

AN ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION OF

A. Leiomalama Solomon for the degree of Ph.D. in Education  
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Title: "Cross-Cultural Conflict Between Public Education  
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Abstract approved: \_\_\_\_\_

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To understand the cross-cultural conflict relationship that exists between public schools and Native Hawaiian communities one must accept the fact that colonial powers or dominant societies have imposed politics and economics in Native Hawaiian communities through educational processes.

Invariably Christian religion was used as the key to inculcate Native leaders to advocate American politics and economics among their people. Thus the introduction of the American acculturation process through a religious educational media had a devastating impact in Hawaiian history. The overindulgence of Christian brotherly love not only radically altered Native Hawaiian lifeways but destroyed many Hawaiian values.

The objective of this study is two-fold: (1) to ethnographically describe public schools and the Hawaiian community, and (2) to ethnologically examine their

cross-cultural relationships as they have affected the academic success of Native Hawaiian students in Waimea Intermediate School on the Island of Hawaii.

Two survey instruments were constructed by using the Delphi technique and they were administered to an expert panel, Hawaiian homesteaders, eighth and ninth graders and school personnel. Surveys were developed to determine the differences between respondent levels of sample groups, in reference to traditional Hawaiian values and Native Hawaiian educational needs. Differences between respondent levels identified culture conflicts between public schools and Hawaiian communities.

Statistical data revealed that among sample populations canvassed school personnel were the least knowledgeable as to Native Hawaiian values and educational needs.

Chapter I is a chronological examination of the European-American impact on Hawaiian history that radically altered the Hawaiian community politically, socially, economically and religiously.

Chapter II is an analysis of the American Protestant Mission's advocacy of public school education in the Hawaiian Islands. This chapter critically evaluates the American missionaries' role as the primary "acculturator" of Native Hawaiians through the use of public education. Consequently, culture conflicts resulted between Hawaiian communities and public schools. The Missionaries forced American acculturative practices on Native Hawaiian

communities. Missionary assimilative practices as reflected in the curriculum of public schools neglected Native Hawaiian studies.

Chapter III is a current socio-cultural environment assessment of the Waimea Hawaiian Homestead community. The characteristics of the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands and the Waimea Intermediate School are set forth. This chapter is predicated on the statistical results of Survey Instrument I which identified Native Hawaiian values that are present in Hawaiian communities like Kuhi'o Village.

Chapter IV identifies Native Hawaiian educational needs. Based on these identified needs and Hawaiian values, inter-cultural academic models were proposed to help bridge the gap between school culture and the Hawaiian home.

The conclusion poses the general Native American education problem as a question of ethics and as the consequence of a dominant American culture versus subservient Native American cultures.

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Cross-Cultural Conflicts Between  
Public Education and Traditional  
Hawaiian Values

by

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## CROSS-CULTURAL CONFLICTS BETWEEN PUBLIC EDUCATION AND TRADITIONAL HAWAIIAN VALUES

### I. HISTORICAL CAUSES AND EFFECTS ON THE ALTERATION OF THE HAWAIIAN POPULATION

#### Introduction

The Native Hawaiians, commonly referred to as Asian or Pacific Islanders in the American Federal Civil Rights census, settled and civilized the Hawaiian Islands approximately 2000 years before Captain James Cook arrived on January 18, 1778. With Cook's arrival came the usual problems encountered when discoverers deal with the "natives." In their writings, these early (non-Hawaiian) discoverers minimized the role of the Hawaiians in the development of the Islands as inconsequential, and have accused the Hawaiians of obstructionism. During the subsequent 19th and 20th centuries, it was a constant struggle for the Native Hawaiian people, first against the forces of Euro-American dominance and later against Oriental encroachment. The result was a radical segmentation and decimation of Hawaiian economic and political control.

Contact with foreign cultures induced accelerated social change affecting all aspects of Hawaiian culture, radical change too immense and too rapid for the Hawaiians'

social and psychological mechanisms to accommodate. Under the tremendous pressure of Euro-American technology, native traditional patterns not only altered but began to disintegrate. This disintegration of Native lifeways became a significant factor in the transformation of the social, political, religious, and economic organization of the indigenous Hawaiian community into that of an American community. Hawaiian historian David Malo wrote in 1837: "You must not think that this is anything like olden times, that you are the only chiefs and leave things as they are. Smart people have arrived from the great countries which you have never seen. They know our people are few in number and living in a small country; they will eat us up." "Unless," he finished grimly, "we change our ways" (Feher 1969:190).

Archaeological diggings on the Island of Hawaii indicate that the Islands were populated by 750 A.D. and well settled by 1000 A.D. (Feher 1969:27). Excavations reveal fossil remains of dogs, pigs, chickens and rats; the migrants intended to settle in the new land. The Hawaiian way of life developed to tightly interweave the organization of governmental, social, economic, and religious institutions.

Economically, the Hawaiians' land tenure system was unique in comparison to other areas in Polynesia, such as New Zealand, Samoa, and Tahiti. According to Puku'i and

Handy (1950), there seems to be no archaeological or oral documentation that would support the development of village or town centers for economic, political, or religious purposes.

The nature of the terrain and the requirements of farming favored the dispersal of homesteads rather than the development of compact villages such as existed in New Zealand and Samoa (Handy 1950:1).

The major land divisions were narrow triangular strips called ahupua'a, with boundaries stretching from the mountain (the apex of the triangle) down to the shoreline and 1 to 1-1/2 miles offshore (Illustration 1). All aqua-agriculture resources within these perimeter belonged to the population of that particular ahupua'a. This Hawaiian land design was well suited to an island ecosystem where natural resources were limited, and, ideally, inhabitants were consuming only those resources that were within the limits of their ahupua'a.

Socially, the primary unit for the organization of Hawaiian communities was the dispersed community of 'ohana (extended family) or relatives by marriage, blood and adoption. Different groups of 'ohana or maka'āinana (people of the land) dwelled in a particular geographical locale, termed kuleana, within the ahupua'a. Their role in the society was to develop the maximum aqua-agricultural potential of each ahupua'a. Handy (1950:1) notes in The

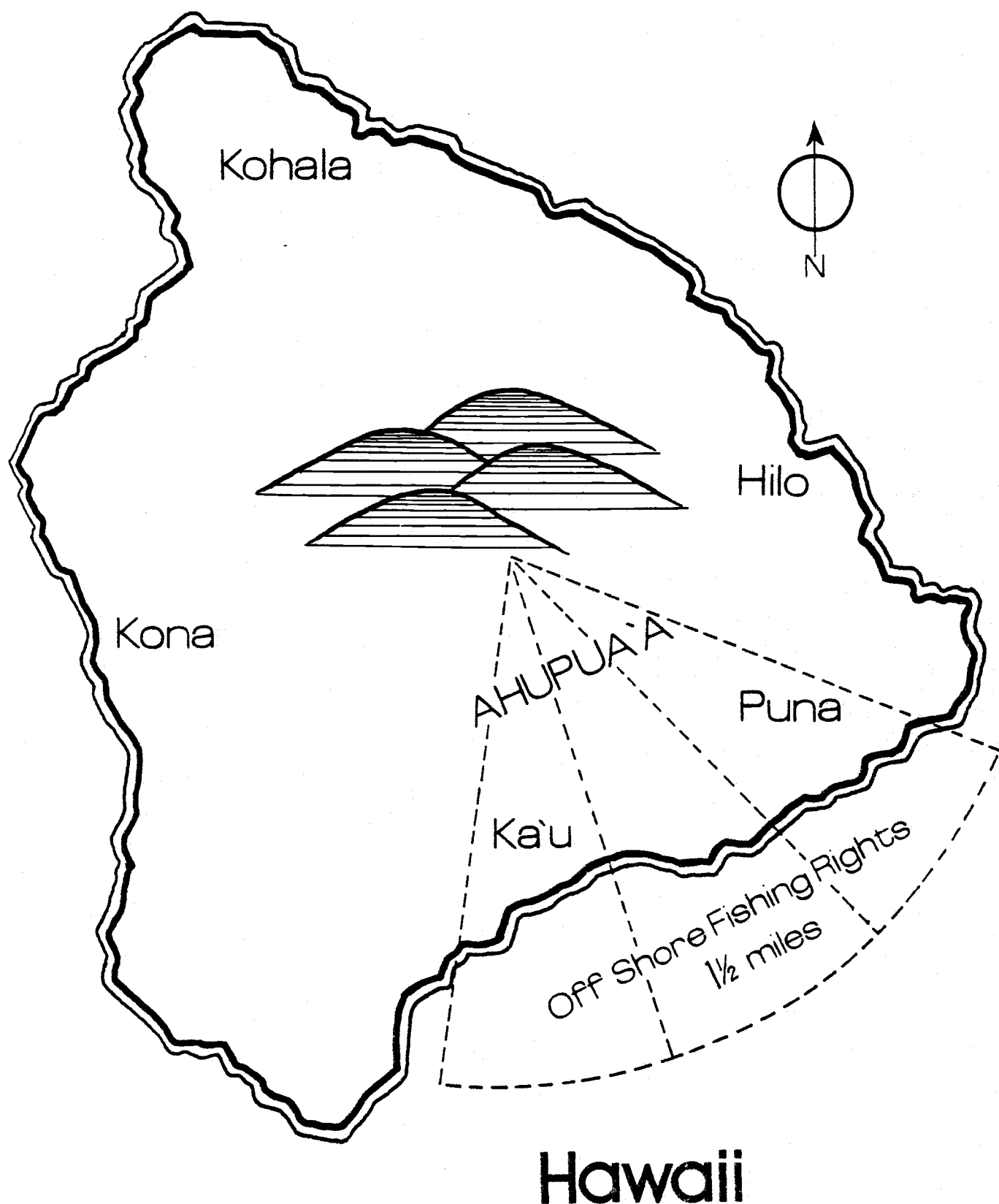


Illustration 1 – A hupua'a

### Hawaiian Planter:

In their practice of agriculture the ancient planters had transformed the face of their land by converting flatlands and gentle slopes to terraced areas where water was brought for irrigation by means of ditches and their maintenance and the regulation of water entailed much cooperation and communal labor organized under land supervisors konohiki who represented the landlord.

Religion stressed the ecological constraints of an island environment and encouraged in the Hawaiians sentiments that accentuated resource conservation, ecological balance, and communal land ownership. Every basic political, social, and economic convention reflected these philosophical antecedents. A "planter mentality" was reflected in their mythology, language, graphic arts, games and sports.

By reasons of the native's intimacy with plants, soil and water in his gardening operations his pattern of culture reflects more directly his plantings interests than does a culture of a farming people (Handy 1950:1).

Politically, the islands were separated into four separate kingdoms (Illustration 2). The ali'i (chiefs) were the guardians or trustees of the land allocated to the maka'āinana. As a rule, no maka'āinana or 'ohana was economically or politically bound to a particular ahupua'a; the people were free to change their allegiance or inhabitanace at will. Subsequently, this freedom of mobility gave



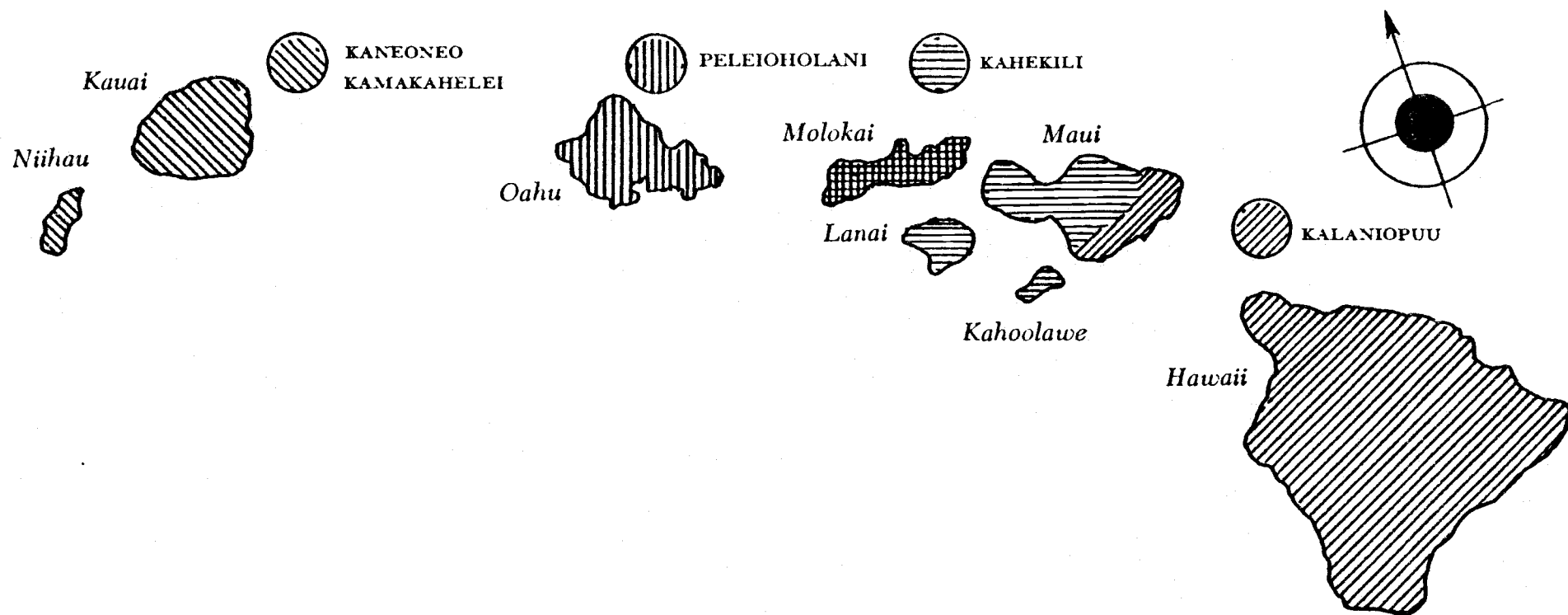


Illustration 2 — The Four Kingdoms

the maka'āinana political clout when negotiating with their superiors.

The social and political cohesiveness of the Hawaiian's society was their general concern, for the welfare of their community which was centered around the cultivation of the soil.

In all the Polynesian islands there was some direction in canoe building, house construction, fishing, preparation of food on a large scale for feasts, in war making and other communal activities. But there was nowhere the continuous organized enterprise comparable to that which was essential to the systematic gardening operation of Hawaii (Handy 1950:2).

The remainder of the chapter is a brief resume of Hawaii's history. It is included here for two purposes. First, it describes the causes responsible for the disintegration of the Hawaiian civilization after discovery. Second, it analyzes the political-economic ideas responsible for the American dominance in the educational history of the Islands.

Economic and Political Foundations;  
Factors Pertinent to the Alteration  
of the Hawaiian Community

Economic Foundations

The effects of Captain James Cook's discovery of the Hawaiian Islands (Sandwich Islands) were calamitous for the Hawaiians. Not only did the publication of his diary in 1784 reveal the Islands to the known world, it also cited an abundant source of furs in the Northwest Coast of America. This incited London merchants to send trading expeditions to the Northwest Coast to make profitable fur contacts with Indian tribes. British ships were then able to establish lucrative fur marketing outlets in China. This trans-Pacific trade route had been economically impracticable before the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands. The Islands became the central refueling port of the Pacific, providing safe, natural harbors and fresh provisions for hundreds of ships. The Native Hawaiians were soon overwhelmed as business opportunities enticed numerous sailors and traders to abandon ship and establish the nucleus of a group of foreign residents in the Islands.

White contact proved debilitating. Vulnerable to western diseases, the Hawaiian population declined from 300,000 to 80,000 (Porteus 1962:165). Within a mere fifty years, as white contact increased, the physical decline of Native Hawaiians continued (see Table 1).

TABLE 1. THE HAWAIIAN POPULATION, 1900-1960

Year	Total Population	Hawaiian		Part-Hawaiian	
		Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1900	154,234	29,799	19.3	9,857	6.4
1920	255,912	23,723	9.3	18,027	7.0
1940	423,330	14,375	3.4	49,935	11.8
1960	632,772	10,502	1.7	91,597	14.5

Source: Andrew Lind, *Hawaii's People* (Hon. U. H. Press, 1955, 1967:28, Table 2, p. 27. Population data (total) obtained from Data Book, Hawaii County Department of Research and Development, 1975.

During the reign of Kamehameha I (1795-1819), sandalwood (*santalum album*) was discovered and instantly became an important commodity in the Hawaiian Kingdom's trade with China. The sweet-smelling wood was highly prized by the Chinese for use as incense and in fine cabinet work. Kamehameha I, with the counsel of three Bostonians--Captain Nathan Winship, Jonathan Winship, and William Heath Davis--monopolized the sandalwood market, providing enormous profits for both the Americans and his own kingdom. The outcome of this business arrangement was ultimately to the greater benefit of the Americans. By royal decree, all able-bodied maka'āinana were forced to labor in Hawaiian forests to produce the promised quotas of wood. Work on the ahupua'a was neglected and near famine conditions followed (Kuykendall 1928:116).

With the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the sandalwood monopoly was relinquished to his successor Kamehameha II (Liholiho), who unwisely allowed subordinate chiefs to deal directly with white traders. The consequence was catastrophic. The ruthless exploitation of the forests diminished the sandalwood supply to the point of extinction, and by 1830 the trade collapsed. Efforts to regain economic stability for the Hawaiian Kingdom failed, the native population withered, the sandalwood forests were annihilated, and avaricious chiefs were immediately

introduced to the mystique of the promissory note. However, "it represented the beginning of American interest in the Islands and of American concern for the fate of the archipelago" (Bradley 1942:120).

After exhausting sandalwood as a source of revenue, the American merchants were quick to see the commercial potential of the American whale fishery as its successor; a trade in which the Hawaiians were to have a small share.

The seasonal visits of whaling ships to Hawaiian ports during the period 1835 to 1875 led to the formation of large white-dominated port towns like Honolulu on Oahu, Hilo on Hawaii, Lahaina on Maui, and Waimea on Kauai. Of the 1,700 ships that anchored in island harbors, 1,400 were American and 300 were British (Kuykendall 1930:49). During the later years of the industry the annual number of visits by whaling vessels had increased to 419, the great majority being American (Rydell 1952:70).

The reign of Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli: 1825-1854) occurred during the peak period of commercial whaling. Opportunities for profit abounded but the economic effect on the Native Hawaiian community was detrimental. Initially, the Hawaiians were the traders and suppliers of provisions needed for refurbishing vessels. In due course, however, the European- and American-controlled merchandising firms intervened and eliminated the Hawaiians as traders. The establishment of these permanent business operations

systematically displaced Native Hawaiian "negotiators," causing the loss of much of their political and economic clout; ship captains no longer had to depend on or negotiate with Hawaiian chiefs for provisions.

Hawaii had become an outpost of New England. Besides the Hudson Bay Company's agency, there were, in Honolulu, six houses of business. Of these, four were American, one British, and one French (Mass. Hist. Soc. 1831:113).

To further secure the monopoly on merchandising, European and American agents contrived the coin-money system, which diminished the original barter trade system. The coin-money innovation also permitted ship captains to conserve valuable cargo space by reducing their trade inventory and to increase their profits by price-setting.

The little community (Honolulu) might not have been quite Yankee as a suburb of Boston, but the town was certainly more American than European (Mass. Hist. Soc. 1831:113).

The trade introduced a new basis for both cohesion and fragmentation in Hawaiian society. The introduction of monetary exchange loosened the economic cohesion of the Hawaiian society. The accumulation of agricultural goods for trading purposes and the hiring of persons for labor impinged on the reciprocal ties between kin in Hawaiian society and weakened the foundations of traditional leadership. The new wealth afforded by trade prompted chiefs to consolidate their upper-status position and encouraged more

centralized political control of lands and labor than had previously existed. The new trade added a new value to the possession of land, and the Hawaiians became more conscious of the exact boundaries of their territories. Moreover, private gain and ownership were stimulated by the practices of the European and American traders, resulting in the rapid development of chiefs claiming the sole ownership of family 'ohana kuleana.

The strengthening of chieftainship was further supported by Euro-American assumptions that a chief could make and enforce decisions about community resources that had traditionally required a continuing consensus among the constituent units of the 'ohana. The trade not only brought new goods but also necessitated significant readjustment in socio-economic customs. Before contact with Europeans and Americans, the labor system was divided and well balanced between the sexes. With Western contact, males were abruptly diverted from their normal activities to meet the demands of the chiefs and traders. The remaining Hawaiians were forced to devote more of their time to preparing food provisions. This increased the responsibilities and the work load of women. Thus, the sharing of food production declined as males went into business as middlemen or laborers. This situation often resulted in the abandonment of the ahupua'a and the dispersal of the 'ohana. The dispersal of family units to port town areas led to



increasing mortality, and the male shift away from traditional economic activities probably influenced the change in the native kinship system to one characterized by matricentrism.

Of course, the most obvious changes were visible in the material culture. Many unique characteristics and cultural expressions common among Hawaiians during the precontact period continued to diminish, making way for the addition of artifacts of European or American manufacture. Aboriginal forms tended to persist but were made of imported material. For a long time imports like guns and European ships were primarily status symbols for the chiefs and only secondarily of utilitarian value. Ultimately these imports produced economic indebtedness for the chiefs and poverty for the maka'āinana.

Thus, a composite of Euro-American influence led to the economic and political demise of the Hawaiians. The effect of this exploitation on the environment and resources, on settlement patterns and population density, was to be surpassed only by the introduction of the sugar industry.

The American whale industry peaked during the late 1850's and began to decline dramatically after 1860. The sudden turnabout was caused by a combination of political and economic factors in America. American whaling vessels were quickly recalled pending the outbreak of the American

Civil War, and vessels with crews were reemployed in more profitable commercial activities. As Euro-American business speculators became aware of the futility of depending on migrant ships for economic security, they methodically sought more stable investments. Agriculture became the new prospectus and, in 1835, Koloa Plantation on the Island of Kauai became the Islands' first permanent sugar plantation. The cultivation of sugar with its concomitant activities then became the primary concern of foreign business operations in the Island. As in all previous economic endeavors, the Americans remained predominant.

### Political Foundations

Preceding the arrival of the first company of American missionaries in 1826, the advocacy of American business objectives had corrupted every Native social and religious institution. By official affirmation of Kamehameha II, Native religious doctrines were publicly disavowed by the monarchy. Owing to the new life styles introduced by the foreigners, many Hawaiians began to fall away from the restrictive practices of their ancestors. Even before the death of Kamehameha I, many natives had doubts about the Gods of old Hawaii (Kuykendall 1928:99). After much debate, Liholiho and his advisors took the decisive step and sanctioned the destruction of their temples. "These

orders were obeyed in most places but some of the idols were hidden away and kept by those who still believed in the old religion" (Kuykendall 1928:100).

The arrival of the American missionaries in 1820 was the force that changed the plight of the Native Hawaiian and directed Hawaii into the United States' sphere of influence. Although their primary objective was nonpolitical, the direct association of the missionaries with the ali'i and maka'āinana gave them a personal advantage that subsequently indoctrinated Hawaiians to the American point of view.

For the first fifty years after its arrival, this Christian mission was the predominant white influence in the Islands. "It so assimilated and molded the other growing white elements as to secure their practical cooperation," reported the Reverend Sereno E. Bishop, son of the Reverend Artemas Bishop of the first missionary company. Bishop further added:

The whole community both native and foreign, became subject to their controlling moral and social influence. With the natives the yielding was trustful and willing. With the resistive and violent whites it was quite the otherwise. Yet conclusive and effectual (Bishop 1906:81).

Hence, the prevailing political influence of the United States in Hawaii must be attributed to the missionaries. From the very beginning, the members of the mission

remained in the background advising, teaching, and guiding the Hawaiian ali'i. The missionaries noted that "the churches, schools, teachers and the whole system of religious order and influence depended greatly on the support and sanction of the government" (Minutes of Mission Meeting 1828). Although they were prohibited by the American Board from holding official positions during the 1820's and early 1830's, the missionaries did convince the ali'i to promote education, religion, and morality. As teachers of the ali'i and the maka'āinana, they felt a duty to inform and advise and, when necessary, to translate for chiefs the laws of foreign nations as they applied to the Hawaiian kingdom and to "render them any other such assistance when requested as shall be consistent with our profession as Christian teachers" (Minutes of Mission Meeting 1828).

The early death of Kamehameha II (Liholiho) in 1824, and the continuation of the kingdom under the rule of Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli), who was a nine-year-old minor, gave the mission a considerable period of influence over the affairs of the Hawaiian government.

Negotiations and complex problems with whalers and traders caused young Kamehameha III and his chiefs to rely more on missionary assistance for advice on how to advocate and maintain Hawaiian rights diplomatically. The chiefs, cognizant of the advantage foreigners took of them, placed

more importance on acquiring western knowledge so as to establish their government on firmer foundations. To achieve these goals, they invited missionaries to become their teachers and advisors in political and economic affairs.

The urgency of mounting political problems inspired Kamehameha III to write a letter . . . sent with Reverend William Richards to the United States in 1836, imploring the American Board to send more teachers to the Islands. The request was ignored and upon Richards' return to Honolulu he was appointed translator to the King. In due course, Dr. Gerrit P. Judd and Richard Armstrong followed his example and began to organize legal documents that would lead the Hawaiian monarchy towards a constitutional government.

Eventually more Europeans and Americans became involved in Hawaiian politics. April 13, 1846, saw the first Organic Act passed to establish an Executive Ministry, with Judd as the Minister of Finance, Robert Crichton Wyllie as Minister of Foreign Relations, Reverend William Richards as Minister of Public Instruction, and two young Americans, John Ricord and William Little Lee, as lawyers. Ricord eventually became the Attorney General and William Little Lee was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Hawaii as well as a member of the Land Commission. With the passing of Rev. William Richards, Rev. Richard Armstrong

was appointed Minister of Public Instruction and Chancellor of the Kingdom. Of these foreign officials who served Kamehameha III, all but Wyllie were Americans and four of them had been associated with the Sandwich Islands Mission. Unquestionably, missionary personnel brought about a new political and economic order to the Hawaiian Kingdom which modified the power of the ali'i through the enactment of financial and judicial reform.

### Sugar

Sugar cane was always present in the islands. "It was hardy and immune to endemic plant diseases but not very sweet or highly productive, so it was supplanted by a sweeter variety from Tahiti" (Oliver 1961:263). Migrant Polynesians had brought the plant with them and earlier descriptions by Europeans indicated the sighting of patches of cane next to native dwellings. But white men, mainly Americans and Britishers, pioneered the industry and have always controlled its operations and owned most of its assets. On a few occasions native rulers made ineffective attempts to participate, but for the most part Hawaiians neither shared in the ownership nor served as workers in the industry.

The Native system of land tenure was one major obstacle to the sugar industry, . . . (Oliver 1961:264). So land reform became a concern of government, whose Euro-American faction boldly committed themselves to the Western concept

of fee simple ownership in the Islands. Attacks on the native land system were heard from early missionaries who felt that it violated individual rights. "Early missionaries characterized the native system as a monstrous violation of individual rights" (Oliver 1961:265). Foreign businessmen objected to the system for more practical reasons: their hopes for building fortunes for themselves were tempered by the realization that they could not own outright the land in which they invested money and energy (Oliver 1961:265). The consolidation of large land holdings became imperative to induce the investment of foreign capital, and to form the basis for the plantation industry. Land reform became an intrusive obsession with missionary, trader, merchant, and planter, each group intently lobbying for its own future (Oliver 1961:265). Victory was soon in hand for the foreigners, with Kamehameha III's signature on land reform bills. These documents legitimized the success for the sugar industry; they were the Constitutions of 1840 and 1852, the Great Mahele of 1848, and the Kuleana Land Grants of 1850.

The Constitution of 1840 provided the governmental machinery for the implantation of American democratic ideology. The Constitution proclaimed the right of the citizenry to establish a Board of Commissioners to settle land titles and to create a subsidiary judicial department. The Constitution of 1852 further liberalized the rights of

foreigners, "showing plainly the influence of American political ideas and allowing to the people perhaps as large a share in business of government as they were qualified to take" (Feher 1969:204).

The Kuleana Land Grants were intended to provide for the maka'āinana land to live on and to cultivate. In most cases Hawaiians were unaware and consequently made no effort to comply with the law requiring them to register with the courts for ownership of lands which their 'ohana had cultivated for centuries. As a result, many families were removed from their native homes and left landless in their own Islands.

The signing of the Mahele, at the suggestion of Judge Lee in 1848, divided Hawaii's four million acres as follows (Morgan 1948:136):

	<u>Acres</u>	<u>Number of People</u>
Crown Lands	984,000	
Government Lands	1,495,000	
Chiefs' Lands	1,619,000	250
Tenants' Lands	<u>28,600</u>	<u>11,000</u>
	4,126,000	11,250

The political endorsement of July 10, 1850 in which aliens were able to buy or lease Crown, Governmental, and Tenants' land was the coup de maitre. As anticipated, fee simple ownership became a reality, and sugar planters joined with other business interests to extrapolate from the Hawaiians



the most desirable agricultural lands. Objectives accomplished, the Native Land Tenure system was dissolved. The next item on the planters' agenda was the marketing of their product and the recruitment of labor.

### Marketing and Labor

The Reciprocity Treaty of 1876 was designed to solve the sugar industry's marketing problems. The treaty provided tariff-free export of sugar to the United States in return for the exclusive use of Hawaiian ports by U.S. ships. Similar to the Mahele, the Treaty was the result of continuous pressure from the missionary, planter and industrialist. Its effect upon Hawaii was profound. Great expansion in sugar production led to a booming economy and to demands for immigrant labor.

Contrary to persisting stereotypes, Native Hawaiians were neither lazy nor unwilling to work for new businesses which were being started by foreign entrepreneurs. As a matter of fact, Hawaiians were excellent workers and by 1873 more than half the able-bodied native males in the kingdom were employed on sugar plantations. The real difficulty with Hawaiians as laborers was simple--there were not enough of them to supply the increasing demands of industry. "Unless we get more population," explained Wyllie in 1863, "we are a doomed nation" (Henderson 1951:45). The planters began to advocate ways to procure

and maintain a complacent labor force needed to accommodate their profitable enterprise. The Planters' Society, upon its founding in April 1864, urged the government to enlarge the labor supply by importing "several hundred coolies from China" (Feher 1969:271). Approving this suggestion, Kamehameha V advised the Legislature in October: "The wants of our agriculture, the dictates of humanity and the preservation of our race demand that the Government should control this operation" (Planters Monthly 1883:247). The Bureau of Immigration, created on December 30, 1864, chose Dr. Hillebrand to be its agent. As a result of his efforts in Hong Kong, 522 contract coolies were sent to Hawaii in the fall of 1865.

The Masters and Servants Act of 1850 tried to safeguard both parties through a laborer's contract, but as Hillebrand said, "the difference between a coolie and a slave is only one of degree, not of essence" (Feher 1969:271). During the "Great Debate" in October 1869, supporters of the contract system, led by Samuel W. Castle, William L. Green, and Samuel G. Wilder, defeated their opponents in the struggle for the use of servile labor with the following logic of expediency:

No country is expected to prosecute industries which are not profitable, and the experience of sugar growing the world over, goes to prove that cheap labor, which means in plain words, servile labor, must be employed in order to render this enterprise successful. Men shutter [sic]

at the words, servile labor, as though it was akin to slave labor, but the term has no such signification. In arguing for servile labor, we only mean to say that we must fall back on the lower strata of society, because it is cheap labor and because it is adapted to the tropics (Feher 1969:272).

As a result, by the late 1800's, 46,000 Chinese (Planters Monthly 1883:47) were imported to work on the plantations. Dissatisfied with plantation life, many left upon the completion of their contracts and established various business enterprises of their own. Twenty thousand Portuguese laborers were imported between 1878 and 1913 to fill the deserted ranks (Oliver 1961:269). However, when their numbers were unable to satisfy the demand for labor and profit, Japanese laborers were imported. As a consequence, between 1894 and 1939 (Oliver 1961:269), 180,000 (Lind 1955:4) Japanese and their families made Hawaii their permanent residence.

Political dissension between the United States and China and Japan was the major cause of the discontinuance of labor immigration to Hawaii. The sugar management then turned to the Philippines and, 125,000 Filipino laborers were imported to Hawaii by the planters (Lind 1955:4).

The effects of the early labor immigration to the Islands had radically altered the cultural, economic, and political status of the Native Hawaiians. The Hawaiian

monarchy, unable to cope with the constant resurgence of multiracial political problems, was finally displaced by sugar planters and industrialists.

With the stimulus of the tariff-free American market, Hawaii's economy surged. Sugar investments increased from 4 million to a possible 32 million dollars. Three-fourths of these committed investments were held by American interests. Mainland sugar producers, Hawaii's primary competitors, labeled Hawaii's plantation contract labor system "Hawaii's Hideous Slave System" and "The Mongol Menace," and tried unsuccessfully to abrogate the Reciprocity Treaty long before its expiration. Hawaii's uncertainty ended only when the U.S. Senate agreed to renew the Treaty in return for "a coaling station" at Pearl Harbor. However, clever American sugar interests found a way to negate the Reciprocity Treaty: The McKinley Tariff Act, which took effect April 1, 1891, admitted foreign sugar duty-free and assessed domestic sugar growers a bounty of two cents per pound on domestic sugar. Hawaii suffered a severe depression until the Act was repealed in 1894. Island businessmen, hurt by the McKinley Tariff, realized that annexation to the United States was the surest way to protect their investments. This led the way to the eventual overthrow of the Native monarchy and the establishment of a provisional government, which in turn advocated annexation by the United States on July 13, 1898.

### Conclusion

Because of the peculiarity of the geographic location of the Islands and the intensity of trade with white contacts, the Hawaiian nation succumbed both politically and economically within the brief period of 100 years after 1778. This was an extremely short period for it to adjust to the material impact of European and American technology.

The presence of European and American advisors in the Hawaii court became permanent with the establishment of the Protestant Mission. These advisors effectively organized white settlers and immediately lobbied for private land ownership, overcoming Native resistance.

A PETITION TO YOUR GRACIOUS MAJESTY  
KAMEHAMEHA III, AND TO ALL YOUR  
CHIEFS IN COUNCIL ASSEMBLED

(Translated from the Elele, for  
the Friend, XLV(8), 1887)

To his Majesty Kamehameha III, and  
the Premier Kekauluohi, and all the  
Hawaiian Chiefs in council assembled; on  
account of our anxiety, we petition you,  
the father of the Hawaiian kingdom, and  
the following is our petition.

1. Concerning the independence of your kingdom.
2. That you dismiss the foreign officers who you have appointed to be Hawaiian officers.
3. We do not wish foreigners to take the oath of allegiance and become Hawaiian subjects.
4. We do not wish you to sell any more land pertaining to your kingdom to foreigners.

5. We do not wish taxes in a confused obscure manner to be imposed in your kingdom.
6. This is the cause of our wishing to dismiss these foreign officers. On account of difficulties and apprehensions of burdens that will come upon us. There are your chiefs, who may be officers under you, like as their fathers were under your father, Kamehameha I, and good and intelligent men, in whom you have confidence; let these be officers.

The Hawaiians did initially achieve some advantages over the invaders, but ultimately were brought to devastation. The foreigners had money, access to supplies, superiority in weapons, natural immunity to their diseases, and a continued flow of adult reinforcements from their homelands to sustain their strength.

From the outset, Euro-Americans realized that negotiation was the most reasonable course to follow in dealing with Hawaiians. Total warfare was ruled out as politically dangerous and economically impossible as a technique for territorial expansion of American industry. Furthermore, with the dominant mission faction in the Islands, it was piously acceptable to buy natives out of their lands. Nevertheless, overwhelmed and outnumbered, Hawaiians were still able to bargain to a limited extent. However, this negotiating clout abruptly ended during the reign of Queen Liliuokalani (1891-1893), who boldly overreached herself by presenting to her cabinet the draft of a new constitution reinstating the power of the monarchy. This action was

immediately countered by the liberators, who took over the government and formed a Committee of Safety, to study the situation. Even when Liliuokalani rescinded her plan, the committee continued its efforts to end the Hawaiian monarchy. With the aid of Minister Steven, the United States representative, the committee called a troop of Marines ashore from the U.S.S. Boston to protect American lives and property. The following day, January 17, 1893, the committee abolished the monarchy and established a Provisional Government. Liliuokalani yielded to the superior force of the United States, calling upon Washington to undo the action of its representative and reinstate her as the rightful Queen. President Harrison of the United States refused; but President Cleveland's administration, installed two months later, accommodated the request and sent Commissioner J. H. Blount to investigate the problem. Blount's investigation prompted the President to send Minister Albert S. Willis to Honolulu with instructions to help restore Liliuokalani. Unimpressed, the liberators refused and instead imprisoned Queen Liliuokalani and her group of loyalists for treason. On January 24, 1895, the Queen was forced to abdicate in exchange for clemency for herself and her loyalists.

America's conflict with Spain was instrumental in gaining favor for Hawaii's annexationists in Congress. Especially when Admiral Dewey invaded Manila Bay, even

conservative, isolationist congressmen immediately recognized the military necessity of annexing Hawaii to the United States. President McKinley was urged by Congress to sign the New Land Resolution, on July 7, 1898, approving annexation. Liliuokalani, Hawaii's last queen, summarized the political and economic events leading to annexation (Liliuokalani 1964, 177-178):

For many years our sovereigns had welcomed the advice of, and given full representations in their government and councils, to American residents who had cast in their lot with our people, and established industries on the islands. As they became wealthy, and acquired titles to lands through the simplicity of our people and their ignorance of values and of the new land laws, their greed and their love of power proportionately increased; and schemes for aggrandizing themselves still further, or for avoiding the obligations which they had incurred to us, began to occupy their minds. So the mercantile element, as embodied in the Chamber of Commerce, the sugar planters, and the proprietors of the "missionary" stores, formed a distinct political party, called the "downtown" party, whose purpose was to minimize or entirely subvert other interests, and especially the prerogatives of the crown, which, based upon ancient custom and the authority of the island chiefs, were the sole guaranty of our nationality. Although settled among us, and drawing their wealth from our resources, they were alien to us in their customs and ideas respecting government, and desired above all things the extension of their power, and to carry out their own special plans of advancement, and to secure their own personal benefit . . . But if we manifested any incompetency, it was not foreseeing that they would be bound by no obligations, by honor, or by oath of allegiance, should an opportunity arise for seizing our country, and bringing it under the authority of the United States.



II. PUBLIC EDUCATION AND THE NATIVE HAWAIIAN:  
HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY  
PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURAL CONFLICT

Introduction: Prediscovery Native Education

In ancient Hawaii there existed no formal schooling in the American sense. Knowledge and traditions were transmitted from one generation to the next in the form of chants (oli), historical narratives (mo'olelo) and fictional stories (ka'ao). It was through the understanding of these oral traditions and their practical applications that the Hawaiian people were able to develop and maintain philosophical criteria to interpret the physical and spiritual realities of their world.

Hawaiian society had devised a formal educational system that varies according to individual social status and potential. The ali'i (chiefs) were provided with special training to prepare them for political leadership. This was done under the careful stewardship of the kahuna (priest, minister, sorcerer, expert in any profession) class. The kahunas implemented systematic educational approaches for training apprentices in various professions and trades. Furthermore, commoners needed schooling in order to live in a community in which every act was

circumscribed by a multitude of restrictions known as the kapu.

The most significant group contribution to a Hawaiian child's development was that of the 'ohana, or extended family. As in other agrarian and maritime societies education in theory appears to have consisted primarily of the reconstruction of experiences as the child matured. The schooling process was not considered separate from the daily activities of life. Skills were learned through demonstration by kinsmen, as opposed to formal institutions such as schools as we know them today. It was only in the order of the kahuna and religious ceremonies that education of selected individuals was institutionalized.

To better understand the educational practices in Hawaii we have but to turn to David Malo, a Hawaiian historian who served as the Superintendent of Hawaiian schools for four years. In his book, Hawaiian Antiquities 1898, Malo presented the objectives of education in Hawaii's early setting as: (1) a knowledge of the principles of government; (2) preparation in the arts of war; (3) personal skill; (4) bravery; (5) respect for religious ceremonies and forms of worship; and (6) temperate living. The majority of writers on Hawaiian civilization fail to recognize these objectives as a planned educational program in which the attainment of these ideals was the mark of an educated individual.

Public education in Hawaii was initiated in 1849 with the passage of the first school laws, in conjunction with the First Hawaiian Constitution proclaimed by Kamehameha III. However, it was not until the passage of the Organic Acts of 1845-1847 that an institutionalized system of public education came into existence, including a position in the King's Cabinet for a Minister of Public Instruction.

The person most instrumental in early Hawaiian public education was Richard Armstrong, whose influence and fluency in the Hawaiian language was responsible for the establishment of an educational system rooted in American ideology. This American-type system became increasingly necessary as the American socio-economic system permeated the Hawaiian Islands. It was Armstrong who introduced English to the schools as a medium of instruction and communication. He also gave curriculum a vocational emphasis. His strong democratic conviction aided in removing sectarianism from the schools and placed the system on a tax-supported base.

Throughout the reign of Kamehameha III, the missionaries were heavily relied upon for advice and counsel concerning problems of state. There were no serious political conflicts between Kamehameha III and the missionaries or those associated with the Hawaiian Court. The missionaries were thought by the King to be his most

loyal subjects and ardent supporters. However, policy changed when Prince Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) ascended to the throne on December 15, 1854; he had definite antimissionary feelings. Although the new king reappointed the same minister who was in office when his predecessor died, he abolished the office of Minister of Public Instruction in 1855. He substituted a Board of Education consisting of a president and two directors. Richard Armstrong remained as President of the Board, but was removed from the King's Cabinet. Although this change allowed Armstrong to devote his full attention to public schools, it removed the missionary influences from the inner circle of government. The King, together with his wife Queen Emma Noea and Prince Lot, further alienated the American missionaries by inaugurating the Episcopal Church of England in Hawaii in 1862. Americans strongly opposed this move, believing that it was a political attempt by the British to strengthen their position in the Islands and perhaps oust the Americans.

With the death of Richard Armstrong and the demise of Kamehameha IV in 1863, the Hawaiian public school system floundered. With no suitable leadership in sight, Lot Kamehameha (Kamehameha V) inherited the throne and continued to politically alienate American missionaries. The establishment of the Anglican Church engendered "a new political force extremely pro-royal and anti-American"

(Wist, 1940:75), causing a diminution of American control over political and educational affairs. The political power struggle was finally resolved in 1864 with the approval of a proposal to instate a lay school board.

The first person elected president of the board was Charles R. Bishop, an American married to Bernice Pauahi Paki, the great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I. He had to contend with the multilingual and cultural problems brought to Hawaii's school by the immigrant population. His expertise led to mass education and the overall improvement of common schools.

Despite the Anglican Church's grip on the monarchy, American textbooks continued to be imported to replace the original Hawaiian readers produced by the Mission Press. The overthrow of the monarchy in 1893 and the establishment of the Republic of Hawaii greatly affected the course of public education. Schools became completely Americanized, with the compulsory teaching of the English language, the abolition of tuition fees, and the end of governmental subsidization of private schools.

The leading educator during this period was Henry Townsend, one of the early progressives. As principal of one of the first boys' boarding schools and Inspector General of Schools, Townsend completed the Americanization of Hawaii's public schools by revitalizing the curriculum and hiring numerous American teachers.

The history of public school education in Hawaii has been one of constant growth and rapid expansion. This expansion of elementary, intermediate, secondary and post secondary schools has caused present day Native Hawaiians to become concerned with the role of education in perpetuating the uniqueness of their culture.

Hawaii Public Education and the  
American Missionary, 1820-1900

The antecedents of public education in Hawaii began with the arrival of the first company of American missionaries in 1820. To understand the educational endeavors of the missionaries, it is necessary to consider specific events which accentuated the composition of missionary personnel and the factors which contributed to the realization of their goal.

The Hawaiian, or Sandwich Islands, were generally known to America by the year 1820. Many accounts of the Islands were found in American newspapers and books. Native Hawaiians employed as sailors had made their way to the western world. The most influential of the young men from Hawaii was Opukahaia, referred to in missionary texts as Obookiah. He made his way to Yale College and was taken in by Reverend E. W. Dwight. Opukahaia's testimonies were instrumental in establishing the Foreign Mission Training School at Cornwall, Connecticut. The school opened with an enrollment of twelve pupils, seven of whom were Hawaiian. Opukahaia died within two years after the school's founding and before he was able to develop a writing system for the Hawaiian language. Shortly after Opukahaia's death, the American Board on Foreign Missions decided to send missionaries and workers to Hawaii.

The first party organized by the Board left "to propagate the gospel among the heathen." Their instructions were simple:

Your views are not to be limited to a low or narrow scale; but you are to open your hearts wide and set your mark high. You are to aim at nothing short of covering the islands with fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings, schools, churches, and of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization (Anderson, 1864:301).

The organizers had envisioned more for their people than the spreading of the gospel; their ultimate goal was the dissemination of "Christian civilization."

The first mission party consisted of Reverends Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston; Dr. Thomas Holman, a physician; Daniel Chamberlain, a farmer; Samuel Whitney, a mechanic and teacher; Elisha Loomis, a printer; and Samuel Ruggles, a teacher. Each was accompanied by his wife, and Chamberlain also brought his five children. The Hawaiians that accompanied them were Thomas Hopu, William Kanui, John Honoli'i and George Kaumauali'i. The first three were trained in the mission school at Cornwall. They all departed on board the "Thaddeus" on October 23, 1819, and arrived in Kailua-Kona, 163 days later. They sought permission to settle in the Islands from high Chief Kamehameha the Second (Liholiho), who gave his consent for a one year trial period. John Young, a resident and one



of the foreign advisors for Kamehameha I, was instrumental in this decision. The missionaries immediately established themselves and began to educate Native Hawaiians in the ways of "Christian civilization."

The history of the educational system developed by the missionaries can be divided into three periods. During the first period, from 1820 to 1831, a writing system was developed for the Hawaiian language; textbooks were printed and the majority of Native Hawaiian adults learned to read and write. Among the first to learn reading and writing were the adult ali'i (chiefs). In the second period, from 1831 to 1840, there was a shift of emphasis from adult to child education. This was accomplished by improving the training facilities (boarding schools) and increasing the number of Native teachers. In addition, more missionaries were sent by the American Board to assist the established Mission stations in Hawaii. Three more companies were sent, arriving in 1823, 1828, and 1831. Included in these later missionary groups were many of the "modern makers" of Hawaii, such as Bishop, Judd, Baldwin, and Gulick, all of whom eventually left the church to pursue economic and political careers within the Hawaiian Court. During the final period, from 1840 to 1863, reluctant missionaries were forced to relinquish most of their control of educational affairs, placing public education under the control of government. The Board of Missions gave up its

supervision by 1863.

These New Englanders believed that the Church, education, and the press were the three agencies upon which civilization depended. The goals of the Church superseded those of education and the press. The remission of sins was a primary goal of the Church, and since that was possible only by reading, Native Hawaiians had to learn to read. The first students were King Liholiho; his two wives, Kamamalu and Kina'u; his brother, Kauikeaouli (the heir apparent), James Kahulu; and John I'i. The last two participants were court retainers who were assigned in order to determine the intellectual capabilities of the common people (maka'ainana) for pedagogical purposes.

To understand the schooling process in the Mission stations, one has but to examine the educational philosophy of the missionaries. In their philosophy the development of individual potentials is secondary to the acceptance of the "truths" of the Christian world view. These truths were not discussed and analyzed by students but merely learned and accepted as absolutes. The course curriculum was programmed according to the concerns of the Church and supplemented by selected classical literature. But literacy was not meant to enhance the comprehension of the utilitarian conditions of the times; instead, the goal was to enable people to read and interpret the Bible according to the precepts of Protestantism. The organization of the

first schools in the Islands and the teaching of Native Hawaiians were within this philosophical context.

The palapala (printed letters), the Hawaiian alphabet produced by mission scholars, reduced the Hawaiian language to twelve letters--five vowels and seven consonants. The basic textbook used by Mission station schools was the Pi-a-pa, an eight-page reader consisting of the Hawaiian alphabet, numerals, punctuation marks, spelling words, verses from the Scriptures, and a few poems. The process of schooling and the development of a writing system intensified the communication between Missionary teachers and Hawaiians. In less than two years after their arrival, all Mission personnel learned the phonological and grammatical structure of the Hawaiian language. Mission leaders understood explicitly, from previous mission experiences, that fluency in the Native language is the best way to win the trust and respect of the Native community. Their knowledge of the Hawaiian language was the single most important factor in gaining the confidence and the trust of the Hawaiian people.

While the traders and merchants restricted their activities to the port towns, the missionaries concentrated their efforts in the rural areas which proved beneficial for them in the future. The majority of Hawaiians, naive as to the motives of Christian brotherly love, were quick to develop friendships with Mission families, and this too

proved profitable to Mission descendants in later years.

In 1822, the Reverend William Ellis of the London Missionary Society, an expert in the Tahitian language, made possible the translation of the Bible into Hawaiian. As a result of Ellis's and the Mission's concerted effort to translate the Scriptures into Hawaiian, many of the Hawaiian idioms were altered to fit the Protestant missionary conscience. The Hawaiian language lost much of its symbolic meaning (kaona) which had given expression to the Hawaiian way of life. Words and phrases that were considered unacceptable to Christian views were replaced by words and phrases that reflected different cultural values. Consequently, an alien Hawaiian language was taught to Hawaiian children in Mission schools by instructors who were insensitive to the many idiosyncrasies of the Hawaiian language and its potential for expressing the vitality of the Hawaiian way of life. The negative repercussions of these conscious omissions of word meanings on the part of missionary interpreters are present today, as linguists translate Hawaiian documents into English. Many word linkages are often left incomplete or listed as unknown. In many instances, word meanings and sentence structures taught in present day Hawaiian language classes have been refuted by native speakers who claim meanings have been extracted and interpreted out of cultural context. Confident with their success in modifying the language, the

missionaries were now assured of the "advent of a new way of life in the Islands" (Stuber, 1964:44).

Hawaiians flocked to the Mission schools, eager to learn the meaning of written symbols. Reverend Hiram Bingham wrote that "epistolary correspondence thus commenced in that (Hawaiian) language, suddenly opening to the chiefs and people a new source of pleasure and advantage of which hundreds availed themselves" (Bingham, 1848:151). This success of early missionary efforts must be attributed to two factors--Native teachers and the cooperation of Native rulers. Queen Regent Ka'ahumanu, who, as the advisor to Kamehameha III, became the most influential ally of the Protestant Mission following her baptism in 1829, was a particularly strong advocate for the development of education. Under missionary guidance she forced the Catholic Mission out of the Islands in 1827 and proclaimed the first education laws in Hawaii. In 1824, she and her council "declared their determination to have the Hawaiian people adhere to the instruction of the missionaries, to attend to learning, observe the Sabbath, worship God, and obey his law and have the people instructed" (Missionary Herald, 1825:210).

As a result of this declaration, an estimated 27,000 Hawaiians, predominantly adults, attended Mission stations in 1828. By 1832, the enrollment had increased to 53,000 and the number of schools had reached 900. Approximately

40% of the adult Native population became literate. However, with the death of Ka'ahumanu in 1832, adult enrollment began to wane, prompting the second phase of school development in which emphasis shifted from adult education to the schooling of children. The mission viewed the schooling of Hawaiian children as a means to inculcate the ways of Christian living on Hawaiian society. This was done in earnest as the Missionaries realized that Hawaii was to become their permanent home. Mission energies and resources were directed towards the development of private schools whose operations geared themselves towards the socio-economic needs of the various racial groups in the Islands. Private schools were opened to educate half-caste children, Missionary children, and ali'i children.

In 1830 it was decided and announced at the annual general meeting held in Honolulu that the direction of the Mission would be towards "the regeneration of individuals which depended upon the regeneration of the whole society along new economic and political lines" (Stuber, 1964:50). The schools were regarded as an integral part of the task. Religious benevolence and stewardship became a form of worldly asceticism, and teaching methods became interwoven with American literature, science, and vocational arts. However, missionary instructors found this combination taxing and complained about the "wild" Native children (Stuber, 1964:51).

In spite of these difficulties, determined missionaries developed boarding and day schools for young Hawaiians who were selected according to their leadership capabilities. These schools were under strict Christian scrutiny so as to educate and socialize students in the ways of a true "Christian." The philosophy of the boarding school was imbued with the New England work ethic in order to protect students from the vice of port towns. The goal of education was to inculcate students with Calvinism--to combine salvation with industrious work habits because "without industry there cannot be morality" (Friend, 1864:65).

As years passed, missionary educators became concerned with the imbalance between religious-educational programs and the political-economic development of Native students. It was decided at the annual Mission meeting of 1836 that education must include the cultivation of useful arts. The objectives of the mission were now defined differently:

The people need competent instruction in agriculture, manufactures, and the various methods of production, in order to develop the resources of the country . . . . They need competent instruction immediately in the science of government, in order to promote industry, to secure ample means of support, and to protect the just rights of all. They need much instruction and aid in getting into operation an extended influence those arts and usages which are adapted to the country, calculated to meet the wants, call forth and direct the energies of the people in general, and

to raise up among them intelligent and enterprising agents, qualified to carry on the great work of reform here and elsewhere. . . . (They) need more powerful promptings and encouragements to effort and enterprise than they now have, and unless something more can be done for the people, they will not provide well either for the rising or future generations: they will not sustain good schools for the education of their children; they will not raise up and maintain a competent number of well-trained ministers, physicians, lawyers, legislators, etc., nor will they have manufacturers and merchants of their own to conduct the business of the country. But foreign speculators may be expected to seize on the advantages which the country affords for agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; and an inevitable influx of foreign population, induced only by the love of pleasure and gain, would doubtless hasten the waste of the aborigines; and at no distant period, the mere mouldering remnants of the nation could be pointed out to the voyager (Bingham; 1969:470-495).

These objectives were accepted and put into practice as the guiding principles for the total reconstruction of the Hawaiian nation.

Lahaina Seminary, in 1831, was the first high school to be opened in Lahaina, Maui. Lorrin Andrews was the first principal, and by 1840 the Lahaina Mission Seminary or Lahainaluna (its present name) produced its first teachers; among the outstanding students in this group was David Malo. A co-institution, Hilo Boarding School, was opened in 1836 in Hilo under the direction of Reverend David Lyman. Both schools emphasized vocational trades



and student work programs whose revenues were used for the further expansion of school buildings. The students were under the strict indulgence of the missionary staff and received full indoctrination into the new Christian life twenty-four hours a day.

In 1837, the Mission developed boarding schools for girls, the first being located in Wailuku, Maui, followed by the construction of two similar institutions--one in Hilo and one in Kohala. Educational instruction and motives were the same for girls as they were for boys. Domestic arts were stressed and the merits of the Christian life permeated student life. According to Reverend J. S. Green, "the children should be taken young before their minds had been polluted beyond the reach of radical reform" (Green, Vol. 1, 1838). As a result, Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian children were accepted into boarding institutions as early as three to five years of age. In a discussion on the needs for female boarding schools, Dr. Judd wrote:

. . . great national want is not a standing army nor a foreign loan . . . nor ample provisions for the support of English schools to urge on the forcing process, nor more liberty; nor better laws, nor lighter taxation; but a generation of uncontaminated Hawaiian mothers . . . unambitious for foreign accomplishments and luxury, and willing to perform with their hands the humble but elevating duty of the household (Halford, 1954:228).

Mission leaders hoped that girls would marry the male graduates of co-boarding institutions and thus create a

Hawaiian nation, elevated to the standards of Christian civilization. However, many of the white male foreigners residing in the Islands took these Hawaiian women for wives in order to obtain immediate permanent residence.

In 1838, the monarchy requested the Mission to establish a special school for their children. The request was granted only after Samuel Castle, a secular agent of the church, speculated: "Only through education at the top could more liberal ideas be made to germinate in a manner that would have a salutary effect without leading to revolution" (Castle, 1960:28). Appointed to oversee the Royal Chiefs' School, a boarding institution, were Reverend and Mrs. Amos Cooke. Within the next century four of their students became the rulers of Hawaii. The philosophical objective of the school was:

. . . to break up the indolent habits of children--to accustom them to habits of industry--to teach them the exceedingly great value of time and how they may turn it to highest account, become punctual, businesslike men and women (Polynesian, 1840).

With the passing of time, the primary concern of the missionaries became the education of their own children. They believed their children were being corrupted by the contact with Native children in the schools. The attitude expressed in the following passage is typical:

On account of this pernicious example and vile conversation, many missionaries, where it was practicable, make walls about

their houses and endeavor by strict inclosures to prevent the children from having intercourse with the natives. . . . This pernicious influence, better imagined than described, and still better seen than imagined, is one of the reasons which led missionaries to undergo the agony of separation, and to send their children to a Christian land (for their education) (Dibble, 1844:118).

However, as a number of foreign business interests increased, the American Board on Foreign Missions decided that the missionaries must settle in the Islands permanently. In 1844, Reverend Armstrong gave his analysis of the social, economic, and political conditions of the Islands:

I must confess, that my hopes for the existence and prosperity of the nation, do not rise any of late, but rather sink. Foreigners may flock in and take the oath of allegiance, and be very zealous for the King and country and all that and still be foreigners, pursuing their own and at last break the nation to bits, by their squabbles and contentions. The time has gone by for the native rulers to have the management of affairs, though business may be done in their name, until foreigners increase in numbers and power and no longer need native rulers. However, these are only surmises, which time may show to be groundless (Armstrong, 1847:201).

The creation of special college preparatory schools for Mission children became urgent. Reverend Dole, aware of the strong educational desires of missionary families, wrote the American Board of Foreign Missions:

Should it be deemed expedient to send any of the boys to the United States

to enjoy the privileges of a college and to study any of the learned professions, we wish to have them fitted to enter college at this school. Should any of them wish to become teachers, merchants, mechanics or farmers, we wish to give them in this school an education which will prepare them to be respectable and highly useful in these several professions. And that they may know something of agriculture it is designed that they will regularly devote a part of their time to the cultivation of the soil.

The course of female education in this school we wish to be such as to prepare those who may enjoy its advantages, for the highest usefulness in whatever station Divine Providence may place them. The solid and practical must never give place to the merely ornamental. Habits of patience and productive labor must be formed, and they must be taught to render themselves independent of the assistance of others, as far as circumstances will permit (Dodge and Alexander, 1941:68).

The result of their pleas and the solution to their concerns was the establishment of Punahou School in 1841. Seven years later the School opened admissions to non-missionary children "of good moral character" whose parents could afford the tuition. Punahou School is still known today in the Islands as the elite haole (white) school.

When the missionaries realized that they had to take up permanent residence in the Islands, the educational development of their own children came to have priority over the education of Native Hawaiian children. The significance of this change in priorities came to light

when many of the sons and daughters of missionary families not only became the prominent political-industrial leaders in Hawaii but were the primary contributors responsible for the annexation of Hawaii to the United States.

### Public Education

Problems confronting the progress of public education in Hawaii were numerous. Among the most vexing was determining the extent of government control as opposed to the sectarian control exerted by Catholicism, Protestantism, and Mormonism. A workable educational plan had to be devised. Reverend Richard Armstrong was appointed in 1834 to resolve religious disputes over the control of public education. It was decided at the Kings Cabinet level to centralize the government's control of public education and within the year government was able to consolidate and maintain 357 schools and enroll 18,034 students.

Meanwhile, in 1837, Horace Mann assumed the leadership of the Massachusetts Board of Education and his educational philosophy reinforced the work of the missionaries in the Islands. Both he and the missionaries interpreted education as the means to create ideological unity, order, and above all, morality in the society. Inspired by this support, the major thrust in educating Hawaii's children was altered; assimilation into the American culture became

primary and Christianization secondary. This change in emphasis was made public with Armstrong's announcement in 1860 that the schools were free from sectarianism.

Language was the next problem to overcome, and the question of Hawaiian versus English became a heated political issue between educators and missionaries. The Mission faction was not in favor of replacing Hawaiian with English in the schools. Their attitude was founded in the "fear that the introduction of English might tend to remove the Natives from the close influence of the missionaries, who, among the foreigners in the Islands, were the most conversant with the Hawaiian language" (Wist, 1940:70). Moreover, the missionaries believed that "through a speaking knowledge of the (English) language, many Hawaiians quite possibly would be drawn from agricultural pursuits to less desirable occupations in the port areas" (Wist, 1940:70).

In spite of missionary opposition, by 1850, English had become the written language of economics, politics, and education; only in the concerns of the Church were matters conducted in Hawaiian. Four years later, funds were made available by the Hawaiian legislature to teach English to Native Hawaiians. The demand for English language courses in public schools increased tremendously; this was attributed to the evolving American politico-economic complexion of the Islands. The government, unable to

accommodate these demands due to the high costs of bringing American teachers to the Islands, devised tuition fees to help support programs. Nevertheless, the majority of the Native Hawaiians were unable to pay the tuition and had to remain in vernacular schools under missionary supervision.

In 1872, Charles Reed Bishop, following Abraham Fornander and Rexford Hitchcock, was the next to assume the leadership in administering the educational system. Under his leadership education saw its first combination of a planter/missionary emphasis. Mass improvement of Common Schools was advocated; however, English was taught only to those who could pay at least "half of its cost" (Stuber; 1964:95). Hawaiians who could afford to pay were still in the minority. Unable to attend English language schools, the majority of Hawaiians were left unprepared and lacked the competency in the English language needed to compete in the social, economic, and political arenas on an equal basis with others in their own homeland.

Problems between independent and government schools continued to increase as religious groups such as Catholics, Anglicans and Mormons infiltrated the education market. Although these Christian sects acknowledged the fact that taxing for government school operations was necessary, they refused to accept government monitoring of their curriculum. Their protest was predicated on the fact that American Protestant missionaries not only established

the public school system but had tainted the curriculum with Protestant concepts. The Hawaiian monarchy had to contend with the special interests of these separate church groups who sought to preserve their identity through educational endeavors. This commitment kept education deeply associated with religious sentiments and politics. Independent schools solicited students that served the best interests of their institution's investments, whereas government schools had to maintain an open admissions policy and share their finances with vernacular, English and independent schools.

This conflict between independent and government schools had detrimental effects on public education. Aggressive, well-to-do students gravitated toward independent schools, while the majority of Native Hawaiians remained in poorly financed government institutions. In government schools, vocational training was emphasized; only a minimal amount of English was taught and no college preparatory courses were offered. Independent schools, on the other hand, directed their curricula towards college preparation and energy was spent on the sorting and grooming of individuals for professional stations in their respective communities.

As the sugar immigration policy accelerated, immigrant cultures increased and were assimilated into the established haole-Hawaiian culture. As contact between



immigrant populations intensified, it became obvious to the haole (foreigner) elite that their politico-economic advantage was threatened by a drastic cultural and linguistic change (Weinrich; 1967:101). Consequently, the government accelerated the process of teaching English as the common language in every private and public school. Cost was no longer a factor; a racist ideology was the primary concern.

Bishop supported teaching the English language to all because he thought that in this way, immigrants and Hawaiians alike would learn "much of the exercise of English thought and practices of English customs" (Friend, 1887:63). The advance of anglicized civilization "was inevitable." He ordered the Hawaiians and immigrants to "fall in line with all that is pure, just, true, lovely and of good report in the thought, customs, and habits of the Haole" (Biennial Report, 1894-96:7).

The ancestral language of immigrants was transformed into a plantation "pidgin" which served as a lingua franca for the heterogeneous population (Hall; 1955:124). Although the Hawaiian government supported the Haole community's commitment to make English speakers out of the whole community, difficulties did arise. The plantation system produced a multitude of linguistic problems, and the schools had to solve these complications. Especially after the annexation of the Islands to America, schools

had to assimilate both Native Hawaiians and immigrant aliens into the American way of life.

As the majority of the immigrant laborers became permanent residents in the Islands, equal rights in education became their right as citizens under the Organic Acts of 1845-1846. Walter M. Gibson, President of the Board of Education in 1882, dictated that English for Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians was the policy of the Board, and English schools became tuition-free. The biennial report on the public schools stated that "the gradual extinction of the Polynesian dialect may be regretted for sentimental reasons, but it is certainly for the interest of the Hawaiians themselves" (Pratt; 1957:22).

The government supported boarding schools attended primarily by Hawaiians, such as Lahainaluna, Hilo Boarding School, and the Kawaiahao Seminary for Girls. All were educational institutions whose philosophies still stressed the dignity of labor and the willingness to discharge its more menial form. The school directors minimized academics for vocational and domestic arts. "We do not recommend the study of algebra," (Educational Policies; 1944 p. 6) they said.

Kamehameha Boys and Girls Boarding School was built exclusively for children of Hawaiian ancestry, in accordance with stipulations set forth in Princess Pauahi Bishop's will. Kamehameha Schools became the beneficiary

of the Bishop Estate, the largest and wealthiest private estate in the Islands. Her will provided for the construction of two separate schools offering instruction in the common American subjects, in morals, and in "useful knowledge as may tend to make good industrious men and women" (Educational Policies; 1944:6). Unfortunately, both schools were modeled after existing government boarding schools; consequently, a vocational curriculum, saturated with Christian morals and domestic arts, was taught. Curriculum directives did not prepare Hawaiian males or females for politico-economic professions in Hawaii's economy. Thus, the second generation of missionary descendants continued the attempt to "Christianize" the Hawaiians and to alienate them from their own affairs.

Various private schools (Table II) had developed in the Islands and were fully operational by the 1900s. There were schools such as Punahou, an elementary and secondary school for the sons and daughters of the elite; Kamehameha, a vocational-technical (elementary and secondary) school for selected Native Hawaiians; and Mid-Pacific Institute, a vocational-technical program suited to the elementary and secondary needs of children of immigrant workers. These three schools and others were created to accommodate the social status of various special interest groups in the Islands and the politico-economic investments of the dominant planter-missionary elite.

TABLE II: COMPARATIVE STATISTICS BETWEEN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

<u>Date</u>	<u>Number of Schools</u>		<u>Student Enrollment</u>		<u>In-Service Teachers</u>	
	Public	Private	Public	Private	Public	Private
1899: Post Annexation	141	48	11,436	4,054	344	200
1930: Territory of United States	183	70	76,530	12,178	2,656	599
1959: Statehood	207	96	140,644	29,259	4,731	1,139
1978-79	229	136	170,515	36,297	7,930	1,885

Historical Statistics; Schmitt, Robert  
University of Hawaii Press; 1977, pp. 214-216.

Present Day Statistics; State of Hawaii Data Book,  
Department of Planning and Economic Development,  
1979, p. 59.

Public Education: The Hawaiian Experience

The effects of the imposition of American culture and values through the public system can be seen by comparing the response of two generations of Native Hawaiians to questions concerning their educational experiences.<sup>1</sup> The most distressing effect is a marked decline of the competency level in the Hawaiian language; the kupuna ekahi (great grandparents) show a high level of competency, while the kupuna (grandparents) show a low, virtually illiterate level of competency. When asked to comment on this decline, one kupuna female (age 64) responded:

Our parents felt that the old ways were gone . . . and it was more important to learn the new ways to survive. No one (parents) encouraged us (children) to speak Hawaiian. You could learn the language if you wanted to. In the community, business transactions were carried on in pidgin using English with Hawaiian words. Only in the home and in the church did we hear Hawaiian. Our parents spoke Hawaiian among their own peers or with older people. We (children) were not allowed to participate in adult conversation. Hawaiian language was an adult language and was used primarily to discuss matters that didn't concern us (children).

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<sup>1</sup>Individual interviews were conducted by the author in the Kohala-Waimea district on the Island of Hawaii in November 1979. Ten Native Hawaiian kupuna ekahi and ten kupuna were asked to describe their educational experiences. Each interview took one to one and a half hours. The selection of participants was done with the assistance of a Native Hawaiian who is a lifelong resident of Kohala. See Appendix C.

The majority of the kupuna ekahi (90%) did not encourage their children to use the Hawaiian language because they felt that fluency in Hawaiian had worked to their disadvantage in the American school environment.

Linguistic discrimination is related to the issue of a broader-based discrimination which takes place in the school system. A comparison of the responses of the two generations reveals an increased sensitivity to this issue, due in large measure to the increased political awareness of Native civil rights. The kupuna, in particular, stress the negative effects of the imposition of American cultural norms on their educational experiences. Their responses reflect a deep concern about the adverse influence of the assimilative practices in the public schools where little consideration is given to Hawaiian cultural values.

### Education and the Hawaiian Community

Hawaii became an incorporated territory of the United States on July 14, 1900 and remained as such until statehood in 1959. These events accelerated the development of industries such as sugar, pineapple, as well as the development of military operations, and tourist enterprises in the Islands. This development increased the population tremendously and caused a gradual demographic shift of people from rural to urban areas. Obviously these changes affected the status of public education; the government had to expand the physical facilities of the schools and create new sources of revenues for financing the overall system.

One of the most striking changes was the radical alteration of the racial composition of the public schools, a change that was brought about by the labor importation policy of industry. In 1900, approximately 49% of the public school enrollment was Hawaiian, 39% Caucasian and 17% Oriental (Wist, 1940:144). Thirty years later the proportion changed markedly, with 14% of the public school enrollment being Hawaiian, 12% Caucasian and 69% Oriental (Wist, 1940:144).

Hawaii's sugar and pineapple labor importation policies continued until the 1920s. The reason for this continuation was that the Japanese were deserting

plantation labor positions and pursuing other job possibilities. This labor movement caused planters to turn to the Philippines for recruits. Filipino males were eager to leave the oppressed economic conditions of their country and to meet the planters' demands in Hawaii. The influx of Filipino labor into the Islands was massive; aside from the Japanese, the Filipinos were the only immigrant group to make a significant difference in the reshaping of Hawaii's school population. By 1938, the Filipino group had grown to represent 13% of the overall school enrollment in the Islands. The effects of marriages among these various ethnic groups are reflected in Hawaii's school population today.

Public education in Hawaii, both past and present, has developed in accordance with the needs of American business interests. This influence (of American business) was not due to some fundamental law but rather to the type of American educational leadership that was appointed by the Native Hawaiian monarchy, territorial governors, and Hawaii's local legislators after statehood. In brief, a review of over one hundred years of educational development in the Islands demonstrates that it has been immersed in American ideology. At first, the Americanization of Native Hawaiian youth occurred through the commitment of the missionaries to New England traditions. Then, the process of Americanization



continued through the missionaries' domination of the political and economic life in the Islands. Finally, the process was completed as industrial expansion led to annexation and eventually to statehood. Throughout this entire period, public education was designed to meet the needs of Americanization and to aggrandize the industrial-agricultural objectives of the plantation system.

Time has not shaken the tight control of government over the structure of public education in the Islands. Although elected school board members select the Superintendent of Public Instruction, he or she simultaneously retains a post on the executive cabinet appointed by the governor. Thus, public education in the Islands has never been completely entrusted to the dictates of its citizens.

In the past and present centuries the American design of the public schools has overemphasized an English-American curriculum as the valid means to cope with Hawaii's multi-cultural and bilingual student body. With statehood, Americanization and the integration of students into the politico-economic culture of America has remained Hawaii's official educational policy; the plan continues to be one whereby Native Hawaiian students are compelled to adopt America's language, values, life style, and moral code. Hawaii's educators have asserted that assimilative processes would be the key to Hawaii's social

solidarity. Furthermore, they have maintained that the diminishing of group differences within the Islands' multi-cultural society would reduce racial inequalities so individuals would be able to compete on equal terms for the rewards the system had to offer. For most students of immigrant parentage this proved workable, but it has not proved workable for the majority of Native Hawaiians. Immigrant groups left their homelands by choice in pursuit of a better life. When they arrived in the Islands, they recognized that education was the vehicle by which to achieve success and social acceptability among the Haole (white) elite. In their respective countries, public education as we know it was not accessible to their labor class. Immigrants were quick to realize that the economic success of their descendants was predicted on gaining vocational and academic skills through education. In short, the early immigrant population understood that the process of schooling was directly related to economic and social mobility. By becoming Americanized, they were able to improve themselves and their families economically, socially and politically. However, they retained one alternative not available to Native Hawaiians--they could return to a homeland if they were dissatisfied with the life offered in Hawaii.

The total number of Native Hawaiians in Hawaii, as defined by the Alu Like Native American Programs Act, is

approximately 150,000 or about 19% of the population of the state. Of this number, approximately 8% are of full Hawaiian ancestry. About one half of the 150,000 are age 17 and under, and 18,000 are age 5 and under. This means that there are nearly 57,000 Native Hawaiians of school age. Of these, 35,000 are enrolled in grades K-12, which is about 20% of the total enrollment in the Hawaiian school system; of the 35,000 Native Hawaiians enrolled in school, 5% are full Hawaiian.

In a recent extract of Department of Education statistics by Dr. Kellet Min, 1978-79, Native Hawaiians/part-Hawaiians were compared to other ethnic groups enrolled in public education; data revealed that students of Hawaiian ancestry as a "minority" were statistically high on the problem student lists for most public schools:

24.7%	are involved with court cases
16.0%	are suspended
17.0%	are expelled
.2%	drop out
19.8%	graduate
17.0%	receive special education services
5.3%	are honor program students
<u>100.0%</u>	

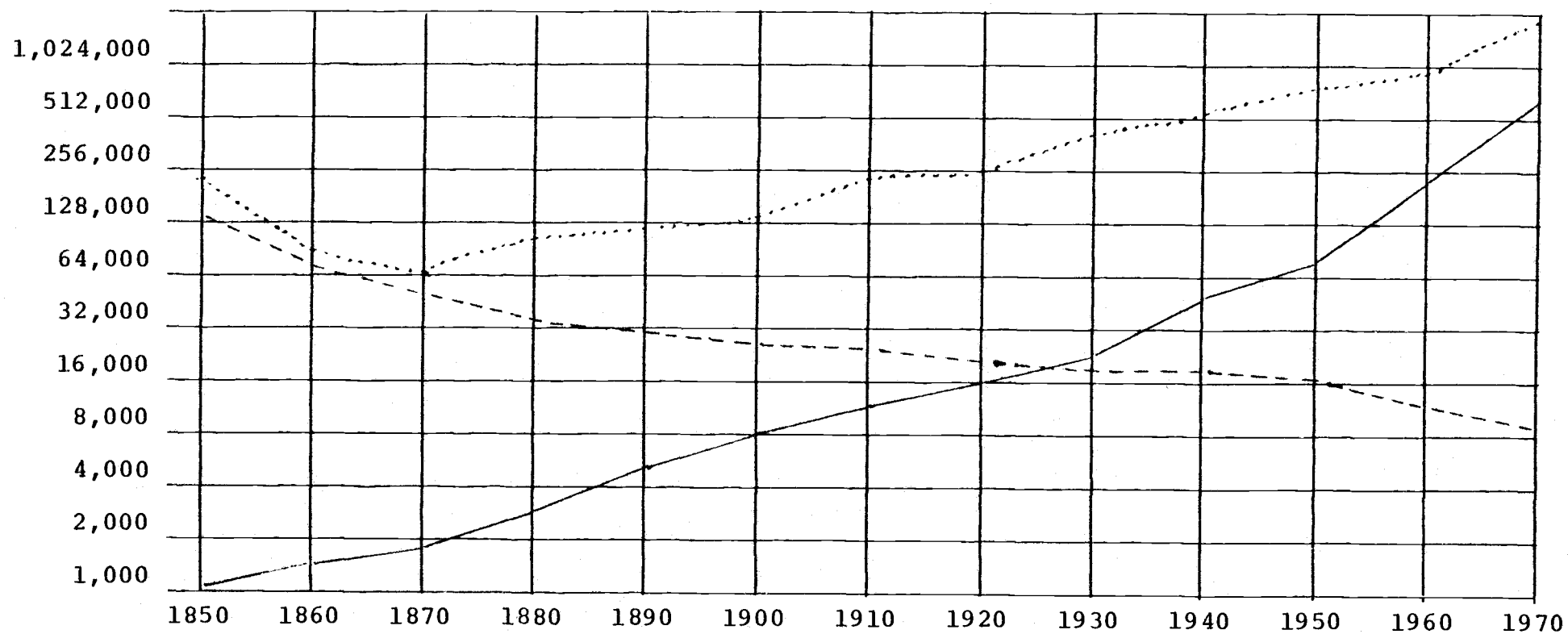
The report on the Education Status of Hawaiians by Alu Like further adds; only 6-8% of the students enrolled at the University of Hawaii are Hawaiian, yet approximately 88% of the parents of Native Hawaiian students aspire for post secondary education for their

children. About 62% of the Native Hawaiian adults, as compared to 72% for the general population, have completed high school. Of the certified personnel in the public school system who work either as teachers, administrators, or counselors, only 7% are Native Hawaiians.

These statistics confirm the Hawaiian communities concern that the process of Americanization in the schools has contributed positively to all ethnic groups in the Islands except their own.

The forced assimilation of Native Hawaiians into the American culture is best understood as the dynamic interaction of religion, politics, economics and education. The radical alteration of the land-tenure system, the growth of the plantation, the creation of the existing multi-cultural ethnic communities in Hawaii (Table III) did not happen by chance. They were carefully calculated from beginning to end by American profit-objectives, and they are major factors contributing to the experience of Native Hawaiians, who were coerced into changing their material and spiritual culture. Many writers have referred to this change as the "amalgamation" of the Native Hawaiian into the American society. However, since "amalgamation" implies a loss of native identity, it is not appropriate in this case; while many individual Native Hawaiians have been assimilated, the Hawaiians as a group continue to live in small but definable communities and

TABLE III: HAWAIIAN POPULATION IN RELATION TO THE STATE



Source: Akinaka, A. Y., Ltd., "A Land Inventory and Land Use Study for the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands," 1972.

— Part-Hawaiians  
 ----- Full Hawaiians  
 ..... State Population

have remained an unassimilated minority. A sense of self-identity among the Hawaiians persists, it is based on traits of clearly local origin such as language, music and dance as well as on traits of white origin so markedly reinterpreted in local terms they have become part of the Hawaiian culture--for example, styles of dress, diet, or specialized occupations.

During the first stages of contact, technological differences did not create an unbridgeable gap between the Hawaiians and the European-Americans. Early relationships between the two cultures were marked by egalitarianism and mutual benefit, and in many cases the Hawaiians held the greater power in these relationships. For a time in Hawaii, a format for relations was established that defined interdependent (but never totally merging) European-American and Hawaiian cultures. Contractual relationships were the models Hawaiians as a group knew and used in dealing with whites, even after withdrawal to homestead or non-homestead settlements.

Hawaiian communities resist pressures to be absorbed into the surrounding culture and society. The larger system is recognized as inescapable and even necessary, but it is to be dealt with on a contractual basis. To maintain these contractual relationships with the larger system, ideas and experiences must be communicated among the various Hawaiian communities. Innovations involve an

on-going search for successful models that would articulate the Hawaiian community's identity. Such models must assure a decent material foundation for an existence in which Hawaiian identity is maintained and actively utilized as an essential component for satisfactory community life.

It is true that many Hawaiians have assimilated with relative ease; but this assimilation has been the result of individual decisions. Differential opportunities, particularly in education, account for the fact that Hawaiians have elected to assimilate into the American culture. However, young Hawaiians who have had educational opportunities are opting in increasing numbers to remain Hawaiian and to pursue American economic goals, using their educational advantage toward this end. The Civil Rights movement has contributed immensely to make this combination possible.

In the contemporary political scene Hawaiian communities are seeking a way out of their historic subservience through education and political reform. Socio-economic changes, from conditions of economic marginality to conditions of prosperity for Hawaiian communities, are essential for this reform. The social movement now underway among Hawaiians is not aimed at economic survival along; Hawaiians are seeking ways to reorganize the politico-economic scene for negotiations

on terms more favorable to them.

Education is seen as the "process" by which Hawaiian youth can obtain the negotiable assets needed to generate more formal coping strategies between Hawaiian communities and the American System. Paradoxically, Hawaiians, like other Native Americans, understand that schools are responsible for most of the American resocialization of their youngsters. What they want is a resocialization process that includes both American and Native Hawaiian perspectives.

The three basic elements of this resocialization process are (1) socialization, (2) cultural transmission, and (3) the development of self-identity.

The "socialization" of children, according to Cohen (1961), is a result of those activities which are directed towards the inculcation of basic motivational and cognitive patterns through the interaction of children with parents, siblings, kinsmen, and other members of society. These are the formulative phases that shape attitudes, values, and cognitive orientations.

Cultural transmission emphasized the values of society and the process of learning these values. These learned values provide some of the rationalization for the social norms of behavior that children learn.

The development of self-identity is contingent on two basic goals of the schooling process. First,



education provides skills to enable individuals to participate in meaningful adult roles in society. Second, education provides a sense of identity in some historical community for students. It is logical to propose that there should be corresponding agencies through which society seeks to advance these social functions of education. However, in Hawaiian-American, and Native American communities in general, these corresponding agencies to which the American school system prepares their young people are limited and in most cases non-existent.

If it is correct to characterize culture as self-perpetuating, then it is necessary to acknowledge explicitly that the enculturation of future members of a society is one of the most important institutional activities of the group. American public schools serve this purpose for the American culture, whereas the community and home serve this purpose for Native American culture. Public schools in Hawaiian communities like Kuhio Village in Waimea, Hawaii, enculturate students to become Americans rather than Hawaiian-Americans.

The problem then is that "socialization" in public schools conflicts with the socialization processes in Native American communities. In his study, "The Shaping of Men's Minds," Cohen (1971) argues that "socialization" must adapt to the imperatives of the culture; men must

adapt to the realities in which they find themselves. By definition, this conception of culture includes the "dynamic process of cultural change" so that programs for change in modes of education and socialization must be congruent with the cultural realities for which individuals are being prepared. Most Hawaiian public school programs for change in the modes of socialization for Native Hawaiian students are not congruent with the cultural realities of Hawaiian communities. The result is a cross-cultural misunderstanding which negatively affects the academic success of Hawaiian children.

These hypotheses have been systematically and comparatively explored by Cazden and John (1968), and Brophy and Aberle (1966), with Navajo and Pueblo cultures. Their studies show that the motivational and cognitive patterns of these Native American cultures differ from those of the American culture.

Indian children are taught to learn in two different ways. In school they learn in the ways of the white man. In their homes the Indian children learn in the way of their people, in traditional cultural patterns that have remained durable even after 400 years of life among the white man (Cazden, John 1971:252).

Native Americans are still no better off than colonial subjects under the jurisdiction of arbitrary governmental agencies.

One of the purposes of education is to teach children

skills and knowledge that will better prepare them for future American citizenship. This goal is accomplished by intentionally blinding America's student population to the systematic (political, economic, and social) oppression of Native American peoples. The omission of Native American History from the schooling process is but one example of how education can make it easier for government and private industry to continue to exploit native lands and resources in the name of progress--in spite of numerous treaties and congressional acts which protect native lands and resources.

### Conclusion

The American educational system has used the schooling process as a means to inculcate American values on Native Americans, thereby altering native ways of life.

Hawaii's educational directives have been no different. The American Protestant Mission, the plantation system and industrialism, are all factors that have combined to establish an American socio-economic order with little or no regard for Native Hawaiian identity. The school has become the instrument for the advancement of American ideology; its objectives are to deculturate Native Hawaiians rather than to acculturate them.

In order to understand the present day attitudes of many Hawaiians towards the American System, it is necessary to understand the past which has so profoundly affected these attitudes. The key word in this dialectical arrangement is "understanding"; most American schools "understand" what happened in the past as acculturation, as an equal two-way sharing process between Native American and American cultures. In other words, the process of cultural change in Native American communities is presented in the schools from a distorted point of view; the schools teach "white-American history"

not "native-American history." As a consequence of this perspective, acculturation processes have always been perceived as a problem for Native Americans. They are not viewed in their proper perspective as problems which have been imposed on natives by an alien culture which has stripped them of their capacity to control their own way of life.

History can be a vital weapon, particularly when it is used by a dominant (American) culture to cause psychological problems in the individuals of a subservient (Native) culture. Components of negative self-identity and awareness of self-purpose all enter into the total Native American educational problem.

The history of Native Hawaiians has been incorrectly interpreted; stages in levels of acculturation achieved by Native Hawaiian communities are defined and measured in terms of the norms set by a white/oriental society. This frame provides a rather flimsy explanation of why Hawaiian potential continues to be under-developed and avoids the real issue as to what or whom caused this dilemma. "underdevelopment," as defined by Jorgenson, "is the product of the full integration of Native Americans into American society" (Jorgensen, 1971:110). The acculturative processes in Hawaii's schools continue to this day with the same objective--to integrate Native Hawaiians into the American socio-political economy.

Ironically, it is because Native Hawaiians are becoming integrated that many still remain in a deprived state which has not improved in step with the gains of other minority groups (Diagram I, p. 89) in the Islands.

III. THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT  
OF THE WAIMEA HAWAIIAN  
HOMESTEAD COMMUNITY

Introduction

Upon annexation, the United States Government took title of approximately 1,750,000 acres. On July 9, 1921, the Congress approved the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, whereby certain specified lands in the Territory of Hawaii were set apart to be administered for the benefit of the "Native Hawaiian." The Act defines "Native" as "any descendant of not less than one-half of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1778" (Hawaiian Home Land, 1975). These lands are known today as the Department of Hawaiian Home Lands (DHHL). The Commission is authorized to lease as homesteads to Native Hawaiians resident lots and agricultural tracts for a term of ninety-nine years, with each lessee paying a rental fee of one dollar a year. DHHL was, by this Act, permanently withdrawn from the control and management of the State Commissioner of Public Lands.

The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act was intended to reverse the then imminent extinction of the Hawaiian race. Prince Kūhiʻo Kalanikʻōpale, a delegate to Congress and the

founder of the Act, hoped to "rehabilitate" Hawaiians by settling them on farm lands. But in this regard the Act has not been entirely successful. By 1956 about 10,000 homesites were claimed; however, most of them served only as homesites and not as farms, as was intended by the Act. More importantly, a close reading of the Act reveals that it provided land for only a fraction of the Hawaiian population. Furthermore, while the Act puts aside some 200,000 acres of Hawaii's land, legislators also imposed laws restricting the selection of DHHL. Lands selected for Hawaiian homesteads could not be a part of existing forest reserves nor could they be land that was being used for the cultivation of sugar or legally claimed by others prior to the Act. Consequently, "lands chosen for the Hawaiian homestead program were among the poorest in the Islands--most of them unfit for agricultural use" (Howard 1974:4).

With the approval of Statehood in 1959, a new DHHL Commission was formed consisting of seven representatives: four from O'ahu and one each from Kaua'i, Maui and Hawai'i. All these positions, then and now, are appointed by the Governor, including the executive director, who serves a four-year term. To mitigate the Governor's influence through his appointees, the Coalition of Hawaiian Organizations, made up of eight of the larger and more politically active groups in the Islands, submitted a list of candidates to the Governor for the Directorship of the DHHL in 1975;



the list was ignored.

At the request of the State Legislature in 1972, a state audit of DHHL was taken. The report revealed interesting statistics. The total land area of the DHHL had dwindled from the original 203,500 to 189,878 acres. Auditors attributed the loss of 13,622 acres to sketchy surveying methods in the early part of the century and to poorly defined boundaries. Nevertheless, the loss of land has never been satisfactorily accounted for and many parcels have been absorbed in mysterious land "tradeoffs" with the state. While there is evidence that former DHHL are now owned by the state, there are no clear records of lands of comparable value being received by the DHHL from the state in exchange.

Although the DHHL has existed for sixty years now, very little land is being used directly by Hawaiian homesteaders. The majority of the acreage is leased to non-Hawaiian, private or governmental agencies. Even if the land is not used directly by the homesteaders (Table IV), it is of some indirect benefit to the recipients of homesteads in the form of loans. However, the number of Native Hawaiian recipients still constitutes less than 10% of the Native Hawaiian population receiving benefits from DHHL (Spitz 1964).

Another problem affecting the success of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920 is that "rehabilitation" was

TABLE IV: LAND UTILIZATION ACREAGES, HAWAII ISLAND, KOHALA DISTRICT

Category	Humuula	Nienie	Kumoku Kapulena	Waimanu
Homesteader Use				
Houselots	--	--	--	--
Farm Lots	--	--	--	--
Pasture Lots	--	6,459.12	4,245.18	--
Community Pasture	--	--	--	--
Commercial/Industry	--	--	--	--
Other				
Farming/Ranches	33,172.76	--	--	--
Commercial/Industry	--	--	--	--
Public Services	2.94	8.04	5.00	--
Parks	--	--	--	--
Water/Forest Reserve	19,292.80	--	--	200
Lot Remnant	--	612.00	3.50	--
U.S. Government	295.00	--	--	--
Roads/Right-of-Way	--	--	8.78	--
Not in Use or Unusable	--	--	--	--

TABLE IV: LAND UTILIZATION ACREAGES, HAWAII ISLAND, KOHALA DISTRICT (Continued)

Category	Kawaihae	Pauahi	Puukapu
Homesteader Use			
Houselots	5.10	--	88.17*
Farm Lots	--	--	597.55 (27 farm lots between 5-15 acres per lot)
Pasture Lots	--	--	4,797.13 (58 ranchers at 300 acres per lot)
Community Pasture	--	--	529.00
Other Uses			
Farming/Ranching	9,896.22	555.45	5,573.37
Commercial/Industry	9.30	--	--
Public Service Facilities	4.38	--	39.61
Parks	--	--	--
Water/Forest Reserves	3.06	--	165.14
Lot Remnant	.16	--	2.25
U.S. Government	--	--	--
Roads/Right-of-Way	3.66	--	100.50
Not in Use/Unusable	220.57	--	54.89

Source: Land Inventory, 1972, Department of Hawaiian Home Lands

\*Add 20 acres to this total to incorporate 1979 awards of 58-15,000 house lots

never defined with any precision by the founders and supporters of the Hawaiian Homestead program. Native Hawaiians, however, have understood "rehabilitation to include: (1) an increase in the proportion of Hawaiians gaining access to professions and skilled jobs; (2) an increase in the population of pure Hawaiian or at least those with large percentages of Hawaiian blood; (3) a reduction in the amount of alleged crime and juvenile delinquency within the Hawaiian Community; and (4) an increasing economic independence for those of Hawaiian ancestry brought about through successful farming, greater job security, and the use of the program to enhance and perpetuate the Hawaiian culture.

By encouraging the return of Native Hawaiians to agricultural pursuits and especially to the development of family farms, it was contended that the Act would promote a more healthful life for the Hawaiian "race" by facilitating their adjustment to the dominant westernized society without leading to the loss of aboriginal identity (Spitz 1964). However, the passage of the DHHL Act has, in fact, satisfied the traditional American missionary pressure to establish homestead laws for Natives in order to protect established business interests. Government gained the allegiance of those Hawaiians on homesteads, thereby splitting the Hawaiian community into those that have and those that do not have Hawaiian homesteads--a socio-economic

manipulation which has affected the political unification of the Hawaiian community to the present day.

The historical description just presented provides background for interpreting the unique characteristics of the Hawaiian homestead system; this system, in turn, is important for an understanding of the attitudes of many Hawaiians toward state agencies and programs.

Waimea

The "Waimea Plains" is located in the Kohala District on the Island of Hawaii between the extinct volcanoes of Mauna Kea and Kohala. Hilo, the largest city on the Island, is 63 miles east, and Kawaihae, the nearest port, is 12 miles west. The climate is semi-tropical with temperatures varying annually from 56°F to 74°F. Average rainfall is approximately 43 inches, with a variation of 35 inches at the west end to 50 inches at the east end of the plains. The elevation is between 2,650 to 2,890 feet above sea level. The land is relatively flat and is suitable for agriculture and ranching.

The DHHL withdrew for its program all public lands in the sections of Humu'ula, Ni'eni'e, Kamoku-Kapulena, Waimanu, Kawaihae, Pauahi and Pu'ukapu. These lands, which encompass a total of 87,502.60 acres, were not leased immediately to Native Hawaiians but were declared surplus to the needs of DHHL and returned to the Commission of Public Land for leasing as grazing lands. As a consequence, five non-Native Hawaiian lessees utilize approximately 85.2 percent of the lands in the Waimea-Kohala District. However, these lands are subject to recapture for the purpose of Hawaiian homesteading, and, in 1952, 54 Native Hawaiian families were given DHHL leases in Waimea and relocated on 48 ranch pasture lots (300 to 600 acres) and six farm lots

(15 to 40 acres). In addition, each family received one-acre house lots located within the village limits of Waimea. The DHHL house lot subdivision was named Kuhi'o Village.

The second increment of DHHL leases was distributed in 1979 to 58 Native Hawaiian families who were given 15,000 square feet of residential leaseholds in Kuhi'o Village. With these residential lots, 21 farm leasehold (5 to 10) acres were awarded. Today, a total of 171 Native Hawaiian families live on DHHL in Waimea, occupying .079 percent or 7,000 acres of the total DHHL acreage in the Kohala District. All of these homestead leases are located within the Pu'ukapu ili, which is described in the DHHL inventory as "the most suitable of all available lands for homesteading purposes" (Akinaka 1972). However, the total acreage of Pu'ukapu ili is 11,947.61 acres; of this, 67.4 percent is presently leased to the 171 Native Hawaiian families with 302 families wait-listed for house lots and farm/ranch lands.

The 1970 demographics show a population of 756 people in Waimea Village, South Kohala District. Thirty-seven percent of the population is under 18 years of age, 55 percent is between 18 and 64, and 8 percent is over 65. The adult population percentages show 49 percent male and 51 percent female (County Data, 1978). Fifty-seven percent of the resident population is Hawaiian. Of the 150 individuals canvassed in Kuhi'o Village, 97 percent were 50 to

99 percent Hawaiian, and 3 percent were pure Hawaiian. This data is of particular interest since the DHHL Act stipulates that a lessee must be at least 50 percent Hawaiian (this does not apply to spouses) for successorship. Intermarriages with non-Hawaiians have created the problem, whereby a spouse and their children, upon the death of the lessee, cannot qualify for successorship to DHHL leases. Fortunately, the majority of the spouses and children in Kuhi'o Village are at least 50 percent Hawaiian and eligible for successorship. It is therefore apparent, no matter how ethnicity is determined, that Kuhi'o Village, Waimea, is predominantly a Hawaiian-Polynesian community.

How do Hawaiians explain what makes them "Hawaiian" or what keeps them "Hawaiian" despite the rapidly growing influences of a multi-racial community? The typical response to these questions is simply: "We are just different." Even very vocal and well-educated Hawaiians have difficulty defining what it means to be "Hawaiian." But two Hawaiian informants from Kuhi'o Village were unusually forward in expressing their views. Their responses reflect how life experiences and education have influenced their philosophy.

The one informant, a male 54 years old, described what it meant to him to be "Hawaiian":

Being Hawaiian is a complete life style compatible to Hawaii's environment, weather, geographics, that has evolved



for eons and is in balance with nature. This is why we have been able to exist on these isolated islands, it is an innate feeling for all of your physical surroundings, it's a matter of survival. As a child you are brought up with this kind of regimentation, to live in this balance with nature. This affects your thinking and influences your every move. Human relations are important, because we are isolated and we are the only "Hawaiians" in the world. To perpetuate our race and values, we place a high priority on human life. Everything else is secondary, material possessions are secondary. . . . We are content to stay on the land because we know from the land and sea we can gather everything we need. I was taught these values by my grandfather. As far as we are concerned Western values or other cultural values in Hawaii are secondary to our Hawaiian values. . . . The biggest threat to the survival of the Hawaiian life style is the pressures of Western urbanization. Because we live under Western laws and economics we can no longer live in isolation. Western influence has changed the emphasis of values, money is the median for survival. We have gone from self-sufficiency to dependency on Western goods. When we changed from a producer-culture to a consumer-culture, we lost much of our stability and confidence. . . . When I was a child I lived with my grandparents. My grandfather was a fisherman and bartering was the median of exchange. We were totally self-sufficient. We produced most of our own food, we lived in isolation, and bought clothing, fuel (kerosene), and very little else. We were happy and never interpreted our living conditions as poverty-stricken. By native Hawaiian standards this was a satisfying way of life.

The other informant, a woman 64 years old, had a different conception of what it means to be "Hawaiian":

Life I tell myself, I have Hawaiian ancestry, only a Hawaiian can live with

that identity. Because we know the value of sharing and the feelings of concern for the next person's welfare. This comes forth in all of our attitudes about life. Humility is another value that we stress. The thing I think is wrong with our feelings is that we are satisfied with a little--a little is always enough. We are always thinking about family needs and not just what we want as individuals. Even when we are angry with family members, we still have the love for them.

Two important values are reflected in these statements: The self-determination of Hawaiians to maintain their separate identity, and the importance of the extended family ('ohana) as the fundamental unit in the social organization of the Hawaiian in Kuhi'o Village.

Hawaiian people are quick to verbalize that they are, in fact, different from the rest of the residents in Hawaii. "They were here first." They speak of their right to endure as the "moral obligation owed to conquered aboriginal possessors of the land by invaders and usurpers."

The residents of Kuhi'o Village represent diverse socio-economic backgrounds. Some were raised in urban areas like Honolulu and have had little experience in living in a rural community like Waimea. With new and old residents migrating in and out of Kuhi'o Village, opportunities for stabilizing the community and forming small separate kin groups is difficult. This influx of different families from different localities has fractured the patterns of kinship-oriented groupings ('ohana) in Hawaiian

communities like Kuhi'o Village. Despite these adverse conditions, the Hawaiians in Kuhi'o Village opt to live their Hawaiian way of life and to maintain their extended family units and the close alliances with kinsmen.

While these internal problems can be overcome, the socio-economic problems brought about by Americanization are not so easily overcome. These latter problems thoroughly disrupt intracommunal and familial relationships and make it especially difficult for the Native Hawaiians to maintain their cultural heritage. In particular, the residents of Kuhi'o Village feel that the primary cause of the decay of their heritage is the loss of land to foreigners. This loss of land has fragmented coherent and relatively self-sufficient communities and has alienated Hawaiians from their traditional occupations--farming and fishing. Moreover, commodities essential for these occupations are now available only through the economic structure of the American market system. Availability of all these resources is synonymous with employment opportunities are now subject to forces external to the community.

#### Education, Job and Income Status

The majority of Hawaiian communities like Kuhi'o Village are concentrated in rural regions on the Islands of Hawaii, O'ahu, Kaua'i, Molokai, and Maui. With a few exceptions, these regions are usually far from growth

centers and are economically depressed relative to the state as a whole (State Convention, 1978). Hawaiian communities have the problems usually associated with economic depression: They offer few job opportunities; they are dominated by one or two industries; and because they have few urban amenities, young adults are moving away.

Employment for Hawaiians is similar when compared with other groups in the state. However, Hawaiians had higher rates of unemployment at all adult age groups. Unemployment was highest among young Hawaiian adults (Diagram 1).

A minority group within the Hawaiian population is economically mobile. This group tends to be well educated; they have job experience and relatively high incomes. They are able to accumulate capital, and are therefore less vulnerable to job competition and recession. The larger group in the Hawaiian population can become more economically mobile if given the proper incentives and opportunities. But this group tends to be less educated: They have less job experience and are vulnerable to job completion and recessions.

Comparing the 18-24 age group to those over 55 years of age, the proportion of Hawaiians completing high school increased by 93 percent. The Hawaiians who have continued their education after high school more than tripled

DIAGRAM 1

Age	EMPLOYED			UNEMPLOYED			NOT IN LABOR FORCE			RETIRED	
	Non-Hawn	Hawn		Non-Hawn	Hawn		Non-Hawn	Hawn		Non-Hawn	Hawn
18 - 24	58.8	57.1		9.0	10.7		32.1	32.2		--	--
25 - 34	68.3	68.6		4.8	7.9		26.7	23.3		--	--
35 - 54	74.9	70.5		2.5	3.4		20.5	23.2		2.1	2.9
55 +	36.1	35.4		1.0	--		13.0	17.1		49.9	46.9
ALL AGES	61.2	61.3		3.9	6.0		22.5	24.7		12.4	8.0

EMPLOYMENT STATUS FOR NON-HAWAIIANS AND HAWAIIANS BY AGE GROUPS

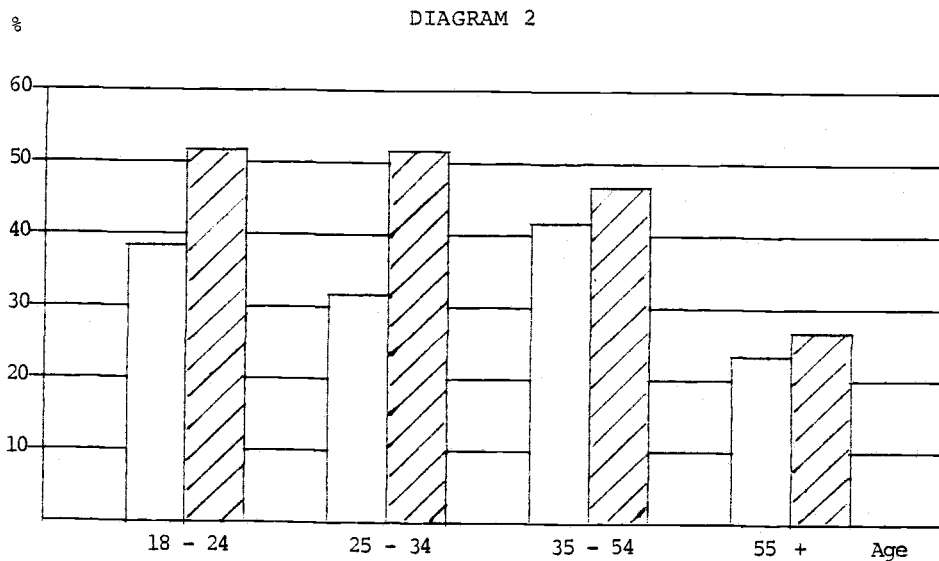
Source: Department of Hawaiian Homes, 1979

their education after high school more than tripled (Diagram 2). However, there still exists a wide gap in terms of the education achievement between Hawaiian and non-Hawaiians: The proportion of non-Hawaiians with college degrees (17%) was more than three times that of Hawaiians (5%). Many Hawaiians who went to college did not complete course work or receive degrees.

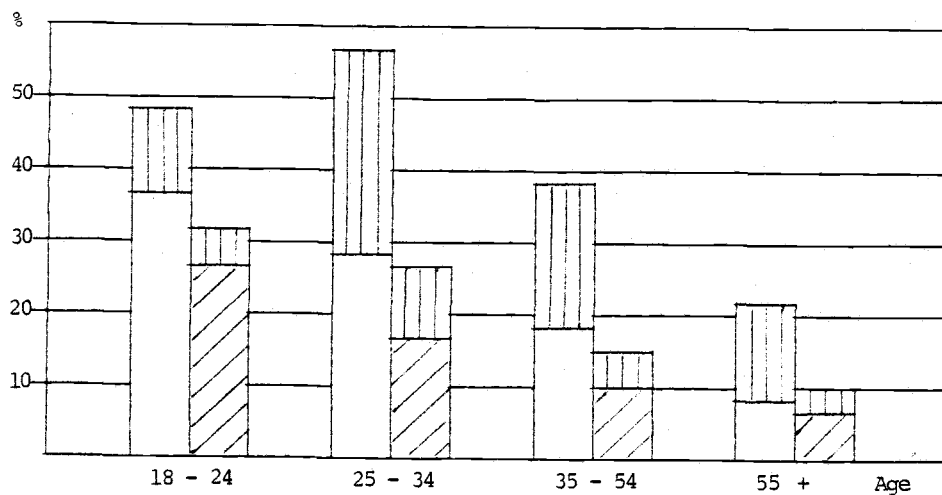
There is a great concern on the part of many Hawaiian communities that this trend toward increasing the educational achievement for Hawaiian youngsters continues to peak. The development of basic skills in Hawaiian children is low; this problem festers as the child progresses through the school system (Diagram 3).

Scores in the Stanford Achievement Tests administered by public schools nationally indicate that 54 percent of the students rank in the 4th, 5th and 6th stanine. The 5th stanine is the national norm. Student scores in Hawaii peaked at the 4th stanine, one below the national level. Achievement of Hawaiian students peaked two stanines below the average for the state at the 2nd stanine. Seventy-seven percent of the Hawaiian youngsters in Hawaii's public schools ranked below the 4th stanine. They were three times further below the national norm than their peers in Hawaii (Diagram 3).

Educational achievement is tied directly to many benefits for individual Hawaiians and families, Hawaiians



PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION COMPLETING HIGH SCHOOL ONLY

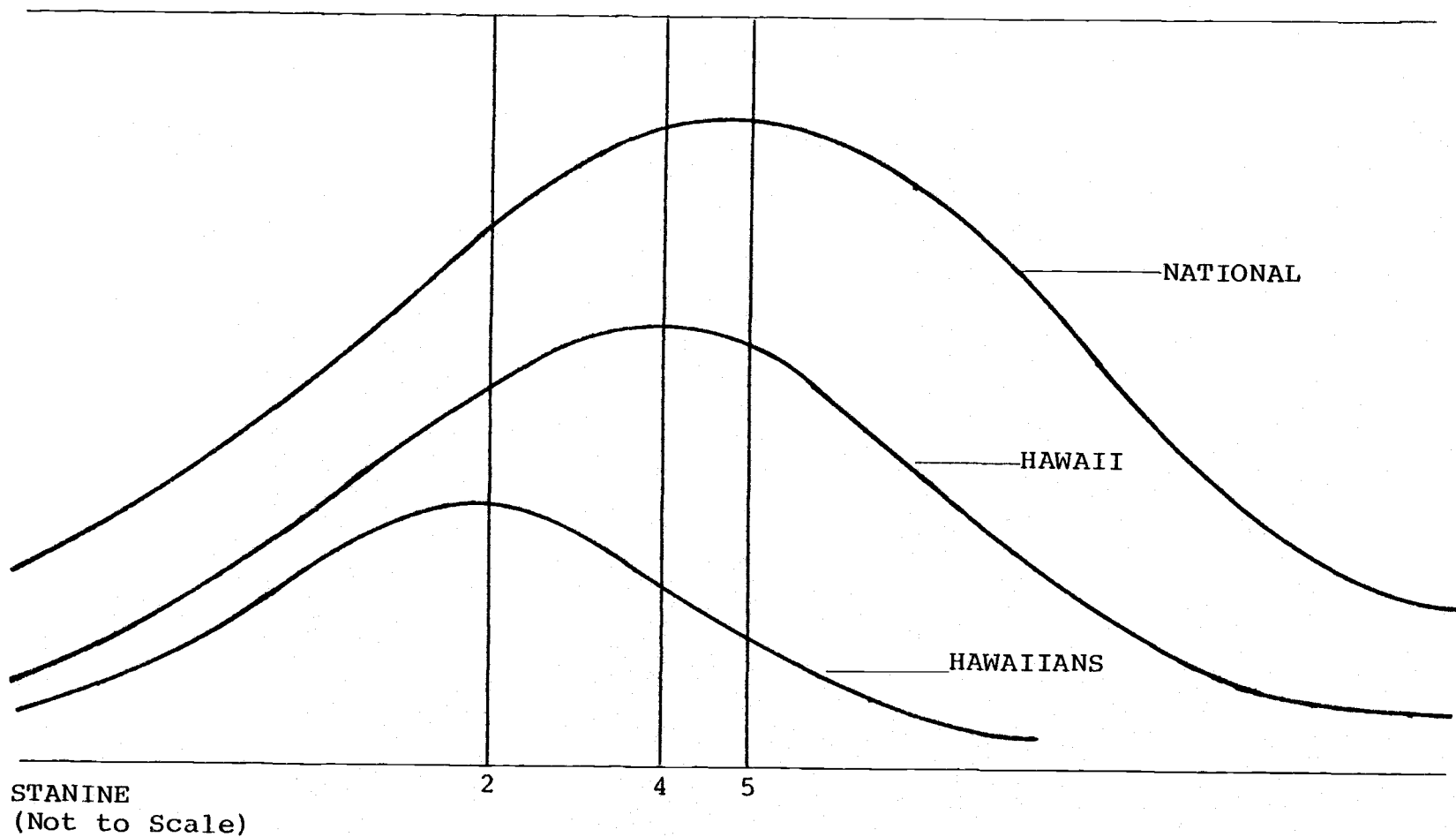


PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION COMPLETING MORE THAN HIGH SCHOOL

NON-HAWAIIAN	
HAWAIIAN	
B.A. DEGREE +	

Source: Department of Hawaiian Homes, 1979

DIAGRAM 3



COMPARISON OF ACHIEVEMENT ON STANDARDIZED TESTS

Source: Department of Hawaiian Homes, 1979



as a group, and the community at large. With higher levels of education, Hawaiians were more likely to be employed and to have higher paying jobs (Diagram 4).

Public data pertinent to only Kuhi'o Village was not available. Therefore, information regarding homesteaders' education, job and income status was accumulated during field work. Statistics from sample interviews parallel county data; the similarity was attributed to Waimea Village representing the largest population within the South Kohala area.

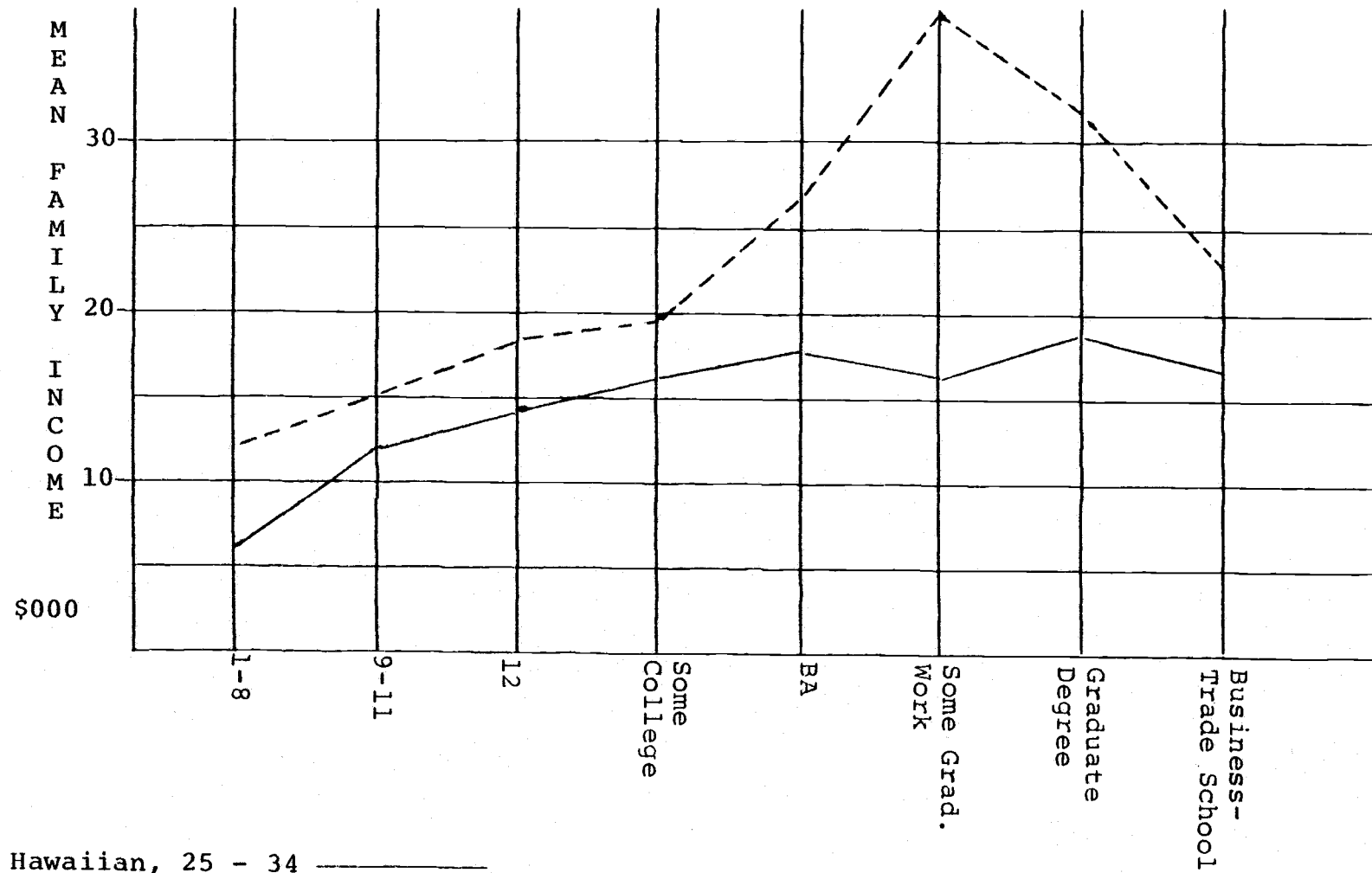
Job status reports show that the largest portion (51%) of the population is employed as service workers, followed by retail trade workers (19%) and agricultural workers (9%). Income reported by the same census revealed a family median income of \$9,750. Table V lists the distribution of income:

TABLE V: DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

<u>Income in Dollars</u>	<u>Percentage of Population</u>
Under \$7,000*	10%
Under \$10,000	50%
\$10,000 to \$25,000	35%
Over \$25,000	<u>5%</u>
	100%

\*In May 1978 the family income poverty level was set at \$7,130 for a four-person family and \$6,700 for a four-person farm family (County Data, 1978).

DIAGRAM 4



Hawaiian, 25 - 34 —————

Hawaiian, 35 - 54 - - - - -

Source: Department of Hawaiian Homes, 1979

Homestead family incomes were supplemented by fishing, hunting, raising animals, or by growing food at home.

Kuhi'o Village can be characterized as a working community with a large adult working population made up of industrious men and women who take pride in their jobs and in their ability to maintain a reasonable standard of living.

Work is a part of the Hawaiian ethic in Kuhi'o Village. One of the most revealing statements in this regard was made by a pure Hawaiian male, age 53:

When I was a child, I did everything. I raised pigs, chickens, rabbits. I was the fourth youngest and I just assumed the responsibility for the planting and the raising of the animals. All my life I never shrugged off work. I like to do my best; it's a part of a person's self-respect. I noticed that young Hawaiians are hard workers, especially if the leader works hard, then they follow. . . My father was a fisherman, who sold his fish and whatever fish my brothers and I caught. We used to supplement our family food resources at home. During the summer months we fished all day. My family was self-sufficient. I had five brothers and three sisters. Our life was hard. . . But I believe Hawaiians value work as being a part of their lifestyle, its survival.

Besides the values mentioned in these interviews, other attitudes and values held by Hawaiians were identified through the use of statistical survey instrument (Appendix A). The survey consisted of 20 value statements put together by the author from previous anthropological

case studies done in Hawaiian homestead areas on the Island of Oahu (Gallimore and Howard, 1968). The 20 value statements were then submitted to a panel of experts who were selected with the consultation of the Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club's Executive Committee. The panel consisted of three non-Hawaiians and three Native Hawaiians. All participants were knowledgeable in Hawaiian history and culture. Each panel participant was asked to review and analyze each value statement. The weighted mean of each participant response was calculated using the "Statistic Analysis System Program" (SAS) at the University of Hawaii at Hilo College (Appendix D).

Of the 20 value statements, only eight were selected and identified by Hawaiian homesteaders as important functional values. They were as follows:

1. The Hawaiian Ohana System still functions in all Hawaiian communities.
2. The respect for elders is still functioning in all Hawaiian communities.
3. Hawaiians value human relationships above all other values.
4. Children are considered to be important to Hawaiian families.
5. Hawaiian mothers are important in educational goals of children.
6. Hawaiian families in general feel it is important that children should be respectful and obedient toward their elders.

7. The Hawaiian ideal of life places the family as the most important group in the life of an individual; it is the group one works for and cares about.
8. Hawaiian parents want their children to regard work in the home as everyone's responsibility and not "just the parents."

The responses of the panel participants matched those of the Waimea homesteaders with one exception (number 2). Significant discrepancies did occur, on the other hand, between the responses of the homesteaders and those of the faculty and administration of the Waimea Public School; school personnel were unable to identify even one of the value statements regarded as important by the homesteaders. Students at the school responded much like the faculty; they were, however, able to identify three of the eight value statements selected by the homesteaders.

Results of the survey (Table VI) show that of the groups polled the greatest disparity existed between the Waimea homesteaders and the faculty and administration of the Waimea school system. This disparity confirms that cross-cultural conflicts do exist between the socialization patterns used by the parents to mould the behavior of their children and those employed by the school personnel to educate the children. Perhaps the most significant conflict is the degree to which the people of Kuhi'o Village emphasize human relations as the crucial factor in defining self-identity. Because of such conflicts the

TABLE VI: A PROFILE: CROSS-CULTURAL CONFLICT AREAS BETWEEN TRADITIONAL HAWAIIAN VALUES, FACULTY, PANEL, AND HAWAIIAN STUDENTS

8 Hawaiian Homestead Value Statements	Conflict with Panel		Conflict with Faculty		Conflict with Students	
		Mean		Mean		Mean
1. The Hawaiian Ohana System still functions in all Hawaiian communities (4.26)	No	(4.00)	Yes	(3.04)	Yes	(3.76)
2. Is the respect for elders still functioning in all Hawaiian communities (4.21)	Yes	(3.33)	Yes	(3.09)	Yes	(3.90)
3. Hawaiians value human relationships above all other values (4.08)	No	(4.33)	Yes	(3.19)	Yes	(3.69)
4. Children are considered to be important to Hawaiian families (4.52)	No	(4.50)	Yes	(3.76)	No	(4.26)
5. Hawaiian mothers are important in educational goals of children (4.44)	No	(4.50)	Yes	(3.76)	No	(4.26)
6. Hawaiian families in general feel it is important that children should be respectful and obedient toward their elders (4.66)	No	(4.33)	Yes	(3.14)	No	(4.55)
7. The Hawaiian ideal of life places the family as the most important group in the life of an individual; it is the group one works for and cares about (4.36)	No	(4.50)	Yes	(3.14)	Yes	(3.98)
8. Hawaiian parents want their children to regard work in the home as everyone's respon- sibility and not just the parents (4.44)	No	(4.83)	Yes	(3.42)	Yes	(3.80)

residents of Kuhi'o Village are concerned that school personnel are either unaware of the cultural values in the community or that they do not consider the values proper. The survey results show that these concerns of the residents are well-founded.

The following statements made by two Hawaiian women give testimony to the profound significance attached to those cultural values selected by the Waimea homesteaders. The first woman, age 73, was one of the original homesteaders on DHHL in Waimea. The second is her daughter, age 53.

We are a very warm and helping people, it's our nature. So when the need arises to help our friends or 'ohana members, we are willing to do so. It is more like a moral obligation that was taught to me by my Tutu Loke (grandmother), to be olu'olu (kind) and to kokua (help) others in need. Even strangers, but this is changing because of the times we live in. We cannot be trusting like before. So often they say one thing and mean something else . . . . During my lifetime we have had to support ten children and my father so . . . . we had five children of our own and five of my brother's children, he and his wife, my husband and myself--fifteen people living in one house. I was never upset, he was my brother. But, with only myself working and my husband off and on, we could not save money, all the money went to live.

This is a true Hawaiian value--'ohana and close friends. Friends to Hawaiians are those persons that we grew up with and we treated them like family. They ate at our house, bathed, slept, and my mother never complained about having to

provide for our friends. But, they respected the house and my parents . . . I was taught by mother that you should love one another (aloha kekahi kekahi). Human life is very precious above all things, 'ohana is important, family is our foundation, without family there is no you. But . . . each individual is a person with their own mana'o (feelings) and allowed to grow in their own way . . . I treat my brothers' and sisters' children like my own. When my nieces and nephews were young, pre-teen, they--five, plus my three children, lived here with us in the country during the summer months. I never received money from their parents for their care and never expected it. I was happy to help them. My husband, who is Hawaiian, never complained.

As can be seen from these statements, the Hawaiian value-system assigns a high priority to human relationships in the interest of maintaining interpersonal harmony between relatives and the rest of the community.

Egalitarianism is another value that underlies Hawaiian-American culture. In traditional Hawaii, society was highly stratified and a person's social status was determined by birth. But historical circumstances, as discussed in Chapters I and II, eliminated the traditional stratification system in Hawaiian homestead areas like Kuhi'o Village. As a result, a residual, one class social system has evolved with emphasis on equality. This is not to say that there are no status differences in the social organization of Kuhi'o Village. But, egalitarianism does affect the legitimate use of status, particularly status based on achievement, to influence others. Hawaiians have



retained many of their traditional 'ohana organizational patterns, but these patterns have been adapted to a peer society and genealogical priority. Respect for and reliance on age, together with humility, are the legitimate means for gaining leadership in the decision-making process and provide the basis for authority. However, authority becomes legitimate only if it has been recognized by others; it is not legitimate if it is achieved by the assertion of the individual.

The president of the Waimea Hawaiian Civic Club summarizes this concept of authority:

All you can do as a leader is speak your mind and suggest a course of action on certain issues. However, you cannot control your members' minds or thoughts. They react to the information as they see it. Hawaiians are individuals and hard to convince . . . You cannot force them to attend meetings with threats like dropping them from the club or setting fines. They just won't adhere; they come if they want to. Before, I used to tell the new homesteaders in the community to join the Civic Club and they gave me the feeling I was telling them what to do. Now, I don't say anything. I wait for them to ask me about the Club, then I give them the information.

The historical, social, and political context in which Kuhi'o Village is embedded has seriously impeded the community's efforts to preserve and perpetuate the Hawaiian way of life. The strategy used until now for "rehabilitation" has been to lease house lots to individuals; but this strategy only compounds the problem

by undermining both the land basis for chieftainship and the economic basis for the support of large kin groups. New strategies need to be developed which will provide the residents of Kuhi'o Village with the socio-economic base necessary to maintain their communal way of life and involve them in the political process. Such strategies would enhance cultural pluralism and allow Native Hawaiians to adapt to the Middle American pattern in a meaningful and non-coercive manner.

The Socio-Cultural Environment of  
Waimea Elementary and  
Intermediate School

The fundamental problem highlighted by the present study is the conflict between Kuhi'o Village and the Waimea School system, between the community's traditional socialization process and the school's educational process. One Native Hawaiian (female, age 53) states the problem in unequivocal terms:

Everyday as our children go to school we are reminded that the values of our community which we, the older generation, still find sustaining and worthy are acting as detriments to their academic success . . . These conflicts of values cause misunderstanding between children and parents and grandparents.

Such a conflict of cultural values between a minority group and the school system is not new in the history of American education. The first step in resolving the conflict is to fully articulate the contrasting value systems between school and home roles, and between teacher and student. Specific areas of conflict between the Native Hawaiian and the American ideology as they pertain to the school can then be identified (Table VII).

The conflict is accentuated by the fact that Hawaii has a centralized school system, administered out of Honolulu, O'ahu and dominated by persons of Caucasian and Japanese-American ancestry (Appendix E). Many of the administrators are sympathetic to the cultural differences

TABLE VII

## STUDENT EDUCATIONAL INEQUALITIES

<u>Native Hawaiian Student</u>	<u>Conflict Areas in Schools</u>	<u>American Student</u>
Conflict	School readiness skill (stimulus-response learning)	No conflict
Conflict	Linguistic skills (verbal association)	No conflict
Conflict	Self-confidence (concept learning)	No conflict
Conflict	Confrontation and participation (Problem solving)	No conflict
Numerous	Behavioral and psychological adjustment problems (self actualization)	Minimal
<u>Native Hawaiian Cultural Setting</u>	<u>School Cultural Setting</u>	<u>American Cultural Setting</u>
Conflict	Family psychology	No conflict
Conflict	Environmental setting	No conflict
Reluctant	Community input	Positive
Conflict	Community organizational patterns; economic, political, social, religious	No conflict
<u>Native Hawaiian Community</u>	<u>School Values Individual Needs</u>	<u>American Community</u>
Extended family orientation or tribal identity "we" vs. "I"	Self-actualization	No conflict
Conflict		Individual orientation "I" vs. "we"
Self-determination vs. acculturation	Demands of culture	Dominated vs. subservience "we" vs. "they"
Conflict	Self-development (career citizenship)	No conflict
Educational equalities native rights	Learning theories	Priority rights vs. secondary rights
Conflict		No conflict
<u>Native Hawaiian Socialization Pattern</u>	<u>School Values</u>	<u>American Socialization</u>
Conflict	Socialization	No conflict
Conflict	Cultural transmission	No conflict
Limited Success	Goal: Life experiences Literacy Maturity	Successful

between Hawaiians and Americans, however, the Oriental-Haole administrator is inclined to associate cultural problems with the lack of parental responsibility which is then regarded as the cause of "cultural deprivation" or of being "culturally disadvantaged."

The administration often attributes academic failure on the part of many Native Hawaiian youngsters to nonsupportive home environments. However, the parents are supportive; they recognize that formal education is the "way" for gaining the cultural competence required for their communities continued survival. The problem is that they are usually discouraged from actively participating in the formulation of school policies by the central administration of Hawaii's public schools.

Teachers at Waimea School remarked during a group interview session that Hawaiian children are different from other children in their class. According to the teachers, the Hawaiian students lack school readiness skills and have a short attention span. The teachers also commented that Hawaiian children have a negative attitude towards school work and that they, especially the children in the elementary levels, seem to ignore verbal reprimand and need more encouragement to try new skills and to finish assignments. In short, Hawaiian children are stereotyped from early on as "problem" students.

Repeated observations of this sort inspired the

creation of two models by the Department of Education to remedy this on-going problem of educational inequalities for Hawaiians. Two theoretical positions have been adhered to: one is a "Social Deficiency Model," and the other an "Institutional Deficiency Model."

The former is the more conservative and incorporates concepts like "culturally disadvantaged" or "socially disorientated." This model emphasizes the "socialization" function of the schooling process and articulates a restrictive American cultural interpretation of behavior. The solution to the "behavioral problems" among Native Hawaiian students is to require that they be subjected to programs that will "resocialize" them. The failure of Hawaiian students, according to this model, signifies inappropriate rather than different values. Analysis based on this model identifies academic success with behavioral adjustment. The model does not explain what is causing the dysfunctional behavior common to many Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian students when compared with their Haole and Oriental peers.

"Institutional deficiency" attributes academic failure among many Native Hawaiians to inequalities in society. This model proposes the development of alternative and/or supplemental educational programs as the key to offset the inherent educational inequalities in the school's structure. Proponents of this model

advocate the need for educational reform in the schooling process with emphasis on alternative school systems that would accommodate the learning styles of Native Hawaiian youngsters.

These models have led to the implementation of different policies, causing much controversy in Native Hawaiian communities, like Kuhi'o Village. The "Social Deficiency Model" is criticized by Native Hawaiians because it deculturates Native Hawaiians in its attempt to produce carbon copies of white-oriental, middle-class Americans. The "Institutional Deficiency Model," on the other hand, is criticized because it isolates students from the "system." As one concerned Hawaiian parent stated, "if my child is a product of an alternative school system and cannot cope in a conventional American school environment, what has the school accomplished?"

To the Hawaiian community the purpose of education is to aid their children in further developing their "self-identity." Subordinate to this overall objective are two other goals. First, education should provide technical and academic skills to enable individuals to survive in an Americanized system. Second, it should also provide a sense of their native identity that would bridge the gap between the Hawaiian and American realities for which young people are being prepared. The composite of these expectations is what will determine the means

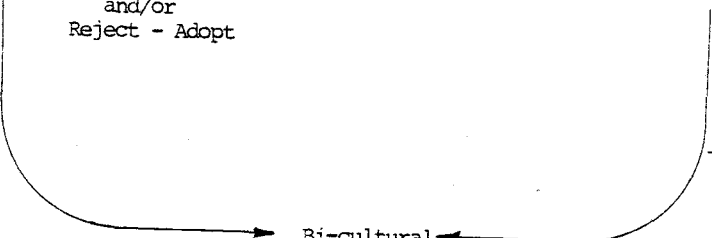
available to Native Hawaiians for participating in meaningful roles in both Hawaiian and American society. Access to skills and socialization functions of the schooling process must be counterbalanced to include programs designed to create the kind of person who is eventually going to determine and meet the imperatives of a culture in which he or she will participate in as a mature adult. In Table VIII, "Cultural Conflicts," the student's physical and mental self is viewed as a composite of Native and American identity. The need for positive "mental health" for Native American youth cannot be overemphasized. This need can be satisfied through a bi-cultural school model which will help unite Native American environments like Kuhi'o Village with American school cultures.

Despite the studies done by Gallimore and Howard (1968) and Howard (1974) which show that there are no inherent impediments in the Hawaiian-American learning style, the majority of educators in Hawaii continue to believe that such impediments do exist. As a result, the educational tragedy goes on; in the classroom a continuous battle is waged between teachers and students for control, with teachers attempting to resocialize students according to their own ideological precepts and the children resisting these attempts. In the end, it is the Hawaiian children who suffer the tragic consequences.



TABLE VIII

## CULTURAL CONFLICTS

Individual Values (Student)	Bi-Cultural School Model	Hawaiian Community	Cultural Conflicts Kuhi'o Village vs. American School Culture
Spiritual	Decision-making process	Ohana	vs. nuclear family struc- ture
Aesthetic	Manipulation of data	Oral tradition	vs. documentation
Emotional	Receiver variables	Minority rights	vs. majority rights
Intellectual	Message fluency	Native Hawaiian educational needs	vs. American educational needs
Persistence	Confidence value	Native identity	vs. Native stereotype
Evaluation	Adopt - Reject and/or Reject - Adopt	Individual choice	→ self actualization
			
Bi-cultural Person			

### Conclusion

Educational studies in Native American communities clearly show that Native American parents have high educational aspirations for their children. They want what other Americans want for their youth: the basic skills necessary for academic success. Unfortunately, what most Native American communities actually experience, as a result of the educational dilemmas described here, is illiteracy, a high dropout rate, and unemployment.

No doubt such general factors as class differences, racial discrimination, and economic immobility contribute to educational inequality. But an additional factor, often overlooked, is a fundamental inconsistency in the educational policy governing the relations between the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Native American communities. Based on the "democratic ideal," this policy stresses the importance of community input into the schools. Yet, in many instances, Hawaii's educators have dismissed suggestions from Native Hawaiians on instruction, curriculum, and scheduling. Whenever the input from the Native American community conflicts with the school's established priorities, school personnel are reluctant to consider it, feeling that it might threaten the power of the institution. In spite of numerous studies by anthropologists and educators which underscore the

interrelatedness of cultural values and academic success, school personnel continue to believe that it is their prerogative to determine how and what children should learn, without taking into consideration the cultural environment of communities like Kuhi'o Village.

Schools have the dual responsibility to perpetuate general "human values" as well as values specific to the different cultures within society. The American educational system has failed in this responsibility, particularly with respect to the values of Native Americans. Because they do not have an adequate understanding of the cognitive and behavioral patterns in Native American cultures, school personnel remain frustrated and confused in their dealings with Native American students; often they work on a "hit and miss" basis with regard to the needs of the students.

From the point of view of Native Americans, relations between the community and the school system can be improved in two fundamental ways. First, school personnel must come to understand and respect Native American communities as they are: a diverse group determined to perpetuate their culture and way of life. For this reason, it is also imperative that schools reexamine and reassess their position on Native Studies in the curriculum. Secondly, the hiring policies of the schools must also be reexamined since Native Americans view the limited number of Native

American educators as an example of the school's perpetuation of the status quo. These measures will not only improve the relations between the community and the school system, they will also improve the chances of academic success for Native American students.

#### IV. A BICULTURAL MODEL

##### FOR THE

##### WAIMEA PUBLIC SCHOOL

##### Introduction

Numerous statistical studies made by the Hawaii Department of Education (DOE) show that Native Hawaiian students are well below the national norm in both their reading and mathematical skills (Tables IX and X). In spite of these findings, the school system continues to resist any change in their policies or their methods, perpetuating the status quo and making little or no attempt to accommodate the psychological and cultural dynamics in the learning process of Native Hawaiians. Moreover, in a survey conducted by the author the school personnel at Waimea demonstrated little understanding of the educational needs of Hawaiians, at least as these are perceived by the residents of Kuhi'o Village.<sup>2</sup>

In this survey Kuhi'o residents identified the following educational needs:

- Hawaiians must be more involved in the educational system as teachers, counselors, and administrators.

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<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B.

TABLE IX

READING PERFORMANCE OF  
HAWAIIAN STUDENTS - FALL 1978

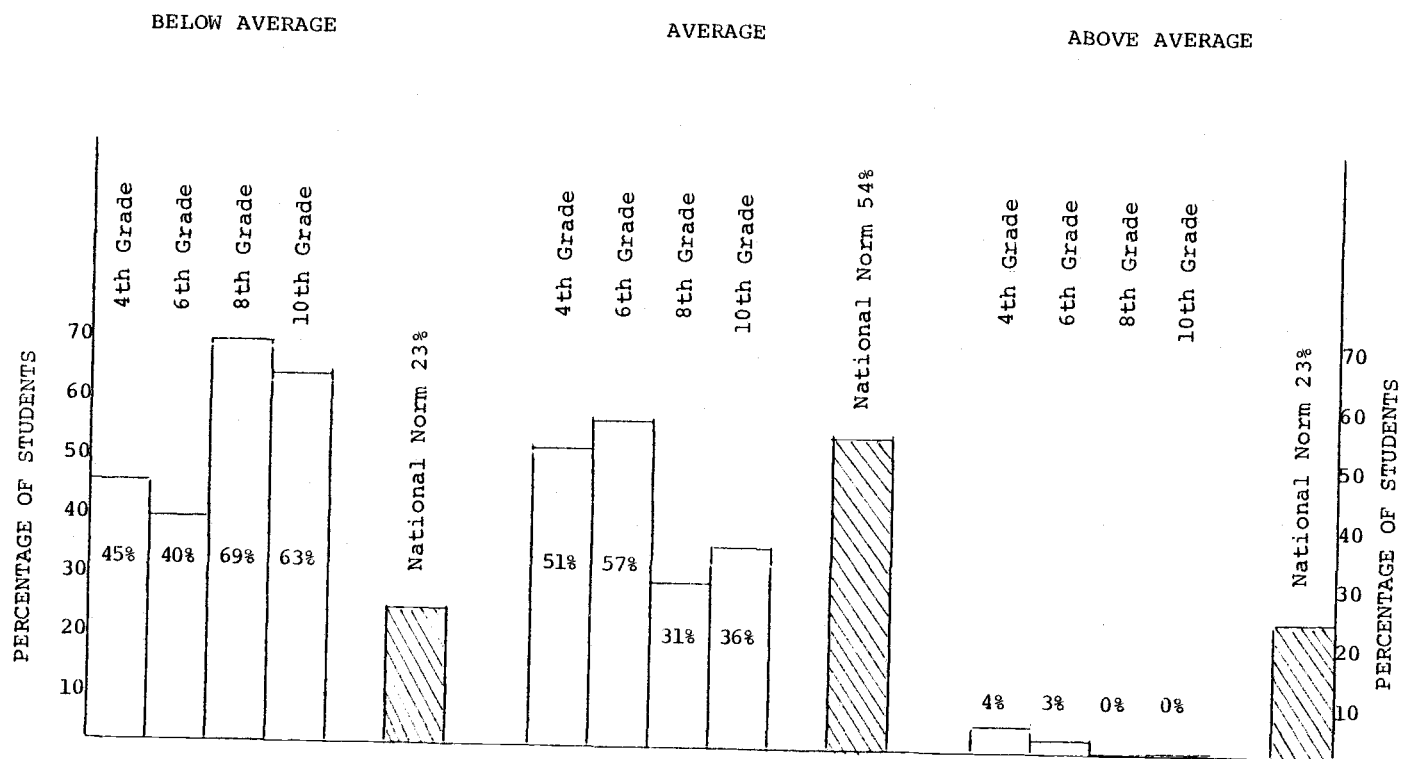
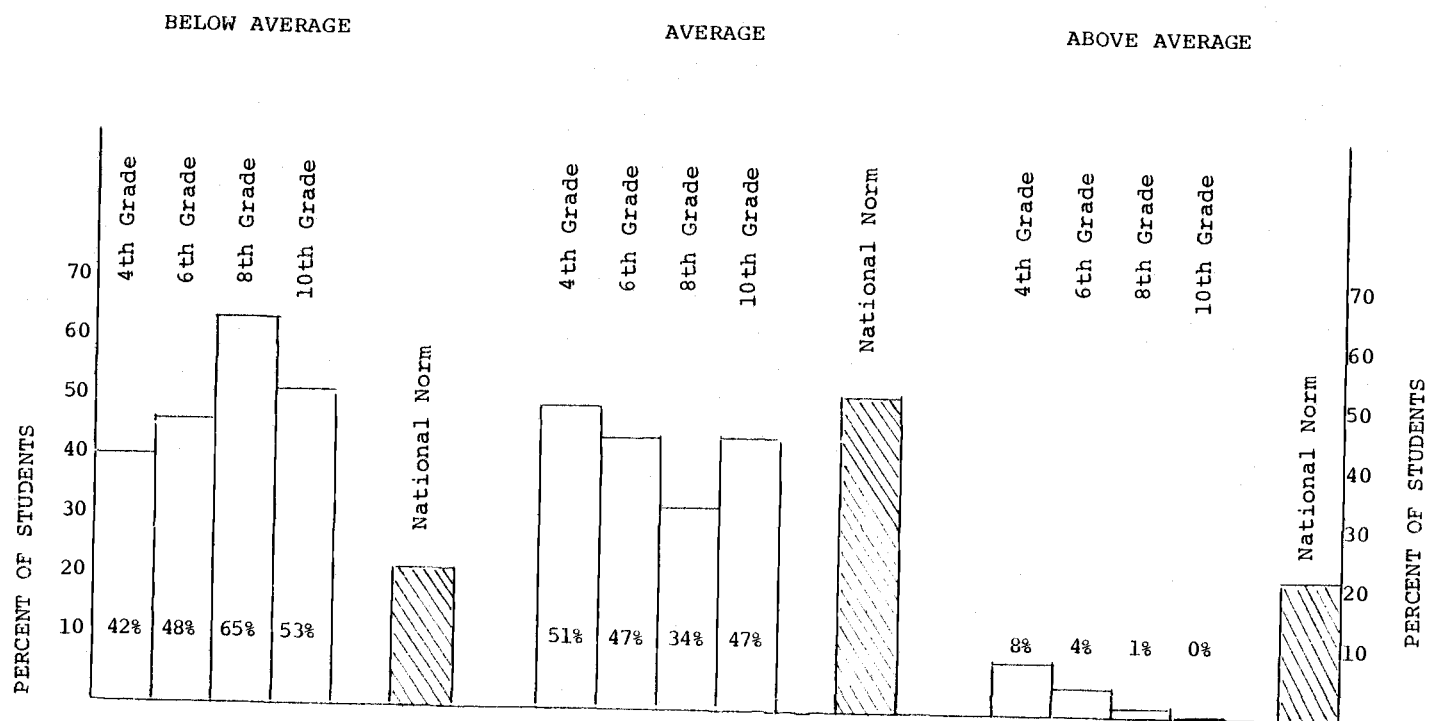


TABLE X

MATHEMATICS PERFORMANCE OF  
HAWAIIAN STUDENTS - FALL 1978



- Hawaiian students must be given increased flexibility in their choice of educational programs.
- More Hawaiian Studies courses must be taught to reestablish the importance of Hawaiian culture, arts, and crafts.
- Hawaiian students must be given more financial assistance for school and health expenses.
- Hawaiian students need more programs in special education.
- Hawaiian students need more programs for meaningful job training and employment skills.

Responses to the survey by homesteaders, panelists, and school personnel show almost the same pattern as in the survey cited earlier: By and large, homesteaders and panelists agreed on the educational needs of Hawaiians, while the responses of the homesteaders and school personnel varied greatly. Once again the results underscore the gap between the school and the community. In addition, the survey results raise the question as to whether the school personnel are really prepared to cope with the psychology of Native Hawaiian students and whether the program itself is not responsible for the academic failure of these students.

According to the survey, Kuhi'o residents regard the inclusion of Native cultural perspectives in the curriculum and Native personnel on the staff as the most pressing educational needs. They feel that the public school system



in Hawaii has become an acculturative agency and that its personnel are trained specifically to carry out this role. In particular, Kuhi'o residents find that the school personnel adhere too strictly to their roles as interpreters and propagators of American culture and that the teachers exert an inflexible influence over the students, forcing them to conform to an explicit set of cultural norms. But it is also important to note that the survey indicates that the residents of Kuhi'o Village are determined to change the acculturative role of the school system. They hope to bring this change about by incorporating Hawaiian values into the curriculum and by including Native Hawaiians in the personnel. It is their opinion that more Native Hawaiian participation is necessary at all levels of education in order to minimize cultural conflict and to promote positive self-identity for the academic success of their children.

### Intercultural Education

In many respects the public schools in Hawaii are much like those in other bicultural environments in America. In such environments the school system typically reflects the dominant American culture (Khleif, 1969), and the schools teach a select set of American attitudes and beliefs rather than a cross-section of them (Wolcott, 1967). To a large extent, then, the schools bear the responsibility for the dilemma in these bicultural environments because they have standardized the educational process and have resisted changes which would reflect the values of minority cultures. As John E. Walsh has pointed out in his book Intercultural Education and the Community of Man (1973:1), the primary concern of school systems has always been to perpetuate the value of its culture:

Education per se has been intracultural, and not intercultural. For centuries the central purpose of education was the distillation and the transmitting to the young, ideas and values which were considered necessary to perpetuate the culture itself. Each culture appeared to assume that its way of interpreting the world and the life of man within it was the best or right way, if not the only correct way.

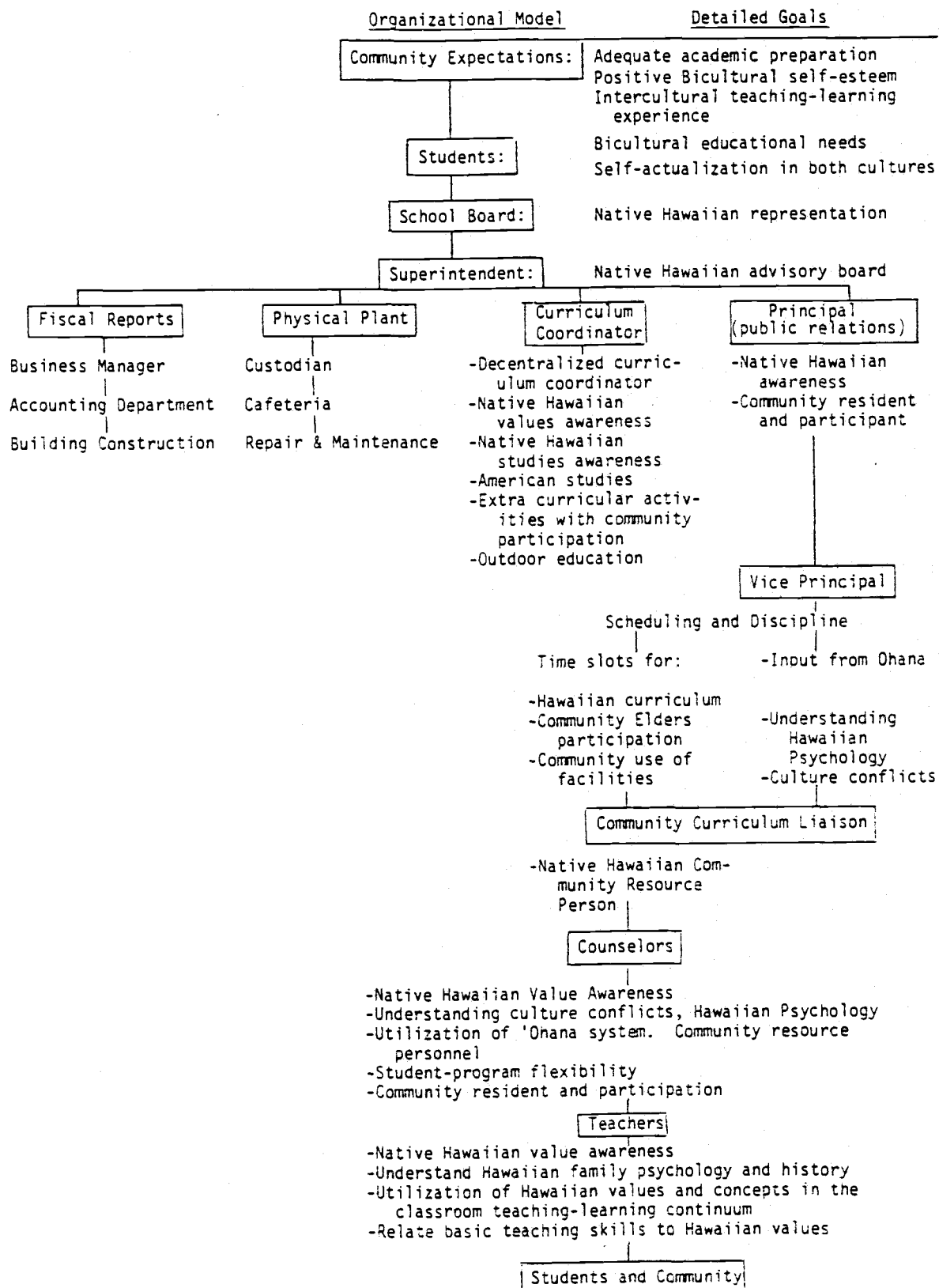
Educational programs advocating intercultural education for Native Americans are designed to restructure the school system so that it not only acknowledged the worth and validity of Native American values but

incorporates them into the curriculum. Such programs instill values and behavior needed for success in the dominant culture without degrading important aspects of the child's native culture. Moreover, as William C. Rhodes of the National Institute of Mental Health observes, the greater the gap is between the dominant and the native cultures, the greater the effort must be to bridge this gap:

If his (the child's) cultural background is very different from the dominant American culture, the bridges that have to be built need firmer supports in order to span the differences and thereby relate the dominant culture to 'his inner substance.'

School Model I, presented on the following page, makes an attempt to fuse Hawaiian educational needs with the already established educational practices in the Waimea school. The obligation a teacher has in this model to accept Native Hawaiian perspectives does not mean he or she should alter their own professional goals. It does mean that they should communicate them and broaden their understanding by relating them to symbols and processes of Native Hawaiian culture. It would be advantageous for teachers to be aware of social values that are operable within Hawaiian communities to avoid some of the initial frustrations of cultural conflicts when implementing educational programs. Values such as self-help, mutual assistance, cooperative living and

This description is an attempt to fuse Native Hawaiian educational needs as they apply to the established educational practices in Waimea School.



attitudes of friendliness and generosity are considered to be among the values that yield positives, both personal and social in a Hawaiian community.

People reared in different cultures learn to learn differently. Objective, intercultural teaching stresses the importance of organizing classroom procedures to accommodate cultural differences and to strengthen the students' self-concept, while simultaneously teaching them skills and competencies required for success in an American community. This approach is consistent with the view, generally accepted by cultural anthropologists, that a healthy culture will continue to flourish if it is allowed to develop strategies that will solve problems and to keep up with change. The recurring question asked by the Hawaiian parent is "who will determine these changes?" Governmental school agencies in Hawaii feel it is their responsibility, while the parents feel that they are capable of making a contribution in the determination of their youngsters' future. The Hawaiians have become skeptical of the American educational system, insisting that it is doing little to develop meaningful relationships in uniting the American school and Hawaiian homes.

A premise of intercultural (as opposed to monocultural) education is that all cultures are based on higher human laws. Once educators understand and accept this premise in other than abstract, generalized terms,

they will, hopefully, change their attitudes towards culturally diverse students and become more sensitive to the needs of Native Americans. If Native Americans are to become successful, they must learn the value of identifying themselves both with their culture and the American culture. This can be accomplished through student participation in what Julian Huxley (1948:41) refers to as a "unified background of thought."

In 1947, Huxley, then Director General of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defined "unified background of thought" as the composite of those essential philosophical elements or "higher" values which are inherent in all human cultures. Education based on these values would emphasize learning how to live and cooperate with people who have varying sets of value systems and, most importantly, how to understand, respect, and be considerate of them. Moreover, what will emerge from this community of thought will be the accepted idea that people of different cultures will always have different values. Huxley's view underscores the impracticality of one culture forcibly imposing its values on the people of other cultures. The intercultural model of education proposed here does not involve any new or unique pedagogical techniques. The value of identifying with another culture would be taught in the same manner used to teach students to make other kinds of

value judgments. Basic to programs in education and to the construction of value judgments regarding the cultures of human beings is the assumption that each culture will have something of value, some deposit of truth to present to the thinking of all people. All cultures can benefit from learning what other cultures have to contribute to the solving of problems fundamental to all human experience.

When implementing a successful intercultural curriculum, ideas must be heard and evaluated in terms of their depth of insight, without regard to the national or cultural background of the person presenting them. The concept of understanding culture implies a higher human synthesis of thought based on a willingness to exchange and modify new ideas. This process is open-ended. The goal of intercultural education is not to standardize people's thinking, but to make it possible for culturally diverse students to contribute what they can to increase the intellectual enlightenment of all. Writing of the social factors in intellectual development, Jean Piaget (1950:164) made the important point that:

It is precisely by a constant interchange of thought with others that we are able to decentralize ourselves. . . to coordinate internally relations deriving from different viewpoints. In particular, it is very difficult to see how concepts could conserve their permanent meanings and their definitions were it not for cooperation; the very reversibility of

thought is thus bound up with a collective conservation without which individual thought would have only an infinitely more restricted mobility at its disposal.

American schools have a cultural diversity that renders obsolete the monocultural educational approaches of the past. Intercultural education advocates cultural diversity in public schools, allowing students to experience the intellectual and spiritual perspectives of other cultures.



### Evaluating the Teaching Process

In the late 1960's the DOE recognized that many Native Hawaiian youngsters were handicapped not just educationally, but economically and socially as well. It undertook various efforts to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education, concentrating on problems related to the students of low-income minority groups. Supplemented by Federal appropriations, the DOE also implemented pilot projects for preschool education, hoping to consolidate the services of public and private agencies to improve the health, welfare, and economic status of low-income families. At the same time, the University of Hawaii expanded its curriculum to include teacher preparation courses that would help teachers cope with the educational problems of culturally diverse students. However, in spite of these efforts the situation has changed only slightly for Native Hawaiians, who are still high on high school dropout lists and low on college graduate directories.

Scores of studies on the educational inequality of Native Americans have appeared, showing that, despite Civil Rights activities and Title VI which prohibits discrimination, students from many Native American communities attend schools that have less well maintained facilities, less equipment, and older materials than

schools in other communities (Guthrie; Kleindofer; Levin; Stout, 1971). These educational inequalities can, of course, be attributed to the economic status of the community. But the economic status of the community also affects another, probably more important factor related to educational equality, namely, the hiring of teachers. Teachers tend to be attracted to areas closer to where they live or to communities with environments similar to those with which they are familiar. As a result, Hawaiian homestead communities are not high on the priority lists of teachers applying for jobs. Since what actually happens in the school setting with regard to both the teaching and counseling of students is such a vital factor in the quality of educational opportunity, it is reasonable to assume that there is a need for evaluating teacher behavior in the classroom. Yet it is precisely in this area where research has been woefully limited.

Prior to 1971, there were no studies that focused on the classroom teaching process (Brophy and Good, 1969). Since 1971, little progress has been made in assessing teaching (verbal or nonverbal) behavior with reference to the ethnic background of the student (to whom each behavior is directed). This could be due to the fact that assessing the teaching process involves more time and money than does evaluating school facilities, materials and qualifications of teachers. However, it is largely

due to society's general acceptance of the notion that the amount of training and experience a teacher has determines the quality of that teacher's abilities in the classroom. Ironically, educational research has not established any strong correlation between training and experience and teacher effectiveness. Consequently, in order to accurately assess the quality of educational opportunity afforded different groups of students, it is necessary to directly study the actual classroom instructional procedure.

At present, little is known about how to objectively assess the dynamics of the teaching process as it relates to culture conflict. But the growing awareness of the need for such an assessment has recently inspired the development of an instrument known as "The Interaction Analysis." This tool provides a systematic approach for analyzing and measuring the teaching process as a conceptualized series of actions and reactions between the instructor and student. Although the "Interaction Analysis" has been utilized to study the patterns of interaction between Blacks and Whites, Chicano and Anglos, not one study exists on the pupil and teacher interactions between Native and non-Native Hawaiians.

The outline presented on the following pages is similar to that presented in Jackson and Cosco (1974); it can be used as a guideline to assess teacher behavior as

a factor in affecting the quality of educational opportunity afforded to Native Hawaiians in public school classrooms.

I. Classroom, School, Teacher Characteristics as observed in classroom settings.

A. Classroom Characteristics

1. Identifying the learners as a group according to their developmental age, economic background, cultural, racial or ethnic characteristics.
  - a. Percentage of Native Hawaiians enrolled in the class as compared to other ethnic groups
  - b. Criteria used to seat students (as reported by a teacher)<sup>a</sup>
  - c. Seating priority index of Hawaiian Americans in the classroom (based on classroom observation)<sup>b</sup>
  - d. Seating priority index of other students in the classroom (based on classroom observation)
  - e. Subject matter of course and track level of class<sup>c</sup>

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<sup>a</sup>There are five basic criteria for seating arrangement: student choice, student choice with teacher modification (modification was for the purpose of correcting discipline problems), alphabetical order, homogenous "ability" grouping, and other methods of teacher choice.

<sup>b</sup>The seating priority index indicates how close, on the average, students of a given ethnic group were to the teacher's primary location for the period of interaction.

<sup>c</sup>Tracking is the practice of assigning students to classrooms so as to make class enrollments more homogenous with respect to some purported measure of the student's ability.

## B. School Characteristics

1. Percentage of Native Hawaiians enrolled in the school as compared to other ethnic groups
2. Difference in Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores between Native Hawaiians and other ethnic groups

## C. Teacher Characteristics

1. Extent of teacher's formal education
2. Teacher attendance at any inservice training sessions related to teaching Hawaiian Americans as reported by the teacher
3. Teacher's ethnicity

# II. Teacher/Student Interaction (associated with individual Hawaiian Americans and individual ethnic students)

## A. Teacher Behavior

1. Does the teacher accept students' feelings
2. Does the teacher praise or encourage students
3. Does the teacher accept or use students' ideas
4. Does the teacher question
5. Does the teacher criticize or justify authority
6. Does the teacher give positive feedback
7. Does the teacher do all the non-criticizing verbal interaction

## B. Student Behavior

1. Do students give responses
2. Do students initiate speaking
3. Do the students do most of the speaking in the class

In this analysis the major question is whether or not Native Hawaiians are given equal opportunity by the

instructor to be involved in each category of interactions.

A decade of research has investigated the relationship between the interactional pattern of behavior in the classroom and student achievement. Rosenshine (1971) has conducted the most comprehensive review of classroom interaction studies. He has found that, of all the interaction behaviors between students and teaching, certain forms of praise, the acceptance and use of student ideas, and the questioning of students were most strongly related to student achievement. Other studies, like Brophy and Good (1971), have confirmed that a correlation exists between student achievement and teacher-student interaction behavior.

The average school achievement of Native or part Hawaiians is substantially below the norms of the other ethnic groups (particularly Oriental and Haole) in Hawaii. While it is difficult to prove, it is reasonable to suggest that the academic performance of many Hawaiians is influenced by the teacher's behavior. Various studies support the contention of Kuhi'o residents that school personnel are in error when they place the blame for academic failure on the student alone; academic failure as well as academic success is rather the product of the interaction process in the classroom between student and teacher.

Native Hawaiian pupils in Waimea School may offer the teacher fewer than normal opportunities for praise, but the

need for more encouragement is evident. In addition, a teacher's interaction with a student should not be dependent on a pupil's academic achievement. Yet, teachers tend to interact more with the academic achievers in a class, and these tend not to be Native Hawaiians.

Perhaps if these behavioral interactions were looked at critically, the assessment of teachers' behavior in Hawaii classrooms would be more positive. "I get the feeling we are headed in the right direction."

### Conclusion and Recommendation

An adequate ethnographical account of the relationship between public school and Native American communities, must include a description of how colonial powers or dominant cultures have imposed politico-economic systems on Native peoples through the educational process.

Religion was invariably used as the key to indoctrinate Native leaders to become agents of the dominant culture. While the instruments of education and religion were used differently to impose the American system on different Native American societies, the results were similar--a radical alteration of the Native society and a degeneration of Native values.

As early as 1744, Canassatego, speaking in the behalf of six Iroquois nations, voiced concern and disapproval of the American college system in his reply to the Virginian Legislator's invitation to educate six Iroquois youths at William and Mary College. He declined, stating that the American educational system holds no regard for their Indian way of life. Two hundred thirty-six years later Native American leaders still hold this pessimistic evaluation of public education.

Native Americans and Americans have different expectations concerning their cultural and structural aspects of the educational process, each side processing



conflicting views. While the expectations of Native Hawaiians differ in some respects from those of other Native Americans, due primarily to the impact of missionaries in Hawaii, these differences are a matter of degree not of kind. The fundamental expectation of all Native Americans can be summed up in the legal phrase "equal rights and equal time" for their cultural concerns. "Equal time" does not refer to the teaching of specific technical or academic skill but it equates the learning experience to include the respect for Native American identity, analogous to Native civil rights. Such terms have political implications pertinent to the control of public school education. For Native Americans "assimilation" and "acculturation" are no longer acceptable educational goals. It is not surprising then that relations between Native American communities and schools have, at time, become hostile and abrasive.

School personnel must change their attitude toward the education of Native Americans. To Native Americans, phrases such as total American acculturation and assimilation are no longer valid in the schooling careers of their youngsters.

The position of schools in Native American communities has been imposed through governmental action. While their status as a legitimate institution for the education of children is generally accepted in American society, Native

Americans, like the residents of Kuhi'o Village, have begun to question their legitimacy. They agree that there is an urgent need for effective education; they do not agree, however, that the system as it is presently structured, give their youngsters a "positive" feeling of themselves in both their Native and American communities.

An intercultural program of education will help resolve the long-standing conflict between Native American communities and the public school system by addressing the needs of Native American students. Such a program implicitly accepts the validity of their way of thinking and feeling and incorporates these into the school curriculum. It avoids the negative stereotyping and the inequalities that are inherent features of a monocultural program. The goals of an intercultural program are to help Native students to recognize their own self-worth, to develop to their full potential, and to become academically successful so that they can compete on an equal basis with other American students when their education is completed. Within this philosophical framework the following recommendations are made.

The outline presented is intended to help the teacher link the affective with the cognitive domain so that the learners can develop their self-identity.

I. Identify the learners as a group as precisely as possible

- A. Developmental age.
- B. Economic (lower, middle or upper income) background.
- C. Geographic (rural or urban) setting.
- D. Cultural, racial, or ethnic characteristics of the student.

If a teacher finds more than one sociological grouping in the class, it is not necessary to develop more than one curriculum. However, curriculum objectives should accommodate the particular needs of the individual students involved.

II. Identify common concerns of students within the structure.

- A. Develop a positive self-concept by validating the experiences and feelings of students. In this way, teachers are telling students that they do have something valuable to contribute.
- B. Develop coping strategies so that students know where they fit in the scheme of things. Native American students must see themselves as living a bicultural existence. Teachers must have them express and define these kinds of experiences.
- C. Develop control over one's life. What can I do about my own life as a Native American?
  - 1. Intercultural language experience exercises.
  - 2. Intercultural problem solving techniques using Native Hawaiian concepts; for example, Hawaiian concepts (pg. 138-139).
    - a. Self-image: Aloha, 'Ohana, Kokua
    - b. Coping strategy: Ho'oponopono, Laulima
    - c. Control over one's life; ike,

Ho'oponopono, viable alternatives to problems, understanding deferred consequences.

3. Student behavioral outcomes.
  - a. Increased attention span
  - b. Increased interest in school work
  - c. Decrease in behavior problems within the classroom.

A student should be able to relate values to both Native and American communities.

1. Teacher outcome
  - a. Increased student-teacher interaction
  - b. Positive self-image
  - c. Increased community awareness.

### III. Organize Ideas

- A. Teachers must be able to organize lessons so as to move easily from one level of instructional comprehension to the next. Teachers must have objectives that encourage students to express themselves.

### IV. Develop Learning Skills, Reading and Problem Solving Techniques in Regard to Intercultural Curriculum.

- A. Basic educational skills: reading, writing, oral communication and computation.
  1. Building up sight-word vocabularies.
  2. Emphasis on process skills as a means to an outcome, not as an end in themselves. Critical thinking, rational process, problem solving, discussion procedures. These process skills are important for students to gain control of their lives.

### V. Evaluation.

Evaluation should be open-ended. The objectives of

## HAWAIIAN CONCEPTS

<u>Hawaiian Cultural Concept</u>	<u>Translation of Concept into American Cultural Context</u>	<u>Translation of Concept Used in Hawaiian Cultural Context</u>
1. Aloha	Love: regard with affection, greeting; i.e., Hi, Goodbye, Friendliness*	Denotes degrees of value to express a positive or negative attitude of the speaker towards an object, being, or feeling.
EXAMPLE:		
Aloha Aina	'Āina: Land Translation: Love for the land.	<u>Ai</u> : to eat <u>na</u> : plural - by, for, belonging  Translation: land or earth  Land is valued because it was given to man so he can survive here on earth.
2. 'Ohana	Family, kinsmen, domestic circle	<u>Oha</u> : is the main stalk of the taro plant, the corn of the plant is used to make the Hawaiian's main staple, poi; the leaves are used as a vegetable. <u>na</u> : plural - by, for, belonging The act of growing refers to the off-shoots of the oha that grow around the plant to give the plant stability and strength. The Hawaiian family structure is seen as extended as opposed to the American structure which is nuclear.
3. Kokua	To lend a helping hand Generosity*	Translation: Kua--back, burden, to lend help for the maintenance of the 'ohana and/or friends, to maintain inter-personal relations of Hawaiian communities.

<u>Hawaiian Cultural Concept</u>	<u>Translation of Concept into American Cultural Context</u>	<u>Translation of Concept Used in Hawaiian Cultural Context</u>
4. Ho'olaulima	Individuals contributing to the maintenance of the Hawaiian community Mutual assistance*	<u>Ho'olau</u> : to make numerous, to assemble <u>Lima</u> : hand  To make light the task through the contribution of many individuals to insure the maintenance of the Hawaiian community.
5. 'Ike	Individual recognition Self help*	<u>'Ike</u> : to recognize, understand, self-worth for Hawaiian individuals so as to attain and develop positive self-concepts similar to self-actualization (Maslow's self-actualization).
6. Ho'oponopono	Family and community resources are utilized to solve problems. Cooperative living*	<u>Ho'o</u> : act of making <u>pono</u> : right  Act of making right through mental cleansing; the old Hawaiian method of clearing the mind of a sick person and/or family problems by family discussion, examination and prayer. Problem solving techniques used by Hawaiians to set things right between family members and/or within the Hawaiian communities.

\* Values are noted earlier in the previous page.

intercultural instructional units are to help students link cognitive and affective domains of learning.

COGNITIVE DOMAIN

1. Are students learning the facts, terms and principles of various Hawaiian concepts.
2. Are students able to under the translations, interpretations and extrapolations of Hawaiian and American cultural concepts?
3. Are students able to relate Hawaiian cultural values to the American community?
4. Are students able to apply their understanding of American cultural patterns to their own Hawaiian community?
5. Are students successful in using intercultural values to solve contemporary problems?

AFFECTIVE DOMAIN

1. Students will experience working with concepts that are meaningful to their cultural setting.
2. Students will experience working with concepts that are operable in both a Hawaiian and American cultural setting.
3. Students will be able to conceptualize and organize values as to determine the "degrees" of meaningfulness to their own cultural existence as a Hawaiian-American.
4. Students will be able to determine the validity of American cultural concepts in relation to their lives.
5. Students will be able to relate cultural concepts to the understanding of their existence as part of an "interrelated-cultural whole."

Evaluation of Program Goals

1. Is the meaning of Native Hawaiian values and educational needs defined clearly and concisely?
  - a. Is its meaning clear to school personnel and the general public?
  - b. Are the values and goals set forth applicable to the school and community involved?
  - c. Is it compatible to the intercultural model?
  - d. Is it consistent to the established educational goal of the public school system?
2. The intercultural goals of the program are expressed as a viable learning experience.
  - a. Can one identify what the student will learn, how they will be taught, and how they can use their knowledge?
  - b. Are the perimeters of the learning-teaching experience limited?
3. Can the students behavioral outcome be evaluated by the school, community and the student upon the attainment of the goals?
  - a. Are these goals relevant to culturally diverse students?
  - b. Are these goals relevant in the opinion of the Native Hawaiian community and the



Hawaii-American public school system?

4. Are the goals pertinent to the life of Native Hawaiians in becoming bicultural?
5. Does the total program provide a comprehensive description of all facets of the program objectives?

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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A

Instrument, Set I

## TRADITIONAL HAWAIIAN VALUES

## Consensus Assessment

Please rate each of the following statements according to the degree of importance in the Hawaiian community, using the following scale for your rating:

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5 - Very Important               | 2 - Not Important        |
| 4 - Important                    | 1 - Not Important at all |
| 3 - May be Important; May not be |                          |

TRADITIONAL VALUES

- |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. The Hawaiian Ohana System still functions in all Hawaiian communities.                                    | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. Hawaiians use ho'oponopono as a way to solve problems.  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. Is the respect for elders still functioning in all Hawaiian communities?                                  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. Hawaiians value human relationships above all other values.   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5. Hawaiians are willing to lessen personal gain in order to increase relationships with family and friends. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 6. Hawaiians do not feel that a better job is worth more than their family.                                  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |



7.	The Hawaiian hanai system still functions in all Hawaiian communities.	5	4	3	2	1
8.	Children are considered to be important to Hawaiian families.	5	4	3	2	1
9.	Hawaiian mothers are important in educational goals of children.	5	4	3	2	1
10.	Hawaiian families in general, favor infants.	5	4	3	2	1
11.	Hawaiian families in general feel it is important that children should be respectful and obedient toward their elders.	5	4	3	2	1
12.	The Hawaiian ideal of life places the family as the most important group in the life of an individual; it is the group one works for and cares about.	5	4	3	2	1
13.	Hawaiian young people assume that just as they live their childhood in a family setting, their adult years will be spent as married with children.	5	4	3	2	1
14.	Hawaiian parents, a scolding is a one-way criticism or demand, not the start of a conversation or argument.	5	4	3	2	1
15.	Hawaiian parents are hesitant to praise children. They (children) should do what is necessary in a spirit of helpfulness rather than recognition.	5	4	3	2	1
16.	Hawaiian students will not work to a higher grade status if they have to leave their friends.	5	4	3	2	1
17.	Hawaiian students are responsive to non-verbal gestures as significant of praise or disapproval.	5	4	3	2	1
18.	Hawaiian children do not negotiate with elders.	5	4	3	2	1

- |     |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 19. | Hawaiian parents want their children to regard work in the home as everyone's responsibility and not "just the parents."                | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 20. | Among Hawaiian youngsters, many of the verbal techniques used in classrooms are effective, only if it is directed at them individually. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

## APPENDIX B

## NATIVE HAWAIIAN CONSENSUS ASSESSMENT

## ON EDUCATION

Please rate each of the following needs statements, according to the degree of importance of each in the Hawaii Public Schools. Use the following scale for your rating:

- |                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 5 - Very Important               | 2 - Not Important        |
| 4 - Important                    | 1 - Not Important at all |
| 3 - May be Important, May not be |                          |

CONSENSUS ASSESSMENT

- |   |   |   |   |   |   |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Hawaiian students need Hawaiian people to serve as advocates for them in the schools.  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 2. Hawaiian teacher aides are needed in the regular classrooms, in schools in which Hawaiian children are enrolled.                 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 3. Hawaiian parents need to have Hawaiian people keeping them informed of their children's progress and/or problems in the schools. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 4. Hawaiian students need to have a choice in the kind of educational programs they will become involved in.                        | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 5. Hawaiian counselors working with Hawaiian students are needed in the schools.  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

6.	Hawaiian parents need to learn about the educational programs specially designed for Hawaiian students in the schools.	5	4	3	2	1
7.	Hawaiian parents need to learn about the educational programs in the schools.	5	4	3	2	1
8.	Hawaiian students are in need of after-school recreational activities coordinated by Hawaiian people.	5	4	3	2	1
9.	Hawaiian people need to organize educational programs for Hawaiian students who have been pushed/dropped out of school.	5	4	3	2	1
10.	Tutorial, remedial assistance is needed by some Hawaiian children.	5	4	3	2	1
11.	Out-of-school cultural activities are needed by Hawaiian students.	5	4	3	2	1
12.	Hawaiian students need to have the opportunity to learn to speak their Native language.	5	4	3	2	1
13.	Programs are needed to support those Hawaiian children who are specially talented (art, music, writing, etc.).	5	4	3	2	1
14.	A newsletter is needed by the Hawaiian community and others interested in order to find out what is going on in the field of Hawaiian education in the public schools.	5	4	3	2	1
15.	Hawaiian students need to become involved in volunteer projects in the Hawaiian community.	5	4	3	2	1
16.	Hawaiian families need to have Hawaiian people in the schools available to them to help them with school-related problems.	5	4	3	2	1

- |     |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 17. | Schools need to have Hawaiian people working with them who are accessible to Hawaiian students for talking over student problems.                                  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 18. | Instructional programs are needed in the schools in order to teach Hawaiian students traditional Hawaiian arts and crafts skills.                                  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 19. | Instructional programs are needed in the schools in order to teach Hawaiian students background information about traditional Hawaiian arts and crafts activities. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 20. | Hawaiian students need to have financial assistance available to them for health expenses, such as glasses, dental work, etc.                                      | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 21. | Hawaiian people need to work with school personnel in order to develop Hawaiian cultural activities for regular class-room use.                                    | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 22. | Hawaiian students need to have financial assistance available to them for driver's education courses.  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 23. | Hawaiian students need to learn about contemporary Hawaiian issues and problems.   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 24. | Hawaiian people need to be kept notified about school programs and activities by Hawaiian people.  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 25. | Summer <u>school</u> activities are needed <u>by</u> Hawaiian students.  | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 26. | Hawaiian students need to be able to help develop their educational programs which can meet their own needs.   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |

27.	Hawaiian students need to work with Hawaiian people in order to define their own goals in school.	5	4	3	2	1
28.	Hawaiian people need to work with Hawaiian students and their families in order to solve absentee problems.	5	4	3	2	1
29.	Hawaiian people need to work with the public schools in order to plan programs for improving the educational opportunities for the Hawaiian students.	5	4	3	2	1
30.	There is a need for Hawaiian students to give tutorial assistance to other Hawaiian students.	5	4	3	2	1
31.	Hawaiian students need to have Hawaiian books, films, records, tapes, etc., available to them in the schools.	5	4	3	2	1
32.	Courses in traditional Hawaiian values, culture, and history need to be available to the Hawaiian students in the schools.	5	4	3	2	1
33.	Summer cultural/recreational programs need to be available to Hawaiian students.	5	4	3	2	1
34.	The opportunity for Hawaiian students to attend all-Hawaiian alternative schools within the public schools is needed.	5	4	3	2	1
35.	Information about college programs, scholarships, etc., is needed by the Hawaiian students.	5	4	3	2	1
36.	There is a need to have Hawaiian elders come into the school classrooms to teach about Hawaiian culture and history.	5	4	3	2	1

37.	Opportunities for Hawaiian students to be in above average classes are needed in the public schools (accelerated programs).	5	4	3	2	1
38.	Information needs to be provided to the Hawaiian students in the schools about health services available to the students and their families.	5	4	3	2	1
39.	Hawaiian students need assistance for school expenses such as athletic fees, graduation fees, clothing expenses, etc.	5	4	3	2	1
40.	Information is needed by Hawaiian students to learn about job training/employment, etc.	5	4	3	2	1
41.	Programs are needed by Hawaiian students to learn about drug and alcohol abuse.	5	4	3	2	1
42.	Hawaiian students need to have counseling available on drug and alcohol problems which would be provided by Hawaiian people.	5	4	3	2	1
43.	There is a need for programs which meet the needs of Hawaiian students who have special education problems.	5	4	3	2	1
44.	Standards for evaluating Hawaiian educational materials need to be provided in the public schools.	5	4	3	2	1
45.	More programs are needed in order to insure students learn their basic skills (the three "R's").	5	4	3	2	1

- |     |  |   |   |   |   |   |
|-----|--|---|---|---|---|---|
| 46. | There is a need to create positive attitudes toward the heritage of Hawaiian students, on the part of non-Hawaiian school personnel. | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |
| 47. | There is a need to provide Native American cultural instruction in <u>all</u> Hawaii public schools.                                 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 |



## APPENDIX C

## GENERAL CONSENSUS

General Information

	<u>Kupuna Ekahi</u> <u>(10 Persons)</u>	<u>Kupuna</u> <u>(10 Persons)</u>
1. How much Hawaiian do you have?		
Part Hawaiian	9	9
Full Hawaiian	1	1
2. Were both your parents Hawaiian?		
Yes	1	1
No	9	9
3. Were both your parents Native Hawaiian speakers?		
Yes	1	1
No	9	9
4. Whichever parent spoke Hawaiian, did they speak Hawaiian to you?		
Yes	9	10
No	1	0
4a. Can you understand, read, write and speak Hawaiian?		
Understand	10	0
Read	9	0
Write	9	0
Speak	9	0
5. How many years have you lived in Kohala?		
Life	8	7
Over twenty years	2	3

Educational Experiences

	<u>Kupuna Ekahi</u> <u>(10 Persons)</u>	<u>Kupuna</u> <u>(10 Persons)</u>
6. Did you go to a private or public school?		
Private	2	2
Public	8	8
6a. How many years of school did you complete?		
1-6 years	6	2
6-12 years	3	6
12 years and over	1	2
7. Did you have any Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian instructors?		
Yes	4	8
No	6	2
7a. How many?		
1-2	4	8
2-5	0	0
5 or more	0	0
8. Did you have any kind of Hawaiian instruction in school?		
Language	0	0
History	0	1
Arts and Crafts	0	0
Music	1	2
Dances	0	0
Stories and Legends	0	0
Religion	0	0
Agriculture	0	0
8a. Was all classroom curriculum directed towards American culture and values?		
Language	10	10
History	10	9
Arts and Crafts	10	10
Music	10	8
Dances	10	10
Stories and Legends	10	10
Religion	10	10
Agriculture	10	10

	<u>Kupuna Ekahi</u> <u>(10 Persons)</u>	<u>Kupuna</u> <u>(10 Persons)</u>
9. Did you receive any information on Hawaiian culture in your home?		
Language	10	10
History	0	0
Arts and Crafts	10	10
Music	10	10
Dances	2	2
Stories and Legends	10	10
Religion	0	0
Agriculture	10	8
10. Did you feel discriminated against in school because you were Hawaiian?		
Yes	0	1
No	10	9
10a. Were teacher attitudes positive or negative toward you?		
Positive	10	9
Negative	0	1
10b. Were classmate attitudes positive or negative toward you?		
Positive	10	10
Negative	0	0
11. How many Hawaiian students were in your classes?		
50% and more	9	2
50% and less	1	8

Future Goals

	<u>Kupuna Ekahi</u> <u>(10 Persons)</u>	<u>Kupuna</u> <u>(10 Persons)</u>
12. How much education do you think young people need today?		
High school	10	10
Post High School	10	10
As much as they can get	10	10
13. Do you think Hawaiian studies should be taught in schools?		
Yes	10	10
No	0	0

## APPENDIX D

The following is the interpretation of the SAS code used:

Statistical Code:

Standard Deviation: S.D.

Degree of Freedom: D.F.

Frequency: F

Probability greater than Frequency: PR>F

Values Code:

Faculty (Waimea Elementary and Intermediate School)  
including administrative staff: F

Hawaiian Homesteader, Waimea: H

Panel: P

Hawaiian Students: S

Levels Code:

Very Important: 5

Important: 4

May be Important; May not be: 3

Not Important: 2

Not Important at all: 1

## APPENDIX D

Traditional Hawaiian Values Consensus Assessment

		F (21)	H (75)	P (6)	S (84)	DF	F Value	PR	F
1.	The Hawaiian Ohana System still functions in all Hawaiian communities.	Mean: 3.04 S.D.: 0.49	4.26 0.79	4.00 0.80	3.76 0.89	4	12.18	0.0001	
2.	Hawaiians use ho'oponopono as a way to solve problems.	Mean: 2.90 S.D.: 0.83	3.81	3.16	3.15	4	11.76	0.0001	
3.	Is the respect for elders still functioning in all Hawaiian communities?	Mean: 3.09 S.D.: 0.94	4.21 0.96	3.33 0.81	3.90 1.02	4	5.81	0.0002	
4.	Hawaiians value human relationships above all other values.	Mean: 3.19 S.D.: 0.68	4.08 0.78	4.33 0.81	3.69 0.83	4	7.49	0.0001	
5.	Hawaiians are willing to lessen personal gain in order to increase relationships with family and friends.	Mean: 3.14 S.D.: 0.85	3.73 0.87	4.33 0.51	3.66 0.73	4	3.42	0.0099	
6.	Hawaiians do not feel that a better job is worth more than their family.	Mean: 3.14 S.D.: 0.79	3.74 0.93	3.50 0.54	3.51 1.29	4	2.05	0.0889	
7.	The Hawaiian hanai system still functions in all Hawaiian communities.	Mean: 2.95 S.D.: 0.97	3.81 1.03	4.16 1.16	3.31 0.71	4	6.03	0.0001	
8.	Children are considered to be important to Hawaiian families.	Mean: 3.76 S.D.: 0.76	4.52 0.64	4.50 0.83	4.26 0.82	4	6.56	0.0001	

9.	Hawaiian mothers are important in educational goals of children.	Mean: 3.23 S.D.: 0.99	4.44 0.77	3.50 1.04	3.87 0.88	4	11.14	0.0001
10.	Hawaiian families in general favor infants.	Mean: 3.57 S.D.: 0.81	3.85 1.04	4.50 0.54	3.37 1.02	4	3.45	0.0094
11.	Hawaiian families in general feel it is important that children should be respectful and obedient toward their elders.	Mean: 3.14 S.D.: 1.15	4.66 0.57	4.33 0.81	4.55 0.60	4	23.03	0.0001
12.	The Hawaiian ideal of life places the family as the most important group in the life of an individual; it is the group one works for and cares about.	Mean: 3.14 S.D.: 0.85	4.36 0.76	4.50 0.54	3.98 0.91	4	9.69	0.0001
13.	Hawaiian young people assume that just as they live their childhood in a family setting, their adult years will be spent as married with children.	Mean: 3.42 S.D.: 0.97	3.79 0.97	4.16 0.98	3.39 0.85	4	2.63	0.0356
14.	Hawaiian parents, a scolding is a one-way criticism or demand, not the start of a conversation or argument.	Mean: 3.66 S.D.: 0.79	3.70 1.00	4.66 0.51	3.25 0.90	4	4.58	0.0015
15.	Hawaiian parents are hesitant to praise children. They (children) should do what is necessary in a spirit of helpfulness rather than recognition.	Mean: 3.23 S.D.: 0.88	3.86 0.96	4.00 0	3.68 1.01	4	2.78	0.0281
16.	Hawaiian students will not work to a higher grade status if they have to leave their friends.	Mean: 3.76 S.D.: 0.99	3.27 1.16	4.00 1.09	2.83 1.14	4	4.31	0.0023

17.	Hawaiian students are responsive to non-verbal gestures as significant of praise or disapproval.	Mean: 3.66 S.D.: 0.96	3.60 0.99	4.33 0.51	3.19 0.72	4	4.44	0.0019
18.	Hawaiian children do not negotiate with elders.	Mean: 3.47 S.D.: 0.60	3.70 1.04	3.83 0.75	3.04 0.93	4	4.88	0.0009
19.	Hawaiian parents want their children to regard work in the home as everyone's responsibility and not "just the parents'."	Mean: 3.42 S.D.: 0.87	4.44 0.82	4.83 0.40	3.80 1.01	4	8.27	0.0001
20.	Among Hawaiian youngsters, many of the verbal techniques used in classrooms are effective only if it is directed at them individually.	Mean: 3.71 S.D.:	3.95	2.83	3.45	4	3.40	0.102



GEORGE R. ARIYOSHI  
GOVERNOR



CHARLES G. CLARK  
SUPERINTENDENT

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OFFICE OF PERSONNEL SERVICES

December 19, 1979

COPY

APPENDIX E

Certificated Personnel of Ethnic Category and Sex is sent for your information and use. The ethnic category coding is as follows:

B - Black	P - Part Hawaiian
C - Chinese	R - Puerto Rican
F - Filipino	S - Samoan
H - Hawaiian	W - White
J - Japanese	M - Mixed
K - Korean	O - Others

AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

SUMMARY-CERTIFICATED PERSONNEL BY ETHNIC CATEGORY AND SEX  
STATEWIDE TOTALS

	SR/WB Range	Total Empl	Total By Sex		Total By Ethnic Category				Total By Ethnic Category				Total By Ethnic Category			
			M	F	B	C	F	H	J	K	P	R	S	W	M	O
Principal	E03-E08	226	177	49	0	12	7	0	125	5	9	1	0	17	1	0
					0	7	1	0	23	2	11	0	0	5	0	0
Vice-Principal	E01-E04	112	79	33	0	9	3	0	49	0	10	0	0	8	0	0
					0	5	2	0	17	2	2	0	0	3	2	0
Comm Sch Principal	E03-E08	5	9	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Comm Sch Vice-Principal	E01-E02	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
School Librarian	T03-T09	244	13	231	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	6	0	0
					1	24	3	1	139	3	10	0	0	44	5	1
Counselor	T03-T09	359	204	155	2	11	6	1	116	4	20	0	0	30	13	1
					0	22	2	0	80	2	14	0	0	32	3	0
Registrar	T03-T09	33	13	20	0	1	0	0	10	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
					0	3	0	0	13	0	1	0	0	3	0	0
Farm Foreman	T03-T09	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
ROTC Instructor	R*	9	9	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	4	0	0	2	0	0
					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
District Superintendent	E04-E00*	7	5	2	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
					0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Deputy District Supt	E04-E00*	7	6	1	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
					0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

District Educ Officer	E04-E00*	75	43	32	0	1	1	0	37	0	0	0	0	3	1	0
					0	4	1	0	17	1	2	0	0	6	1	0
District Office Teacher	E04-E00*	175	37	138	0	2	2	0	19	0	2	0	0	10	2	0
					0	16	1	0	80	0	9	0	0	30	2	0
Psychological Examiner	T03-T09	20	5	15	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	0
					0	1	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	9	0	0
Pre-School Teacher	T03-T09	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
					0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
Elementary Teacher	T03-T09	4,088	239	3,849	1	19	6	1	142	2	19	0	0	41	7	1
					7	344	85	6	2,593	38	225	2	1	442	101	5
Elem/Sec Teacher	T03-T09	18	13	5	0	1	0	0	10	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
					0	0	0	0	3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
Secondary Teacher	T03-T09	3,331	1,465	1,866	6	95	46	10	747	22	124	0	5	321	79	10
					10	166	58	4	1,038	26	124	2	3	348	77	10
Post-High School Teacher	T03-T09	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Special School Teacher	T03-T09	80	16	64	0	1	0	0	7	1	1	0	0	6	0	0
					0	8	0	1	30	2	2	0	0	19	1	1
Deputy Superintendent	EC4-E00*	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
					0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Adm Asst to the Supt	E04-E00*	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assistant Superintendent	E04-E00*	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
					0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
State Program Director	E04-E00*	19	13	6	0	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
					0	0	0	0	4	0	1	0	0	1	0	0

State Educ Officer III	E04-E00*	34	25		0	2	0	0	19	1	0	0	0	3	0	0
				9	0	2	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
State Educ Officer II	E04-E00*	108	68		0	10	1	0	40	1	1	0	0	9	5	1
				40	0	4	3	0	18	2	5	0	0	7	1	0
State Educ Officer I	E04-E00*	3	1		0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
				2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
State Office Teacher	E04-E00*	14	4		0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	0
				10	0	1	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
Sabbatical Leave		44	7		0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	1	0
				37	0	2	2	0	20	0	2	0	0	9	2	0
Special Educ Teacher	T03-T09	712	158		1	6	6	2	74	3	8	0	1	52	5	0
				554	2	33	22	2	298	5	37	0	0	131	17	7
Totals		9,749	2,621		10	170	82	15	1,447	41	201	1	6	520	115	13
				7,128	20	643	180	14	4,397	84	449	4	4	1,096	213	24
Percentage		100.0	26.9		0.1	1.7	0.8	0.2	14.8	0.4	2.1	0.0	0.1	5.3	1.2	0.1
				73.1	0.2	6.6	6.6	0.1	45.1	0.9	4.6	0.0	0.0	11.2	2.2	0.3

## APPENDIX F

## NATIVE HAWAIIAN EDUCATION NEEDS

## CONSENSUS ASSESSMENT

Levels

- 5 - Very Important
- 4 - Important
- 3 - May be Important, May not be
- 2 - Not Important
- 1 - Not Important at all

Values

- F - Faculty (Waimea Elementary and Intermediate School)
- H - Hawaiian Homesteaders (Waimea)
- N - Non-Hawaiian Homesteaders (North Kohala)
- P - Panel
- S - Hawaiian students, 8th and 9th graders, attending Waimea Intermediate School
- M - Mean
- SD - Standard Deviation
- DF - Degree of Freedom
- F - Frequency
- P F - Probability greater than Frequency

Class

Group

# NATIVE HAWAIIAN EDUCATION NEEDS CONSENSUS ASSESSMENT

		F(21)	H(74)	N(22)	P(6)	S(83)	D.F.	F.Value	PR	F
1.	Hawaiian students need Hawaiian people to serve as advocates for them in the schools.	Mean: 2.66 S.D.: 1.06	4.09 1.02	3.45 1.05	3.33 1.36	2.96 1.24	4	12.21	0.0001	
2.	Hawaiian students need to have a choice in the kind of educational programs they will become involved in.	Mean: 2.66 S.D.: 1.06	4.32 0.95	3.72 1.12	4.33 0.51	3.67 1.11	4	11.54	0.0001	
3.	Hawaiian counselors working with Hawaiian students are needed in the schools.	Mean: 2.66 S.D.: 1.42	4.22 0.98	3.54 1.05	4.33 0.81	2.91 1.11	4	18.01	0.0001	
4.	Hawaiian parents need to learn about the educational programs specially designed for Hawaiian students in the schools.	Mean: 3.90 S.D.: 1.09	4.43 0.77	3.86 1.20	4.33 0.51	3.48 1.09	4	9.22	0.0001	
5.	Hawaiian parents need to learn about the educational programs in the schools.	Mean: 4.76 S.D.: 0.43	4.35 0.81	3.63 0.95	4.66 0.51	3.55 1.05	4	13.33	0.0001	
6.	Hawaiian students are in need of after-school recreational activities coordinated by Hawaiian people.	Mean: 2.66 S.D.: 1.19	4.04 1.12	3.86 1.12	4.00 2.44	3.28 1.26	4	7.00	0.0001	
7.	Hawaiian people need to organize educational programs for Hawaiian students who have been pushed/dropped out of school.	Mean: 3.28 S.D.: 1.55	4.45 0.81	4.18 0.73	4.33 0.51	3.81 1.08	4	7.32	0.0001	

		F(21)	H(74)	N(22)	P(6)	S(83)	D.F.	F.Value	PR	F
8.	Out-of-school cultural activities are needed by Hawaiian students.	Mean: 3.95 S.D.: 0.80	4.31 0.77	4.36 0.84	4.16 0.40	3.71 1.01	4	5.41	0.0004	
9.	Programs are needed to support those Hawaiian children who are especially talented (art, music, writing, etc.)	Mean: 4.04 S.D.: 1.02	4.59 0.68	4.50 0.85	4.66 0.51	3.97 1.081	4	5.83	0.0004	
10.	A newsletter is needed by the Hawaiian community and others interested in order to find out what is going on in the field of Hawaiian education in the public schools.	Mean: 3.42 S.D.: 1.02	4.29 0.90	3.72 0.88	4.00 1.09	3.43 0.99	4	8.95	0.0001	
11.	Hawaiian families need to have Hawaiian people in the schools available to them to help them with school-related problems.	Mean: 2.71 S.D.: 1.14	4.13 1.06	3.72 0.93	4.16 0.98	3.07 1.07	4	13.62	0.0001	
12.	Schools need to have Hawaiian people working with them who are accessible to Hawaiian students for talking over student problems.	Mean: 3.04 S.D.: 1.24	4.18 0.96	4.00 0.81	4.33 0.81	3.26 0.71	4	11.18	0.0001	
13.	Instructional programs are needed in the schools in order to teach Hawaiian students traditional Hawaiian arts and crafts skills.	Mean: 3.57 S.D.: 1.20	4.43 0.77	4.04 0.95	4.00 0.89	3.79 1.05	4	5.62	0.003	

		F(21)	H(74)	N(22)	P(6)	S(83)	D.F.	F.Value	PR	F
14.	Instructional programs are needed in the schools in order to teach Hawaiian students background information about traditional Hawaiian arts and crafts activities.	Mean: 3.76 S.D.: 0.94	4.40 0.79	4.13 0.99	4.00 0.89	3.81 1.13	4	4.04	0.0036	
15.	Hawaiian students need to have financial assistance available to them for health expenses, such as glasses, dental work, etc.	Mean: 2.85 S.D.: 1.10	4.00 1.15	3.68 1.08	4.50 0.83	3.39 1.15	4	6.12	0.0001	
16.	Hawaiian people need to work with school personnel in order to develop Hawaiian cultural activities for regular classroom use.	Mean: 3.19 S.D.: 1.16	4.17 0.88	3.90 1.10	4.33 0.81	3.42 0.91	4	8.74	0.0001	
17.	Hawaiian students need to have financial assistance available to them for driver's education courses.	Mean: 4.09 S.D.: 0.700	4.22 0.86	3.68 1.17	4.83 0.40	3.46 0.97	4	8.78	0.0001	
18.	Hawaiian students need to learn about contemporary Hawaiian issues and problems.	Mean: 3.19 S.D.: 0.98	4.16 0.87	4.18 0.79	3.83 1.60	3.93 1.04	4	8.83	0.0001	
19.	Hawaiian people need to be kept notified about school programs and activities by Hawaiian people.	Mean: 3.71 S.D.: 0.95	4.16 0.97	4.09 0.81	4.16 0.98	3.48 1.13	4	4.91	0.0009	



		F(21)	H(74)	N(22)	P(6)	S(83)	D.F.	F.Value	PR	F
20.	Summer school activities are needed by Hawaiian students.	Mean: 3.00 S.D.: 1.09	4.20 0.92	4.31 0.83	4.50 0.54	3.69 0.94	4	9.48	0.0001	
21.	Hawaiian students need to be able to help develop their educational programs which can meet their own needs.	Mean: 3.47 S.D.: 0.98	4.27 0.81	3.77 1.15	4.66 0.51	3.40 1.04	4	9.60	0.0001	
22.	Hawaiian people need to work with the public schools in order to plan programs for improving the educational opportunities for the Hawaiian students.	Mean: 3.42 S.D.: 0.97	4.32 0.92	4.22 0.86	4.16 1.16	3.42 1.25	4	8.51	0.0001	
23.	Hawaiian students need to have Hawaiian books, films, records, tapes, etc., available to them in the schools.	Mean: 3.52 S.D.: 1.12	4.48 0.83	4.18 0.90	4.66 0.51	3.72 1.06	4	8.45	0.0001	
24.	Courses in traditional Hawaiian values, culture, and history need to be available to the Hawaiian students in the schools.	Mean: 3.80 S.D.: 0.92	4.29 0.85	3.95 0.89	4.00 1.26	3.44 1.11	4	7.29	0.0001	
25.	Summer cultural/recreational programs need to be available to Hawaiian students.	Mean: 4.09 S.D.: 0.70	4.41 0.75	4.31 0.83	4.50 0.54	3.68 1.09	4	7.16	0.0001	
26.	There is a need to have Hawaiian elders come into the school classrooms to teach about Hawaiian culture and history.	Mean: 3.76 S.D.: 1.04	4.35 0.78	4.31 0.77	4.33 0.81	3.77 1.11	4	4.60	0.0014	

		F(21)	H(74)	N(22)	P(6)	S(83)	D.F.	F.Value	PR	F
27.	Opportunities for Hawaiian students to be in above average classes are needed in the public schools (accelerated programs).	Mean: 3.23 S.D.: 1.13	4.29 0.75	3.95 0.78	4.00 0.89	3.33 1.03	4	12.53	0.0001	
28.	Information needs to be provided to the Hawaiian students in the schools about health services available to the students and their families.	Mean: 3.14 S.D.: 1.10	4.13 0.95	3.77 0.81	4.33 0.51	3.55 1.03	4	6.16	0.0001	
29.	Hawaiian students need assistance for school expenses such as athletic fees, graduation fees, clothing expenses, etc.	Mean: 2.42 S.D.: 0.92	4.05 0.97	4.09 0.40	3.83 1.10	3.46	4	11.65	0.0001	
30.	Information is needed by Hawaiian students to learn about job training/employment, etc.	Mean: 3.61 S.D.: 0.92	4.40 0.71	4.09 1.06	4.66 0.51	3.56 1.14	4	8.90	0.0001	
31.	Programs are needed by Hawaiian students to learn about drug and alcohol abuse.	Mean: 3.71 S.D.: 0.95	4.39 0.73	3.95 1.13	4.16 0.98	3.59 1.09	4	7.13	0.0001	
32.	Hawaiian students need to have counseling available on drug and alcohol problems which would be provided by Hawaiian people.	Mean: 3.19 S.D.: 1.03	4.29 0.90	3.86 1.08	4.16 0.98	3.66 0.96	4	7.35	0.0001	

		F(21)	H(74)	N(22)	P(6)	S(83)	D.F.	F.Value	PR	F
33.	There is a need for programs which meet the needs of Hawaiian students' problems.	Mean: 3.38 S.D.: 1.02	4.56 0.64	4.54 0.59	4.50 0.83	3.68 0.999	4	16.24	0.0001	
34.	Standards for evaluating Hawaiian educational materials need to be provided in the public schools.	Mean: 3.61 S.D.: 1.02	4.29 0.75	4.00 0.81	4.33 0.51	3.60 0.97	4	7.09	0.0001	
35.	More programs are needed in order to insure students learn their basic skills (the three "R's").	Mean: 3.95 S.D.: 1.02	4.28 0.94	3.95 0.84	4.83 0.40	3.72 0.99	4	4.57	0.0015	
36.	There is a need to create positive attitudes toward the heritage of Hawaiian students, on the part of non-Hawaiian school personnel.	Mean: 3.66 S.D.: 1.19	4.50 0.89	4.36 0.78	4.50 0.83	3.71 1.04	4	8.02	0.0001	
37.	There is a need to provide Native Hawaiian cultural instruction in <u>all</u> Hawaii public schools.	Mean: 3.75 S.D.: 1.11	4.36 0.96	3.95 1.09	4.33 0.51	3.55 1.24	4	5.30	0.0005	