severed Hawaiians from the family of Polynesian-language speakers. A fluent speaker of Hawaiian can understand basic conversation in Tahitian and Māori and can recognize many words and phrases of Samoan and Tongan. The high level of similarity among these languages provides a unique connection with these other Polynesian peoples. Among other Polynesians, Hawaiians have come to be known as a group of nonspeakers of their own language.<sup>5</sup>

The loss of Hawaiian as a first language affects not only the relationship of Hawaiians with other Polynesians but also their relationships with other peoples throughout the world. In Europe and Asia, attending school in one's own language while studying English and other languages to a high level of fluency is the norm. It may be difficult for Europeans and Asians to understand why Hawaiians cannot learn to speak at least two languages fluently. As the world grows smaller, Hawaiians' inability to speak Hawaiian will increasingly lead to questions regarding their personal and group identity.

## IDENTITY AS A DISTINCT PEOPLE

The claim of Hawaiians to be a distinctive contemporary group rather than simply descendants of such a group is at the heart of current discussions regarding the political status of Hawaiians. The claim of continued distinctiveness has been attacked by opponents of recognition of such a political status (Conklin, 2006). In many countries, group use of a unique language is the key factor in identifying indigenous peoples. Language use is also recognized as a major criterion for political recognition in the United States (Conklin, 2006). Ironically, the United States government long suppressed the same languages whose use it considers to be a criterion for political recognition. The Report of the Indian Peace

Commissioners of 1868 included the following statement: “Schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialect should be blotted out and the English language substituted” (Reyhner, 1996, p. 7).

When anti-American Indian language campaigns were gaining strength in the United States, Americans in Hawai‘i were urging that Hawaiian-medium schools be replaced with English-medium schools. Proposals relating to education had to be evaluated by Mataio Kekūanā‘o, head of the Kingdom’s department of education.<sup>6</sup> In 1864, Kekūanā‘o issued a report strongly condemning attempts to eliminate Hawaiian-medium schools and even stated that the English-medium boarding schools turned students into individuals who were “no longer Hawaiian.” The report also decried the class bias that developed with private English-medium education. It stated that English-medium students had been trained to think of themselves as a “superior caste, having nothing, not even a language, in common with the rest” (Reinecke, 1969, p. 46). That same year the *Kū‘oko‘a* newspaper (November 19, 1864) published an editorial opposing the elimination of Hawaiian-medium schooling. The editorial referred to the proposal as part of a scheme to eliminate the independent government of Hawai‘i and closed with the following statement:

*He lana ko makou manao e kipi pono ana, a e malama maikai ana lakou i keia pono nui o na kanaka kupa o ka aina, oia hoi ka oihana kula kamalii Hawaii. O ka naauao iloko o ka olelo Hawaii, oia ke Kilohana Pookela o ka Lahui Hawaii.*

It is our hope that they [the Hawaiian Legislature] will appropriately and fully rebel against this [proposal to replace public Hawaiian-medium schools with English-medium schools] and take great care of this great “pono” [benefit, morality, righteousness] which is the Hawaiian language education system. Education through the Hawaiian language is the most excellent peak of achievement of the Hawaiian people.

The strong feelings that Hawaiians in the Kingdom had for maintaining Hawaiian-medium education impeded the efforts of foreigners to close Hawaiian-medium education outright. Foreigners subsequently took the approach of working to gradually eliminate financial and other support for Hawaiian-medium education. Most foreigners at the time simply assumed the superiority of English as part of a then-current racist thinking regarding things “native” (Reinecke, 1969). Even after the monarchy was overthrown and Hawaiian-medium schools were fully shut down by law, the Hawaiian press was very cognizant of the organized plan to obliterate Hawaiian and persisted in urging the community to resist. The 1917 editorial from *Ka Pu'uhonua*, from which an earlier quote is given above, began with the following statement:

*I ikeia no ke kanaka no kekahi lahui ma kana olelo. Ina e nalowale ana ka olelo makuahine o kekahi lahui, e nalo hia aku ana no ia lahui.*

A human being is recognized as belonging to a particular people by the language he or she uses. If a people loses its mother tongue, that people will disappear.

The fear expressed by early territorial Hawaiian leaders that the loss of Hawaiian would result in the loss of a distinct Hawaiian people has been realized in a considerable part of the population over the past 100 years. Those who are biologically Hawaiian now often claim another ethnic identity as primary. In the 2000 U.S. Census, 38.8% of those in Hawai'i identifying themselves as Chinese also claimed to have Hawaiian blood (Kana'iaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005).<sup>7</sup> In the late 1990s, Hilo High School surveyed students as to the ethnicity with which they most identified (Hawai'i State Department of Education, 1999) and also asked them to indicate whether they had any Hawaiian blood. Of the students, 26.1% listed Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian as their ethnicity of identity, but 51% noted that they had Hawaiian blood. If after 100 years of English-medium education, half of all young people of Hawaiian ancestry consider their identity as primarily non-Hawaiian, what will remain of Hawaiian identity in the next 100 years, much less the next millennium?

While the widely acknowledged relationship between language and identity has not been closely studied in Hawai‘i, evidence certainly exists that contemporary schooling through Hawaiian has a positive effect on identification as Hawaiian. The Hilo High School survey described above also found that 96% of Native Hawaiian students enrolled in its Hawaiian immersion program marked Hawaiian as the ethnicity with which they most identified. One might argue that families that chose immersion did so because they themselves already identified as Hawaiian. However, in support of the effect of the language on students are reports from non-Hawaiian students who feel that enrolling in the program developed in them a feeling of Hawaiian ethnic, albeit not racial, identity (T. I. Gionson, personal communication, September 2006). Such increased identification, or “reduction of psychological distance,” with the group associated with a language used in immersion programming has been noted in studies in Canada (Baker & Hornberger, 2001, p. 101).

## ADVANTAGES FOR ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

Another facet of the systematic effort by foreigners to eliminate Hawaiian-medium education during the monarchy was promotion of the notion that Hawaiian was a primitive language that lacked the cultural understandings and linguistic features that would enable students to express the higher-order thinking necessary for an educated population. In response to this argument, Kekūanā‘o’s earlier-referenced 1864 report stated that Hawaiian was full and comprehensive enough for teaching any subject. The 1864 editorial cited earlier from the *Kū‘oko‘a* rejected the claim that Hawaiian was inferior as a medium of education, noting that Hawaiian-language schools had produced the Hawaiian-speaking ministers, lawyers, judges, and publishers practicing at that time.

The *Kū'oko'a* editorial also noted that languages grow and adapt to their uses and stated that Hawaiian had adapted well to 19th-century innovations. English speakers who were claiming Hawaiian to be too primitive for use in schooling were ignoring the fact that English itself had at one time been claimed to be too primitive to be used as a vehicle of instruction in the schools of England by those who favored the “superior” French and Latin languages (McCrum, Cran, & MacNeil, 1993). The *Kū'oko'a* editorial further rejected educating all Hawaiian children through English by stating that it would actually result in a decrease in educational achievement:

*Aole loa e hiki ke ao ia na kamalii Hawaii a pau ma ka olelo  
Enelani e lilo ai lakou i poe akamai ma loko o ia olelo. A ina  
e hoao ia kela manao, eia wale no ka hope, e naaupo ana ka  
hapa nui o na keiki Hawaii.*

It would be absolutely impossible to teach all Hawaiian children through the language of England to the point of being highly skilled in that language. And if an effort were made to carry out that proposal, the only possible outcome would be that the majority of Hawaiian children would become uneducated and ignorant.

The Hawaiian press had reason to be proud of the academic achievement reached through the Hawaiian-medium school system. Almost every young Hawaiian older than age five could read. Upon annexation to the United States, Hawaiians had the highest literacy rate of any ethnic group in the Hawaiian Islands, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1 Percentage of Hawai‘i’s population ages 5 or older literate in 1896

Group	%
Hawaiian	84.0
Part-Hawaiian	91.2
Portuguese	27.8
Other Caucasian (primarily Anglo-American)	85.7
Chinese	48.5
Japanese	53.6

Note: From *Hawai‘i’s People*, by A. Lind, 1980, p. 94.

Second to the Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian literacy rate was “Other Caucasian.” This group, primarily Americans and British, was disproportionately composed of merchants, professionals, and managers at that time in Hawai‘i’s history. By way of contrast, the Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian categories included people from all walks of life and social classes. Furthermore, in 1896, Hawaiian as a written language had been in existence less than 75 years. Many older pure Hawaiians living at the time had reached maturity before the establishment of the compulsory public school system. Others, also primarily pure Hawaiians, lived in isolated areas where it was difficult to provide formal schooling.

Unique features of the Hawaiian language facilitated early and rapid acquisition of literacy among 19th-century Hawaiians in Hawaiian-medium schools. The Hawaiian writing system is very regular in making the connection between written symbol and phoneme. The English spelling system is much less regular and therefore more difficult to acquire, delaying the initial acquisition of literacy by children and making it more difficult to become a proficient reader. That learning to read in Hawaiian is easier than learning to read in English is confirmed in a number of missionary accounts, such as the following from Dibble (cited in Schütz, 1994):

Every one who can combine two letters in a syllable, and put two syllables together, can both read and spell with readiness. The art of reading, therefore, is very easily acquired. I think I am safe in saying, that the children of Hawaii learn to read their language in a much shorter time than our children do the English. (p. 173)

As indicated in the above quotation, 19th-century Hawaiian-medium schools had another advantage over English-medium schools: the use of a syllabic method of teaching literacy. Compulsory education initially began at age 4 in Hawai'i but was changed to age 6 after English-medium education became more common (Alexander & Atkinson, 1888). This difference in initial age of compulsory education is consistent with what psycholinguistic experiments have found to be the normal cognitive development of children. Shortly after reaching age 4, most children can divide words syllabically, the minimum cognitive skill necessary to begin fluent reading of Hawaiian. However, the minimum cognitive skill necessary to begin fluent reading in English is the ability to divide words into phonemes. This does not normally occur until age 6 (O'Grady, Archibald, Aronoff, & Rees-Miller, 2005). Thus, due to differences in the linguistic structure of their languages, Hawaiian-speaking children can generally learn to read two years earlier than English speakers.

Also affecting the rapid reading acquisition among Hawaiian speakers is the exact identity between Hawaiian phonemes and letters that young Hawaiian readers access after first developing reading through two-phoneme syllables. Research on the transfer of reading skills from languages with a highly regular alphabet writing system (like that of Hawaiian) to reading the highly irregular English writing system has shown that those who read first in such a language can often read English words faster than native speakers of English (Sasaki, 2005). Further support for the existence of unique reading strengths of children who learn to read Hawaiian first is the common observation in Hawaiian-medium schools of children beginning to read English on their own before formal instruction in English is introduced.

The predictions of the *Kū'oko'a* and *Kekūanā'o'a* that replacement of Hawaiian-medium education with English-medium education would reduce academic achievement proved true. During the 20th century, huge advances were made in terms of communications, travel, and economic resourcing for Hawai'i's English-medium public and private schools. One would think that these advantages would further increase the already high academic performance of Hawaiian students. In actual fact, as the English public and private schools exterminated the Hawaiian language, literacy decreased among Hawaiians. Statistics collected in 1986 show that Hawaiians have become one of the least literate ethnic groups in Hawai'i with only 70% functionally literate (Berg, 1989).

By way of contrast, considerable academic successes are presently being realized at Nāwahiokalani'ōpu'u, the P-12 Hawaiian-medium laboratory school affiliated with Hilo High School and the state's Hawaiian language college. This academic success is evidence of the potential of contemporary Hawaiian-medium education to reestablish high academic performance among Hawaiians. Since the first graduating class in 1999, there has been a 100% graduation rate and an 80% college attendance rate. Nāwahi graduates attend local institutions of higher education, as well as prominent out-of-state universities such as Stanford and Loyola Marymount. One former student earned an MA at Oxford and is now in a PhD program there. In 2003, Nāwahi students made up less than 2% of the Hilo High School senior class but accounted for 16% of its summa cum laude graduates (Wilson, 2003).<sup>8</sup>

A likely factor strengthening academic achievement at Nāwahi is the cognitive effect of high bilingualism. Research on highly bilingual students has shown them to have higher levels of conceptual development and stronger metalinguistic skills than monolingual students (Baker & Hornberger, 2001; Baker & Jones, 1998; Khleif, 1980). Researchers have cautioned that such cognitive advantages are generally found among children who are truly able to communicate fully in two languages, that is, those children who have reached what is termed the "threshold of balanced bilingual competence" (Baker & Jones, 1998).

The reality for autochthonous language minority education is that it is much more difficult to develop high fluency in the autochthonous minority language than in the socially dominant language. High-level fluency in both languages is required to reach the "threshold" necessary to obtain cognitive advantages. In the Basque region of Spain where all students study both Spanish and the endangered Basque



language, there has been extensive testing of thousands of children comparing three models of education: (a) Spanish medium with Basque taught as a foreign language at all grades, (a) half-day Spanish and half-day Basque medium, and (c) full-day Basque medium with Spanish taught as a foreign language. In all three models children perform at about the same high level in Spanish, but the full-day Basque program produces much superior results in Basque (Gardner, 2000). The trend is an increase in full Basque-medium schools.

The Basque programs exemplify a developmental process also observable in Hawai'i. Establishment of full immersion inspires increased language teaching through other methods. English-medium Hawaiian charter schools and Kamehameha Schools are moving to implement required study of Hawaiian—the beginnings of Basque model A described above. Kamehameha Schools has long had the state's largest enrollments in Hawaiian language courses and will soon offer the option of six years of Hawaiian. Partial immersion—Basque model B—is an option at several public intermediate and high schools. Kamehameha Schools has moved toward partial immersion by offering the option of two courses and home room through Hawaiian. Full immersion—Basque model C—is found in all Pūnana Leo preschools and most of the public elementary streams that developed from Pūnana Leo. Full immersion through high school, as is standard in the Basque region, is the least widespread but also the most promising in producing full bilit-eracy in Hawaiian and English.

## ADVANTAGES IN ACQUIRING STANDARD ENGLISH

Twenty years ago, predictions were made that if Hawaiian-medium education was reestablished, the enrolled children would fail to speak English. Not a single graduate from Hawaiian-medium education has been unable to speak, read, and write English. There is no detectable accent in their English that differentiates them from others in their communities. There is standardized test evidence that students from Hawaiian language medium schools have the potential to exceed peers from other schools in English achievement (Wilson & Kamanā, 2001).

Scientific research corroborates the Hawaiian data. Programs using nondominant languages as media of education have been shown effective in developing high-level mastery of the dominant language (McCarty, 2003).

Careful scientific studies in Canada of Anglophone children in French immersion have shown that those who completed French immersion not only reached the same level of English proficiency as their peers in English-medium schools but often exceeded it. These studies showed that a gap initially existed during the period before any English was taught in the French immersion programs and persisted for a while after English was introduced. The ultimate outcome, however, was equal, and frequently, higher English achievement (Genesee, Holobow, Lambert, & Chartrand, 1989).

Mere exposure to two languages does not explain the phenomenon of high English achievement in Canadian French immersion programs for Anglophones. All Anglophone schools teach French as a subject from the earliest grades. Indeed, the reason for establishing French immersion in Canada was that French achievement in Canadian Anglophone schools was quite low despite years of second-language course study. Francophones, however, as speakers of the smaller official language of Canada, found it relatively easy to develop fluency in English because of the many opportunities Francophone students have to use English outside school. With increased legal support of both Canadian official languages—French and English—Anglophones were losing jobs to Francophones with better balanced fluency in French and English.

In Hawai'i in the 1980s, the status of Hawaiian in the community had deteriorated to near extinction. Hawai'i's history had shown that after-school programs, such as those developed by the Japanese in the early 1900s, and in-school bilingual programs, such as those developed to serve more recent Filipino immigrants, are insufficiently strong to maintain non-English languages with younger generations in Hawai'i. The strong Hawaiian language medium school model of the Hawaiian monarchy was needed if Hawaiian was to survive extinction. The contemporary Hawaiian-medium model was developed by combining knowledge gained from the historical Hawaiian model with information gained from Canadian French immersion and even stronger autochthonous language medium models from

New Zealand and elsewhere. The model calls for a standard English language arts course beginning in Grade 5 and third and fourth languages to be taught as resources are available.

The Pūnana Leo movement has sought to reestablish Hawaiian as the first language of participating families and includes parent training as children attend the schools it has pioneered. As a result of this education, the number of families speaking Hawaiian in the home has increased. The program has come full circle, with some of its earliest graduates becoming parents who are raising their own children through Hawaiian. This development shows that it is possible to revive Hawaiian intergenerationally, as was done with the Hebrew language, especially if more Hawaiians participate in Hawaiian-medium education.<sup>9</sup>

The goal of reestablishing Hawaiian as a first language in Hawai'i does not mean rejection of high standards of English for Hawaiian-speaking children. The fact is that developing high skills in English has been an important goal, both in contemporary Hawaiian-medium education and in the educational system of the Hawaiian monarchy. For both periods the target has been high fluency and literacy in both languages, but with English as a language to be used with outsiders rather than with fellow Hawaiians. The weak position of Hawaiian in the community means that most children in Hawaiian-medium schools speak English frequently at home. Even those who speak only Hawaiian at home live in neighborhoods where English is dominant, have English-speaking extended families, and use the English media. The model of teaching English supported by the 'Aha Pūnana Leo includes eight full years of English language arts courses through high school graduation. Those eight years exceed the research-indicated five to six years of English study to develop full English biliteracy for language minority children (McCarty, 2003).

During the monarchy, foreigners in the government who favored the elimination of Hawaiian-medium education used the interest of Hawaiians in learning English to gradually reduce support for Hawaiian-medium education. In fact, those who have claimed that Hawaiians themselves exterminated Hawaiian (Conklin, 2006) have included enrollment figures for Kingdom Hawaiian-medium schools that taught English as a course with those of total English-medium schools (Reinecke, 1969).<sup>10</sup> Counting "English schools" in this way gives a highly distorted picture.

Under such a system, a country such as Denmark would likely not have a single Danish-medium school. All Danish schools teach English. Certainly, all contemporary Hawaiian-medium schools would be classified as English schools under this method of classification.

The editorials from Hawaiian newspapers provided in this article all expressed a desire to maintain Hawaiian-medium schooling. Support for the continuation of Hawaiian-medium education continued in the face of negative political forces. These included the reduction of the salaries of those teaching through Hawaiian, the closing of Lahainaluna as a Hawaiian-medium teacher training center, and the elimination of funding for Hawaiian-medium books.<sup>11</sup>

An effective method used during the monarchy for maintaining Hawaiian while pursuing English as a strong foreign language was to conduct elementary education in Hawaiian with enrollment of selected older students for a limited period in an English immersion school. One such school was Ke Kula O Kehehena, the public school that grew out of the missionaries' Royal School. With the reestablishment of Hawaiian-medium education, there are now some students receiving elementary education through Hawaiian with high school education through English at Kamehameha Schools. Indeed, there may be a higher percentage of students from Hawaiian-medium schools being accepted into Kamehameha Schools than from English-medium public schools.<sup>12</sup>

For a number of years now, there has been a concern that Hawaiian-medium education enrollments not be affected negatively through the high acceptance rate of Hawaiian-medium students at the Kamehameha Schools. Unlike students during the monarchy, contemporary Hawaiian-medium school students come primarily from English-speaking homes. Attending a private English-medium school does not provide children with language-learning benefits and has even reduced the use of Hawaiian, contrary to the Kamehameha Schools' Strategic Plan (Kamehameha Schools, 2000). Under current conditions, a more productive strategy for developing strong fluency and literacy in both Hawaiian and English would be to provide incentives to keep students in Hawaiian-medium schools and carefully coordinate these with the initiation of new immersion streams on Kamehameha campuses.

Hawaiian students learning English during the monarchy typically experienced learning English in the same way students in non-English speaking countries learn English: as a carefully studied second language. Hawaiians learning English in the 1800s focused on the most correct English grammar, pronunciation, and vocabulary possible. While there were still Hawaiians who spoke no English or very little when the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown, those who spoke English fluently adhered to a high standard in English. After the initiation of the ban on Hawaiian in schools, Hawaiian adults were not only sounding the alarm over the effect of the English schools on the use of Hawaiian but also noting a decrease in the standard of English spoken by Hawaiians, as shown in the following quotation from an editorial in *Ka Na'i Aupuni*, of January 4, 1906:

*a ua ku maoli no hoi i ka hilahila ke hoolohe aku i na opio e hoao ana e olelo i ka olelo kulaiwi me ka hemahema. O ka oi loa aku, ke hoolohe aku oe ia lakou, na opio e hoao ana e olelo Beretania, aole no i hemo pono loa ka hoopuka ana i ka olelo Beretania, a he hooku'iku'i no ka manao, aole he mohala pono.*

It's extremely embarrassing to hear our young people trying to speak Hawaiian so ineptly. Even more embarrassing is to hear our young people trying to speak English. They are not pronouncing English correctly and the meanings contradict each other and are poorly developed.

The loss of Hawaiian during the early territorial period did not result in English becoming the community language of Hawaiians. Instead, it resulted in the birth of a new language—Hawai'i Creole English. Parallels with Hawai'i Creole English can be found in African American English and American Indian English, which also grew up under forced use of English. These nonstandard dialects serve to maintain distinctive identities for peoples whose languages were subject to extermination. However, the very histories and contemporary uses of these dialects as means of displaying resistance may also negatively affect the acquisition of standard English. Support for this observation can be found on the Navajo Reservation where Indian English has now replaced Navajo among most children. Navajo language medium schooling has produced higher English (and overall

academic) achievement than English-medium schooling there (Johnson & Legatz, 2006). The Welsh, who also have a history of being suppressed, have demonstrated similar higher English (and overall academic) achievement for Welsh students from English-speaking homes through Welsh-medium schools (Khleif, 1980).

Within Hawaiian-medium schools, institutional use of Hawaiian highlights and strengthens Hawaiian identity. In such an environment, achievement in standard English language arts classes is less likely to be seen as threatening to Hawaiian identity. Certainly, in 19th-century Hawai‘i, taking a course in English was not considered any more threatening to one’s identity than taking a course in English is considered a threat to identity in the school systems of contemporary foreign countries.

In the contemporary world, it is the countries with profiles similar to that of 19th-century Hawai‘i—small countries such as Scandinavia—that produce the best students of English. It is the experience at the University of Hawai‘i–Hilo that students from Scandinavian countries who learn English as a foreign language in their own countries score higher on English placement tests than Hawaiian students who speak English natively (Karla Hayashi, personal communication, September 2006). The record of Hawaiian Kingdom’s school system indicates that similarly strong standard English language results were produced in many schools here in Hawai‘i. Many Hawaiians in the late monarchical period were literate in both Hawaiian and English, as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2 Literacy in English among Hawaiians in 1896

Group	%
Pure Hawaiian females	29.6
Pure Hawaiian males	32.6
Part-Hawaiian males	74.4
Part-Hawaiian females	78.0

Note: From *Language and Dialect in Hawai‘i: A Sociolinguistic History to 1935*, by J. E. Reinecke, 1969, p. 37.

Interestingly, in 1896, when Hawaiian was still the dominant language of Hawaiians, and literacy—even in Hawaiian—was less than three generations old, the literacy rate in English among part-Hawaiians was above 70%. This is as high as the literacy rate of those of Hawaiian ancestry in 1986! Those of Hawaiian ancestry in 1986 likely had an overall smaller Hawaiian blood quantum than the part-Hawaiians of 1896, and certainly had much more daily access to standard English. That such a large portion of the population of Hawaiians in 1896 was not only literate but literate in two languages is no small accomplishment and has not been equaled in contemporary Hawai‘i, even in the elite English-medium private schools. Testimony that it is possible for Hawai‘i’s young people to be fully fluent in two languages—again—is found today in the biliteracy in Hawaiian and English found among graduates of contemporary Hawaiian-medium schools.

## ADVANTAGES FOR THIRD-LANGUAGE STUDY

When the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo began in the 1980s, many questioned the value of investing in teaching Hawaiian to preschool-age children. Suggestions were made that the invested time and effort would be better spent teaching children a “useful language” such as Japanese, French, or Chinese. The reality, however, is that far from rejecting the study of languages other than Hawaiian, Hawaiian-medium schools often embrace such study. Nāwahī laboratory school currently teaches all students four languages. In addition to Hawaiian and English, all elementary students study Japanese from Grade 1 to 6, and all 7th-, 8th-, and 9th-grade students study Latin. In addition, after-school courses are available in Mandarin Chinese and Japanese.

Research has shown that immersion students have advantages in learning third languages (Cenoz & Genesee, 1998). Further development of Hawaiian-medium education to include high-quality teaching of a third language could align Hawai‘i more closely with European systems of education in which students typically study three languages before high school graduation.

The American English-medium school model used in Hawai‘i’s public and private schools teaches Hawaiian as a separate foreign language style course in competition with actual foreign languages. Unlike Hawaiian-medium school students, students in English-medium schools are required to choose between Hawaiian and foreign languages for their “foreign language” course. This competition with foreign languages is a major reason for low enrollments and even opposition by parents to Hawaiian language courses in English-medium private schools such as Kamehameha. Teaching Hawaiian as a foreign language is hindering revitalization of Hawaiian among Hawaiians themselves.

In Wales where the autochthonous Welsh language is being revived, more than 25% of all students attend Welsh-medium schools. Those students, primarily from families of indigenous Welsh origin, study English and French as additional languages. Those families who do not identify as strongly with Welsh enroll their children primarily in English-medium schools. In the English-medium system, students are required to take Welsh in foreign language style courses for a full 11 years of study (Welsh Language Board, 2000). As we saw earlier with Basque, study of an endangered autochthonous language like Welsh in a dominant language medium school has little effect in revitalizing a language for actual use. Test results show that Welsh-medium schools produce better results, not only in Welsh, but in English and French as well (Khleif, 1980). Similarly, the Hawaiian-medium education model can produce a higher-level fluency in foreign languages than study of foreign languages in lieu of Hawaiian. And the Hawaiian-medium model assures a level of Hawaiian fluency that actually affects the survival of the language, and thus of the culture, and ultimately, of the Hawaiian people themselves. Simply requiring foreign language style study of Hawaiian, even at every level of schooling, will not revitalize Hawaiian. Only Hawaiian-medium schools can revitalize Hawaiian—and even then it must be combined with use in the home and community.



## MOVING BEYOND REMOVAL OF THE BAN

There is no longer a ban on Hawaiian-medium education in Hawai'i public schools. However, private schools—including all-Hawaiian Kamehameha—have in effect allowed the ban on Hawaiian-medium education to continue. We hope private schools in Hawai'i will remedy this situation soon.

If the private schools implement Hawaiian-medium education, the public and private school systems could work together to truly revitalize Hawaiian.<sup>13</sup> Initial efforts have been made to break down some of the barriers that formerly precluded Kamehameha from providing the same scholarship support to Pūnana Leo children that Kamehameha provided to those in English-medium preschools. And most recently, Kamehameha has provided financial support to Pūnana Leo programming to help cover part of a loss in federal funding. Punahou has also moved forward in support for the Hawaiian language, including inviting a trilingual Nāwahī student to join Punahou students in a cultural exchange to Japan. Further partnering with private schools would fit into a broader picture of cooperation on a national and international level in indigenous language medium education. There are cooperative efforts between the 'Aha Pūnana Leo and American Indian and Alaska Native groups currently under way.<sup>14</sup> And the 'Aha Pūnana Leo has long had a close relationship with the Kōhanga Reo Trust and Māori language revitalization.

The Hawai'i educational establishment has become increasingly interested in the gains made by the Māori in New Zealand. The Māori education movement is highly focused on language revitalization and centers around Māori-medium education beginning in Kōhanga Reo preschools. Differential funding support favors those programs that use the most Māori language in instruction. By 1998, 44% of all Māori preschool students were enrolled in Māori-medium preschools, and 17% of all Māori students enrolled in compulsory education were in Māori-medium programs (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2000). Emulating the successes of autochthonous language medium education in Wales, Greenland, and northern Spain, Māori entities continue systematic planning for even further spread of Māori-medium education (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003).

Hawaiian-medium education has struggled with unstable preschool funding and ad hoc accommodations made within the public school system. Furthermore, the best-funded programs for Hawaiians in Hawai'i are in English-medium schools rather than in Hawaiian-medium schools. Enrollments in Hawaiian-medium

education are also much smaller than those of Māori-medium education. Less than 3% of all Native Hawaiian children of preschool age are enrolled in Hawaiian-medium Pūnana Leo. A similar percentage of students from kindergarten through Grade 12 are enrolled in Hawaiian-medium schools. (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005; Nāmaka Rawlins, personal communication, September 2006.)

In spite of small numbers, Hawaiian-medium education has received international attention, including commendations from leaders of Māori-medium education. Some of the successes of total Hawaiian-medium education have been used to support further growth of Māori-medium education (Timoti Kāretu, former New Zealand government Māori Language Commissioner, personal communication, October 2006).

Hawaiians themselves are increasingly seeing the value of Hawaiian language revitalization. Although few may be aware of the academic benefits of a revitalized Hawaiian language, many Hawaiians realize the importance of Hawaiian language in maintaining the Hawaiian culture and traditional values key to holding families and communities together. A Hawaiian Community Survey taken by the Kamehameha Schools in 2003 showed that 78% of Hawaiians surveyed believed it to be fairly or very important to “live and practice” Hawaiian culture on a daily basis, and 80.3% believed that universal Hawaiian language instruction to *keiki* (children) would improve Native Hawaiian pride and self-respect (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005).

In the 1980s and 1990s, assumptions that Hawaiian language was inferior and irrelevant for contemporary times—as well as upheavals in the Kamehameha Schools—hindered Hawaiians from reaching levels of autochthonous language medium education comparable with those found in New Zealand. False assumptions remain a major reason why contemporary Hawaiian-medium education encounters many of the same challenges of resources, structural support, and low socioeconomic class identification faced by Hawaiian-medium education when it was under major external attack at the end of the monarchy. While many Hawaiians want the Hawaiian language for their children, the long history of repression of Hawaiian has many worried about following the autochthonous language medium education model. Yet this is the very model that has shown the most success for indigenous peoples on a national and international level.

It is our sincere hope that the information collected here regarding the positive effects of Hawaiian-medium education will be useful in countering misinformation and pressures that have worked against Hawai‘i’s institutions fully committing to Hawaiian-medium education. We especially call on parents to use the information provided here to strengthen themselves to join families like ours in enrolling their children in Hawai‘i’s proud heritage of Hawaiian-medium education. As long as there are families who insist on enrolling their children in Hawaiian-medium schools, the following claim of the Republic of Hawai‘i (1895) in its biennial report can never be made again:

Schools taught in the Hawaiian language have virtually ceased to exist and will probably never appear again in a Government report. Hawaiian parents without exception prefer that their children should be educated in the English language. The gradual extinction of a Polynesian dialect may be regretted for sentimental reasons, but it is certainly for the interest of the Hawaiians themselves.

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#### NOTES

1 Kamehameha Schools (2005) might strengthen its claims of being aligned with federal legislation by acknowledging its past role as an agent of the government in the suppression of Hawaiian and by adopting the Hawaiian language supportive policies of the Native Hawaiian Education Act of 1988 (see No Child Left Behind Act of 2001). These policies include access to Hawaiian-medium education in all schooling that the Act provides and priority support to education conducted through the language.

2 Hawaiian survived on Ni'ihau into the 1990s because of isolation and a practice of using Hawaiian in Ni'ihau school despite the government ban (Wilson, 1999). Hawai'i Creole English is now replacing Hawaiian as the peer group language of Ni'ihau children (Haunani Seward, principal of Ke Kula Ni'ihau O Kekaha,

personal communication, January 2006). The language shift is primarily due to the migration of the Ni'ihau population between Ni'ihau and Kaua'i and two generations of enrollment in English-medium schools on Kaua'i.

3 Children leaving the Pūnana Leo preschools or early elementary Kula Kaiapuni Hawai'i for English-medium schools, including Kamahemaha Schools, also typically lose Hawaiian, even when urged by parents to keep speaking it.

4 To learn more about the role of the language—especially the Hawaiian language—in cultural continuity, see Kimura (1983), Kamanā (1987), 'Aha Pūnana Leo (in press), and Grenoble and Whaley (1998).

5 An example of the attitudes of traditional language speaking Polynesians toward non-Hawaiian speaking Hawaiians was a reprimand given in 1991 by a Rarotonga elder to Kamehameha Schools Concert Glee Club students. The elder said he did not consider the students Hawaiians because they did not use Hawaiian as their main informal language among themselves. This reprimand and a similar one the following year in Ra'iātea resulted in several Kamehameha students becoming active leaders in the Hawaiian-medium education movement (Marcus Kala'i Ontai and Hiapo Perreira, personal communication, September 2006).

6 The opinions of Kekūanā'ō'a are of particular interest in considering future participation of the Kamehameha Schools in Hawaiian-medium education. Kekūanā'ō'a was the *kahu hānai* (ritualized raising parent) of Ke Ali'i Pauahi, and thus had as much influence on her thinking as her biological father. Kekūanā'ō'a was also father of Kamehameha IV, Kamehameha V, and Ruth Ke'elikōlani. Ke'elikōlani, the source of the majority of Pauahi's lands, was a very strong advocate of sole use of Hawaiian by Hawaiians with other Hawaiians. She would surely have been distressed to know that within two decades of her death, funds from her lands were to be used to exterminate Hawaiian (Eyre, 2004). Kekūanā'ō'a's (and arguably Pauahi's) goal of developing Hawaiians with high second-language fluency in English can only be reached today through strong support of Hawaiian-medium education.

7 It is likely that part-Hawaiians who identified as Chinese were primarily Chinese in blood and English in language. Ever-increasing numbers of Hawaiians are of racial mixtures in which non-Hawaiian elements predominate. Therefore the tendency of English-speaking part-Hawaiians to identify ethnically with other groups is likely to increase. In the United States, for English speakers, one's

predominant blood usually determines ethnic identity. For non-English speakers, however, blood is seen as less important than language. Note the census's new language-based—but race-neutral—category "Hispanic."

8 See Wilson and Kamanā (2001) and Wilson (2003) for more information on academic achievement. Nāwahī is participating in a national study of Native American language medium education to record its academic successes and determine appropriate methods of measuring student achievement in such programs before English literacy is fully developed. The project is led by Dr. William Demmert of Western Washington University and supported by, among others, Educational Testing Services of Princeton, the Rand Corporation, and the Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence at the University of California–Berkeley.

9 For more information on the revitalization of Hebrew and language revitalization in general, see Baker and Jones (1998, pp. 186–203).

10 On his Web site, Conklin (2006) also made claims regarding the 1896 law banning Hawaiian that have no source of support in the historical record, for example, that "Many, perhaps, most Hawaiian parents went so far as to demand that their children speak only English at home as well as at school," and "It turns out that laws favoring English were probably targeted primarily to assimilate the American-born children (U.S. citizens) [*sic*] of Japanese Plantation workers." There is ample historical evidence that Hawaiian was the language most Hawaiian parents used with their children when the law was enacted. Furthermore, in 1896, Japanese children (then not U.S., but Hawaiian citizens) made up only 2.1% of enrollments in Hawai'i schools. Conklin also failed to acknowledge that the Republic of Hawai'i (1895) itself specifically noted the Hawaiian language was the language affected by its school language law.

11 Hawaiian-medium education continues to be attacked. Contrary to federal law, Hawaiian-medium programs are denied access to funds for non-English speaking students. In spite of specific recognition of a unique testing status in federal law, administrators have applied English-medium school testing rules to Hawaiian-medium schools with highly prejudicial results.



12 In 2006, students with Hawaiian immersion backgrounds were accepted into Grade 9 at Kamehameha's Kea'au campus at a level twice their representation in the population. Even more dramatic is the record on Moloka'i, where for two straight years, two-thirds of students accepted to Kamehameha came from the small Hawaiian immersion program there (Nāmaka Rawlins, personal communication, September 2006).

13 At the suggestion of anonymous reviewers, this article was modified to include a discussion of the potential role for the Kamehameha Schools in Hawaiian-medium education. Establishing Hawaiian-medium education at Kamehameha would be consistent with Kamehameha's claims in court (Kamehameha Schools, 2005, pp. 17–18) relative to its “mission of remedying the near destruction of Native Hawaiian culture and producing graduates who will carry on that remediation” and Kamehameha's assertion of the value to its graduates of “immersion in a Native Hawaiian culture education in grades K–12.”

14 Hawai'i is the current leader in the United States in a rapidly growing Native American language medium movement (Hinton & Hale, 2001). Initiation of K–12 Hawaiian immersion within Kamehameha Schools in cooperation with existing Hawaiian-medium programs would move Hawaiian-medium education to a new level of international leadership. It would also be natural within the history of a movement led and coordinated in large part by Kamehameha graduates.



## MAKAWALU: STANDARDS, CURRICULUM, AND ASSESSMENT FOR LITERATURE THROUGH AN INDIGENOUS PERSPECTIVE

*Monica A. Ka'imipono Kaiwi and Walter Kahumoku III*

While the inclusion of multicultural literature, including Hawaiian literature, is common in the modern American literature classroom, traditionally the starting point for discussion and analysis of any piece is from a Western theoretical perspective. The premise of this article challenges this Western/universal frame of reference by introducing the *Kanaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiian) concept of *makawalu* (having eight eyes), which establishes an indigenous foundation for studying literature. Makawalu emphasizes that indigenous students can use “native eyes” and a native paradigm to access and analyze literature; it empowers students by acknowledging and validating the indigenous voice.

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In a brainstorming session on Native Hawaiian education, a prominent *Kanaka Maoli* (Native Hawaiian), Aunty Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahale, introduced the Hawaiian concept of *makawalu*, or “having eight eyes,” to a group of educators. According to Aunty Pua, *makawalu* represented a broader conceptualization of what it means to educate Native Hawaiian youths than the standard, Western fare prescribed by most schools in Hawai'i. When applied to the teaching of English, for example, this culturally relevant model encourages teachers and students to venture beyond factual, historical, chronological, and often disconnected, disjointed approaches to the analysis of literature. Instead, the study of literature through a *makawalu* lens is no longer concretized in canonical standards of Western theory but acknowledges—and more importantly validates—Kanaka Maoli epistemology, axiology, and ontology.

Western educational practice has done little to embrace native children. As Tyack and Cuban (1995) recognized, the U.S. national school system has been dominated by a few influential policymakers who have advocated for and promulgated a White, Anglo-Saxon systemization of educating America's children. Restricted by this Western philosophical template for teaching and learning, indigenous groups such as *Kānaka Maoli* have long suffered under the combined weight of Americanization and colonization (Benham & Heck, 1998; Kahumoku, 2005). Today's educators, scholars, community leaders, and parents have challenged and resisted the continuation of traditional American curriculum and pedagogy; they argue that indigenous perspectives and practice have a place in the modern educational landscape (Benham & Cooper, 2000; Meyer, 2005).

This article addresses the development of standards that reflect both Western and indigenous approaches to literature curriculum development and advocates for the infusion of Native Hawaiian and American-Eurocentric approaches to the study of American literature. Included in this article is an (American Literature) English project, administered to high school juniors, which illustrates how a *makawalu* paradigm reflects both Kanaka Maoli and Western thought in the teaching of a high school composition and literature course to Native Hawaiian students. Before proceeding to the actual lesson and standards discussion, we outline some justifications for the adoption of a *makawalu* perspective when educating Native Hawaiian children.

## WESTERN EDUCATION ON NATIVE HAWAIIAN CHILDREN

The works of David Adams (1988, 1995), John Ogbu (1978, 1987, 1990, 1991, 1992), Vine Deloria (1970, 1979, 1985; Deloria & Wildcat, 2001), and Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999) expound on the tragic results of educational systems that sought to assimilate, at times forcibly, minority and native populations so that they would adopt a more Eurocentric culture and language. These authors and other works (Benham & Heck, 1998; Kahumoku, 2005; Kana'iaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005; NeSmith, 2005; Silva, 2004) have chronicled the decline and decimation of native communities, the lack of clarity in the research of native peoples, and the horrific aftermath of educational policy that sought to supplant indigenous language and culture with that of Western culture and the English vernacular. As a result, many have laid strong legal, sociocultural, linguistic, political, and economic grounds for reparations in the form of increased fiscal and infrastructural assistance to indigenous peoples. Support for indigenous education would arguably be one aspect of such reparations.

Yet, according to Deloria and Wildcat (2001), the mainstream has continued to deny native self-determination in terms of education and, consequently, has allocated minimal tangible resources to native schools. Moreover, the Western perspective of knowledge and the understanding of that knowledge are so constricted and specialized that native students have difficulty connecting such facts and concepts to their lives. Deloria and Wildcat postulated that America continues to propagate a computerized search-engine model of education: Though efficient at processing data and performing quantitative analysis, computers can never tell us what the data mean. Likewise, if the current, traditional educational paradigm refuses to include native educational practice, place, and position, indigenous children will continue to stagnate, and educators will not be able to explain why.

Furthermore, researchers have long articulated that strong cultural identity and understanding of heritage help build pride and confidence in native children. D'Amato (1988) concluded that Hawaiian children's acting-out behavior—challenging teacher authority and disrupting classroom atmosphere—represented ways in which they dealt with peer and adult relationships. D'Amato recognized that school-imposed criteria “appear to be no more and no less important than the risks, dramas, and sheer fun available to them through participating in instructional games consistent with their own games of identity” (p. 543). Accordingly,

ethnic Hawaiian children do not possess strong structural rationales for accepting school rules and teacher authority and will readily confront and resist the structure of school unless the teacher demonstrates that there are culturally based validations for accepting normative schema of formal education.

Yamauchi and Tharp (1995) legitimized this kind of ethnocentric, culturally linked pedagogy for educating Native American students when they argued that silence in the classroom is culturally bounded. “Classroom learning is enhanced when the structure is changed so that they are more compatible with the home cultures of these children” (p. 352). When pedagogy is “consistent with a language-based educational model that focuses on [group and individual] meaning making and the interdependence of social, oral and written skills [of an ethnic community]” (p. 353), education becomes culturally compatible.

Substantial research has documented the importance of acknowledging and utilizing the Kānaka Maoli’s interconnection between place, space, spirit, and others to enhance learning. In interviews conducted with 20 noted Hawaiian *kūpuna* (elders, leaders), Dr. Manu Aluli Meyer (2003) concluded that if education is to ameliorate past political and educational injustices against Native Hawaiians while also legitimizing a Hawaiian worldview, it must be grounded in an aboriginal philosophical framework. Kamanā and Wilson (1996) asserted that the revitalization of Native Hawaiian culture and language is tied to curriculum that is indigenous at its core. Kaomea (2005), in her examination of *Kula Kaiapuni* (Hawaiian language immersion schools), found that Hawaiian history and culture ought to be interwoven with indigenous schema to be effective. Kawakami (2004) asserted that quality education for native children must be situated in a Kanaka Maoli context.

While countless researchers and scholars continue to demonstrate the need for a more indigenous curricular and pedagogical approach for the schooling of native children, the formidable pillars of standard, Western/American schooling remain firmly entrenched. In fact, with the growing movement toward standards and assessment-driven school accountability, the inclusion of other educational perspectives like Native Hawaiian epistemology and values becomes more problematic.

## THE STANDARDS/ACCOUNTABILITY MOVEMENT

Carnoy and Loeb (2002) illustrated the politics surrounding the move toward school accountability via standards and assessment. These authors concluded that there is a growing dependency on standards achievement to gauge the success of a school. Unfortunately, such standardized tests have been based on American-Eurocentric values and knowledge to the point of excluding other culturally driven axiology, ontology, and epistemology.

One example of this dichotomizing positioning of Western versus native educational approaches comes in the form of the content standards generated by the International Reading Association and the National Council of Teachers of English (IRA/NCTE, 1996). While it must be acknowledged that these standards reflect only the teaching of English language and literature, and that it would be erroneous to suggest that educators of English should also be linguistically and culturally versed in the myriad of student ethnicities that exist in their classrooms, there are a number of key issues that arise when one examines the relationship between these standards and the way Native Hawaiian students are taught.

Table 1 illustrates the illusory positioning of Native Hawaiians by the IRA/NCTE standards. For instance, 3 of the 12 IRA/NCTE standards make references to the concept of culture. Although Standards 1, 9, and 10 acknowledge the existence of ethnic cultures other than American-European-Western, the underlying premise is that the English language and Western culture and knowledge become the originating point for exploring all literature, including that of other cultures. However, indigenous educators recognized that such a foreign origin disconnects Kanaka Maoli students from the material they are reading. Furthermore, Native Hawaiian students are often frustrated with the lack of connection between the literature and their own experience. To then ask these students to develop an understanding and respect for literature other than what is written by American and European writers becomes problematic, if not futile. Without a firm grasp of literary analysis tools that, in many ways, are concretely grounded in their indigenous experience, Native Hawaiian students find English courses difficult and often try to just get by in them. For instance, many of our Kanaka Maoli students, well into their high school career and on a college-bound track, claim that a Hawaiian epic or novel is the first book they actually read.

TABLE 1 Standards for the English language arts

(1)	Students read a wide range of print and nonprint texts to build an understanding of texts, of themselves, and of the cultures of the United States and the world; to acquire new information; to respond to the needs and demands of society and the workplace; and for personal fulfillment. Among these texts are fiction and nonfiction, classic and contemporary works.
(9)	Students develop an understanding of and respect for diversity in language use, patterns, and dialects across cultures, ethnic groups, geographic regions, and social roles.
(10)	Students whose first language is not English make use of their first language to develop competency in the English language arts and to develop understanding of content across the curriculum.

*Note:* From *Standards for the English Language Arts* by the International Reading Association and National Council of Teachers of English, 1996.

Also, while there is a strong indication that the IRA/NCTE standards reflect a “wide range of strategies” and “respect for diversity,” the emphasis remains on English language arts competency. English language structures, conventions, and genre take priority over indigenous patterns of speech, structure, and syntax. We argue that for the indigenous child, both native and Western language structure, usage, and word choice are important, particularly when that child is accustomed to thinking, acting, and reacting with feet planted in their native as well as the modern, English-driven worlds.

Finally, there is no clear indication of Kanaka Maoli or any other ethnic culture’s epistemological, ontological, and axiological standpoints in the IRA/NCTE standards. Granted, the intention of these standards is to be inclusive given that the nature of a standard is one of broadness. What often occurs in the analysis of native literature, however, is conflict between indigenous worldviews and values and those of Western cultures. For example, whereas Native Hawaiians and other native peoples acknowledge the intermingling of literal and spiritual worlds, Western ideology rejects what cannot be validated or tangibly proven through scientific and literary research and data collection (Deloria & Wildcat, 2001). As a result, indigenous epistemology is often interpreted by Western perspectives



as “backwards,” “sentimental,” or “naive” (Kaiwi, 2001, p. 90). In many instances, Native Hawaiian ontological and epistemological concepts are simply incongruent with Western axioms. It is precisely this variance that warrants the need for culturally relevant standards for literary analysis and composition.

Understandably, IRA/NCTE standards were written for educators of English literature and composition and not for historians, social scientists, native community activists, or foreign language speakers. However, we believe that infusing indigenous forms of knowledge, pedagogy, and content standards can truly assist with the fundamental progress of each Native Hawaiian student. To this end, we next present a project that is culturally grounded in Native Hawaiian epistemology and ontology while upholding the axiological conventions of the classical English canon.

## THE MO‘OLELO PROJECT: THE BEST OF BOTH WORLDS

As an indigenous educator who teaches American literature to Native Hawaiian students, coauthor Kaiwi faced the philosophical question: “How will I get my students to connect with a curriculum based predominantly on the works of ‘dead White males’ who lived 100 or 200 years ago in places nearly 5,000 miles away from our island home?” To fulfill the expectations of her department and Kamehameha Schools’ college-prep curriculum, she knew she needed to “straddle the political fence” by creating projects that upheld traditional forms of literary analysis and composition yet included a Kanaka Maoli starting point for her Kanaka Maoli students. She needed to keep one foot in each world—Native Hawaiian and Western. To do this, she chose to teach American literature from a makawalu perspective by implementing a thematic approach to American literature as well as a traditional chronological presentation.

When using a thematic approach to American literature, she needed to begin at “home”—to ground her students in what was familiar and to give them a frame of reference from which to examine and compare the “unfamiliar” literature. From this evolved four themes that guided her curriculum over four quarters:

- What is an American?
- The building of a nation
- A philosophy of life
- Looking to the future

The theme of the first quarter focused on those who make up America—both indigenous and immigrant. Because all of her students have one common ancestry—Kanaka Maoli—she started at home with a *mo‘olelo* (story) of our ancestors who came to Hawai‘i more than 2,000 years ago. Then she focused on the people who comprised the 1900s plantation era in Hawai‘i before moving on to study the Native Americans on the continental United States and those who arrived at Plymouth Rock and Ellis Island.

In terms of chronology, she followed the traditional organization of many American literature anthologies; the first quarter included the Puritans, the next quarter focused on the Deists, followed in the third quarter by the Transcendentalists, Realists, and Gothic writers, before moving to more contemporary literature in the fourth quarter. The presentation of American literature did not stray from the traditional canonical approach; however, by incorporating an indigenous perspective, she placed the canonical literature within an indigenous paradigm that compared *mo‘olelo* of Mo‘ikehā with records of the Puritans. Through a *makawalu* approach, she was able to start with the indigenous self as a bridge to the study of American and European literature.

Thus the Mo‘olelo Project began the study of literature from an indigenous standpoint through the major elements of indigenous identity: language, epistemology, and text. It used *‘ōlelo Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian language), Native Hawaiian epistemology, and translated orature to ground students in a way of thinking about and analyzing literature. Once this Kanaka Maoli literary perspective was established, the students were then able to compare it with other, more traditional approaches and text.

The following segment includes the Mo'olelo Project guidelines and student testimonies that describe their experiences while undertaking and completing this project.

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### *Mo'olelo Project*

As discussed on the first day of school, this year you will read mo'olelo written by individuals who are or became Americans and who may have written or lived before you were born. As an American citizen, you too have a story to tell about yourself and your 'ohana (family). For this project you will search for the mo'olelo that makes you who you are as an individual and as a member of your 'ohana.

Your research will include every aspect of the *mo'o* (lizard, figuratively, as well as in the sense of genealogical lineage): you, as 'ōpio (children)—the head—will write about yourself, what you feel, think, and observe about yourself as you learn more about the mo'olelo of your 'ohana. You will write about your *mākua* (parents), those who have established the stability and foundation of your being. And finally, you will write about your *kūpuna*, those who are living and those who have gone before, who make up the tail, your balance, which stretches far into the past to *Akua*, or God (Willis & Lee, 2001).

As I have told you before, you do not stand alone. Your daily decisions and actions reflect your *mākua*, *kūpuna*, 'aumākua (ancestral gods), and *Akua*. This project is aimed at helping you to discover who you are and where you come from as a Hawaiian and as a descendent of all of your ethnicities.

For people of an oral tradition, a mo'olelo is intended to be shared. Therefore, you will have the opportunity to share your project, personal mo'olelo, with your *mākua* and your classmates. As with all your efforts, you will want to do your very best work.

---

**NAME MO'OLELO.** Include as much of the mo'olelo surrounding your FULL name as you can discover or have experienced. How was your *inoa* (name) given? Who gave it? What does it mean? How has your *inoa* translated into who you are?

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**WHAT IS AN AMERICAN?** Include the first draft of an essay defining an “American.” Include your opinion of the traits, values, beliefs, lifestyle, etc. of an American. This essay will be returned for rewrite 1 week before the final project is due. You will be expected to rewrite your reflections, incorporating what you have learned about Americans through your readings.

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**MO‘OKŪ‘AUHAU (GENEALOGY).** Include as much information about your mo‘okū‘auhau that you and your ‘ohana can provide. Rewrite your mo‘okū‘auhau in a creative or well-presented fashion. You may use the *oli* (chant) format provided.

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**ETHNICITY CHART WITH MO‘OLELO.** Include a detailed list of ALL of your ethnicities OR at least all of which you and your ‘ohana are aware. Indicate the parent from whom you gain each ethnicity and provide the mo‘olelo of each that you and your ‘ohana know/remember.

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**RESEARCH OF TWO ETHNICITIES.** Include two pages or more for each ethnicity, describing the information found on the two different ethnic cultures you have chosen to research. You will cite your research sources by using proper MLA (Modern Language Association) parenthetical citations. Your research focus may be on a place/country, cultural practice, religion, or historical event that affects or affected you or your ‘ohana. Throughout your research, you will include your personal commentary regarding what you have learned about your ethnicity—how does the knowledge relate to and affect your understanding of your personal mo‘olelo?

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**THREE CREATIVE ORIGINAL WRITTEN REFLECTIONS ON YOUR PERSONAL MO'OLELO.**

These can be in the form of a mo'olelo, oli, prose, and/or poetry, whichever genre seems to best reflect your feelings. (Note: At least one of the three pieces should be an oli or poem.)

Here is where your personal mo'olelo takes shape; your identity becomes more defined. You can use all that you have felt and learned to create a mo'olelo—prose form—which reflects and records the interview or a family story that has been told in your 'ohana for generations. This could also be a place where you imagine what life was like for your kūpuna or ancestors when they were younger. For those of you who enjoy writing oli or poetry, here is your opportunity to explore and to express your emotions, both positive and negative.

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**NĀNĀ I KE KUMU (LOOK TO THE SOURCE).** Include one written dialogue, conversation, or interview with someone who will give you insight into your ethnic heritage or 'ohana by sharing their knowledge about the subject you have chosen to research or insights regarding your 'ohana. This person can be your mākua, kūpuna, neighbor, *kumu* (teacher), or anyone you know or can meet who has knowledge and is willing to share with you, adding to your understanding of your personal mo'olelo.

As your daily actions reflect on your 'ohana, this aspect of the project also reflects on your kumu. Therefore, you must conduct your interview with respect and within a timely fashion. This means way in advance of your project due date! Below, proper protocol has been defined that will make your interviewing experience beneficial for everyone involved.

*Preinterview Protocol:*

- a. Politely ask the person you have chosen if they would be willing to spend one hour or more with you to help you with your project.
- b. Set a time that is convenient for your guest. You are the one who must be flexible. Be polite and considerate.
- c. You may want to ask permission to tape the conversation. Make sure your interviewee is comfortable with a tape recorder before you bring it to the interview.
- d. Write a minimum of 10 questions that you would like answered. You may get through all of your prepared questions or you may find that the conversation carries itself. You don't want to be silent, waiting for the interviewee to say something; therefore, you need to come prepared to the interview.
- e. Your questions may vary. You can begin with: "What was Hawai'i like when you were young? Is there a tradition that we practice in our 'ohana that reflects our ethnic heritage?" "Describe a significant event or events that affected your life or our 'ohana." "Share an 'ohana story that you feel is important for me to know." "What is your favorite tradition that our family practices?" "How did our 'ohana come to Hawai'i?" This is your opportunity to learn the reason why your kūpuna or mākuā do the things they do or view the world the way they do or are the way they are. Take time to really think about what you want to learn.

*Postinterview Protocol:*

- f. When you have finished your interview, make certain that you thank the individual with whom you have had your interview and let him or her know how grateful you are for their time. *Writing a thank you note as a follow-up would be most appropriate.*
- g. When you have written your interview write-up and/or poem or story, make certain that you share what you have written with your interviewee, checking for accuracy. *You never want to misrepresent the person you interview.*

Hopefully, these guidelines will make your experience memorable for both you and the one with whom you interview.

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**FINAL DRAFT OF “WHAT IS AN ‘AMERICAN?’ ESSAY”** Include a revised copy of the original draft you turned in at the beginning of the school year. After reading and discussing the mo‘olelo of fellow Americans past and present as well as researching your own mo‘olelo, has your definition of an “American” changed? If so, reflect on the changes in your final draft. If not, revise your draft for clarity and completion. All good writers revise and revise and revise again.

**PERSONAL REFLECTION.** Include a one- to two-page response to the entire project and process. What have you learned about your ‘ohana, about yourself, and how you fit into the mo‘olelo of people who make up America?

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### *The Presentation of the Project*

**THE COVER.** The cover will include an illustration, a creative title, your name, and your class period. Choose an illustration that reflects your interpretation/ expression/feelings about your personal mo‘olelo and complements your title, inviting your reader to read your mo‘olelo. Your cover should reflect the time and effort you have given, and your title should be creative, capturing the process of searching for your personal mo‘olelo. You will want it to be unique, expressing *your* project.

**TYPED LETTER OF INTRODUCTION.** Include a half-page introduction to prepare your reader for the mo‘olelo that will follow.

**TYPED TABLE OF CONTENTS.** Include a page that reflects the order of the presentation. Once you set your order by your Table of Contents, your project must remain in the order established.

*Your final project will be permanently bound.*

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Although students are encouraged to explore all their ethnic identities, the Mo'olelo Project reflects a makawalu paradigm in that it honors their Hawaiian heritage while also meeting Western expectations of research and reflection. This particular project is aligned with our philosophy of teaching: to present each unit or project from the starting point of our shared Kanaka Maoli experience. It is from this indigenous grounding that we write curriculum, linking our Hawaiian cultural perspective to the established standards and expectations of our department and institution. Most important, we have seen our Kanaka Maoli students make greater connections between their own experiences and those expressed in standard American curriculum. For example, in biology, the flora and fauna of Hawai'i become the point of reference when examining a cactus in the Sahara desert; and within the social sciences, the political strategies of our *ali'i* (leaders) are used to measure and analyze democracy, communism, and global politics.

The following sections—which include quotations from students' evaluations of the Mo'olelo Project—illustrate the power of using makawalu in teaching Kanaka Maoli students. Organized thematically according to sound qualitative practice (Merriam, 1998), the testimonies represent the most common, recurring responses from project reflections generated by students. Each section begins with a short explanation of the theme and is then followed by one or two quotations that best represent the theme.

### *Connection to Ancestors*

Within our Hawaiian culture, we have a common understanding that those who have passed are still with us and stand behind, beside, above, and below us. We reflect all of those who have come before, and reciprocally, our actions reflect back on our ancestors. Many of our Native Hawaiian students lose sight of this concept and, in most instances, do not recognize to whom they are accountable. Through this project, however, students seem to regain a connection between past and present as well as physical and spiritual planes of existence:

The stories I've been told from my mom about my ancestors and her life changed the way I view my ancestors and parents. I forget that they were once going through some of the things I am, and that there is so much I can learn from them if I only ask.

—Boy



My ancestors have paved the way for me and have made my  
life the great one it is today.

—Girl

### *Appreciation for Ancestors*

A second theme that surfaced from these evaluations is an appreciation for those who have gone before. Not until these students began uncovering the many mo'olelo of their parents, grandparents, and other relatives did they begin to see and understand how life was for their ancestors. More important, we recognize that few contemporary teenagers have an appreciation for the struggles and sacrifices of their ancestors. Through the literature read and discussed, students began to imagine and have an admiration for the conditions and lifestyle of their predecessors:

I have completely taken a new stance on my family origins.  
I feel an overwhelming sense of respect for my ancestors.  
They have truly set the standard of what I have to live up  
to as a person. They were perseverant, determined, strong,  
and all around good people.

—Boy

### *Appreciation for Kūpuna*

A third outcome generated from the examination of the evaluations is the growing connection between students and the older members of their families, including grandparents. Countless student comments suggested that the interview process was instrumental in reconnecting the generations.

I didn't realize it, but she [grandma] is a really deep person...  
I always thought that she was just a cruise grandma who  
had no worries, but she does, and she looks at lots of things  
from different perspectives...I never really got down and  
talked to her like how I did that day...there will be more of  
these talk sessions.

—Boy

### *Appreciation for Mākua*

Most of these students are of the age when they find little connection to or value in their parents. In fact, countless mākua over the years have expressed their gratitude for a requirement that expects their child to understand how life is from a parent's perspective. While there are no specific criteria for making children understand their parents, students are encouraged to talk story with and interview their parents, and such interaction has opened the door for both to learn something about the other. Through these conversations, many students experience a revelation and the fourth thematic outcome: They learn they are more like their parents than they may want to admit.

As a teenager, I think I live a harsh life, but I learned from this project that my life is nothing compared to my ancestors. My parents and their parents both lived harsher lives as a youth. Therefore, I have little to complain about.

—Girl

My family was happy when they saw the completed project because they said it was a good opportunity for me to connect to my ancestors and learn about my roots. My Hawaiian grandmother was the most happy...I am glad that they enjoyed the project as much as I did.

—Boy

### *Increased Desire to Learn*

Educators create opportunities; however, it is the student's choice and responsibility to take the journey. One of the most exhilarating feelings for a teacher occurs when students choose to fan their flame for learning and ignite their desire for knowledge.

From reading the evaluations over the years, one quotation stands as perhaps the most moving. This young man's motivation to seek new knowledge was stronger than any given grade or comment:

I feel stronger now that I know more background information about my family...I became hooked on asking my grandma about her mom and grandma. Every little bit of information I could absorb I did...I learned that I am a curious boy. My grandpa kept trying to walk away during my interview...I kept asking questions about his life.

—Boy

### *A Sense of Kuleana (Responsibility)*

A sixth outcome of this project centers on the ability of students to understand their responsibilities to the physical, emotional, and spiritual worlds around them. As Native Hawaiians, we are taught that we have a kuleana to our kūpuna (past), our family and community (present), and the generations to follow (future). Through new knowledge gained from this experience, some students begin to comprehend and accept their kuleana as Kānaka Maoli.

I realize that I make a difference to my ancestors, and to my future descendents. Without me, my ancestors will never live on.

—Girl

### *Traditional versus Indigenous*

A seventh theme that arose illustrates the tension students experience when they are first introduced to the Mo'olelo Project. Many students have a very traditional notion of an English class: reading, writing, and vocabulary. Even the slightest move away from the norm elicited discomfort and sometimes consternation. The application of a Hawaiian literary analysis technique to the study of all literature causes great concern for some learners. Students often think that this project

should be assigned to an advanced rather than a regular English class. However, once into it, students begin to recognize the value of an indigenous approach to learning American literature.

Some of my friends think that I spend too much time on English because of the many parts of the project that had to be completed all during the first quarter. They said that the project isn't even English related. This is where they'd be wrong. Not only does writing and composing essays, conducting an interview, and writing original poetry have to do with English, but the entire essay in general...this project has really helped me grow and appreciate my different cultures and ethnicities.

—Boy

### *Creativity and Freedom of Expression*

The final theme relates to the openness and freedom students have for creating the final product. Students are known to write better when they choose topics that have personal meaning; therefore, creating assignments that foster such freedom of expression is crucial and, as this young man expresses, the potential for genuine originality is limitless. Students have yet to create a project that is identical to another.

I also liked the freedom we were given with this project. We were given the bare necessities and from there we could put in our own flavor...I think this is going to result in some very creative and original ideas...it made learning into a real life example, thus making it fun.

—Boy

## CONCLUSION

When applying a concept like makawalu to the teaching of American literature or literature in general, we are changing the perspective from which literature should be examined. Traditionally, Western literary theory and literature curriculum work from the perspective of elevating Euro-American literature while devaluing indigenous and “ethnic” literature.

Not only does makawalu start from an indigenous grounding, specifically that of Native Hawaiians, but it also uses such a foundation as a springboard for further literary exploration and the reporting of it. While the supplemental inclusion of multicultural literature is a commonplace strategy utilized in the modern American literature classroom, it is our opinion that the concept of starting from a common indigenous base and then moving out to other “cultural” literature indigenizes such a Western discipline and equalizes the literary playing field. Rather than examining unfamiliar literature through “Western eyes,” students begin assessing and analyzing literature through “native eyes” and a “native paradigm.”

To this end, we suggest that in addition to the content standards established by the IRA/NCTE, (a) schools that have the responsibility for teaching indigenous students should adopt a standard that recognizes and respects native perspectives and (b) teachers of native students should start with an indigenous context to teach their curriculum. As an example, in the 2002 publication *Nā Honua Mauli Ola*, the first and probably most important standard for Native Hawaiian education is to

Incorporate cultural traditions, language, history, and values in meaningful holistic processes to nourish the emotional, physical, mental/intellectual, social and spiritual well-being of the learning community that promote healthy maui [spirit] and mana [power/life force]. (Kawai‘ae‘a, 2002, p. 17)

Clearly, there is need for a follow-up essay that further defines the makawalu paradigm. However, in the interim, if these steps are actuated, students, especially our native students, will understand how to live in this complex world without losing themselves to it.

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## APPENDIX A

### WORKS USED WITH MO‘OLELO PROJECT

(Listed in the order of presentation)

#### INTRODUCTION OF MO‘OLELO PROJECT

Willis, K., & Lee, P. J. (2001). *Tales from the night rainbow*. Honolulu: Night Rainbow Publishing. [Hawaiian]

#### NATIVE HAWAIIAN/PLANTATION ERA—INDIGENOUS AND IMMIGRANT

Henry, T., and others. (1995). *Voyaging chiefs of Hawai‘i*. Honolulu: Kalamakū Press. [Oceania—Mo‘ikehā, Hiro, Tafa‘i, Pa‘ao]

Takaki, R. (1983). *Pau hana: Plantation life and labor in Hawai‘i 1835–1920*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press. [Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Filipino, Portuguese]

#### CONTINENTAL AMERICA—INDIGENOUS AND IMMIGRANT

Iroquois. (2000). The world on the turtle’s back. In A. N. Applebee (Ed.), *The language of literature: American literature*. Boston: McDougal Littell. [Native American]

Momaday, S. N. (2000). The way to Rainy Mountain. In A. N. Applebee (Ed.), *The language of literature: American literature*. Boston: McDougal Littell. [Native American]

Edwards, J. (2000). Sinners in the hands of an angry God. In A. N. Applebee (Ed.), *The language of literature: American literature*. Boston: McDougal Littell. [Puritans—European]

Equiano, O. (2000). The interesting narratives of the life of Olaudah Equiano. In A. N. Applebee (Ed.), *The language of literature: American literature*. Boston: McDougal Littell. [Slaves—African-American]

Gordon, M. (1993, September). More than just a shrine: Paying homage to the hosts of Ellis Island. In *Literary Cavalcade*. New York: New York Times.

Miller, A. (1982). *The crucible*. New York: Penguin Books. [Puritan—American]

#### MODEL FOR NĀNĀ I KE KUMU FORMAT

Harden, M. J. (1999). *Voices of wisdom: Hawaiian elders speak*. Kula, HI: Aka Press. [Hawaiian]

## MODELS FOR CREATIVE POETRY/PROSE FORMAT

### *Poetry*

- Burgess, P. (1989). Choosing my name. In J. P. Balaz (Ed.), *Ho'omānoa: An anthology of contemporary Hawaiian literature*. Honolulu: Kūpa'a. [Hawaiian]
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- Kenolio, A. (1985). Untitled poem. In D. N. Hall (Ed.), *Mālama: Hawaiian land and water*. Honolulu: Bamboo Ridge Press. [Hawaiian]
- Whitman, W. (1989). I hear America singing. In R. Anderson (Ed.), *Elements of literature, fifth course: Literature of the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. [Euro-American]
- McKay, C. (1989). America. In R. Anderson (Ed.), *Elements of literature, fifth course: Literature of the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. [Scottish-American]
- Hughes, L. (1989). I, too. In R. Anderson (Ed.), *Elements of literature, fifth course: Literature of the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. [African-American]
- Jeffers, R. (1989). Shine, perishing republic. In R. Anderson (Ed.), *Elements of literature, fifth course: Literature of the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. [Euro-American]
- Alvarez, J. (1989). How I learned to sweep. In R. Anderson (Ed.), *Elements of literature, fifth course: Literature of the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. [Hispanic-American]
- Ginsberg, A. (1989). Homework. In R. Anderson (Ed.), *Elements of literature, fifth course: Literature of the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. [German-American]

### *Prose*

- Kingston, M. H. (1989). The girl who wouldn't talk. In R. Anderson (Ed.), *Elements of literature, fifth course: Literature of the United States*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston. [Chinese-American]
- Momaday, S. N. (2000). The way to Rainy Mountain. In A. N. Applebee (Ed.), *The language of literature: American literature*. Boston: McDougal Littell. [Native American]

# MĀLAMA NĀ LEO A KU‘UA NĀ ‘ŌLELO: HĀNAI-ING A NATIVE HAWAIIAN CREATIVE WRITING CURRICULUM

*Brandy Nālani McDougall*

To date, little pedagogical criticism has explored the intrinsic ethnocentrism within the American creative writing curriculum, which is rooted in the New Criticism movement of the 1920s and privileges Western aesthetics. Using personal narrative and data collected from archives and published reports, the author examines the impact of this curriculum on the Native Hawaiian student and proposes a distinctly Native Hawaiian creative writing model based on both cultural values and cultural memory. The model recognizes the role that colonization has played within education and the field of Native Hawaiian literature, as well as the historical role of Native Hawaiian writing and resistance.

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*‘A‘ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho‘okahi.*

Not all knowledge is taught in the same school.

— *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*

I first became acutely aware of the tremendous need for a Native Hawaiian Creative Writing Curriculum while working toward my MFA in poetry at the University of Oregon, a program that initially attracted me because of how it prides itself on the cultural diversity of its students and models itself after the rigorous Iowa Writing Workshop, now the pillar of creative writing instruction in the United States. Our small program consisted of just 10 graduate students in poetry (fiction students had a separate curriculum) from varied cultural backgrounds, including Armenian, Salvadorean, Ecuadorean, Jewish, White, and Korean. However, all identified as “American.”

As the only Native Hawaiian writer in the program, I was also the only indigenous writer. My highly politicized identity fueled and informed both my poetics and scholarship, which often focused on the colonial detriment to the *‘ohana* (family) and the Native Hawaiian community, American imperialism, Hawaiian history, Hawaiian sovereignty issues, as well as a distinctly intimate connection to the land through genealogy. As a result, a great deal of my work was threatening, or at the very least, unsettling to many of my peers and instructors, who often read the Hawaiian sovereignty movement as merely “separatist” and precontact Hawaiian history as “nostalgic.” Claims to an intimate, genealogical connection to the *‘āina* (land) were often seen as “romanticized,” and characterizations or indictments of American imperialism were often either ignored or treated as an evil force that manifested only in conservative figures like George W. Bush or historical figures like the Republic of Hawai‘i, which was formed by American missionary descendants to replace the Hawaiian monarchical government.

Although I understood that these responses were reflective of the predominant ideological constructions of history that privilege a largely White, Western perspective, they greatly affected my self-confidence and my approach to writing, and in turn, my writing itself, which I then composed to be more didactic at the expense of its more poetic references. The dismissive nature of the responses and the collective view that my work was naive and not complicated enough were, of course, discouraging and silencing. I gained very little constructive criticism of my work, and consequently, I came to dread every workshop.

This article asserts that these workshop responses are directly related to the colonial context of Hawai'i—and however unconsciously, the genuine discomfort or threat posed by my indigeneity—which was promoted through the ideological foundation of the American creative writing curriculum I experienced. To illustrate this, I analyze the practices of the creative writing classroom and the historical role writing has played in Hawai'i. I then examine how a new creative writing curriculum based on Native Hawaiian values and beliefs and composition-rhetorical strategies of invention and collaborative learning—exclusively for Native Hawaiian writers and *outside* of the university—may transcend the ideological apparatus of the state, and be *hānai*-ed (adopted) and repurposed to develop literary production toward social and political movement. I also look at possible assignments for this culturally based curriculum.

## THE AMERICAN CREATIVE WRITING CURRICULUM: NEW CRITICISM, WESTERN AESTHETICS, AND THE PROBLEMS THEREIN

The structure of creative writing workshops in the United States has roots in the New Criticism movement of the 1920s. As one of the originators of the New Criticism movement in literary studies, T. S. Eliot (1932) wrote in “Tradition and the Individual Talent” that

No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him for contrast and comparison, among the dead...The necessity that he shall conform, that he shall cohere is something that happens simultaneously to all the works of art which preceded it. (pp. 476–477)

Emphasizing how this is a “principle of aesthetic, not merely historical criticism” (Eliot, 1932, p. 476), he asserted that the writer always exists within a framework of tradition (which Eliot defined as being the “European tradition”) to which the writer must conform. He further argued that because the writer shares this tradition with his country’s audience, it is necessary to “divert interest from the poet...for it would conduce to a juster estimation of actual poetry, good and bad” (p. 482).

This concept manifests within the typical American creative writing classroom most clearly through the erasing or silencing of the author. Though often idealized as a community of writers whose goals are to foster and encourage the emerging writer, a typical American creative writing classroom is a space of contention at best, and abuse at worst, in part because of the way workshops are structured. In the MFA program at the University of Oregon, workshops were conducted very similarly to most American writing workshops, in which the writer is to remain silent as the group discusses the merits, shortfalls, strategies, and intentions of his or her creative work. If the writer feels at any time that the group’s discussion is off-base or does not offer constructive help or is misreading his or her work, it is generally considered to be the fault of the writer. Thus, the work is supposed to stand on its own, with very little introduction and absolutely no interference during workshop discussion (as if to emphasize this, it is also a rule to never directly address the writer during a workshop). Only after the writer’s work is deemed to be sufficiently discussed by the instructor does the writer have the chance to address any concerns or to pose questions to the group, though this time is forced to be brief. Any period of time longer than 5 minutes for the writer’s own words after a workshop is generally viewed as defensive and self-indulgent, as there are other newly created texts to be discussed in the workshop.

It is often cited that a writer's natural defensiveness about his or her work is the primary reason for this rule of silence. Steve Kowit (1995), a seasoned poetry instructor, warned that

people with fragile egos or low self-esteem about their writing, or who for some reason or another find such situations annoying, threatening or distracting might be better off avoiding such workshops...[T]hose who are intent upon making rapid progress, and who are able to tolerate an unindulgent and critical environment, are likely to find [formal poetry-writing workshops] a wonderful tool for learning. (p. 247)

However, the expectation of the writer's defensiveness seems small when compared with the detrimental consequences of erasing or ignoring the writer, especially the marginalized or underrepresented writer, from the classroom entirely. It is the nature of writing to dwell in the personal, and necessarily so, regardless of the form or genre the writing takes.

It is clear that the American creative writing instruction model—and its insistence on using a New Criticism approach based on the ahistoricism of the text and its divorce from the writer—needs revision, as it fails to address and even exacerbates issues of silencing related to marginalized aspiring writers who are in the process of empowering their voices. In “Literary Legacies and Critical Transformations: Teaching Creative Writing in the Public Urban University,” Nicole Cooley (2003) implied that American New Criticism's influence on the creative writing classroom to read authored texts as ahistorical, with no relation to the author, limits the underrepresented or marginalized student. Cooley (2003) asserted a revision to the creative writing curricular approach is needed because

the creative writing class is a site of individual identity production; thus we need to think about how certain strategies for teaching creative writing may enforce a normative identity.... It is essential that we reflect on how the workshop process can make students produce texts that deny their voices.... We need to interrogate the inextricable link between language and power, a connection not fully investigated by New Critical readings. (pp. 101–102)

In approaching the creative writing classroom as a “site of individual identity production,” Cooley emphasized that the New Criticism approach in the creative writing workshop does little to help students, especially those who experience silencing and marginalization on a larger, more profound level; rather, the process “enforce[s] a normative identity.”

The normative identity characterized by Cooley draws directly from Eliot’s view of the writer being situated within a distinctly “European” tradition against which all readings of a writer’s work must occur. The American creative writing curriculum accordingly adopts the European (a term fraught with political implications in itself) tradition as its own and, in doing so, dictates that the work of all “American” writers, colonized or otherwise marginalized, must be read within that tradition. Thus, as David Bartholomae (2003) asserted in “Inventing the University,” students

have to appropriate (or be appropriated by) a specialized discourse, and they have to do this as though they were easily or comfortably one with their audience...[and they] must imagine for themselves the privilege of being ‘insiders’—that is, of being both inside an established and powerful discourse, and of being granted a special right to speak. (pp. 406–408)



Bartholomae's view that writers must conform to what the institution upholds as its aesthetic standards by imagining themselves as "insiders" with "special right[s] to speak" is complicated, however, by the colonial process of silencing the indigenous writer, as well as the student who resists assimilating into this tradition, who sees him- or herself as peripheral because he or she belongs to a non-European tradition. For what is generally upheld to be of aesthetic merit and rewarded as such in the university is writing that adheres to certain ascribed traits and rules determined by the dominant power. Thus, the creative writing student must adopt these forms and adhere to these rules to receive accolades and good grades. Accordingly, those writing students whose work resists those rules become failures, outsiders to the "writing tradition." Though both groups may have the drive to pursue their writing careers following the MFA, those students who receive encouragement during their creative writing education tend to do so more than those who do not.

Literary aesthetics are always political, whether or not this is recognized. As part of the "ideological hegemony" conceptualized by Antonio Gramsci (1978), beauty is determined by the dominant power, which uses the aesthetic as a "social technology" to privilege that which serves or is most closely aligned to the dominant power and its values and aims:

The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent. Indeed, the attempt is always made to ensure that force will appear to be based on the consent of the majority.  
(p. 80, fn)

As a promoting force of colonizing efforts, education is determined by the dominating power to uphold certain aesthetic criteria the colonized must meet. Invariably, the aesthetic as a social technology is hidden to appear normative, which then can be accepted as absolute truth, as reality, by the colonized/oppressed.

Thus, Enlightenment philosophers such as David Hume and Immanuel Kant (who are continuously invoked as chief authorities of Western aestheticism) “implicitly aestheticize whiteness” (Roelofs, 2005, p. 85)—Hume defining aesthetics as a “model of ‘taste’... a civilizing force” (Roelofs, 2005, p. 86), and Kant, adding to Hume’s definition, seeing aesthetics as that which is above or outside of any cultural conditions, only achievable by White people (as he gives many racialized examples of others who cannot separate themselves from culture; Roelofs, 2005, pp. 94–96). In doing so, Kant conceals Western/White culture as “an invisible datum, an unmarked given.... The sphere of normative culture is thus whitened” (Roelofs, 2005, p. 96).

In turn, this ideological hegemony is perpetuated within the American creative writing classroom, which must invariably privilege its own literature, as well as Western literature (the tradition within which American literature situates itself). Consequently, the American creative writing classroom is not conducive to fostering a population of writers, like Native Hawaiian writers, who already distrust the institution as representative and agent of the state and experience silencing on a much larger, more profound scale. It is also not conducive to ensuring and nurturing a future generation of writers who can contribute to and empower a social movement through counterhegemonic literature.

## THE HISTORICAL ROLE OF NATIVE HAWAIIAN WRITING AND RESISTANCE

That the written literary space should be seen as a threat within Hawai‘i is, of course, no surprise. Writing has played a large role within Native Hawaiian culture and as a means of resistance since it was first introduced by Western missionaries in the 1820s. By the 1830s and 1840s, literacy rates in *‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian) in Hawai‘i were among the highest in the world, and writings by Native Hawaiians were being published in numerous island newspapers and scholarly books. The new technology of writing and printing that the *haole* (White, Caucasian) missionaries introduced was widely embraced and strongly encouraged by the *ali‘i* (royalty):

By 1832, 40% of the population were in schools started by missionary influence with missionary texts. These students were mostly adults and the teachers were mostly their Hawaiian peers. By 1832, 900 schools were set up to teach 53,000 Hawaiians how to read and write. By 1846, over 80% of the Hawaiian population were literate. (Meyer, 2003, p. 24)

From a missionary standpoint, the introduction of the printed word was the only means by which the Word of their God could be shared to convert indigenous populations to Christianity and thus, “civilization.” However, for our *kūpuna* (elders), the written word was embraced for opening up “the flood gates for a whole new way of communicating and sharing in worldly experiences” (Meyer, 2003, p. 25). Like other haole introductions during this early period of Western contact, writing was repurposed by our *kūpuna* to suit their own needs and priorities, including cultural preservation, historiography, genealogy, as well as the dissemination of information of political and national importance.

The first newspapers in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i were published by the missions beginning in 1834 to “supply the means of useful knowledge...[and] to point out existing evils, their character, seat, extent and consequences” (Silva, 2004, p. 130), and they were essentially a vehicle of conversion and colonization. The first Native Hawaiian-controlled newspaper, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (Star of the Pacific), was created in 1861 to publish Native Hawaiian *mo'olelo* (stories), which missionary newspapers had censored because the stories were often deemed “obscene.” Several more Native Hawaiian-controlled newspapers followed to share uncensored *mo'olelo*, genealogies, *oli* (chants), *mele* (songs), and political news.

In addition, many Native Hawaiian scholars and ali'i, like King David La'amea Kalākaua, used writing in an effort both to resist Cabinet members, who were American missionary descendants who had forced him to sign the harmful Bayonet Constitution (so-called because he was forced to sign by gunpoint), and to preserve the culture, *mo'olelo*, and *mana'o* (thoughts, ideas) of Native Hawaiians, who were commonly perceived to be a “dying race.” The motto during Kalākaua's reign, “*Ho'oulu*,” or to increase, was not only a response to the massive depopulation that

occurred during the 100 years following Western contact but also reflected his intention to lift the missionary ban on the hula and other traditional art forms and, thus, strengthen the pride of his people. Kalākaua's *Legends and Myths of Hawai'i*, written in English in 1888, targeted a haole audience, as he believed that Native Hawaiians would inevitably keep

decreasing in numbers and gradually losing their hold upon the fair land of their fathers. Within a century they have dwindled from four hundred thousand healthy and happy children of nature, without care and without want, to a little more than a tenth of that number of landless, hopeless victims to the greed and vices of civilization....Year by year their footsteps will grow more dim along the sands of their reef-sheltered shores, and fainter and fainter will come their simple songs from the shadows of the palms, until finally their voices are heard no more for ever. (Kalākaua, 1888, Introduction)

Here, the American haole audience was indirectly implicated through Kalākaua's attribution of the "vices of civilization and greed" as the cause for the massive depopulation he cited and the "landless[ness]" of his people.

Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and annexation to the United States, Emma Nāwahi's nationalist newspaper *Ke Aloha 'Āina* became a primary publication to fight for Hawaiian sovereignty, to organize resistance strategies (such as the petition comprising 90% of the Native Hawaiian population) and meetings, and to offer words of support to an occupied, oppressed people. Though it was banned by the Provisional Government, as most Native Hawaiian-controlled newspapers were at the time, it continued to be produced and disseminated covertly to spread news of the steps being taken by Queen Lili'uokalani (who also used writing to organize a petition that effectively defeated the bill to annex Hawai'i in the American Senate).

In direct response to this came the “closing of all Hawaiian language schools and the elevation of English as the only official language in 1896. Once the Republic of Hawai‘i declared itself on July 4, 1894, the ‘Americanization’ of Hawai‘i was sealed like a coffin” (Trask, 1999a, p. 21). Seen as the most silencing of all acts perpetrated by colonial powers, the banning of indigenous languages almost always accompanies “the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people’s culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the colonizer” (Thiong’o, 1981, p. 16). Because “language carries culture, and culture carries, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we come to perceive ourselves and our place in the world” (Thiong’o, 1981, p. 16), this effort also does more than silence the colonized; it inarguably seeks to “domin[ate] the mental universe of the colonized” (Thiong’o, 1981, p. 17).

Thus, immediately following the ban of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, Hawaiian-language newspapers and protest through written, oral, and performative arts declined drastically, as an entire generation (my great-grandparents) received corporal punishment in English-only schools for speaking ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i. To protect their children from a similar fate, they raised my grandparents’ generation to speak only English.

The resulting absence of widely published written and artistic expression by Native Hawaiians over the past century engendered the belief that Hawaiians lacked a literary and artistic heritage. While other cultures living in Hawai‘i during this time flourished in these regards, Native Hawaiian culture continued to be negated and silenced. Even as more traditional forms of Native Hawaiian culture were revived in the 1970s, with the exception of Dana Naone Hall, Wayne Westlake, ‘Īmaikalani Kalāhele, John Dominis Holt, and Māhealani Kamau‘u, the absence of a larger literary voice supported the hegemonic stereotype of Native Hawaiians as an illiterate people who did not value literature.

Statistics gathered by the State of Hawai‘i Department of Education in 1998 only seem to support this stereotype. Across Grades 3, 6, 8, and 10, the national norm percentile rank of the mean Hawaiian total reading score was at only the 30th percentile, whereas the state average was at the 40th percentile, and Caucasian and Japanese students were at the 60th percentile. In addition, more Hawaiian

students' total reading achievement scores fell in the below-average range than in national norms, and fewer than 10% of Hawaiians scored in the above-average range, whereas Caucasians and Japanese show a contrasting pattern, scoring 40% in the above-average range. In light of these numbers, it is no surprise that illiteracy rates are high for Native Hawaiian adults. Literacy skill assessments reveal that about 30% of Native Hawaiian adults are functionally illiterate (reading below the 4th-grade level). Given that illiteracy was virtually unknown during the time of the Native Hawaiian monarchy, these statistics are particularly disturbing (Meyer, 2003, p. 24).

Thus, the history of resistance in Native Hawaiian writing, whether as a means of cultural and language preservation, testimony, or political organization, further emphasizes the complexity of the political context within which a Native Hawaiian writer in an American creative writing classroom would be situated. This resistance also continues through the creation of Native Hawaiian-controlled publishers, such as 'Ai Pōhaku and Kuleana 'Ōiwi Press, which now offer publishing opportunities for Native Hawaiians. Indicative of how colonial silencing continued through the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s and lasted through much of the 1990s, in a *Honolulu Weekly* article on the launch of the third volume of *'Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal*, Chief Editor Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui shared that Māhealani Dudoit, an award-winning poet who had been published "all over the United States in esteemed journals...found it difficult to be published in Hawai'i in some of our local journals" (Griffith, 2005). Moreover, University of Hawai'i professor and now renowned poet, Haunani-Kay Trask, found it difficult to publish her first book of poetry, *Light in the Crevice Never Seen* (1994), in Hawai'i. She approached both the University of Hawai'i Press and Bamboo Ridge Press, the latter replying that her manuscript was not "of the aesthetic quality they usually publish" (Trask, personal communication, November 2005). However, she had no difficulties when she approached Calyx Books (a publisher in Oregon) to publish her book in 1994 (with a revised edition in 1998); her book is now being taught in courses throughout the United States and Polynesia. These examples in particular highlight how colonial anxiety is amplified within Hawai'i. Typical publishing venues for "local" Hawai'i writers were rarely an option for contemporary Native Hawaiian writers before Native Hawaiian-controlled presses were created.

## CRITICAL PEDAGOGY AND THE UNMASKING OF HEGEMONY

Much critical pedagogy theory has focused on power dynamics both within and through the classroom between teacher and student, as seen through Peter Elbow's expressivist call for curricula to be student centered to deemphasize the authority of the teacher and Mina Shaughnessy's urging teachers to examine "the social and political role in students' unpreparedness" (Mutnick, 2001, p. 185). This line of theory has also focused on power dynamics between the teacher/student and the institution, as seen through Donald Bartholomae's (2003) "Inventing the University" discussed earlier. Also, most notably, the works of Paulo Freire, Henry Giroux, Ira Shor, and Jonathon Kozol examine how teacher/student/institution is shaped and controlled by the state. Contributing to many of the ideas expressed by Freire in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire, 1970) and *A Pedagogy of Liberation* (Freire & Shor, 1987), Henry Giroux and Ira Shor explored what they referred to as the "'hidden curriculum,' [and] the subtle, but powerful ways schools construct students' and teachers' knowledge and behavior" to come closer to cultural production and, thus, social transformation (George, 2001, p. 96). Similarly, Jonathon Kozol's work examined how "cultural institutions function to reproduce the ideology and power of dominant groups" (George, 2001, p. 95).

Bruce Herzberg (1991) added to this critical pedagogical dialogue by examining the curriculum as "ideology" of the state in "Composition and the Politics of the Curriculum":

The curriculum represents a commitment to a set of values concerning the uses of culture and the uses of people. The curriculum declares what should be passed on to the future and what students should become. These are ideological issues, political commitments.... The curriculum, moreover is not an independent entity within the school, and available knowledge is neither the only nor even the primary determinant of the curriculum. (p. 97)

Consequently, as a construct of the American state, the creative writing curriculum within most American universities perpetuates ideological hegemony to serve the colonial effort to continue its occupation and domination.

Though it goes without saying that issues of power within American education warrant study and examination through critical pedagogy, this vein of theory offers little practical suggestion toward resolution or transcendence. Rather, it only highlights the inescapability from these power dynamics, however freeing it may be to name or identify contexts within which oppression rears its ugly head.

The inability of critical pedagogy theorists to escape the confines of the institution and its enslaving ideology has not discouraged practical solutions that have been posed and implemented by Native Hawaiian grassroots educators. In January 2000, in an effort to “initiate a native designed and controlled system of Hawaiian education” (Kahakalau, 2003, p. 147), Nā Lei Na‘auao Native Hawaiian Charter School Alliance was formed. Inspired by the work of Paulo Freire, the K–12 model is

framed from a Native Hawaiian perspective designed by and for the Native Hawaiian community...[T]his model presents not necessarily an alternative to the present Western-based public education system in Hawai‘i, but rather a preferred way of practicing education...[that is] community-based, culturally-driven, and incorporating a high degree of academic rigor. (Kahakalau, 2003, p. 148)

Kahakalau’s description of how the educational model is “designed by and for” Native Hawaiians is significant in that it emphasizes the role of trust in education. It also highlights how Native Hawaiian educational control is commonly seen as a way through which our *‘ōpio*, or young people, can avoid the detriment caused by their Western education, which “has been used to preserve the dominant position of the colonizer...[and] includes many myths, factual inaccuracies, and omissions” (Kaulukukui & Silva, 2003, p. 94).



In an effort to overturn the hegemonic processes at play in public education in Hawai'i, the Native Hawaiian Charter School movement also seeks to teach Native Hawaiian students "truths about their own histories" (p. 96), to overturn damaging impressions and stereotypes, and to teach "cultural traditions and values, including their native language, in a culturally appropriate environment" (Kahakalau, 2003, p. 146). Hālau Kū Māna, for example, builds its curriculum around a "Place and Project-Based Learning" model, "integrat[ing] all core content areas (Language Arts, Math, Science, and Mo'olelo, or Social Studies), *ola kino* (health), technology, values, environmental stewardship and real world skills" ([www.halaukumana.org](http://www.halaukumana.org)). Projects are culturally based and include "Ko Kula Kai," which focuses on coral reefs as ecological communities; "Lō'i," or the study of Native Hawaiian land and resource management; and "Kanehunamoku," which studies noninstrumental navigation and canoe sailing ([www.halaukumana.org](http://www.halaukumana.org)).

## HĀNAI-ING A NATIVE HAWAIIAN CREATIVE WRITING CURRICULUM

Reflective of the extent to which Native Hawaiian identity and language are politicized, the term *hānai* recently became a term of contention in the Hawai'i State Court system as evidenced in *Mohica-Cummings v. Kamehameha Schools*. Kalena Santos, a *haole* mother, claimed that her son, Braden Mohica-Cummings, who is without Hawaiian *koko* (blood), is Native Hawaiian and eligible to attend Kamehameha Schools because he was "hānai-ed" by Native Hawaiians who, though unrelated to him, consider themselves to be his grandparents.

This definition of *hānai* was challenged by the Kamehameha Schools and several other Native Hawaiian groups, who emphasized that *hānai*, which literally means "to feed" or "to nurture," was never synonymous with genealogical inheritance or lineage, as required by Kamehameha Schools' Native Hawaiian preference policy for admissions. Despite this, David Ezra, the U.S. District Court judge at the helm of these court hearings, decided in favor of Mohica-Cummings and took the opportunity to reeducate Native Hawaiians about what *hānai* meant historically.

Quoting from a 1958 state Supreme Court decision that in turn invoked “kingdom law,” Judge Ezra cited two kinds of Hawaiian adoption, which he called a “sacred relationship”: *keiki hānai* (adopted child or foster child) and *keiki ho’okama* (the adoption of a child one loves but for whom one may not have exclusive care). Both were in effect when the schools’ benefactor, Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, wrote the will that provides funding for the school, Ezra said. “This was the law of the kingdom,” he said, repeatedly tapping his bench with his finger. “This was the law of Hawai’i at the time Bernice Pauahi Bishop made her will. She was a brilliant woman. She understood the law” (Viotti & Gordon, 2003).

I include this excerpt in which Judge Ezra defined *hānai* within the context of Kamehameha Schools’ Native Hawaiian preference policy (a) to highlight the threat posed by Native Hawaiian exclusivity; (b) to demonstrate the extent to which Native Hawaiian identity and self-definition are politicized and challenged by non-Hawaiians; (c) to illustrate the authority claimed by non-Hawaiians like Ezra and Santos in defining Hawaiian-ness and Native Hawaiian traditions and values; and (d) to underscore the severity that our identity, values, and traditions as Native Hawaiians are at stake. The very idea that any non-Hawaiian, albeit one with legal authority and agency, would feel empowered to instruct all Native Hawaiians about our cultural values without consulting Native Hawaiian leaders and cultural experts and practitioners, and then to use superficial research to rule against Kamehameha Schools as a Native Hawaiian institution, is situated within a colonial framework. Without a Native Hawaiian Tribunal, or some other legal or official means of self-representation or self-definition, we are vulnerable to being represented or defined by others with no recourse. The ramifications of this situation go beyond this case or future legal decisions; they affect us on a personal level, mentally, emotionally, and creatively, which is always a part of colonial intention. Native Hawaiian writing presents an outlet to challenge and overturn imposed definitions of who we are. Thus, fostering the production and proliferation of Native Hawaiian writing by *hānai*-ing an exclusively Native Hawaiian curriculum, in general, is a strong political act. However, to *hānai* a Native Hawaiian creative writing curriculum that aims to create a safe writing environment, to unmask and overturn the pervading ideological hegemony that silences and devalues Native Hawaiian *mana’o* and denies Native Hawaiian literary inheritance, and to regain control of self-definition and self-determination is *liberatingly dangerous*.

## CONTEXT

That said, I offer the following curricular approach as a theoretical sketch, in which I envision a creative writing class outside of the university and any other public or private institution (for reasons, in part, examined earlier), consisting of a *kumu* (teacher) and 10 self-identifying Native Hawaiian writing students of various writing experience, ages 16 to 60 years old. That this curriculum be offered exclusively to Native Hawaiians is key because of the history of silencing and colonization. Trust in education and a “safe,” culturally appropriate environment are crucial to the curriculum’s success.

The students, or participants, represent various socioeconomic backgrounds, education levels, and communities throughout Hawai‘i and the continental United States. About 30% are studying or have studied ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in a school setting and have at least conversational proficiency, which they plan to use in their various writing exercises and assignments throughout the 10-week workshop.

## CREATING SELF-DEFINITION

Because American imperialism is “a systematized negation of the other, a frenzied determination to deny the other any attribute of humanity [that] colonialism forces the colonized to constantly ask the question: ‘Who am I in reality?’” (Fanon, 1963, p. 182), the first discussions in the Native Hawaiian creative writing classroom should focus on self-defining the Native Hawaiian text itself. Self-definition is emphasized here as a response largely to prescribed stereotypes and imposed cultural identities that have marked the Native Hawaiian presence within literature written by outsiders, generally as part of a colonial enterprise. Because of the pervasiveness of the colonial “double consciousness,” to use the words of W. E. B. Dubois, the class must also discuss ways in which we, as writers, have a duty to help “clearly define the people, the subject of [our] creation...[as] it is not enough to reunite with the people in a past where they no longer exist” (Fanon, 1963, p. 163). Thus, self-defining will entail historical definitions of Hawaiian identity, both imposed and self-created, as well as more contemporary definitions and how those have been shaped.

Likewise, the workshop students will also need to collectively define Native Hawaiian literature and determine whether or not a definition by *koko*, or Native Hawaiian blood or ancestry of the writer, or by *mo'okū'auhau*, by genealogy, alone, will be adequate or even appropriate, though certainly these are factors in determining Native Hawaiian identity. This will inevitably also lead to a discussion to distinguish local writing, travel writing, colonial writing, and Hawaiian writing, as well as discussing ascribed stereotypes created by non-Hawaiian texts and the colonial enterprise within which they exist. This topic is especially rich and important within the Native Hawaiian literary context, as it helps to lay the groundwork for the participating writer's project toward decolonization and resistance. Examples of Native Hawaiian historiography, historical literature, translated Hawaiian newspaper excerpts (or not—this may lead to another rich discussion on whether translations should be used to read the 'Ōlelo Hawai'i text), and local, travel, and colonial literature will be read, discussed, and responded to through creative writing.

## NATIVE HAWAIIAN AESTHETICS

Creating and defining a Native Hawaiian aesthetic for writing will also be critical and, I believe, liberating to the class, because aesthetics must be examined as a political and cultural construction. In reading publications like 'Ōiwi that challenge the Western construction of the aesthetic as a colonizing tool that invariably deems indigenous/colonized art forms to be of inferior quality or merit, as well as mele and oli composed by our kūpuna, students may see the continuity of themes, such as genealogical connection to land and nature, spirituality, 'ohana, as well as culturally distinct depictions of human emotion and aesthetic tropes, like *kaona* (the use of complex, multilayered, hidden metaphors), repetition, dedication to gods and ali'i, and poetic rhythms in Native Hawaiian literature. In "Carving a Native Hawaiian Aesthetic," Māhealani Dudoit (1998) described the aesthetic as holding within it a means by which Native Hawaiians may also assert nationalism. By emphasizing how beauty is created through art and perceived by Native Hawaiian standards, as well as how it changes with Native Hawaiian culture over time, Western aestheticism's colonizing force will weaken and *huli* (reverse, change).

Rather than creative writing assignments, close readings of work by contemporary Native Hawaiian writers and spoken-word artists (slam poets and hip-hop artists), as well as traditional art forms chosen by both the kumu and the students, will be read closely and analyzed as masterful examples of Native Hawaiian creative writing to help the workshop formulate ideas about how Native Hawaiian aesthetics differ from Western concepts of beauty. These readings will also enable the workshop to uphold some aesthetic tropes as ideals to incorporate in student work and will be used in critiques of all writing completed for the workshop.

## PURPOSE OF/THROUGH WRITING

Within the Native Hawaiian culture, all work must have purpose or function, because “[f]or Hawaiians, knowledge for knowledge sake was a waste of time” (Meyer, 2003, p. 57). Of course, creative writing is no different. Thus, an integral part of a Native Hawaiian creative writing curriculum would be to consistently address not only the purposes served by writing in general but also the specific purpose for the individual creative piece (a story, poem, or memoir) and the writer’s purpose as he or she sees it for his or her work in general. Consequently, it will also be of utmost importance to determine the purpose or function of the creative writing workshop or classroom. These functions or purposes are expected to change over time, as goals or contexts change, but as they change or shift, this change will need to be identified and discussed with the group. Students will also need to negotiate and formulate for themselves the nature and scope of their creative works’ purposes, as well as the individual roles each student will take on within the workshop as readers, constructive critics, cheerleaders, and so on. Students will be asked throughout the course to keep a journal to reflect on their purpose as writers and the purpose or function of writing in general. Class time will be devoted to freewriting in journals and group work on this topic.

## NATIVE HAWAIIAN CULTURE AS CURRICULUM

In *Ho'oulu*, Manulani Aluli Meyer (2003) asserted that a reversal of the colonizer's control of the curriculum based on the ideology of the state can occur through the application of Native Hawaiian culture in curriculum:

Culture as content: the things that get taught, learned, brought home. It is here that culture adds profound depth to any course experience.... Hawaiian values offer a way of contextualizing what is being learned.... Although just words, values can set the context for what a group holds up, honors and acts upon. (p. 37)

Native Hawaiian charter schools have laid much of the groundwork for designing curricula based on Native Hawaiian ideology. Hālau Kū Māna, for example, uses and defines the Native Hawaiian values of *kūpono*, *makawalu*, *mālama*, and *aloha* as its guiding principles in curriculum development, lesson planning, and discussion of the conduct of all members of the learning community. (See the Appendix for an explanation of these terms.)

In the creative writing classroom, the Native Hawaiian values that the students most strongly identify with will provide a compass by which the participants may navigate through several class discussions and workshops. Once the guiding values are articulated by the class, everyone will collectively brainstorm ways in which they can use those values in writing assignments, their behavior toward one another, their approach to writing and the class, and the “rules” or “protocol” for the writing workshop. By working to incorporate these values into the framework for a creative writing curriculum, participants will have the chance to develop and explore their identity as Native Hawaiians, as well as how their spirituality and personal histories intersect with their writing and the creative process.

These values can then be reinforced through accompanying written assignments or exercises asking participants to interview family and community members, especially kūpuna, which would then be used as the basis of a creative piece (emphasizing 'ohana); to give a close observation of some aspect of the natural world to which they feel connected (as part of mālama 'āina and aloha 'āina); and to use their writing to exemplify how colonial definitions of identity, such as blood quantum, are damaging and inherently racist.

## CONSTRUCTION OF WORKSHOP PROTOCOL

Key to the foundation of the creative writing curriculum will be the instructor's participation in the writing workshop with his or her students, which will emphasize the collaborative aspect of writing and learning/teaching as well as how the community will set up rules or protocol for the writing workshop and classroom. Rather than predetermine this protocol, I believe it would give more agency to the writers to collectively describe the activities and how, as a class, all the participants will create the rules for the writing community workshop and how the roles of community members, aesthetics, purpose, and spirituality will be decided and addressed. Although this practice may represent a departure from the traditional educational model of our kūpuna, I believe that giving the students of the workshop a measure of control in shaping their writing environment and its rules will help them to feel safe and therefore more empowered and freer creatively.

As Peter Elbow (2000) advocated in *Everyone Can Write*, the instructor should be a model whenever a "difficult or potentially threatening procedure" is introduced:

I make sure I freewrite with students or workshop participants; I introduce reading out loud by reading something of mine first; I introduce feedback by first offering something of my own for response; and I soon model the process of giving feedback. (p. 393)

Accordingly, as the writing workshop will have writing at its center, through various freewriting and automatic writing exercises intended to aid invention, the instructor will be a participant in these activities alongside the students and model each of these activities. (See Table 1 for a comparison of the proposed Native Hawaiian curriculum with the American creative writing curriculum.)

### CULMINATION OF THE WORKSHOP AND COMMUNITY READING/PUBLICATION

Because of the history of silencing that has pervaded Native Hawaiian literature, I also feel strongly that the curriculum should culminate with a literary reading that is planned and coordinated as a community and that spotlights the participants of the workshop as a public showing of the creativity resulting from a safe, Native Hawaiian-controlled space for literary freedom. In turn, all writers will also be encouraged to submit their work for publication in *‘Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal*, or if funding can be secured, their work would comprise a professional collection commemorating the workshop itself, which can be distributed through Kuleana ‘Ōiwi Press and Nā Mea Hawai‘i, the Native Hawaiian bookstore at Ward Warehouse on O‘ahu. Students will also be taught how to submit their work for publication to other literary journals or publishers should they choose to in the future.



**TABLE 1** Comparing the proposed Native Hawaiian curriculum with the American creative writing curriculum

Native Hawaiian creative writing curriculum	American creative writing curriculum (based on New Criticism)
Self-definition of Native Hawaiian identity	Normative identity
Emphasis on defining and adhering to a Native Hawaiian aesthetic	Emphasis on adhering to a Western aesthetic
Writing to self-represent and empower	Writing to succeed academically and within American literary circles
Native Hawaiian culture as curriculum	Western culture as curriculum
Workshop protocol is determined as a community	Workshop protocol is imposed by the teacher and informed by an ahistorical approach to the text
Teacher actively participates in workshop; shares unrevised work with students	Teacher does not participate in workshop; does not share unrevised work with students
Publication/readings: Planned and coordinated as a community	Publication/readings: Largely self-directed

CONCLUSION

Just as literature and writing have been used in the service of colonization, so too can literature and writing articulate the colonial situation from the perspective of the colonized. As described by Fanon (1963), in the hands of the colonized, literature has the power to “call upon a whole people to join in the struggle for the existence of the nation...it informs the national consciousness, gives it shape and contours, and opens up new, unlimited horizons” (p. 173). As our kūpuna recognized, writing in various genres, especially when distributed, is a powerful technology that may be used to our own devices. Through historiography, testimony, and claims to genealogy, land, and indigenous identity, writing can be used as a

means to emphasize and continue language revitalization efforts, to educate the outsider on Native Hawaiian issues, to refute false claims and stereotypes made by colonial writers, and to emphasize a distinctly indigenous aesthetic. These are empowering aims that are all inherently resistant of colonialism.

Examples of how Native Hawaiians are using writing toward these ends can be seen in the creative works of Haunani-Kay Trask, Joe Balaz, 'Īmaikalani Kalāhele, and Māhealani Kamau'u, to name a few; in the scholarship of Native Hawaiian intellectuals like Noenoe Silva, Haunani-Kay Trask, Manulani Aluli Meyer, Jonathan Osorio, Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, and Ku'ualoha Ho'omanawanui; in publications like *'Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal*, a self-defined collection of Native Hawaiian literature, testimony, and art; in the development of textbooks, such as *He Hawai'i Au: Hawaiian History, A Hawaiian Perspective*, a collaboration between Native Hawaiian educators, Puanani Wilhelm (State Department of Education), 'Anuenue School teachers, and Julie Kaomea (University of Hawai'i College of Education); and in 'Ōlelo Hawai'i instruction "huli" books written by senior high school students in the Native Hawaiian charter schools for use by their younger counterparts.

Thus, in many ways the present moment is ripe for a Native Hawaiian creative writing curriculum to occur. More than ever, there is "a continuing refusal to be silent, to join those groups of indigenous people who have disappeared.... Hawaiians are still here, we are still creating, still resisting" (Trask, 1999b, p. 20). There is also the hope, with this and every successive generation, that we, as Native Hawaiians, come closer to reclaiming ourselves and the truth of our Hawaiian-ness.

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## APPENDIX

Native Hawaiian charter schools have laid much of the groundwork for designing curricula based on Native Hawaiian ideology. One of the schools, Hālau Kū Māna, for example, uses the following Native Hawaiian values as its guiding educational principles:

**ALOHA.** Love, compassion, and “the intelligence for how life can be experienced.” Aloha involves being in each other’s presence, or *alo*, and sharing *ha*, which can be described as breath, energy, voice, and all the ideas, mana, love, and support contained within.

**MAKAWALU.** “Eight eyes”; there are many truths and perspectives. Rather than perceiving two-dimensional, black-and-white dichotomies, one can explore things from many angles with an open mind and develop a well-rounded, colorful understanding of the world that fits well with one’s “truth.”

**MĀLAMA.** A reciprocal relationship with the land and all its inhabitants. To care for, cherish, respect, preserve, and perpetuate.

**KŪPONO.** Striving to always be in a state of pono (balance, harmony, fairness). To stand, walk, think, talk, and act in a way that feels pono.

These values guide all members of the school in teaching and learning behaviors and approaches, real-world problem solving in “authentic assignments” (e.g., navigation and kalo farming), as well as how to live within the natural environment, the home environment, and in the school environment. ([www.halaukumana.org/corevalues](http://www.halaukumana.org/corevalues))

## KA LOINA KĀNE: CHANGES IN STATION, CHANGES IN HEALTH

*Bud Pomaika‘ipu‘uwaihāmama Cook and Lucia Tarallo-Jensen*

Since the time of contact with Western cultures, the expression of social roles for Kanaka Maoli men has undergone radical changes. Native Hawaiian men now occupy the most distressing health and social status descriptors, and many traditional ways for promoting spiritual and physical health have been lost. These losses constitute a condition of cultural trauma. This article outlines a theoretical structure of cultural trauma and how it relates to Hawaiian men. It also introduces a process of cultural healing that may counter the downward spiral of morbidity and mortality among contemporary Kanaka Maoli men. A restoration of culturally centered values, enacted through cultural education and deep practice, is needed to restore Hawaiian men—and their families—to a fuller expression of culturally authentic self.

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This was a great people at the beginning. It filled the Hawaiian group. A people with clean body, large-limbed and strong, a little less than the lion in strength, long-lived on the earth. A lovable people, amiable, kindhearted, hospitable to strangers.... Such is the character of the Hawaiian people.  
—Keauokalani (1974, p. 74)

In 1778, when European explorers first arrived on the shores of *Ka Pae 'Āina*, the precontact term for modern-day Hawai'i, they found a vigorous society and a healthy indigenous population (Stannard, 1989). In their physical well-being the *Kānaka Maoli*<sup>1</sup> living in the islands embodied almost an Aristotelian ideal of physiological health and beauty. The vibrancy of their physical condition was echoed by the elevated state of development of their intellectual and material property. Drawings and eyewitness text from these first expeditions show a vibrant people, living in beautiful communities, bounded by agricultural and fishing industries supporting a large population (Handy & Handy, 1972; Hiroa, 1964; Stannard, 1989).

In just over 100 years of contact between cultures, changes more devastating than could be imagined were to take an immeasurable toll on the *Kānaka Maoli*: 90% of the population die; the religious structure that has sustained the community for hundreds of generations is erased by a local elite and replaced by a foreign system of beliefs; the approach to government used for thousands of years is replaced by an alien form of government put in place at the point of a gun held by the hands of a major world power; and the indigenous forms of economy that have brought sustainable but equitable prosperity to the community are wiped away, all within the span of a single century. Is it hard to imagine that the survivors of a trauma event of this magnitude would be rocked to their core and would show effects from this insult for generations to come?

## KANAKA MAOLI MEN'S HEALTH

These Indians, in general, are above the middle size, strong, and well made, and of dark copper colour, and are, on the whole, a fine handsome set of people.

—Beaglehole (1999, p. 1158)

The descendants of the Kānaka Maoli, modern-day Native Hawaiians cannot make claims to health status like that described by Beaglehole and his peers. Most especially, the health status indicators for Native Hawaiian men today are a dire recitation of poor health statistics and social failure. Native Hawaiian men are disproportionately represented in almost all areas of risk for increased morbidity and early mortality (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006b). Although census data indicate that Native Hawaiians are a growing segment of the population (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006a), what is not shown is just how much those same people suffer from the aftermath of cultural trauma events that echo from the arrival of Cook in 1778 to the present time. For Native Hawaiian males, this burden of trauma has been especially exacting. The statistical “bottom line” for health may be found in how long a person is expected to live, and in this instance Native Hawaiian males are the clear losers. On average, a Native Hawaiian will die at an average age of 74 years, 6 years earlier than the average for all other populations (Hawai'i Health Information Corporation, n.d.). Some estimates of the early mortality faced by Native Hawaiians place this number far younger—68.2 years (Economic Momentum Corporation, n.d.).

Making informed academic interpretations about the substance and meaning of Kanaka Maoli cultural history is an important responsibility. In this article, we introduce research from a community development perspective to expand and refine current information available on Hawaiian well-being. This article outlines a theoretical structure of cultural trauma and how it relates to Hawaiian men. We also introduce a process of cultural healing that may counter the downward spiral of morbidity and mortality among contemporary Kanaka Maoli men.



## CULTURAL TRAUMA SYNDROME

To more fully understand the challenges faced by modern Native Hawaiians, one needs to compare their circumstance with the state of affairs faced by other cultures affected by social and cultural aggression. Sadly, no matter their racial origins or place of residence, the health statistics for disenfranchised cultural populations are comparable across the United States (National Heart, Lung, and Blood Institute, n.d.). Similarities in negative health status indicators may support an assumption that neither environment nor genetics are the likely singular factors driving these declines in well-being (Brave Heart, 2001). The move from a general naming of the idea of insults based in the perception of cultural trauma to the formulation of a hypothesis that would assist in the identification of this psychosocial dynamic began in the 1990s, with formulations like Brave Heart's (2001) "historical trauma," Duran's (2006) "soul wounding," and Leary's (2005) "post traumatic slave syndrome" (see also Hicks-Ray, 2004). Searching for additional perspectives to explain these circumstances, Cook, Withy, Tarallo-Jensen, and Berry (2005) proposed a culturally driven model for describing the development of poor health in these populations—*cultural trauma syndrome*. This condition is recognized by an interdependent set of social and cultural patterns. As an operant social change theory, it accounts for people born into particular cultural groupings and others, though they may not share a genetic link to the history of a cultural faction, whose personal identity is inextricably tied to the specified group. This hypothesis adds defining texture to the discourse on culture and health in an attempt to clarify the ground for future research efforts. The following are five defining characteristics by which cultural trauma syndrome may be recognized (Cook et al., 2005):

1. This sociocultural injury is a process of cultural genocide, targeting cosmology, epistemology, pedagogy, and social structures for repression.
2. Continuous attacks on indigenous social norms bring breakdowns in long-established cultural social structures; lack of social continuity results in misunderstandings of precontact social norms and slows postmodern cultural renewal.

3. Trauma-related events and perceptions of their importance and intensity do not necessarily have temporal continuity across the generations of a cultural community.
4. In the later stages of traumatization, sources for cultural injury may come from within as well as from outside the boundaries of a defined cultural group.
5. Incidents of traumatization have intergenerational transference and are given renewed vigor by postmodern expressions of cultural wounding.

Cultural trauma syndrome can be recognized by a pattern of circumstances evident in the cultural group. Because this is a cultural disorder, individual, family, and community patterns of dysfunction may be present (see Appendix).

Cultural trauma syndrome manifests itself in a variety of ways. Small but distinct differences are evident for cultures showing variations in social history. The ways people are removed from their cultural identity, practices, and values have implications for how their course of recovery needs to proceed. While not an all-inclusive description for how all people from any one cultural group are tied to their cultural history in the United States, the following are six key cultural trauma variation categories guiding our study:

1. Populations that were taken to a foreign land as slaves and were stripped of all association with their root culture (i.e., African American)
2. High-context cultural populations that were conquered and removed from their ancestral lands (i.e., Native Americans)
3. High-context cultural populations that were conquered but allowed to remain on or near ancestral lands, but with no traditional rights to access, ownership, or control (i.e., Native Hawaiians, Native Alaskans)

4. Populations that immigrated to another country, voluntarily or otherwise, and were pressured to assimilate with the new dominant culture (i.e., European Americans)
5. Populations that immigrated to another country but were allowed to maintain enclaves of cultural associations with others from their home culture, even in the face of other disenfranchising forces from the dominant host culture (i.e., Irish Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Polish Americans, Muslims, Latinos, etc.)
6. Populations from governments under the financial, political, or military protection of the United States, while sovereign, that are largely dependent on financial assistance offered them for sustainability (i.e., Puerto Ricans, Micronesian Islanders, American Sāmoans, etc.)

Addressing the challenge of cultural trauma is a complex matter. Any person or group of people identifying with the social and cultural history of a disenfranchised culture is at risk for being affected by the abuse offered to the generations of that culture. Even more poorly understood is how people of mixed cultural origins are influenced by the complex of social histories they bring together in their diverse heritage. For Native Hawaiian men of mixed cultural heritage, it may be difficult to determine exactly the level of influence each of these cultures brings to their lifestyle and health choices. What is understood is that the resolution of the health and social impacts of cultural trauma for Hawaiian men will call for the combined efforts of people from both inside and outside the culture, all under the leadership of members of the affected community. When gender is factored into the descriptive illustration of cultural harm, new dynamics and shadings of the problem and the course for eventual resolution may become more apparent.

## KULEANA—THE REALM OF MEN’S RESPONSIBILITY

To more fully comprehend the challenges facing Native Hawaiian and *Hawai‘i Maoli*<sup>2</sup> men in this modern age, it is necessary to have an understanding of their precontact realm of responsibility. Linguistic rendition testifies to the fact that, before the abolishment of the indigenous religious structure in 1819, the primary issue for a Kanaka Maoli male seeking to maintain his status as an upright person would have been the cultivation and protection of his ‘*ano*, the seed of moral integrity (Andrews, 2003; Handy, 1971). This essence was the spark of divinity residing within any *maoli* (true) person. A celestial characteristic is inherent to the indigenous self-identity held by all *maoli* people of the Pacific region. The ‘*ano* was a quality that precontact Kānaka Maoli, both women and men, fostered through religious rituals and proper and fitting behavior at all times.

The way to realization for one’s ‘*ano* was through strict observance of the ‘*Thi Kapu*, the system of sacred statutes. This system of consecrated laws enabled a people to live in harmony with one another, with nature, and with the spiritual realm of their ancestors (Valeri, 1985). Living in accord with this system of laws was what defined a person as *maoli*—as true and genuine. The Kanaka Maoli males held a position of social and religious leadership for specific responsibilities of the ‘*Thi Kapu*. From conducting major state rituals to small daily observances for deities under his care, the Kanaka Maoli male’s social role was central to maintenance of the *kapu* (marked) aspects of the society (Handy, 1971). If one’s sacred responsibility to the *kapu* became polluted, the individual would become, in effect, spiritually blind. The *kapu* was a central control over hygiene, environmental policy, land tenure, family concerns, almost every aspect of healthy social and personal functioning. Both genders carried special responsibilities. It was the male’s *kuleana* (honored responsibility) to serve as a shield between the community and harm—temporal and spiritual. Almost every area of exclusive social responsibility tied to Kanaka Maoli men was lost in the colonial period.<sup>3</sup> In our encounters with Native Hawaiian men, we have become familiar with the many ways these men feel their loss of traditional social responsibilities. This loss, as well as the accompanying cultural confusion, has disoriented them and appears to contribute to a decline in personal identity as a Hawaiian, and specifically as a Hawaiian male. This cultural wounding appears to have left many adrift from the healthy cultural ways of living that would foster well-being in their minds, bodies, and spirits (Kamakau, 1968; Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992).

### *Religion and Government*

Until 1819 and the abrogation of the traditional system of religion by a small ruling elite and the arrival of Calvinist missionaries in 1820, Kanaka Maoli men carried the bulk of the responsibility for religious and secular leadership in their society (Dudley, 1990). Religious leadership was intertwined with other social responsibilities involved with economy, diplomacy, and the rule of government. Kanaka Maoli society did not fit the strict definition of a theocracy; the rule of government was not held by an elite group of priests. It was, however, clearly a religion-centered system of government whereby the *ali'i nui*, the principal leaders, mediated the interchange between the celestial and terrestrial realms, the mundane and the divine worlds, all orchestrated by the *kahuna nui*, the primary priest (Malo, 1971; Valeri, 1985). The *kahuna nui* was set in place to make sure that thousands of years of sacred laws were upheld and that the *ali'i* under their charge followed the code of behavior required by the 'Ihi Kapu. Proper observation of an annual schedule of religious ritual and responsibilities was integral to the functioning of the society. Some observations were less grand; each day in the *Hale Mua*, the men's eating house, a small image of Lono with a gourd attached was kept where an offering of food was deposited (Valeri, 1985). The men shared their daily meal with the Elemental Aspect of Lono. By being given the ceremonial first bite or "first fruits" of the day, Lono was made manifest in the physical realm. The annual progress of social and community events was bounded by a series of local and state rituals designed to keep the society on a proper course of development. Temporal and spiritual authority worked in cooperation to bring about healthy and prosperous conditions in this and the metaphysical worlds (Handy, 1971).

The political mandate of the colonial European and American movement was accompanied by a corresponding command for religious dominance in the newly claimed territories. The competition between Protestant and Catholic religious-political forces was played out in Hawai'i as it was in other parts of the Pacific region. Despite the fact that the first recorded baptism of a Native Hawaiian was in 1819 by a Catholic priest (Feher, 1969; Grant & Bennett, 2000), it was the Protestant sects that were the most influential in early efforts to convert the island population to Christianity. In 1820, several months after orders declaring the *heiau* (temples) be torn down, Calvinist missionaries landed on the island of Hawai'i and were granted permission to preach and proselytize. Acceptance of the religious message

of these first missionaries was assured wide acceptance when key ali'i took up their cause (Kame'elehiwa, 1992). The need for a religious base in a culture that had always paired religious and secular power was a critical gap left by the abrogation of the native religion. The coincidental arrival of Protestant missionaries filled this critical gap for the ruling elite and their agenda for consolidating rule. Unfortunately, certain aspects of Protestant philosophy and dogma led Kanaka Maoli men further from their traditional place of personal *mana* (spiritual enablement), one grounded in observing proper relationships with their ancestors.

The first Protestant wave breaking on the shores of Hawai'i was led by members of New England Calvinist missionary sects. Calvinism is set up on three basic principles (Bowker, 1997), the first two of which resonated with the Kanaka Maoli vision of creation while the third provided a crashing blow to the emerging Native Hawaiian image of self:

1. *Supremacy of scripture as the sole rule of faith and practice.* The Kānaka Maoli held to their religious traditions as passed down through a rigid and precise tradition of oral transmission. These oral traditions were watched over by Hale Nauā, a social institution founded by the Maui Island Ali'i Nui Haho in the 11th century to contain the genealogies, history, and protocols of the nation (Malo, 1971). Shifting from this rigid oral tradition to the clarity and precision offered by printed text is an intellectual shift the Kānaka Maoli made with speed and ease.
2. *An authority confirmed by the inward witness of the Holy Spirit.* The Kānaka Maoli affirmed the authenticity of this inward witness by noting its correspondence with their *wailua*—the soul cluster; the *'uhane*—the conscious soul that speaks; the *'unihipili*—the subconscious soul that clings; and the *'aumakua*—the superconscious parent that hovers (Handy, 1971). The *wailua*, seen in pragmatic effects, was affirmed by the outcomes it brought into the world.

3. *Men and women were inherently sinful, lost in iniquity, and could only be delivered by the Bible's message.* Kanaka Maoli cosmology has no concept that paralleled the Christian idea of "original sin." The proposal that a child was born *hewa*, profaned by sin from birth, was a new and sad reality to accept. Because the Kānaka Maoli did, however, believe in redemption through acts, the presence of the Bible as a means for release from sin was a powerful tool wielded by the missionaries for controlling the behavior of the locals, keeping the "savage" soul and self in line with social ideals they endorsed.

### *Warfare*

It is a sad fact that, throughout world history, there has been close alignment between the aims of political forces and religion. The common outcome of the desire for power and authority in these realms has led to a long history of wars being conducted in the name of religion. Religion also serves to bring solace and purpose to the combatants who undertake what is clearly an abhorrent task on behalf of the society. War and the role of warrior are most usually assigned to the men of any particular culture. The intersection between religious and war responsibilities is vital to understand, for this is a setting where the values of a culture are easily discerned.

Although designed and initiated by them, men were not always the sole purveyors of war; Kanaka Maoli women did sometimes accompany their men into battle, sometimes in a combat support role, and at times as combatants with their own traditions of war-fighting. As is true for most societies, however, Kanaka Maoli men carried the lion's share of responsibility for entering the profaning realm of bloodshed. Until the era of final conquest by Kamehameha Pai'ea in the late-18th century, war-making in Hawai'i was a highly ritualized affair. Realizing early on the impact the taking of life brought to the evolution of the wailua, great care was taken to contain the stain of violence unleashed by battle (Kamakau, 1968). Aside from the care of the wailua, noncombatants, food-growing areas, and religious sites were noted and cared for in prebattle negotiations (Kamakau, 1968). It was important not only to be victorious in battle but also to be *pono*—principled and moral. Because all Kanaka Maoli activities took on both temporal and spiritual responsibilities, it would be possible to win the earthly battle and lose the moral war. For example, at the end of his massive campaign of interisland war, Kamehameha Pai'ea took up a series of civil engineering projects, building temples, fishponds,

and agricultural fields. These projects and the rituals that accompanied them were designed, in part, to expiate the burden of spiritual contamination built up during his campaign of conquest (Kamakau, 1968).

More important than restoring the more mundane aspects of everyday life after the ravages of war, the male Kanaka Maoli society engaged in meticulous practices before and during wartime through specific ceremonial practices that would safeguard them from spiritual pollution. In these rituals the elemental portion of the wailua, called 'uhane, was suspended and placed in safekeeping in rituals enacted at the heiau luakini po'o kanaka, where rituals not only opened the season of *kau wela* (summer, hot season) of Kūnuiākea but also consecrated the war effort (Handy, 1971; Valeri, 1985). After battle, in the Hale O Papa, the women's shrine dedicated to the divine female principle, Haumea (Papa), Kahuna Mo'o Kū, of the followers of the elemental principle, Kūnuiākea, would conduct a ceremony by which the warriors would be ritually reborn through the women of the 'ōiwi or clan (Valeri, 1985). Safeguarded from the stain of conflict, this ceremony reclaimed the warrior's 'uhane from its respite. While the male priests of the Mo'o Kū orchestrated this elegant ceremony, it was through the sacred female that Kanaka Maoli warriors were reborn to their civil earthly self. If the belief is assumed that the 'unihipili and the 'uhane compose the wailua, after the ritual the 'unihipili would have then been reunited with the 'uhane, given a new life, a fresh start, repeating the warrior's first birth, *Kā i mua*, into the physical world.

Once the indigenous religion was removed in 1819, the spiritual maintenance that allowed men to redeem themselves from transgressions against the 'Ihi Kapu, and those laws designed to contain wartime defilements, vanished from public view. No longer did the warriors have a place to go to make themselves safe in the conduct of their vocation. Rituals that united spirit to soul were done away with and the *pu'uhonua*, sanctuaries and places of refuge that allowed the Kānaka Maoli to expiate the transgressions of the kapu, were left without the requisite spiritual foundation to be effective for the people. Kanaka Maoli men now had no foundation of traditional cultural supports to deal with the stain of war and the emotions of anger and violence that might well up in them. The loss of constraint provided by the 'Ihi Kapu meant that all forms of public and domestic violence now could only be resolved through corporal or social punishment. Once the indigenous religion was dismantled, gone forever were the traditional systems of healing education that required men engaged in violence, whether war or domestic, to show through the formal procedures of their precontact ancestors that they could be trusted to



once again enter civil society. All that was left to address male violence were jails and even more death—a legacy of judgment that continues today with Native Hawaiian men being overrepresented in prison populations (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2006c).

### *Other Social Losses*

In addition to the loss of the supporting structure of the 'Ihi Kapu, almost every other formation required for healthy identity was also changed in traumatic ways for the Kanaka Maoli community. In less than 100 years, an estimated 90% of the precontact Native Hawaiian population died. The Kanaka Maoli approach to education based on oral transmission between a master of knowledge, *kahuna*, and a selected disciple was supplanted by Western text-based knowledge. The customs of Kanaka Maoli mating rituals of careful alignments of sacred genealogical relationships became marriages of economic convenience. Some Western traders married Hawaiian women for the social benefits they might provide. These benefits included the opportunity to become citizens of the kingdom, which then allowed these immigrants to purchase and sell lands. The collaborations of families arising from shared social and genetic histories were replaced by arrangements of economic advantage. Once the Federal Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was made into law in the 1920s, many of the descendents of these unions were legally disenfranchised from their identity as Native Hawaiians, because they did not meet the regulatory requirement that they be of 50% Native Hawaiian blood quantum. Marriages that at one time were sought because they provided distinct economic advantages now served to distance people of insufficient blood quantum from their island-based cultural heritage. The Kanaka Maoli approach to communal wealth, a system that tied religious and social development to the production of shared prosperity, was supplanted by Western capitalism, a system that reduced economic benefit primarily to the shareholders of the corporate entity. Finally, in this same short span of history, Native Hawaiians were asked to adapt their sense of community leadership from a ruling ali'i born with a divine mandate to care for the lands and people to a constitutional republic founded on democratic principles that "all men were created equal." Unfortunately, as the historical record clearly demonstrates, once American and European interests forcibly took over the government of the islands in 1893, Native Hawaiians and their indigenous culture were consistently treated as less than equal in almost every social arena (Cooper & Daws, 1990; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Wood, 1999).

Few modern societies have experienced shifts in social structure as dramatic as those forced upon the Hawaiian society starting with the arrival of European explorers in 1778. Similar to the experiences of other disenfranchised populations, the list of tortuous changes to local social support structures cast many Native Hawaiian men adrift and left them with no clear social role to fulfill in sustaining their families through the change required by Western colonialism as it spread through their island's cultural milieu (Duran & Duran, 1995). With the loss of their native religion and the massive changes to almost every social sphere, from government to economic practice, the elaborate complex of cultural and spiritual supports required to afford a person the skills needed to form a clear and coherent expression of social culture was unavailable to many Native Hawaiian men and remained unavailable for several generations.

Accommodating for losses and changes due to the influx of colonial power was not something the ali'i took into account when adopting new technologies and cultural values offered by the West. These leaders were not alone in their naiveté; the process of community grieving for changes to long-held social and cultural traditions is not well understood even in today's world. How people come to some level of accommodation to new forms of social standards and practices was not a concern for Native Hawaiian or Western leaders as they instituted massive changes in the social norms in the 19th and 20th centuries. The many ways these changes influenced the island's society probably could not have been foreseen. Perspective on how the Kanaka Maoli worldview was changed and the demands these alterations made on the resident population is something modern community activists can take into account in their cultural restoration endeavors.

## CULTURAL HEALING

The last 230 years have been some of the darkest times in recorded history for the Kānaka Maoli (Stannard, 1989), a period of social and cultural darkness for these people (Kanahele, 1986). Another way to look at this period of social change, however, is that it has also been a time for the true strength of the Kanaka Maoli character to show its usefulness in the context of the world cultural setting. Historically, the Kānaka Maoli have always adapted, changing their worldly circumstance as needed to assure their survival and prosperity as a people and as a culture

(Kuykendall, 1968). Skills that served their ancestors in bringing environmental prosperity to barren island ecosystems may now be brought to bear to bring this time of death and decrease to a close. In essence, the Native Hawaiian people have moved from a time of *lawe ola*, death without conscience, to one of *malu ola*, the traditions that safeguard life (Kanahele, 1986).

Bringing forth an ethic centered in the concept of *malu ola* points toward a clear need to focus on the larger picture of cultural healing, extending beyond the crisis of the moment and looking for sustainable and positive ways of living for the cultural community. In terms of Kanaka Maoli life, this would mean moving from the lifestyle choices of *lawe ola* to those of *malu ola*. The lifestyle of *lawe ola* would be one in which decisions decrease a person's or group's aliveness. In the list of indicators of cultural trauma syndrome, there is a critical point of analysis labeling certain negative lifestyle behaviors a state of "suicide by lifestyle." Examples of *lawe ola* are common: people who know themselves to be obese and yet who choose not to exercise or eat a proper diet, people who decry the cost of transportation but continue to drive single-passenger cars, people who despair the violence in their community but buy violent video games for their children, people who practice religions based on God's love but spend their time condemning others who do not believe as they do; all these are examples of *lawe ola* choices.

The contrast to this is *malu ola*, those choices that increase the likelihood of aliveness and prosperity for the individual or the community. Examples of this approach to life also abound: the single mother who decides to go back to school to get herself off welfare, people with diabetes who decide to change their eating and exercise habits to reduce their dependence on insulin, the government official who declines a short-term political gain to do what is right for the greater good of the community; all these are examples of potential expressions of *malu ola*.

What this point of advice places before those engaged in the work of cultural healing is that they look to sustainable ways of promoting *malu ola* as an emergent community value. Not an activity of self-righteousness, it is instead an effort to encourage people, in small and large ways, to look to things they can do to promote the well-being and health of themselves and their community. This work not only focuses on the particular realm of the specific cultural community but also addresses the cross-cultural aspects of communities living with acceptance and tolerance of differences.

In the last quarter of the 20th century a new sense of Hawaiian culture began to emerge—an identity now called Hawai‘i Maoli. Moving away from culture as a support for the tourist industry, some 40 years ago, Native Hawaiians began to explore the knowledge and wisdom of their ancestors as a way to address a need for cultural identity. One of the first successful efforts came in 1975 when the *Hōkūle‘a*, the first contemporary double-hulled canoe built for long-distance ocean voyages using traditional navigation methods, was built. At present the building of canoes and revival of traditional navigation techniques has become a Pan-Pacific phenomenon, bringing hope for continued recovery of culture to indigenous peoples throughout the region. Following on from the massive amounts of information generated by the voyaging canoes, a companion effort to place Native Hawaiian knowledge and values at the center of education gained momentum (Kawakami, 2004; Meyer, 2003; Native Hawaiian Education Council, 2002). Another group emerged simultaneously with the Polynesian Voyaging Society: Hale Nauā III, Society of Hawaiian Arts, had their first fine arts exhibition on the very day the *Hōkūle‘a* landed in Tahiti. Bringing to the forefront an esoteric awareness of the indigenous culture, these Native Hawaiian artists sought to create from a spiritual place, allowing for the energy to flow through a *piko*, the spiritual and physical umbilicus, the emotion and passion that still connected them to their cosmogonic ancestors. Building schools and institutions of higher learning centered in the Hawaiian language and culture found renewed vigor in the mid-1980s. These efforts show that political awareness paired with considered education and training can bring about substantive social reform.

The path of healing from the ravages of cultural trauma for Native Hawaiian men lies in education. It is no longer useful to use a social change model founded in a vision of people as deficient, in need of being fixed by an outside authority. A more empowering approach for cultural healing in the Maoli community needs to follow the liberatory principles of educators like Freire (1998) and Smith (2002); this becomes a path of knowledge that leads to the redevelopment of the *Loina Kāne*—the song of male origins, values and ideals found in the ancestral ways of the ‘Ihi Kapu.

The overarching aim of any effort of cultural healing is to afford an individual or a community the opportunity to recognize their ‘ano, their seed of moral integrity. These reconciliation and restoration efforts must provide verifiable and culturally centered means for increasing the substance of a person’s honor and respectability.

For all the efforts made in the last few decades in cultural recovery by the Hawaiian community, the one element missing is revival of an indigenous approach to the Kanaka Maoli esoteric life. The Kanaka Maoli visualization of human reality included interplay of corporeal and spiritual elements (Handy, 1971). The physical needs of the body were paralleled with the psychic and spiritual needs. Native forms of rehabilitation included skills attuned to the needs of the body, mind, spirit, and the collective of the community (Shook, 1985). The Kānaka Maoli knew the importance of punishment and redemption as attendant means for addressing transgressions of community norms (Valeri, 1985). In some cases there was a concerted effort made to allow the individual an opportunity to make things right. Depending on the crime, prayers, sacrifices, and rituals of redemption could bring the transgressing individual back to a place of spiritual and temporal wholeness (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972). Places for these activities were the pu'uhonua, permanent sanctuaries that dotted the islands. The cultural importance of refuge and redemption was evident in the way the Kānaka Maoli were ensured access to pu'uhonua. For example, during battle, a specified location or a prominent person could be designated as pu'uhonua, providing warriors and noncombatants a place of refuge from the chaos of violence for those who could reach these precincts (Kamakau, 1968).

Native Hawaiian men have been traditionally overrepresented in the jails and prisons since their introduction in the 19th century. Sadly, in a continuation of this trend, while Native Hawaiians constitute about 20% of the general population, they represent 44% of the in-state prison population (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 2002). Loss of rituals for redemption, as well as loss of locations where a person can redeem their sacred honor, makes jails all the more needful. Loss of *wahi pana*—sacred spaces, places, and times where a Hawai'i Maoli male can be trained in the 'ano of his ancestors, in the character and workings of a healthy human being—makes it unlikely that a person's behavior will rise any higher than that needed to avoid punishment. Since the arrival of Western religious and political ideals, the primary seat for this authority has been removed from the purview of the individual and the closely held community and given to the judgment of an externally located authority—judges and ministers.

For Hawai'i Maoli men to come to a satisfactory cultural vision of a healthy male role, they will first have to come to an accommodation with distractions introduced by Westernization. From the failure of the colonial effort to reshape the indigenous Maoli consciousness into some echo of itself, it is possible to say that this method is not the means the community should use to change the negative health and social indicators now describing the population of Hawaiian males.

To meet the pains of cultural trauma with resolutions that do not replicate their energies, the effort of cultural recovery must not be an adversarial undertaking. The solution to the circumstance of Hawai'i Maoli males cannot be an either-or enterprise. There is no need for these men to try to be either a precontact Kanaka Maoli or a fully assimilated Westerner. The Kanaka Maoli legacy to the world community may likely come from its ability to adapt to rising circumstances and prosper. The resolution of the present circumstance of cultural trauma cannot subscribe to a rigid plan. Remediation of this trauma will pair insight with fortitude. The way to health for Hawai'i Maoli men lies in molding the best of cultural education and healing to suit the needs of individuals and their communities. Echoing this call for remaining adaptable when charting a course for cultural healing, after 25 years of study, the Canadian government came to the conclusion (Aboriginal Corrections Policy Unit, 2002, p. 12): "healing means moving beyond hurt, pain, disease, and dysfunction to establishing new patterns of living that produce sustainable well-being."

## CONCLUSION

The community of Hawai'i Maoli men will need to embark on a further voyage of discovery, this time seeking the horizons for a place of wholeness rather than of new lands. For this place to be sustainable, it will have to find a way to assist them in bridging precontact values, beliefs, and practices over to the present era. This will not be a project of assimilation into the Western culture nor will it be a return to the pure ways of their forefathers, but it will be something drawing from

the best each has to offer—bringing into being a new cultural figure, the Hawai'i Maoli. And, because the Kanaka Maoli culture is one of entwined masculine and feminine powers, for this journey to be lasting it will have to include the needs of the women of this community as well as its men.

Sustainable well-being is the goal. The time for the unending loss of life and vitality from the last 230 years—losses to the land, people, and culture—must now come to an end. Replacing the systems of conflict and indoctrination inherent to the colonial mind-set must be Maoli systems, structures that honor the deep truth that arises from respect between cultures. Native Hawaiian men must once more be allowed the respect to renew their alignment with Loina Kāne—their song of origin.

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## NOTES

- 1 The designation *Kanaka Maoli* is used to identify members of the indigenous population in what is known today as Hawai'i from precontact to 1819 when the aboriginal religion was dismantled. The designation Native Hawaiian designates all persons descended from this group from 1819 to the present.
- 2 The designation *Hawai'i Maoli* refers to those modern persons seeking to instill their present behaviors with precontact Maoli values as opposed to Western colonial values.
- 3 The term *colonial* period will designate the period starting with the arrival of the English explorer Capt. James Cook in 1778 to the present.

APPENDIX  
ADAPTIVE BEHAVIORS FOR POPULATIONS LIVING  
IN DISENFRANCHISEMENT

Offered below is a catalog of counterproductive, adaptive behaviors we observed in accounts of research reports, journal articles, and social assessments provided by public and private agencies and in direct experience of populations living with some level of disenfranchisement from their indigenous cultural worldview.

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<i>Individual Adaptations</i>
Low self-esteem
Cannot maintain intimate, mutually constructive relationships
Cannot trust or be trusted
Cannot persevere when difficulties arise
Cannot function as a constructive parental role model
Cannot function as a constructive and productive spousal model
Cannot hold a steady job—nonassertive
Cannot leave behind harmful habits leading to, in essence, a condition of “suicide-by-lifestyle”
Cannot curb individual violent nature in part because of the presence of intergenerational patterns of violence
Lack of reverence for self

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<i>Family Adaptations</i>
The family serves as a generator of dysfunction
Patterns of addiction and abuse are passed on as family norms
The family is no longer able to provide the foundation for healthy individual or community life patterns
The family perpetuates connections to traumas of previous generations—validation for generating feelings of revenge and vendetta are ingrained
Lack of reverence for family—past, present, or future

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*Community Adaptations*

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Rampant backbiting and internal strife

Internal separation of cultural identity—traditionalists versus moderns;  
esoteric versus exoteric

A tendency to pull down the good work of anyone who rises to serve the community

Political corruption and abuse of leadership responsibilities

Lack of accountability and transparency in government

Chronic inability to unite and work together to solve shared, critical human problems

Widespread suspicion and mistrust between people and cultural subgroups

Competition and “turf wars” between programs

A general disengagement from community affairs by most people

A climate of fear and intimidation surrounding those who hold power—indigenous  
and nonindigenous

A general lack of progress and success in community initiatives

Lack of reverence for the past and emerging collective culture of the community

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## CHANGING THE CULTURE OF RESEARCH: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE TRIANGULATION OF MEANING

*Manulani Aluli-Meyer*

The *triangulation of meaning* is a framework that describes the future rigor of research and a way in which to confirm the nagging notion that objectivity is bound to evolve. It is an idea that contextualizes all others, a daringly simple matrix in which to see the whole in all parts. The idea of viewing reality in an outside, inside, and transpatial way is now part of a postquantum physics movement, and a segue into the beauty and practicality of indigeneity. Seeing through engagement with mind, body, and spirit has helped me develop a different consciousness. Our world is asking us to view old problems in new ways. It's time. Here is one way to begin the seeing that is meant to challenge current assumptions of research philosophies, methods, and outcomes. It is meant to offer you ideas you recognize. And through it all, a joy in remembering.

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Whether or not you can observe a thing depends on the theory you use.  
It is the theory that decides what can be observed.

—Albert Einstein

**I**t's time! Time for new theories so we can see our world differently.<sup>1</sup> And in that seeing, a new way of doing. We are moving from epistemology to hermeneutics, from knowing to meaning. From intelligence to interpretation. From fragmentation to wholeness. From status-quo objectivity to radical/conscious subjectivity. It will mean a different way to approach literacy, research, energy, ideas, data collection, sustainability, and *all* collaborations. But, first, we must know how we view intelligence.<sup>2</sup>

Epistemology for Hawaiians is a distinct idea.<sup>3</sup> (All indigenous peoples I have met know this discussion is inevitable.) We know that intelligence is far more complex than what a poor SAT score tells us. *We know this.* We know that facts and truth are not one and the same. *We know this.* We know that objectivity found in measurement is only part of the picture we are looking at. *We know this.* We know there is a difference between knowledge and knowing. We *do* know this! And because these times call for courage in our truth-telling, we are now able to express ourselves *through* our intelligence into our interpretation. It was Hans-Georg Gadamer who taught us that understanding occurs in interpretation—the 'i'ini (animating principle) of a word, the *ea* (life force) of ideas. Our own interpretation will change everything. Understandings will shift. It is indeed a time of *'ike kai hohonu*, of searching and deep knowing. Now comes the telling. And as we all know: *It is in the telling.*

Enter the *triangulation of meaning*, a simple framework in which to place our nagging sense that there is a "within of things" (Teilhard de Chardin, 1955), a way to engage in the world that matures objectivity, a space to contemplate, a process to heal from the blistering promise objectivity held out for us. Here is an authentic leap into new ways of viewing reality that will challenge current research paradigms based on Newtonian assumptions of space, time, and knowing. It is simple. It is older than time. It is the very context we exist in without our knowing. Please put on some tea. I'll get the candles.

## THE TRIANGULATION OF MEANING: BODY, MIND, AND SPIRIT

Triangulation, three intimations of one idea, should be noted as a guide to edifying coherence among associations.

—Zach Shatz (1998)

Here we go! Here is a set of ideas that may bring you back to remembering. It extends indigenous epistemology into a context of world awakening. It is daringly uncomplicated, but then again, words only point to the truth. *Genuine knowledge must be experienced directly* (Fremantle, 2001). This section is meant to help you organize your research mind and give you the courage to do so with the rigor found in facts, logic, and metaphor. It is offered now because it organized my own thoughts and oiled the tools needed to dismantle the master's house found in perfect order in my own mind.<sup>4</sup> We as researchers can now become architects of meaning, shaping spaces as yet unseen. Here is the challenge. Here is a floor plan.

Let's begin with the idea of *triangulation*. Wilderness education teaches that if you wish to find your place on a topographical map, you need only locate two geographical distinctions on land and, with the use of a compass and pencil, the third and final spot—your location—can then be found. The use of three points to discover one's location in both two and three dimensions is the art and science of triangulation, and I have always thrilled to its use and implication. Thus the metaphor of *triangulating our way to meaning* with the use of three points. The three points? Body, mind, and spirit.

Using body, mind, and spirit as a template in which to organize meaningful research asks us to extend through our objective/empirical knowing (body) into wider spaces of reflection offered through conscious subjectivity (mind) and, finally, through recognition and engagement with deeper realities (spirit). Finally, we are defining places science can follow into but not lead or illuminate. Other ways of knowing something must be introduced if we are to evolve into a more enlightened society. It will not occur with scientific or objective knowledge only.

Nobel Laureate Werner Heisenberg put it more succinctly: “Physics can make statements about strictly limited relations that are only valid within the framework of those limitations” (Heisenberg, cited in Wilber, 2001, pp. 33–74).

So, before we begin this discussion, please understand that your schooled mind has been shaped by mostly one point in the triangulation: body. Body is a synonym for external, objective, literal, sensual, empirical. Change agents, indigenous researchers, cultural leaders, and transformational scholars are now working together to help this idea grow up. So, take a breath. Keep your mind open.

To begin, *mahalo* (thanks) to Ken Wilber for his capacity to see patterns in philosophy and research that brought this idea to the world.<sup>5</sup> I have simply extended his preliminary list into trilogies that make sense to me and the needs of our focus. It was my wilderness education experiences that brought forth the idea of triangulation as I have experienced the beauty of its practice and utility. We are poised to use three points in our experiencing of life and research to find our way home. Not two. Not one. Three.

## THE NUMBER THREE

The Tao gives birth to One.  
One gives birth to Two.  
Two gives birth to Three.  
Three gives birth to all things.

—*Tao Te Ching* (chap. 42)

It is more like Bucky Fuller’s tetrahedron.<sup>6</sup> It is about the structural integrity formed when *three* points meet in dimensioned space. The tetrahedron is also the sacred geometry of infinity, energy, and the perfect balance of equilibrium found in postquantum physics. It is the doorway into wholeness. We at first thought it was about opposites, about duality, about bridging polarity and painting our theories of gender, science, and life under this light. Black-and-white comparisons



kept us busy for hundreds of years. It has shaped the polemic universe we now take for granted. True or false. Body or mind. Oppressor or oppressed. Cognition or feeling. Real or imagined.

The world is indeed perceived in binary systems. It has caused untold horror and helped to create a rigid epistemology we now assume cannot evolve. We have options, however. Why not experience duality like the yin and yang, the Kū and Hina of our ancient selves?<sup>27</sup> Life is found in dual forms, but as we gather evidence from all sectors of world scholars, mystics, and practitioners, we are discovering that life moves within a *context of dynamic consciousness* that synergizes with Aristotle's highest intellectual virtue he referred to as *phronesis*. This is not simply a discussion of moral relativity or the third point in duality; it is a piercing into different planes of reality to discuss what inevitably shifts into nonduality because of its inherent wholeness. It has helped me step from entrenched patterns of thinking to include older ways and more experienced expressions of what intelligence really is and how it can be expressed. It's about time, don't you think?

## REACHING FOR WHOLENESS

Relative and absolute, these two truths are declared to be.  
The absolute is not within the reach of the intellect, for intellect  
is grounded in the relative.

—Shantidevi

The world is more than dual. It is whole. We have looked at parts so long we perhaps believe the gestalt of our knowing is not possible. With regard to research, we *still* believe statistics is synonymous with truth. It is a dangerous road to travel when we pack only empirical ways of being into our research backpack. Here is the point of doing research at this juncture of history: Empiricism is just one point in our triangulation of meaning, and although it may begin the process of research, it by no means is the final way in which to engage, experience, or summarize

it.<sup>8</sup> Research and life are more in line with body, mind, and spirit—three simple categories that have been lost in theory and rhetoric. Thus begins the discussion of a triangulation of meaning. *Ho‘omākaukau?* (Ready?) Let us begin.

## BODY: THE GROSS AND PHYSICAL KNOWING OF LIFE

### *First Point in the Triangulation of Meaning*

I believe we carry our values in our bodies. We carry our culture in our bodies.

—Peesee Pitsiulak, Inuit

We’re not talking gross as in yucky. Gross starts the triangulation of meaning because it describes what is outside, what is external, what is seen, what is empirical. It is the *form* that consciousness has shaped. It is one way to begin this discussion of research for meaning because it is what we are familiar with. It is science in all its splendor. It is the part of your research that may be counted, sorted, or emphasized because of statistical analysis. It is what you see, not the way in which you interpret what you see or hear. It is the A-B-C of experience you may jot down in memo form so you don’t forget specifics. This is the description of what was in the room, the socioeconomic status graphs, what was said, or the written ideas on butcher paper shared by informants. It is the information phase of gathering ideas. It is vital. It is the objective pathway we mistook for destination.

The body idea in the triangulation of meaning is what science has cornered. It is expressed through sensation via objective measurement and evaluation. It is a valuable and rigorous part in the triangulation of meaning and the center of most research processes. The gross/external part of the triangulation is the nitty-gritty of experience, the atomic process of physical movement, the force that moves

objects. It is vital to not underestimate the beauty of research found at this level. The problem was that we assumed all the world could be described this way. In one sense all the world can be described in this way. We are simply acknowledging the world to be fuller, richer, and lived deeply also in the internal processes that empiricism only points to. Thus the world *can* be described via objectivity alone. It just would not be enough. *Is* not enough.

Table 1 draws out why detailing this portion of the triangulation is vital and yet only one third of the whole. It will give you a clearer picture of what I am talking about. Table 1 gives us a glance at the future of rigor. Gross/external/body knowing becomes part of a wholeness forming when combined with mind and spirit. Mature self-reflection finds objectivity moving in space/time toward a subjective reality that finally realizes the strength and beauty of its limitation and potential.

Study Table 1. Do you sense the simplicity here? The list is detailed now so we can be on the same page when we discuss the other two parts of the triangulation. This body-centered aspect in the triangulation is absolutely vital if we are to evolve. It is not the “bad guy” of research but a critical link to help us expand what it is we are engaged in. Valuing an empirical relationship with the world *begins* the discussion we may have with aspects of an idea, event, or issue. It is simply not the end.

The body/external knowing of the triangulation is what we all can relate to because it is the template in which society and our institutions of higher learning operate. It has been the bread and butter of research and science and the main assumption found in the notion of rigor. It is objective, tangible, and measurable. Now, don’t you think it’s time to evolve? After all, one does not live on bread alone.

TABLE 1 The triangulation of meaning in its many forms

Body	Mind	Spirit	Source
‘Ike (to see)	‘Ike (to know)	‘Ike (revelations)	Hawaiian
Objective	Subjective	Cultural	Karl Popper
Facts	Logic	Metaphor	Mike McCloskey
Perception	Conceptualization	Remembering	Yoga sutra
Empiricism	Rationalism	Mysticism	Ken Wilber
Information	Knowledge	Understanding	Manu Aluli-Meyer
Sensation	Reason	Contemplation	Ken Wilber
Instinct	Intelligence	Intuition	Halemakua
Emotion	Feeling	Awareness	Spinoza
Force	Power	Liberation	David Hawkins
Its	I	We	Buddhist inspired
Life	Mind	Joy	Upanishads
External	Internal	Transpatial	Ken Wilber
Knowledge	Knowing	Enlightenment	Māori inspired
True	Good	Beautiful	Plato
Gross	Subtle	Causal	Ken Wilber
Tinana	Hinengaro	Wairua	Māori
Hearing	Thought	Meditation	Buddhist
Duality	Nonduality	Wholeness	Ken Wilber
Biology	Psychology	Spirituality	Manu Aluli-Meyer
Seeing	Thinking	Being	Ken Wilber
Word	Meaning	Perception	Patanjali
Monologue	Dialogue	Presence	Ken Wilber
Empiricism	Epistemology	Hermeneutics	Manu Aluli-Meyer
Dot	Circle	Sphere	Mel Cheung
Eye of the flesh	Eye of the mind	Eye of contemplation	Ken Wilber
Ways of knowing	Ways of being	Ways of doing	Aboriginal
Decolonization	Transformation	Mobilization	Poka Laenui

*Note:* Unless noted specifically in the References and Additional Readings of this article, all descriptors in this list have been collected during a lifetime of experiences and kept as journal entries without citation. Students have also given me their renditions, and I have begun that list.

## MIND: THE SUBTLE AND SUBJECTIVE KNOWING OF LIFE

### *Second Point in the Triangulation of Meaning*

The great consciousness exists in my mind.

—Oscar Kawagley, Yupiaq

Finally! Truth that objectivity is a subjective idea that cannot possibly describe all of our experience. To believe that science or objective and empirical-based research could describe all of life reduces it to its smallest part. Ken Wilber (2001, p. 26) stated it clearly: “Physics is simply the study of the realm of least-Being.” Claiming that all things are made of subatomic particles is the most reductionistic stance imaginable! Science and the belief in objectivity as the highest expression of our intellect, it turns out from those most experienced, works only in “restricted fields of experience” and is effective only within those fields (Heisenberg, in Wilber, 2001). What a revelation! Let me repeat: *Objectivity is its own limitation.*

Enter mind, subjectivity, thought. Courage is needed to articulate these ideas with a robustness that will signal a leap in consciousness within our society. Even though insults will be hurled by mobs who have an investment in status-quo thinking, be prepared with ideas that scaffold what has become obvious: Our rational minds, our inside thoughts, our subjective knowing are vital to how we experience and understand our world. The question remains: How will the internal process of thought-made-conscious affect the process and product of your work?

Return to Table 1 and look again at synonyms found in the mind category of the triangulation of meaning. They are not the EKG lines found on graph paper, they are the *thoughts* those lines represent. Thought is an inside and subtle experience inspired by a richness or poverty only you can imagine. Because thought shapes form, do you see how vital it is to develop our minds consciously and not get stuck on form? This is where we are heading as a planet—to become more mindful of what it is we must do, how we must heal, where we must go to invigorate our own process not fully encouraged within our institutions of learning.

The following four quotations are from my heroes. They are given here as an extension of what my own people have portrayed in their own reading of their world. As we begin to formulate authentic ideas within ancient streams of knowing, let the dialogue expand our connection to world-doers who have articulated the beauty found in their own knowing:

**MAORI MARSDEN** (Māori). Abstract rational thought and empirical methods cannot grasp what is the concrete act of existing which is fragmentary, paradoxical, and incomplete. The only way lies through a passionate, inward, subjective approach.

**DAVID HAWKINS** (Psychiatrist). To merely state that objectivity exists is already a subjective statement. All information, knowledge, and the totality of all experience is the product of subjectivity, which is an absolute requirement intrinsic to life, awareness, existence, and thought.

**LEROY LITTLE BEAR** (Blackfoot). Subjectivity is your starting point to reality.

**GREG CAJETE** (Tewa). Native science reflects the understanding that objectivity is founded on subjectivity.

Subjectivity, thought, logic, rationality, intelligence, conceptualization—these are some of the inside processes mind brings forward. They are the snapshots from our trip to meaning, heightened purpose, and useful inquiry that will aid in healing ourselves and our world. The mind part of this triangulation harnesses what is seen, counted, and expressed into a metaconsciousness that explains, contextualizes, or challenges. It gives us the green light to engage in creative exploration needed to unburden ourselves from the shriveled promise objectivity has offered the world. We are being asked to *think* now, to develop truth in our bias, to speak our common sense, to deepen what intelligence *really* means.

This will change your research process and structure. Knowing of the relevance and maturation of conscious subjectivity will sharpen your rationality, help you speak through your gender so that you may lend what is beautiful about being alive, unique, and one-of-a-kind. No kidding! Knowing mind—your mind—and how it has helped shape your thoughts will make you honest and help you write truthfully, as an incest survivor, or as a Pacific Island scholar facing untold obstacles, or as a recovering addict working in prisons. Whatever it is. Whoever you are.

It is all distinct, all shaped in mind patterns that if recognized will bring forth greater intelligence, not less. Self-reflection of one's thoughts and actions helps you to understand that who you are, how you were raised, and what you eat all act as agents for your mindfulness or mindlessness. And all affect how you see and experience the world.

Mind as the second point in our triangulation of meaning helps us recover from the bullying and uniformity of "power-over" epistemology. It gives us breathing space to self-reflect in meaningful ways and engage with a rigor perhaps not captured in academic citations. Remember this! You will have to expand your repertoire of writers and thinkers if you wish to explore beyond the limitations of predictable research methodologies. It will be your mind that recognizes and describes new patterns needed for rationality, logic, and the true rigor found in knowing something in depth. Follow mindfulness to its own intelligence and seek inevitably what most scholars refuse to admit exists: *spirit*. Yes, let us enter this grove with care and quietude.

## SPIRIT: THE CAUSATIVE AND MYSTICAL KNOWING OF LIFE

### *Third Point in the Triangulation of Meaning*

At this point, the rational, conceptual aspect of the mind must let go, allowing a breakthrough into direct, intuitive experience.

—Francesca Fremantle (2001)

Here it is, the third point in a spiral. It is what people misconstrue for religion and dogma. *It is not that*. The spirit category in our triangulation of meaning is no less valuable, no more valuable. It is part of the whole, period. It is data moving toward usefulness moving toward meaning and beauty. It is the contemplation part of your work that brings you to insight, steadiness, and interconnection. It is the joy and truthful insights of your lessons and the rigor found in your discipline and focus that is not so much written about but expressed nonetheless.

Spirit as a point in this triangulation is all about seeing what is significant and having the courage to discuss it. It is what Trungpa Rinpoche described as “an innate intelligence that sees the clarity of things just as they are” (Fremantle, 2001, p. 59). This category that pulls facts into logic and finally into metaphor recognizes that one will eventually see more than what is presented. *You are being offered an opportunity to evolve.* Here is where the mystical aspects of this category encourage, inspire, calm. To know we are more than simply body and thought is to acknowledge how those ideas expand into wider realms of knowing and being. This is a spirit-centered truth that is older than time. Again, do not confuse the category of spirit with religion.

Look again at Table 1. What do you learn from the spirit category? Are these not the products and process of a conscious life? Is there any wonder billions of people wish to capture these values and ideas in ritual? The spirit part of triangulating ourselves back to meaning is all about the purpose and reason of our lives. It will help you think of your research as something of value and keep you at the edge of wonder with how it will shape who you are becoming. This third category encompasses the first two. It is an advancement of earlier ideas and gives a structure of rigor by which positivism is ultimately shaped.

Spirit in the triangulation of meaning is as it says: whole, contemplative, intuitive, metaphoric, joyful, liberating. Within research, spirit is answers you will *remember* in your dreams. It is questions you will frame differently after eye contact with a child. It is understanding an unexpected experience that will heighten the clarity of your findings. It is the “aha!” that comes from stirring oatmeal after a night of transcription. Developing a respect for the qualities of awareness, joy, and beauty will actually develop how you *think* and thus *see* the world. Do you see how all categories are really just one?

The spiritual category in this triangulation of meaning holds more than the extension of the first two categories. It is the frequency by which all connect. It is not simply a linear sequence. All three categories occur simultaneously. It is an idea whose time has come as it helps subjectivity mature into the fullness of its potential. Do not fear what is inevitable—that we are all part of the birthing of a new culture. Why not do it with a consciousness that is courageous in its purpose and quiet in its consistency?



Here is the point: research or renewal; mundane or inspiring; fragmented or whole. Do you see why Sir Karl Popper called the advancing of objectivity toward subjectivity into the inevitability of culture something we need to recognize? As *Kumu Hula* (hula teacher) Keola Lake, said during an interview, “Culture is defined as best practices of a group of people” (Meyer, 1998). Here is the metaphor of this discussion: *that we change the culture of research*. We do this simply by engaging all three points of the triangulation of meaning: body, mind, and spirit.

## HA‘INA MAI KA PUANA: THUS ENDS MY STORY

If knowledge is power, then understanding is liberation.

—Manu Aluli-Meyer

I believe it is time to think indigenous and act authentic even at the price of rejection. To disagree with mainstream expectations is to wake up, to understand what is happening, to be of service to a larger whole. You may even begin to work on behalf of our lands, water, and air. This is why we are heading into the field of hermeneutics—interpretation—via epistemology. We must first detail what we value about intelligence to even see there are other interpretations of life, brilliance, and knowing. The idea that the SAT or other measurable tools of “intelligence” are just tiny facets of intelligence is now timely. *Your* rendition of your own experience is now the point. Who are you then? What do you have to offer the world? How can we work together? Here is where hermeneutics enters with a bouquet of daisies. To realize that all ideas, *all* histories, *all* laws, *all* facts, and *all* theories are simply *interpretations* helps us see where to go from here. To understand this one idea has brought me to this point of liberation.

When ancient renditions of the world are offered for debate within a context of real-life knowing, there is a robustness I find invigorating and breathtaking. Here is where interpretations matter, and because indigenous folk are peopling places we were never found before, do you see why things are changing? We simply posit difference—a difference that knows place and encourages harmony within that place. Of course we are far from perfect, but we do bring something unique to the table. We bring dreams, food, elders, courage, and the clarity of speech and purpose. After all, there is no time to waste.

We are shaping longboards for a winter swell that is coming. It's time to learn new skills with our ancient minds. Time to deploy common sense back into our consciousness. Time to laugh more and bear witness to the deeper truth of why we do what we're doing. Time to see how we can connect and help others. Time to work on behalf of our 'āina (land). Time to triangulate our way back to meaning. Do you see how we are *all* on the path of sovereignty?

It's funny how the practice of cultural specificity helps me be interested in the collective again. The wider collective. As if the path to wholeness first begins with fragmentation. It's my own body, mind, and spiritual walk toward knowing that I have worked out in this article. And for this I'm grateful. Mahalo for sharing the space and making the time.

May you find your own secret (Nityananda, 1996). May your bibliography be easy to gather. May you know your own brilliance. May it lead to collective joy.

Amama ua noa.

*This article is an excerpt from Manulani Aluli-Meyer's (in press) chapter, "Indigenous and Authentic: Native Hawaiian Epistemology and the Triangulation of Meaning," in L. Smith, N. Denzin, and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies. New York: Sage.*

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#### ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Manulani Aluli-Meyer is the fifth daughter of Emma Aluli and Harry Meyer with roots in Hilo, Kohala, Wailuku, and Kamāmalu. She is part of a larger Hawaiian Education Movement committed to the concepts of aloha, ku a paio, and lōkahi. She is a philosopher who learned from many Hawaiian teachers, elders, and practitioners about Hawaiian intelligence or epistemology. She is currently an associate professor of education at the University of Hawai‘i–Hilo.

#### NOTES

- 1 For an in-depth discussion of the role of “seeing,” see the writings of Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.
- 2 For a discussion of Hawaiian epistemology in relation to research, see Meyer’s (in press) chapter, “Indigenous and Authentic: Native Hawaiian Epistemology and the Triangulation of Meaning,” in L. Smith, N. Denzin, and Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. (The present article is an excerpt from this chapter.)

3 Epistemology is the philosophy of knowledge. It asks questions people have long taken for granted: What is knowledge? What is intelligence? What is the difference between information, knowledge, and understanding? It is vital to debate the issue of knowledge/intelligence because of the needs of our time.

4 Audre Lorde (1984) inspired this dilemma found in postcolonial theory classes: Can you dismantle the master's house (i.e., imperialism, colonialism, etc.) with the master's tools? The answer is both yes and no. All outward realities are first inward expressions and thought patterns. A new consciousness must be forged to approach old issues. False dualities of master and slave must also be reconfigured.

5 Ken Wilber, integral philosopher, was the first to introduce me to three points in philosophy and research. I discovered this in his epic work, *Sex, Ecology and Spirituality: The Spirit of Evolution* (Wilber, 2000).

6 I have always enjoyed the image of the tetrahedron learned from a lecture Buckminster Fuller gave in Honolulu before he died in the 1980s. He described the tetrahedron as "structural integrity" itself.

7 Yin/yang is a Chinese way to organize female and male principles, Kū and Hina is a Hawaiian way. It gives us a way to recognize balance and to cultivate both aspects in our own character.

8 Empiricism is the idea that knowledge is gained from a direct experience with reality via our five senses: hearing, touching, tasting, seeing, and smelling. It is the basis of positivism and the core of rationality based on objectivity and measurement. Indigenous scholars are asserting that even at this fundamental level, we are shaped by culture, place, time, and so on. Of course this will detail a different reality, one that ultimately will extend beyond acultural empirical assumptions into a new reality that postquantum physics now recognizes.



# THIS LAND IS MY LAND: THE ROLE OF PLACE IN NATIVE HAWAIIAN IDENTITY

*Shawn Malia Kana'iaupuni and Nolan Malone*

Native Hawaiians are genealogically connected to ka pae 'āina Hawai'i as both the ancestral homeland and the elder sibling of Hawaiian aboriginals in traditional belief systems. This relationship is integral to Native Hawaiian identity and is distinctive from that of other groups who live and work in the Hawaiian Islands. This article examines the significance of place to Native Hawaiian identity and cultural survival. It discusses the physical, spiritual, genealogical, and sociopolitical/historical ties to land and sea that nourish Hawaiian well-being and are evident in Hawaiian epistemologies. Despite the strain on these ties and challenges to identity from population decimation and displacement, multicultural mixing, and migration, place is still the key connection linking Native Hawaiians to each other and to an indigenous heritage. As current consumptive patterns continue to destroy the ecological and natural balance of Hawai'i, critical questions emerge about Hawai'i's future and the rightful place of Native Hawaiians in our homeland.

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Some critiques of contemporary geographic growth patterns point out the rise of placelessness across U.S. landscapes. Relph (1976), in a provocative analysis of this phenomenon, argues that place has been a critical foundation of human cognition and identity throughout history. He shows how contemporary urban and suburban (and most recently, exurban) growth patterns have diminished the unique, historical, and cultural meanings of place to human society today. This point may bring no argument from most Americans who may not feel any overwhelming ties to a particular place, who are quite mobile in today's global society, and who, in fact, may be quite accustomed to the increasing standardization of places, such as strip malls, retail, food, and service chains. Add to this the relative homogeneity of most suburban architectures and the constantly shifting topography of metropolitan landscapes. The objective of this article is to expand our understanding of the significance of place to race and ethnic diversity and to demonstrate how place continues to be an unequivocal focal point in the identity processes of some social groups and individuals today. Specifically, we examine these processes in the context of the *pae 'āina* (archipelago) of Hawai'i and Native Hawaiian identity.<sup>1</sup>

Our study builds on prior studies indicating that place—the consciousness of land, sea, and all that place entails—is fundamental to indigenous identity processes (Allen, 1999; Battiste, 2000; Kamakau, 1992; Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005; Memmott & Long, 2002; Meyer, 2003; Mihe-suah, 2003). Although this analysis of the relationship between place and identity centers on Hawaiians, it offers important insights that may extend to other indigenous groups or cultures whose members are highly intermarried and mobile, whose language is endangered, and whose culture is known more widely in its commercial tourist, rather than authentic, form. Under these conditions, place is critical to the cultural survival and identity of a people, as we illustrate in the case of Native Hawaiians.

Place is intertwined with identity and self-determination of today's Native Hawaiians in complex and intimate ways. At once the binding glue that holds Native Hawaiians together and links them to a shared past, place is also a primary agent that has been used against them to fragment and alienate. Yet, place, in all of its multiple levels of meaning, is one light that many Hawaiians share in their spiritual way-finding to a Hawaiian identity, one that is greatly significant to their existence as a people and culture, both past and present. And so begins our exploration into the various meanings of place to Hawaiian identity today.



In addition to indigenous theories of place, this study is informed by other perspectives on the role of place in racial identity and ethnicity. For example, certain geographers view place as the context within which racial partnering, residential choices, and family identification processes are differentially distributed across spatial categories (e.g., neighborhoods, cities, metropolises; Peach, 1980; Wong, 1999). By “spatializing” household patterns of family formation, mobility, and other behavioral characteristics, we can understand where (and why) they survive and flourish. Research shows that Hawai‘i, for instance, is one of those places in the United States that is spatially significant for its flourishing intermarriage rates (Lee & Fernandez, 1998; Root, 2001).

Perspectives in anthropology add to our understanding of the concept of identity as it relates to place. Saltman (2002) defines the relationship between land and identity as the dynamic area within which social realities are acted out in individual cognition and perception. For example, identity may be the shared understandings between persons of the same culture that enable them to rally together for a political cause. In relation to place, Saltman (2002) argues, “identity achieves its strongest expression within the political context of conflicting rights over land and territory” (p. 6); evidence of the latter is certainly found in the story we tell here.

Our study draws on indigenous perspectives of place and identity that interweave the spiritual and the physical with sociocultural traditions and practices. As Memmott and Long (2002) explain, whereas Western explanations view places purely in terms of their geomorphology (with little human influence), indigenous models view people and the environment as overlapping and interacting. For example, unlike the way “Western thought classifies people and their technology apart from nature,” indigenous knowledge and beliefs may include ancestral heroes with special powers who helped to shape land and marine systems (Memmott & Long, 2002, p. 43). Likewise, both weather and agricultural or other natural events may be influenced through human rituals, song, dance, or other actions performed in specific places. And, between places and people occurs a sharing of being: Places carry the energies of people, history, and cultural significance; in turn, people carry the energy of places as some part of their being (Memmott & Long, 2002).

The concept of place in Hawaiian perspective reflects understandings found throughout Pacific voyaging societies and shares certain similarities with other Native American and aboriginal cultures (Lindstrom, 1999; Martin, 2001; Memmott & Long, 2002; Schnell, 2000). “Place, in this case the home of the Kānaka Maoli

or indigenous people of Hawai‘i, transcends physical realities of land. It is the *honua* (whenua, henua, fonua, fanua, fenua—the words meaning “earth” in Māori, Marshallese, Tongan, Samoan, and Tahitian languages, respectively); it signifies relationships, spanning spiritual and kinship bonds between people, nature, and the supernatural world (Kanahele, 1986)” (Kana‘iaupuni & Liebler, 2005, p. 689). The understanding conveyed by indigenous writings spanning the Pacific is that place breathes life, people, culture, and spirit (Oliveira, 2005; Stillman, 2002; Tusitala Marsh, 1999).

Place is, we argue, a key force in the interplay of internal and external influences on contemporary Hawaiian identity processes. In the discussion that follows, we demonstrate how the strength of ties to the land influences Native Hawaiian identity processes through physical, spiritual, genealogical, and historical forces. We examine some of the challenges to identity stemming from displacement, separation from the land, and migration away from Hawai‘i. We conclude with a discussion of the implications of place to identity processes for Hawaiian children and describe ongoing efforts in education that draw on the relationships to places as a tool for cultural survival.

## SETTING THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF PLACE

Native Hawaiians were the first discoverers of the 1,500-mile long Hawaiian archipelago in the Pacific Ocean. They migrated to Hawai‘i by sea using advanced navigation skills, where they survived and flourished for thousands of years prior to Western contact (Bushnell, 1993). Native Hawaiians evolved a complex system of resource management, developing sophisticated knowledge bases and skills to survive on these remote islands with limited resources.

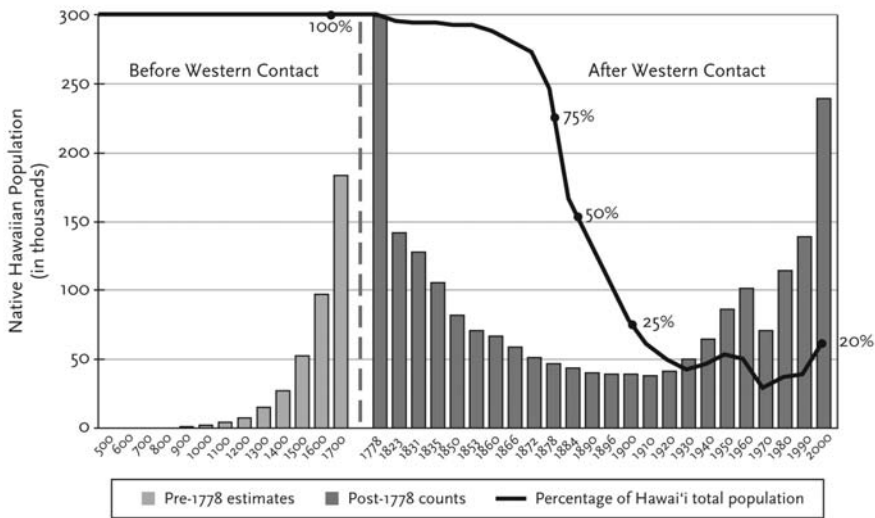
Cosmogonic and religious beliefs of Native Hawaiians tie the Hawaiian Islands to Kānaka Maoli beginning with creation, or *pō* (darkness, obscurity). The islands were born from Papahānaumoku, earth mother, and Wākea, sky father, who also gave birth to *kalo*, the taro plant and main staple crop of traditional Hawaiians, and, ultimately, to people. As such, “the genealogy of the Land, the Gods, Chiefs, and people intertwine with one another, and with all the myriad aspects of the universe”

(Kame'eleihiwa, 1992, p. 2). In these beginnings, the Hawaiian archipelago is intimately connected to Kānaka Maoli through genealogy, culture, history, and spirituality. The natural elements (land, wind, rain) and creatures of the islands are considered primordial ancestors; they are the older relatives of living Kānaka Maoli. Both share an interdependent, familial relationship that requires *mālama* (care) and *kia'i* (guardianship) for the older siblings who, in turn, provide for the well-being of the younger siblings (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992; Kanahēle, 1986).

Historically, the Hawaiian Islands were divided into four chiefdoms until the late 18th century, when King Kamehameha I consolidated them through conquest.<sup>2</sup> United under single rule, the archipelago then modernized rapidly through economic commerce in sugar, pineapple, shipping, and related industries. By the late 19th century, Hawai'i was a fully recognized nation-state with multiple international treaties, including with the United States (Daws, 1968; Perkins, 2005).

During the same century, however, two things were occurring that devastated Native Hawaiian ties to the land. First, Native Hawaiians were progressively becoming a minority in their own homeland (see Figure 1). Estimates suggest that the native population, deeply afflicted by Western disease and to a much lesser extent, warfare, dropped by at least 90% in the 100 years following Captain Cook's arrival. Figure 1 shows a conservative starting estimate. Other estimates range as high as 800,000 to 1 million pre-Western contact (Stannard, 1989). Regardless, by the end of the century only about 40,000 aboriginal Hawaiians remained alive. Meanwhile the immigrant population gained steadily in number, including Whites who outnumbered Hawaiians by the early 1900s (Nordyke, 1989). Today, Native Hawaiians comprise about one-fifth of the state population.

FIGURE 1 The Hawaiian population in Hawai'i



Note: From *Ka Huaka'i: 2005 Native Hawaiian Educational Assessment*, by S. M. Kana'iaupuni, N. Malone, and K. Ishibashi, 2005, p. 26.

Second was the gradual and systematic erosion of indigenous control over the land primarily through the insertion of Western legal tactics, government, and religion. John Kelly described “while we looked to the heavens for their gods, they stole the land beneath our feet” (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1994, p. 108). Gradually, foreigners took more and more control, exploiting fully Hawaiian cultural beliefs in land as collective property (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992; Osorio, 2001). The eventual privatization of land played an important role in the displacement of Native Hawaiians. In Kanaka Maoli perspective, it was unfathomable that someone else could deny their rights to place, a precious ancestor, the same land that a family had worked and lived for generations and generations. As Kanahele (1986) describes, Hawaiians

belonged to the land. How could you ever own a place, let alone sell it as a commodity, if its true value is found in the sum of the lives, memories, achievements, and mana (spiritual power) of the generations who once dwelled upon it? (p. 208)

In the failure of most aboriginals to recognize that they had to formally claim the private ownership of their land, White foreigners, mostly missionaries and businessmen, rapidly bought up the property where Native Hawaiians lived and worked, forcing them to move elsewhere in most cases (Parker, 1989).

These displacing events culminated in 1893, when a small oligopoly of American businessmen and missionary descendents staged a coup d'état, capturing the Hawaiian Queen Lili'uokalani and imprisoning her in the royal palace with the help of U.S. Marines (Coffman, 1998). Although the overthrow violated existing treaties and established procedures for annexation, Hawai'i was proclaimed a U.S. territory by Congress via the Newlands Resolution in 1898 (Trask, 2002).

What many do not know is that annexation occurred despite a petition signed by nearly every living Native Hawaiian at the time (an estimated 38,000 of 40,000) in protest of losing their sovereign nation (Coffman, 1998; Silva, 2004). In recognition and formal apology by the U.S. government for these actions, U.S. Public Law 103-150, signed in 1993, cites that indigenous Hawaiians never relinquished claims to their inherent sovereignty as a people or over their lands to the United States. Hawai'i became a state in 1959.

Fast forward to the present where land struggles still occupy center focus. In September 2004, more than 10,000 Native and non-Native supporters marched for Kū i ka Pono (Justice for Hawaiians) through the heart of Waikiki. Their purpose: to demonstrate against continued abuses of Native Hawaiian rights, specifically raised by three cases, all directly or indirectly concerning land issues. The first was to protest a Hawai'i state law that has been used to systematically take leased land holdings from the Hawaiian monarchy (ali'i) trusts, among others, to sell off to individuals.<sup>3</sup>

The second and third cases were to support Hawaiian rights in two legal cases heard by the 9th circuit U.S. Court of Appeals in early 2005. The second case challenged Kamehameha Schools, a private trust holding the legacy land assets of the Kamehameha monarchy in endowment explicitly to fund the education of Hawaiian children (see [www.ksbe.edu](http://www.ksbe.edu)). Established by the will of Bernice Pauahi Bishop, great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I, this institution combats the enduring effects of decades of poor educational outcomes for Hawaiians in U.S. public schools with its 125-year-old mission to improve the educational well-being of Native Hawaiians (Kana'iaupuni, Malone, & Ishibashi, 2005). It is responsible for educating nearly 24,000 Native Hawaiian children since opening its doors in

1887. Ironically, Kamehameha Schools is being sued for providing educational services to Native Hawaiians under constitutional amendments that were designed to protect the rights of disenfranchised minorities.

The third case challenged the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL), which holds for Native Hawaiian homesteaders a small fraction of the original lands belonging to the Hawaiian Kingdom that were taken by the U.S. government after the overthrow. In a state troubled by inadequate housing, especially for Native Hawaiians, the wait to be selected for DHHL lands can take decades—sometimes even occurring postmortem. All three cases concern land, aboriginal rights, and the Native Hawaiian quest for self-determination. For many, they are evidence of the continued struggle over land and continued attempts of colonizing entities to displace Native Hawaiians from their homeland and rightful place in the world (see Figure 2).

## CULTURE, IDENTITY, AND PLACE OF NATIVE HAWAIIANS

Recent research by Kana'iaupuni and Liebler (2005) examines the role of place in identity processes of Native Hawaiians. As they point out:

[T]he diverse ethnic mix that comprises the state of Hawai'i, and the resulting multiracial mix of today's Hawaiians in the state and on the U.S. Continent, complicate questions of identity for Hawai'i's host culture. For people of any racial or ethnic group, the characteristics of place—its location, social and ethnic composition, physical features, and historical significance to a people—can have profound symbolic and practical effects on identity and identification processes.... Living or growing up in Hawai'i is certainly a notable experience that affects the identity processes of all its diverse residents.... But one unique characteristic that Hawaiians will always have is their genealogical connection to Hawai'i as the ancestral homeland. No other group holds this claim. (p. 691)

**FIGURE 2** A nation in distress: Kū i ka Pono supporters marching with the Hawaiian flag upside down



2004, MICHAEL YOUNG, KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS

In questions of identity, Kana'iaupuni and Liebler (2005) argue, place plays a critical role through Hawaiian traditions and customs that weave together (a) physical and spiritual, (b) genealogical, and (c) sociopolitical ties to the land and sea, which we discuss next.

### *Physical and Spiritual Ties to Place*

The physical bond between Hawaiians and the land is reaffirmed at birth and at death. Oliveira (2005) discusses the symbolic acts of planting the afterbirth and umbilical cord of newborns as recognition of that relationship. She writes, "This relationship is further reinforced when a person's physical body dies and is *kanu 'ia* or planted. At death, burying a deceased person in the land brings this relationship full circle" (p. 116). Thus, Hawaiian identity is rooted firmly in ties to the land and sea, expressed in the proverb "*ka maui o ka 'āina a he maui kānaka*, the life of the land is the life of the people" (Oneha, 2001). As a subsistence society, living off the natural resources of the land was fundamental to the social identities

of Native Hawaiians, specific to the island or region where they lived (Kanahele, 1986). The interconnections of place and people were influenced by traditional practices of collective ownership, where, unlike Western land tenure systems, rights to land/sea access were negotiated by generation and family lineage as well as personal, family, and community need (Rapaport, 1999). *‘Āina*, the Hawaiian word for land most commonly used today, also relates to *‘aina*, “meal,” and *‘ai*, “to eat,” signifying the physical relationship between people and the earth that they tended (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Hawaiians to this day see a dynamic, intimate relationship in the reciprocal nature of caring for the land (*mālama ‘āina*) as it cares for the people, much like a family bond (Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992).

These symbolic connections of places to the ancestry and cultural values of people are made explicit through various cultural customs; one example is found in the extensive naming practices of places associated with land, sea, and heavens. No place with any significance went without a name in Hawaiian tradition (Kanahele, 1986; Stillman, 2002), and today, considerable scholarship goes into documenting thousands of place, wind, and rain names in Hawai‘i to preserve the rich legendary and historical significance of places to Hawaiian cultural identity (e.g., Nakuina, 1990; Pukui, Elbert, & Mo‘okini, 1974). Place names span past and present, and through their meanings, the significance of place is transmitted socially and across generations. These types of practices underscore the inseparability of physical and spiritual interconnections between place and people in the Hawaiian worldview.

### *Genealogical Ties to Place*

Another example of this inseparability is found in genealogical traditions. Across the Pacific, identity is borne of establishing one’s genealogical ties to ancestral beginnings. Ancestral ties include not only people but also the spiritual and natural worlds, since all things were birthed by the same beginnings. Kame‘eleihiwa (1992) argued that genealogical chants “reveal the Hawaiian orientation to the world about us, in particular, to Land and control of the Land” (p. 3).

In Hawaiian tradition, genealogical chants identify the lines of trust and social connection in addition to telling family histories. These traditions are still important to many in contemporary Hawai‘i. Formal introductions at public events commonly include reciting a lineage of people and places, including connections to



a specific mountain, valley, wind, rain, ocean, and water. Culture-based leadership training, schools, and education programs continue to instill these practices in today's young Hawaiians (see Figure 3). Central to identity processes, articulating these connections in social interactions provides important context for social relationships and negotiations between individuals and groups.

### *Sociopolitical/Historical Ties to Place*

The third set of place–people identity relationships that Kana'iaupuni and Liebler (2005) discussed is very critical to many Native Hawaiians today as it accompanies the struggle for self-determination. They stated,

The importance of place to Hawaiian identity is powered not only by ancestral genealogy, but also by the collective memory of a shared history. Hawai'i, the place, connects the Hawaiian diaspora through “social relations and a historical memory of cultural beginnings, meanings and practices, as well as crises, upheavals and unjust subjections as a dispossessed and (mis)recognized people” (Halualani, 2002, p. xxvi). (Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005, p. 693)

As a catalyst for strengthened identity, Spickard and Fong (1995) pointed out in agreement that

It is as invigorating to ethnicity when a Pacific Islander American politician recites the history of abuse that her people have suffered, as when an island spiritual leader chants a genealogy.... It is true history, but it is more than that: it is the act of rhetorically, publicly remembering, and thus it serves to strengthen the ethnic bond. (p. 1375)

FIGURE 3 Students offer a traditional Hawaiian chant.



2004, MICHAEL YOUNG, KAMEHAMEHA SCHOOLS

In this fashion, the history of colonization and cultural oppression creates a context for shared cognitive understandings that relate identity to place (Halualani, 2002; Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005). For example, calling on this understanding, Kame'eleihiwa (1992) wrote,

Hawaiians have been in Hawai'i for at least two thousand years. As harsh as the past two hundred years have been, there is yet hope; we still exist on this earth. After all the horror that has rained down upon us, we are alive. We are a nation of survivors! (p. 321)

Thus, specific images of history and place fuel Hawaiian identity in the growing context of political self-determination.

Together, these cultural practices and social relations illustrate how place serves as a key connection linking Native Hawaiian families and children to their indigenous heritage, despite the extensive and long-standing multicultural and multi-ethnic mixing in the state of Hawai'i and beyond.

## THE HAWAIIAN DIASPORA: MIGRATION, INTERMARRIAGE, AND IDENTITY

Although values about place and culture are shared by Hawaiians living outside of Hawai'i (Kauanui, 1998; Oneha, 2001), questions about identity, and even culture and ethnicity, all may be affected by the context of place. For example, studies show that multiracial Hawaiians living in Hawai'i are especially likely to racially identify as Hawaiian (and not as another race), compared with their counterparts in the continental United States (e.g., Kana'iaupuni & Liebler, 2005). What this means is that the relationship between place and identity is fluid. In the context of shifting cultural and geographic landscapes, population diversity, and the effects of colonization, place serves a pivotal role in Native Hawaiian identity processes today. Ka pae 'āina Hawai'i—the cultural home—becomes a beacon, vital to the survival and vibrancy of the Hawaiian culture, language, and native people today.

Through the economic and racial transformation of the islands, Native Hawaiian migration and intermarriage have created the Hawaiian diaspora, spread across the nation and into others since the 1700s (Halualani, 2002; Kauanui, in press). The diaspora presents a modern challenge to Native Hawaiian identity and culture, bringing separation of people from each other, from the land, and from the ancestral home. U.S. Census 2000 statistics show that fewer Native Hawaiian people moved to Hawai'i between 1995 and 2000 than those who moved away. About 40% of self-reported Native Hawaiians live in the continental United States, whereas 60% continue to reside in Hawai'i. Some Hawaiian scholars argue that the mobility of Hawaiians, the diaspora, undermines native identity. Yet, others describe how place is the powerful mobilizing force to off-island Hawaiians urging them to “come home” to struggle (see Kauanui, 1998). The voices call to the spirit, to the body, to the memory of cells and DNA—for the undeniable link is genealogical: “Our mother is our land, Papahānaumoku, she who births the islands” (Trask, 1993, p. 94).

Recent migrations of Native Hawaiians respond to “push” and “pull” factors described by migration and economic theories (Massey et al., 1993). These theories find support in the modern Hawaiian experience of low wages, high rents, and limited educational opportunities that drive Native Hawaiians to various destinations in the continental United States. The cost of living in Hawai'i continues to average about 30% higher than the rest of the nation; with some of the highest home prices in the country, the median price of a single-family home was \$550,000

in 2005. For the indigenous population, which statistically has lower education and higher poverty rates (even when fully employed) than other groups in the state, it has become increasingly difficult to survive (Kana'iaupuni et al., 2005). Thus, the search for education, jobs, and lower home prices mean that many Hawaiians must head northeast to the 48 states. The result of these economic changes in Hawai'i is that Native Hawaiians are increasingly unable to thrive in their homeland.

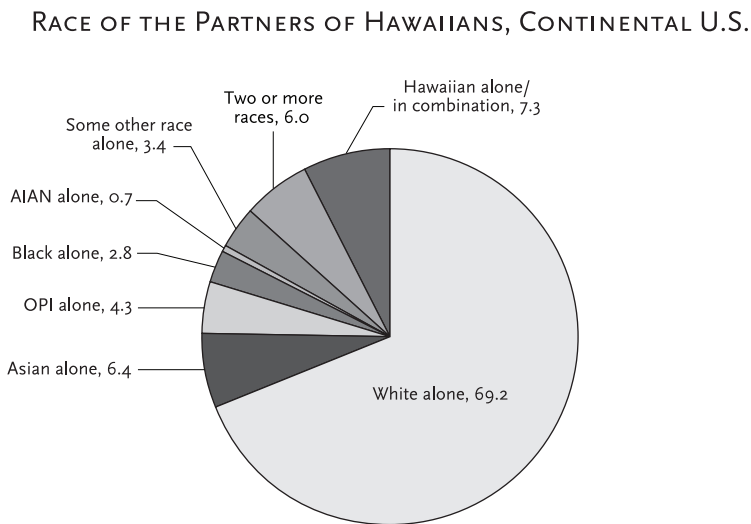
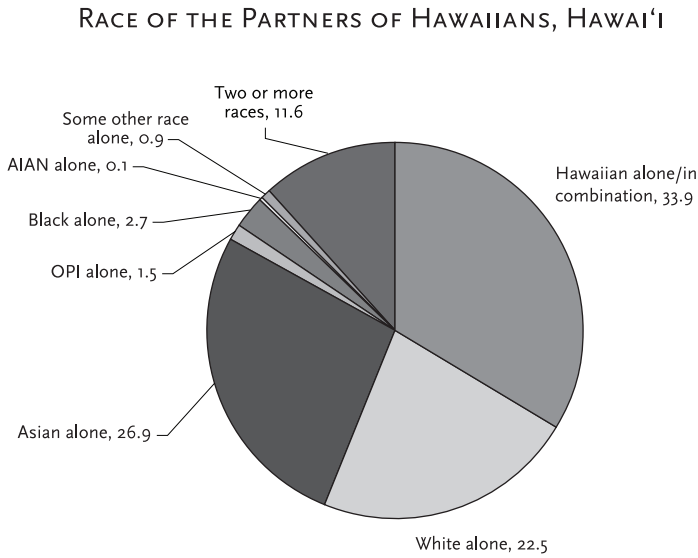
Population diversity is another threat to Native Hawaiian identity (Kana'iaupuni & Malone, 2004). Like other Native American groups in the United States, Native Hawaiians are predominantly multiracial. They claim the highest rates of multi-racial status, next to Alaska Natives: about two-thirds of Native Hawaiians are of mixed-race.<sup>4</sup> Census 2000 data show that among all married Native Hawaiians, only 19% were married to other Hawaiians. Yet, the effects of increasing geographic diversity are immediately apparent in the intermarriage rates of those living in the 48 continental states compared with those still in Hawai'i (see Figure 4). The data in Figure 4 show that whereas 34% of married Native Hawaiians in their homeland are married to other Hawaiians, the percentage drops to only 7% among those residing elsewhere. Because the vast majority involves White partners, this marriage trend has been described by some scholars as a "whitening of the Hawaiian race." So, place becomes a critical linchpin to the continuity of Hawaiian identity.

For all groups, interracial mixing complicates questions of identity (see Liebler, 2001; Root, 2001; Xie & Goyette, 1997). The real question for the perpetuation of ethnic or cultural groups is, what happens to the children? What we find is that the chances of identifying children as Hawaiian in Hawaiian couple families are quite high, as might be expected. But, for Hawaiians who marry out, the likelihood that children are identified as Hawaiian diminishes. Thus, rather than creating greater potential for Hawaiian population growth through intermarriage, the data show diminishing returns to Hawaiian identification in mixed-race households.

Place affects not only who people marry but also their identity choices. In some cases, multiracial identity may permit greater ethnic options for Native Hawaiians on the continent, depending on where they live. For instance, a Native Hawaiian, Chinese, Puerto Rican individual in Northern California may opt to adopt a Chinese ethnic affiliation, whereas the same individual may find greater expression in her or his Puerto Rican ethnicity in New York. In other cases, individuals may adopt

different situational identities, depending on the circumstances. Certainly not unique to Native Hawaiians, these individual decisions are complicated by both geographic and racial/ethnic diversity, and, for many, can be difficult to resolve (see Franklin, 2003; Spickard & Fong, 1995).

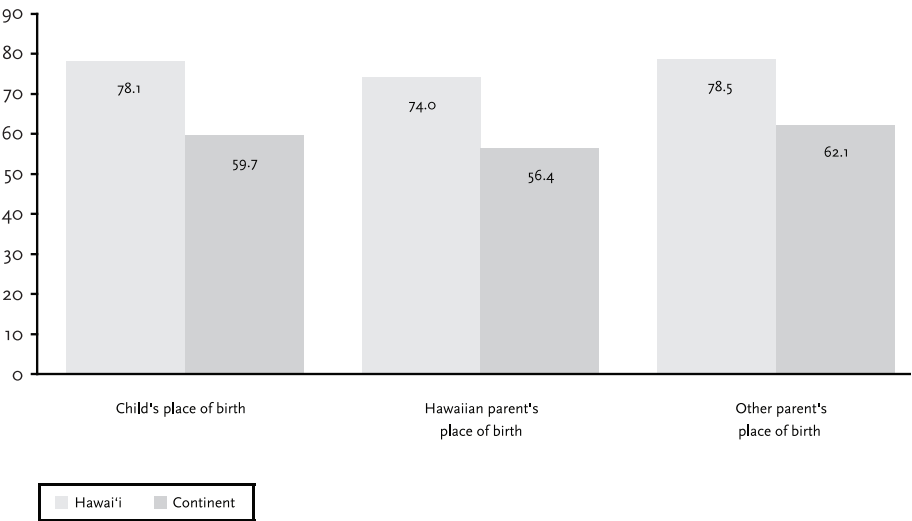
**FIGURE 4** Intermarriage of Native Hawaiians, Census 2000



Kana'iaupuni and Liebler (2005) found that, compared with those in the continental United States, mixed-race families are much more likely to report their children as Native Hawaiian if the children were born in Hawai'i, if the family resides in Hawai'i, or if the Hawaiian parent was born in Hawai'i, net of other explanatory factors. Moreover, suggesting that returning home is a profound event, the highest odds ratio of reporting Native Hawaiian occurred in mixed-race families that had lived outside Hawai'i and returned home, compared with other families.

Recent data from Census 2000 are consistent, confirming the deep significance of place to racial identification. As shown in Figure 5, Kana'iaupuni and Malone (2004) found that mixed-race children living in Hawai'i were significantly more likely to be identified as Native Hawaiian than were other children. Still, only about half of children in interracial families with one Native Hawaiian parent were identified as Hawaiian in Census 2000 (Kana'iaupuni & Malone, 2004).

**FIGURE 5** Percentage of children of mixed-Hawaiian marriages who are identified as Hawaiian, by selected place-based characteristics: 2000



For displaced Native Hawaiians who seek to sustain their culture and identity, other mechanisms in foreign locations help perpetuate cultural identity through the continuation of traditional practices or the reinforcement of cultural values and ideals. In many of the 48 states, Native Hawaiians regularly come together for cultural gatherings involving music, art, language, and recreation. They have formed Hawaiian-based organizations and groups to assist continental Hawaiians with life away from their ancestral home. A number of Hawaiian civic clubs exist throughout the United States, especially in regions in which large numbers of Hawaiians reside (e.g., on the West Coast). Alumni associations, such as that of the Kamehameha Schools, also maintain regional districts to help keep the network of families and friends informed and connected. Smaller groups that practice traditional Hawaiian arts, such as hula and canoe paddling, exist across the continent, thereby offering practical outlets for Hawaiians living far from home. Kauanui (1998) noted a few in California: Hui Hawai'i o San Diego, E Ola Mau Ka 'Ōlelo Makuahine in Huntington Beach, Nā Kōlea (aptly named after the golden plover birds that fly between Hawai'i and Alaska) of San Jose, and others.

## BUILDING THE FUTURE OF PLACE

It is difficult for many 21st-century Native Hawaiians to share the same degree of involvement and connection with ancestral lands as Native Hawaiians could in former times. Increasing urbanization, commodification, and skyrocketing property expenses have forever changed the Hawaiian pae 'āina and its younger siblings. But recognition of the pivotal role that place plays in identity and learning processes has begun to transform the service and delivery of many educational and social programs for Native Hawaiians. The reforms integrate the rich history, stories, and knowledge about the land and sea, and at the same time reinforce the integral link between the 'āina and identity.

Primarily fueled by the concern and passion of Hawaiian community members, parents, and advocates, these efforts are an organic solution to the chilling negative statistics that plague Native Hawaiian children: high rates of poverty, substance abuse, juvenile deviance and criminal activity, teenage pregnancies, poor educational outcomes, domestic abuse, depression, and suicide. For example, place-based learning is a pillar of educational reform through the Hawaiian charter school

movement. Typical of this approach, these innovative schools (e.g., Kanu o ka 'Āina New Century Public Charter School and others) boast academically rigorous project-based and place-based curricula for children, integrating community, culture, language, and the natural environment. Students engage in authentic experiences at particular *wahi pana* (sacred places) that serve as outdoor learning laboratories. They conduct science experiments to assess the relative successes of various methods to revive endangered endemic species. Their curricula include learning about lifestyles, knowledge, and values of Native Hawaiians. In this way, connections to the land create the space for Native Hawaiians to maintain traditional practices that nourish spiritual, physical, and educational well-being.

From a sense of place grows a sense of *kuleana* (responsibility). Various programs in schools and other organizations encourage responsibility toward the land and sea as part of a broader educational strategy. These range from post-secondary leadership training (e.g., Na Ala Hele i ke Ao at Chaminade University) to agricultural, resource management, substance abuse rehabilitation (e.g., Ho'omau ke Ola offering adult outpatient and residential services), and multiple other programs. Programs teaching stewardship of the oceans stress Native Hawaiian beliefs that the sea works in partnership with the land, providing sustenance and serving as a pathway and communication link with other lands and peoples (Amona, 2004). As such, maritime programs, fishpond restoration, and voyaging and ocean learning (e.g., Polynesian Voyaging Society) are all examples of promising directions in Native Hawaiian communities today (see Figure 6).

The results indicate progress. Studies show that best practices among successful teachers of Native Hawaiian students include experience-based, authentic activities (e.g., Kawakami & Aton, 2001). Data from Hawaiian charter schools evidence higher attendance and achievement scores than exhibited by Native Hawaiian students in conventional public schools (Kana'iaupuni & Ishibashi, 2005). Evaluation research finds higher levels of engagement (attendance, timely completion, postsecondary aspirations) among Native Hawaiian students enrolled in public school-within-school models that offer hands-on experiences at significant places within students' communities such as streams, freshwater ecosystems, and ancient burial grounds (Yamauchi, 2003). The findings are consistent with research on other indigenous groups. For example, studies have found that Native American students exhibit



greater preference for tactile and concrete learning experiences than do their peers (Rhodes, 1990). Many studies indicate the positive effects of rigorous place-based forms of education in a wide variety of settings (Becket, 2003; Gruenewald, 2003; Kawakami, 1999; Smith, 2002).

**FIGURE 6** Students learn ancient and modern lessons at Kahuwai Village on Hawai'i Island.



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## DISCUSSION

This essay has traced some of the place–people connections that influence identity. We have documented the spatial linkages between the place of indigenous Hawaiians today and their identity by locating the present in the historical locations and subjugations of place; by tracing the genealogical, cultural, and ancestral relations of Native Hawaiians and place; and by mapping how place serves a pivotal purpose for the progress of Native Hawaiians.

In some ways, Hawaiian identity has been “conceived, manufactured, and fabricated” by external forces that do not share the interests of the indigenous peoples that they mold and shape to fit their own reality (Halualani, 2002). Identity is not simply a subjective cognitive process, but one subjected to external biases, intentional misrepresentation, and political tactics. Countless examples exist where Western powers convince the world of their right to oppress indigenous peoples by recreating them as the other—from the distorted hula girl images of the Hawaiians to the purposeful portrayal of American Indians as primitive savages. Indigenous theory focuses on returning the gaze to expose the ulterior motives behind such tactics, which careful documentation reveals are influenced by Western imperialism, power, and capitalism. Even defining indigenous peoples by blood quantum, as is the case for Hawaiians and many American Indian peoples, is an explicit legal maneuver to ensure that they eventually disappear into oblivion.

In the Hawaiian case, the purpose—perhaps not explicit, but definitely systematic—was to dismember *lāhui*, the Hawaiian nation, to dehistoricize place from its people, and to justify taking the land from its indigenous people (Osorio, 2002). In the end, the place itself may have been the motivating factor, a precious land that still captures the hearts of many visitors. As Mark Twain fondly recalled—in the same speech in which he betrayed the indigenous Hawaiians, calling them stupid, dishonest, immoral cowards,

no alien land in all the world has any deep strong charm for me but that one, no other land could so longingly and so beseechingly haunt me, sleeping and walking, through half a lifetime, as that one has done. (Sandwich Island Speeches; see Wood, 1999, p. 94)

It is crucial to understand that these forces did not occur without constant resistance. Although never with violence, Native Hawaiians successfully fought to have the island of Kaho‘olawe, however sick or devastated by bombing, returned by the military. We have regained and are now actively sustaining and even expanding place-based knowledge systems that had lapsed into disuse, including traditional navigation systems via ocean and constellations; revived ancient agricultural and aquacultural technologies that once sustained hundreds of thousands of islanders

in environmentally healthy ways; and recovered Hawaiian martial arts, ancient chant, hula forms, and traditional healing practices and medicinal plant knowledge. We have struggled to revitalize the Hawaiian language from just a few thousand speakers 20 years ago to many more today. In fact, Census 2000 estimates there are possibly as many as 25,000 Hawaiian-language speakers, making Hawaiian one of the only indigenous languages to have grown between 1990 and 2000 (Staton, 2005). The vast majority reside in the cultural home of Hawai'i. We fight hard for self-determination, exploring multiple models of a potential future as a sovereign people. We are national leaders in the battle against environmental destruction and for protection of endangered species. A powerful driving force in these efforts is the intensity of feeling for place. The mobilizing energy comes from the land itself, from the sea, from the children (see Figure 7), and from the compelling vision of a future in which indigenous Hawaiians are in our rightful place as a vibrant, thriving people.

**FIGURE 7** A young marcher



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Perhaps the most critical question that lies before us now is, what is Hawai'i's future, and where are its Native people in those plans? As Hawai'i suffers ever-increasing challenges of overdevelopment and environmental degradation, we all, whether indigenous or not, must work together to protect this place. And yet, for whom is Hawai'i being developed, when more and more of its indigenous population cannot afford to live on and care for our precious 'āina? These questions require answers that account for our place as a people not only now, but also in another 50, 100, or even 1,000 years.

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#### NOTES

- 1 We use Native Hawaiian, Hawaiian, and *Kanaka Maoli* to refer to those descended from the aboriginal people who inhabited the Hawaiian archipelago prior to 1778, when Captain James Cook arrived in Hawai'i.



- 2 Kamehameha I did not conquer Kaua'i, but instead, Kaumuali'i, the king of Kaua'i, chose to cede the island to Kamehameha to avoid a future invasion. Kaumuali'i continued to rule Kaua'i while pledging allegiance to Kamehameha.
- 3 The law was repealed successfully in the following spring, 2005.
- 4 According to Census 2000, 64.9% of Native Hawaiians report more than one race. Alaska Natives most often reported multiple races (92%), followed by Native Hawaiians, and then American Indians (53%).

## Manuscript Guidelines

*Hūlili* welcomes manuscripts from both established and emerging scholars involved in research on Hawaiian well-being from diverse fields such as economics, education, family resources, government, health, history, psychology, sociology, natural resource management, and religion. We welcome manuscripts with an empirical focus as well as contributions at the cutting edge of theoretical debates and practice in these fields.

Manuscripts should be addressed to *Hūlili*, Kamehameha Schools, 567 South King Street, Suite 400, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96813. Please submit one hard copy along with an electronic file on CD. Any photos and charts should be submitted as 300 dpi tiff files.

Manuscripts typically must not be previously published or be under consideration with another publication. The editorial board may make exceptions for published materials that are central to the knowledge base of Hawaiian well-being and that would otherwise have limited distribution.

While there is no page limit for articles, content should be concise and relevant.

Provide an abstract of approximately 120 words.

Provide a title page with the title of the article, author's name, author's affiliation, and suggested running head (less than 50 characters and spaces). The title page should also include the author's complete mailing address, email, and a brief bio.

Style consistent with the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association* (5th Edition) is preferred. Provide appropriate citations, including source citations for all tables, charts, and figures. Figures and tables are to be numbered in consecutive series (with Arabic numerals) and should be cited in the text.

Include a complete and accurate reference list at the end of the manuscript. References should be referred to in text by name and year.

Use endnotes only when necessary. Endnotes should be numbered consecutively using Arabic numerals and added at the end of the manuscript, after the references.

Utilize a Hawaiian font to display proper diacritical markings (‘okina and kahakō) in all text, charts, endnotes, citations, and appendices.

Prior to submission, manuscripts should be checked for content, editorial style, and consistency in citations of references, tables, and figures. Manuscripts will be returned for revision at the discretion of the editors.

Authors submitting articles agree to allow Kamehameha Schools to publish the articles digitally as well as in print form. Kamehameha Schools fully honors the intellectual rights of all contributors.

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